THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

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PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF
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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME V

P. 88[b], **ḲIBLA**, ii, *add at end*: A second treatise of Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am on the determination of the *ḳibla* by spherical trigonometry is now published in A. Dallal, *Ibn al-Haytham's universal solution for finding the direction of the Qibla by calculation*, in *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, v (1995), 145-93.

Further information on the Persian Mecca-centred world-map discussed in the article AL-SAMT is included in the article AL-ṬĀSA and in the addenda and corrigenda to AL-SAMT.

P. 807[a], **LU<u>GH</u>Z**, *add to Bibl*: Shams Anwari-Alhosseyni, *Loġaz und Mo'ammā. Eine Quellenstudie zur Kunstform des persischen Rätsels*, Berlin 1986.

P. 1169[b], **MA<u>GH</u>NĀṬĪS**. 2, *add at end*: The treatise in ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 5811 mentioned on p. 1169b is in fact a late copy of the treatise by the Yemeni Sulṭān al-A<u>sh</u>raf—see AL-ṬĀSA for this and several other additional sources. The various publications by J. Klaproth and E. Wiedemann listed in the bibliography, as well as numerous others, have been reprinted in one volume as Fuat Sezgin *et alii* (eds.), *Islamic geography*, xv, *Reprint of studies on nautical instruments*, Frankfurt 1992.

(ED.)

VOLUME VII

P. 1027, **NAṢRIDS**, in genealogical table, *for* the date of Muḥammad XI (*el Chiquito*), *read* (1451-2/1453-5), and p. 1027[a], l. 7 from foot, *for* 949/1533-4, *read* 940/1533-4.

VOLUME VIII

P. 245[b], **<u>SH</u>AKĀK**, l. 11, *for* Idrīs Bidlīsī, *read* <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn Bidlīsī.

P. 447[b], **RA<u>SH</u>ĪD RIḌĀ**, *add to Bibl.*, first para.: *Maḳālāt al-<u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Ra<u>sh</u>īd Riḍā*, ed. Yūsuf Ḥusayn Ībi<u>sh</u> and Yūsuf Ḳuzmā <u>Kh</u>ūrī, 5 vols. Beirut 1994 (with good index).

P. 869[a], **SA'ĪDĀ GĪLĀNĪ**, l. 4 from bottom, *delete*: his wife.

P. 1056[a], AL-**SAMT**, *add at end*: In May 1995 a second Persian world-map centred on Mecca came to light and is now in a private collection. It is very similar to the first one, which became available for study in 1989, but more crudely executed. However, it still bears the paraphernalia for a European-type universal inclining sundial. (The sundial on the first, not necessarily of the same kind, is missing.) It is clear that both maps were copied from others, the original probably bearing more geographical information than either of these.

The first map is still to be dated *ca.* 1110/1700 (± 20 years); the second is undoubtedly later but bears striking resemblances in calligraphy and appendages (such as screws and feet) to the first, if not in general aspect and finish. Both maps are not necessarily from Iṣfahān, for <u>Kh</u>urasānian forms of the Persian ordinal numerals are found on them. However, apart from various astrolabes by Muḥammad Zamān (*ca.* 1075/1665) of Ma<u>sh</u>had, no other astronomical instruments survive from northeastern Persia in late-Ṣafawid times.

The geographical data in al-<u>Kh</u>āzinī's *Sand<u>j</u>arī Zī<u>d</u>j*, which was thought to have been derived from a world-map of the same kind as the first Persian world-map—this was stated in the article AL-SAMT—was in fact derived by calculation, as research in April 1995 established. The longitude and latitude values were indeed read from a map by or in the tradition of al-Bīrūnī but the *ḳibla*-values are inaccurate, not because they were read from a hypothetical Mecca-centred map of al-Bīrūnī but because al-<u>Kh</u>āzinī rounded them to the nearest 20' before finding the *ḳibla*. To do this he apparently used a *ḳibla*-table (with values for each degree of longitude difference from Mecca up to 60° and each degree of latitude difference up to 30°), which he mentions in the *Zī<u>dj</u>* but which is not contained in any of the known manuscripts; it can further be shown that this *ḳibla*-table was carelessly computed. In other words, we must look elsewhere for the inspiration for the Persian world-maps.

The geographical data on both of them (*ca.* 150 localities on each, the selection being slightly different on the two maps) was taken from a Tīmūrid geographical table compiled in Kī<u>sh</u> [*q.v.*] *ca.* 850/1450, and the anonymous compiler of that table (extant in ms. London, B.L. Or. 7489, fols. 53a-58b, where, however, the values of the *ḳibla* and distance to Mecca for some 250 localities originally given to seconds have been rounded to minutes) is certainly a possible candidate. But the writings of Ḥaba<u>sh</u> al-Ḥāsib [*q.v.*] and al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] particularly with regard to the astrolabe labelled *mubaṭṭa<u>kh</u>* (with a melon-shaped rete), indicate that already in the 3rd/9th and 5th/11th centuries Muslim astronomers were concerned with mappings preserving distance and direction to a central point (see E.S. Kennedy, P. Kunitzsch and R.P. Lorch, *The Melon Astrolabe of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib*, in *ZGAIW* [1996]), a subject first broached in Europe in the 16th century and first applied to a Mecca-centred map in the early 20th century. (D.A. KING)

SUPPLEMENT

P. 102[a], **ATHŪR**, *add to Bibl.*: S. Heidemann, *al-'Aqr, das islamische Assur. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Topographie in Nordmesopotamien*, in Karin Bartl and S.R. Hauser (eds.), *Continuity and change in northern Mesopotamia from the Hellenistic to the early Islamic period*, Procs. of a Colloquium held at the Seminar für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde, Freie Universität Berlin, 6th-9th April, 1994, Berlin 1996, 259-85.

P. 229[b], **D<u>J</u>ABAL SAYS**, *add at end*: The Arabic inscription of al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> b. <u>D</u>jabala from A.D. 521 mentioned here is, in fact, the third one before Islam and the only historical one; in other inscrip-

tions, including several of the early Islamic period, going up to the time of al-Walīd I, the ancient form Usays appears.

add to Bibl.: M. Abū l-Faradj Al-ʿUsh, *Inscriptions arabes inédites à Djabal Usays*, in *Annales archéol. de Syrie*, xiii (1963), 225-39, Ar. version, 281-91; idem, *Les dessins rupestres du Ǧabal 'Usais*, in *Syria*, xli (1964), 291-9; idem, *Kitābāt ghayr manshūrāt fī Djabal Usays*, in *al-Abhāth*, xvii (1964), 227-316; idem, in *ibid.*, xviii (1964), 216-17; A. Grohmann, in *Arabische paläographie. II. Teil, Das Schriftwesen. Die Lapidarschrift*, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1971, 1-17, Abb. 7 d, Tafel I, 2.

VOLUME IX

P. 370[a], **SHĀ'ŪL**, ANWAR, l. 4 from the foot, *for* the Alliance Française *read* the Collège A-D Sasson and the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

P. 370[b], l. 30, *for Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī wādī 'l-Rāfidayn read Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī fī wādī 'l-Rāfidayn.*

P. 509[a], **SHURAYḤ**, l. -23, *for* al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, *read* al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba.

P. 693[a], **SIYĀḲAT**, *add to Bibl.*: Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili (diplomatik)*, Istanbul 1994, *passim*; Said Öztürk, *Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde siyakat yazısı ve tarihî gelişmi*, Istanbul 1996; cf. also, on Fekete, İsmet Binark (ed.), *Macar asıllı türk tarihcisi ve arşivist Lajos Fekete'nin arşivciliğimizde yeri*, Ankara 1994.

S

CONTINUATION

ṢANʿĀʾ, from ancient times the chief town of the Yemen [*q.v.*] and present capital of the unified Republic of Yemen. Its present population is reckoned to be just over half a million. The town is situated in the centre of the northern highlands of the Yemen at lat. 15° 22′ N. and long. 44° 11′ E., i.e. about 170 km/106 miles as the crow flies from the nearest point on the Red Sea and 300 km/186 miles approximately from the Indian Ocean port of Aden [see ʿADAN]. Ṣanʿāʾ is located at a height above sea level of more than 2,200 m/7,216 feet. It is all but surrounded by mountains, D̲j̲abal Nuḳum (2,892 m/9,486 feet) in the east, at the foot of which the town lies spread, D̲j̲abal ʿAybān (3,194 m/10,476 feet) in the west, the highest peak in the immediate vicinity, and the twin peaks of al-Nahdayn (2,513 m/8,243 feet) which lie due south. Its climate is a temperate one, generally very dry and mild. Its rainfall pattern is consistent, with maximum falls in March, April, May and July, August, September (see Acres, Lewcock and Wilson, in Serjeant and Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 13-19, in *Bibl.* below).

Pre-Islamic Ṣanʿāʾ

Despite the current claim that the name of Ṣanʿāʾ is derived from the excellence of its trades and crafts (perhaps the feminine form of the Arabic adjective *aṣnaʿ*), it is highly probable that the name is Sabaic and, in keeping with the basic meaning in Sabaic of the root *ṣnʿ*, means "well fortified" (A.F.L. Beeston *et alii, Sabaic dictionary*, Louvain and Beirut, 1982, 143). It is certainly as a military centre that the town emerges in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, particularly as the headquarters of the Sabaeans for their military expeditions southwards against Ḥimyar [*q.v.*]. Inscriptions Ja 575, 576, for example, speak of Sabaean campaigns launched from Ṣanʿāʾ (*bn/hgrn/ṣnʿw*) (A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs*, Baltimore 1962, 64 ff.) and Ja 574, 576, 577 (Jamme, 60 ff.) announce a triumphant return to Ṣanʿāʾ (*ʿady/hgrn/ṣnʿw*) from the wars. Apart from being a "town" (*hgr*), Ṣanʿāʾ was also a *maḥram* (*mḥrm*) which Beeston (*Ṣanʿāʾ*, 37) interprets as "a place to which access is prohibited or restricted, no matter whether for religious or for other reasons." The palace of G̲h̲umdān [*q.v.*] is also mentioned in the pre-Islamic inscriptions (e.g. J. Ryckmans, *La Mancie par ḥrb*, in *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, Leiden 1968, 263 (NNAG 12)) and see *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 44. Islamic tradition also reports that the mid-6th century Abyssinian King Abrahah [*q.v.*] built a church in Ṣanʿāʾ (al-Ḳalīs) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 934), for a study of which see *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 44-9.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not tell us when the site of Ṣanʿāʾ was first settled, nor do they mention the town's ancient name of Azāl (al-Hamdānī, 55). The above quoted inscriptions and a very large majority of the texts mentioning the name of the town are all to be dated to the 3rd century A.D. The site must, of course, have been settled a very good deal earlier (see Beeston, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 36-9).

Early Islamic and mediaeval Ṣanʿāʾ

For the more than two centuries of the early Islamic history of Ṣanʿāʾ, we have little more than a list of the governors despatched to the Yemen by the Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs. A comprehensive list was attempted in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 53-4, and Tables 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11 of ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Madʿad̲j̲ M. al-Madʿad̲j̲, *The Yemen in early Islam, 9-233/630-847, a political history*, London 1988, should also be consulted. The remainder of the period can be divided into six as follows: the Yuʿfirids, 232-387/847-997 [*q.v.*], the Ṣulayḥids, 439-92/1047-99 [*q.v.*], the sultans of Hamdān, 493-569/1099-1173, the Ayyūbids, 569-628/1173-1230 [*q.v.*], the Rasūlids 628-783/1230-1381 [*q.v.*] and a period in which the Zaydī Imāms controlled Ṣanʿāʾ, 783-953/1381-1546 [see ZAYDIYYA].

A detailed history of this period cannot be given here, and a few notes will suffice. The Yuʿfirids, it might be noted, were the first Yemeni dynasty to take other than a purely local control of any part of the Yemen. Descended from Ḥimyar, they regarded themselves as their legitimate heirs and moved into Ṣanʿāʾ from their original territory in S̲h̲ibām when they perceived the weakness of the local ʿAbbāsid governors posted there. Their 150 years' rule of Ṣanʿāʾ came to an end in 387/997, leaving the town in anarchy until the arrival of the Fāṭimid Ṣulayḥids in 439/1047.

Our sources are particularly silent about the Ṣulayḥids during their Ṣanʿāʾ period. The zenith of Ṣulayḥid rule came later during the period during which they were centred in Dhū D̲j̲ibla, which the dynasty settled in about 480/1087. With the death in 492/1098 of the *Dāʿī* Sabaʾ b. Aḥmad, Ṣanʿāʾ was lost to the Ṣulayḥids.

During the period 492-569/1098-1173 Ṣanʿāʾ fell under the rule of three families of Hamdān from Yām, also Ismāʿīlīs like the Ṣulayḥids: Banū Ḥātim (I), Banu 'l-Ḳubayb and Banū Ḥātim (II) (G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8, 2 vols., ii, 68, 70-5). Depending almost entirely on the forces which could be mustered from Hamdān [*q.v.*], the three families controlled Ṣanʿāʾ and were still there to contest authority with the Ayyūbids after their conquest of Tihāma [*q.v.*] and the southern highlands from Egypt in 569/1173.

It cannot be said that Ṣanʿāʾ was constantly in the hands of the Ayyūbids during their period in the Yemen. Rather, the Ayyūbids fought from time to time against those in control in the town, firstly the

Hamdānid sultans, later the Zaydīs, and always after fairly elaborate military manoeuvres to secure D̲h̲amār to the south of Ṣanʿāʾ. They took over the town for a period, until ousted, and then the whole process began all over again after an interval of time.

A similar story can be told of the Rasūlid period during the years 628-723/1230-1323. Despite the brilliance of Rasūlid administrative and intellectual achievement in Tihāma and the southern highlands, they too never succeeded in occupying with anything like permanency the chief town of the country. During approximately the last 130 years of the dynasty, 723-858/1323-1454, Ṣanʿāʾ remained in general within the political orbit of the Zaydīs and beyond the grasp of the Rasūlids and indeed of their successors, the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] (see Smith, *Some observations on the Tahirids and their activities in and around Ṣanʿāʾ (858-923/1454-1517)*, in Ihsan Abbas *et alii* (eds.), *Studies in history and literature in honour of Nicola A. Ziadeh* ..., London 1992, 29-37). (See Smith, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 49-68).

Late mediaeval and modern Ṣanʿāʾ

Again, elaborate details are not possible here and the following is a very brief outline of dates and political events. From about 954/1547, when the Ottoman Özdemir Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] advanced on Ṣanʿāʾ, until 1038/1629 Ṣanʿāʾ was the capital of Ottoman Yemen. Although he did not deal the *coup de grâce*—that was left to the Imām al-Muʾayyad—the real hero of the Turks' expulsion from Ṣanʿāʾ and the Yemen was al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, al-Ḳāsim al-Kabīr. Right through to the mid-13th/19th century, the Zaydī Imāms controlled Ṣanʿāʾ and northern Yemen with more or less authority. Zaydī rule, however, seriously declined, mainly as a result of internal squabbling, allowing a second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen. The Ottomans had already begun to expand in Arabia and in 1289/1872 Aḥmad Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a entered Ṣanʿāʾ to begin the second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen until about 1337/1918. The post-1337/1918 history of Ṣanʿāʾ and the Yemen is that of the Zaydī Ḥamīd al-Dīn house, under the Imāms Yaḥyā, Aḥmad and, for a few days only in 1382/1962, al-Badr. The house rose to prominence in Zaydī circles in 1307/1890 in the figure of al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn. The Imām Aḥmad (1367-82/1948-62), famed for his bravery and learning as much for his ruthlessness and toughness, died from natural causes in 1382/September 1962. His son, al-Badr, was proclaimed Imām and widely recognised, but was compelled to flee Ṣanʿāʾ after he was attacked by young army officers who had been plotting a military coup. Ḥamīd al-Dīn rule was brought to an end and the newly-appointed chief of staff, ʿAbd Allāh al-Sallāl, was pronounced the new president of the Yemen Arab Republic.

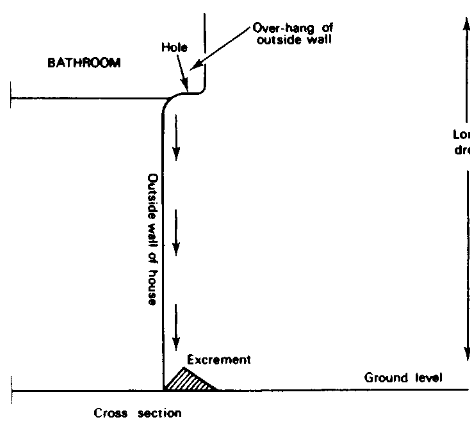
The Republic needed vast numbers of Egyptians troops to prop it up in the face of general royalist opposition. They left the Yemen only in 1967 at the time of the Six-Day War between Egypt and Israel and the Republican government, balanced between the Zaydī and S̲h̲āfiʿī religious and tribal interests, the military and a new breed of Western-educated technocrat, continued in power and opened up talks with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on the question of the formation of a unified Yemen. The Republic of Yemen came into being in 1990 with Ṣanʿāʾ as its capital (see Serjeant, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 68-108).

The buildings of Ṣanʿāʾ

The visitor to the old town of Ṣanʿāʾ (which is still largely intact though surrounded by new development) notices the extremely prominent traditional domestic architecture, the high, multi-storey tower house. It is usually square and at least five, if not eight or nine storeys high. The ground floor is used as stores and for the domestic animals and the top storey, called by the name *mafrad̲j̲*, is used as a second reception room and for the daily afternoon *ḳāt*-chewing ritual (see Lewcock and Serjeant, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 436-500).

Another extremely prominent architectural feature in Ṣanʿāʾ is naturally the mosque and there are over one hundred in the town. Al-Ḥad̲j̲arī (*Masād̲j̲id Ṣanʿāʾ*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1361) lists about a hundred of many different periods and is a mine of information regarding their history and general background. Perhaps the most impressive and interesting for the historian is the Great Mosque (*al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Kabīr*) whose original foundation no doubt has an early Islamic date (al-Madʿad̲j̲, *The founding of the Great Mosque* ..., in *New Arabian Studies*, i [1993], 175-88, suggests the first construction was in 11/633, p. 184). For a detailed study of the mosques of Ṣanʿāʾ, see Serjeant, Lewcock, Smith and Costa, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 310-90).

The public baths (*ḥammāmāt*) play an important social role in the daily life of Ṣanʿāʾ and there are seventeen still in operation today, some possibly pre-Islamic in foundation. The fuel burnt is human excrement (*k̲h̲arā*), which is reputed to burn giving off great heat. The fuel is collected from the "long drop" (*manṭal*) found in every house in the town for this very purpose. Women have their own bath times regulated at each public bath and the baths play a particularly important role at festival times (*aʿyād*) (see Lewcock, Akwaʿ and Serjeant, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 501-25).



Long drop (*Manṭal*)

The market of Ṣanʿāʾ

The large market in Ṣanʿāʾ has been the subject of some academic studies (see in particular Serjeant, Akwaʿ and Dostal, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 159-302) and the complexities of its administration and organisation are beginning to be understood. A 12th/18th century document entitled *Ḳānūn Ṣanʿāʾ*, which is a collection of market regulations, was published by Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ṣayāg̲h̲ī in 1964 (*Mad̲j̲allat al-Mak̲h̲ṭūṭāt*, 273-307) and it has also been the subject of a lengthy study in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 179-240. Today's Ṣanʿāʾ market is dealt with in some detail by Dostal, in *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 241-75.

The mint of Ṣanʿāʾ

The earliest coins which can be assigned to Ṣanʿāʾ date from 156-8/772-4, and the 3rd/9th century in particular saw a huge output from the mint, "a substantial proportion of all the gold being coined in the territories of the caliph", according to Lowick (in

Ṣanʿāʾ, 303). Umayyad, ʿAbbāsid, Ayyūbid, Rasūlid, Ottoman and, of course, Zaydī coins minted in Ṣanʿāʾ are all attested.

Bibliography: It is difficult to exaggerate the scholarly importance of R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock (eds.), *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London, 1983, written by a whole team of Yemen specialists, for almost any aspect of the history, culture and daily life of the town. Other sources not mentioned in the text are: Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī and Yūsuf Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, art. *Ṣanʿāʾ*, in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii* (eds.), *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya* (*The Encyclopaedia of Yemen*), Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, ii, 583-8. *History*: Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Ṣanʿāʾ*, ed. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī and ʿAbd al-Djabbār Zakkār, [2]Damascus 1981; A.S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford-Madras 1925; J.R. Blackburn, *The collapse of Ottoman authority in Yemen, 968/1560-976/1568*, in *WI*, xix (1979). Buildings: P. Costa, *La Moschea grande di Ṣanʿāʾ*, in *AIUON*, xxxiv (1974). Mint: Ramzi J. Bikhazi, *Coins of al-Yaman, 132-569 AH*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxxiii (1970).

(G.R. Smith)

SANAD [see isnad].

SANADJĀT, weights of a balance (in full *sanadjāt al-mīzān*); also applied to balances, steelyards; also the weights of a clock (sing. *sandja*). The forms with *ṣād* also occur (*ṣanadjāt* and *ṣandja*) but the former is the more chaste (see Lane, s.v.). There are two recognised plural forms, *sanadjāt* and *sinadj* (in modern Egyptian Arabic *sinag*, plural of *singa*). The word is Persian in origin, being connected with *sang*, meaning both stone and weight, since in ancient times weights were non-metallic (cf. the Hebrew of Deut. xxv, 13). According to Muslim tradition, it was a Jew named Sumayr, during the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], who first proposed to regulate the new dirhams of the reformed coinage of 75/694 by means of the use of fixed weights (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 337). Previously, the custom apparently had been to weigh one coin of good quality against another. When a large number had thus been weighed, this lot was weighed against a similar number and the surplus, if any, was carried forward. The first coin weights of Islam were made of bronze and are excessively rare. Weights of iron are also recorded but no examples are extant. Under the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705 [*q.v.*]), weights made of glass were recommended to be used since they did not change by increase or decrease (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayāwān*, i, 59). This carried on the practice of Ptolemaic and Byzantine times. These glass weights, however, were confined to Egypt and were in use from Umayyad until Mamlūk times. The old opinion that they were glass coins, *nummi vitrei*, was first exploded by Castiglioni in 1847, and later, after the fact had been overlooked, by E.T. Rogers in 1873. Various collections of these *sanadjāt* have been published. As they generally bear inscriptions with the names of caliphs, or governors, or inspectors of markets, and an indication of weight, they are very valuable, not only for Islamic history and metrology, but also for Arabic epigraphy.

The great physicist al-Khāzinī [*q.v.*] paid particular attention to the weights used in his balances [see mīzān], in which of course he achieved a very high degree of accuracy. In his introduction to his description of the *Balance of wisdom*, he devotes two paragraphs to a discussion of the weights specific to this machine. He does not seem to imply that the *ṣanadjāt*—always with *ṣād* in his work—can be in mixed units in weighing operations, but simply says that they are to be "*dirhams*, *mithkāls* or others". Presumably the units chosen in any particular operation depended upon the mass of the objects to be weighed. For each unit there were nine different weights of *ṣanadjāt*: for unity, 1, 2 and 5; for tens, 10, 20 and 50; for hundreds, 100, 200 and 500. With these values, using different combinations, any required weight could be obtained (*Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma*, Ḥaydarābād 1940, 108-9).

The term *sanadjāt* is also occasionally used for other kinds of weights such as counterweights or pellets discharged from the mouths of falcons in water-clocks (see E. Wiedmann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 127). More usual terms for weights where the precise value is unimportant are *mithkāla* and *bayḍa*.

Bibliography: Lane, s.v.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; C.O. Castiglioni, *Dell'uso cui erano i vetri con epigrafi cufiche*, Milan 1847; E.T. Rogers, *Glass as a material for standard coin weights*, in *Num. Chron.* (1873), 60-88; idem, *Unpublished glass weights and measures*, in *JRAS* (1872), 98-112; S. Lane-Poole, *Arabic glass coins*, in *Num. Chron.* (1872), 199-211; idem, *Cat. of Arabic glass weights in the British Museum*, London 1891; P. Casanova, *Étude sur les inscriptions arabes des poids et mesures en verre*, Cairo 1891; idem, *Dénéraux en verre arabes*, in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, Paris 1924, 296-300; idem, *Cat. des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la Collection Fouquet*, in *MMAF* (1893), 337-414; J.B. Nies, *Kufic glass weights and bottle stamps*, in *Procs. of American Num. and Arch. Soc.* (New York 1902), 484-55; Sir W.M.F. Petrie, *Glass weights*, in *Num. Chron.* (1918), 111-16; idem, *Glass stamps and weights* (University College of London Collection), London 1926; A. Grohmann, *Arab. Eichungsstempel, Glassgewichte und Amulette aus Wiener Sammlungen*, in *Islamica* (1925), 145-226; R. Vasmer, art. *Sandj* in F. von Schrötter's *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin 1930; H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1882, 19 ff.; Lavoix, *Cat. des monnaies musulmanes*, Paris 1887, i, xlv-xlvi; E. von Zambaur, in *Num. Zeitschrift* (1903), 317-19; M. Jungfleisch, *Un Poids fatimite en plomb*, in *BIE* (1926-7), 115-28; idem, *Poids fatimites en verre polychrome*, in *ibid.*, 19-31; idem, *Les ratls discoides en verre*, in *ibid.* (1927-8), 61-71; J. Farrugia de Candia, *Dénéraux en verre arabes*, in *RT* (1935), 165-70; W. Airy, *On the Arabic glass weights*, London 1920; *Rev. Numismatique* (1906), 225; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 80 (the English tr. by Jayakar (i, 128) wrongly translates *sanadjāt* as "scales"); J. Walker, in *Num. Chron.* (1935), 246-8.

(J. Walker-[D.R. Hill])

SANĀʾĪ, Madjdūd b. Ādam al-Ghaznawī, Persian poet. In early sources already the *kunya* Abu 'l-Madjd is sometimes added to his name. As a pen name he used Sanāʾī, only rarely Madjdūd or Madjdūd Sanāʾī. The former name could have been derived from Sanāʾ al-Milla, one of the *laḳabs* of the Ghaznawid sultan Masʿūd III, but the poet's actual relationship to this ruler is unclear, because no panegyrics directly addressed to him by Sanāʾī have been preserved. As a matter of fact, no reliable biographical data outside the poet's own works are available. However, the many references to the historical context to be found in his poetry, including dedications to a great number of patrons, make it possible to reconstruct his life, at least in its main outlines.

The only known dating of his birth, in 437/1045-6, which is recorded in the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, is highly improbable. It may be regarded as certain that he was

born at Ghazna about the beginning of the last quarter of the 5th/11th century. In spite of the reputation of a learned poet, expressed by the epithet *ḥakīm* commonly added to his name, we know nothing about his formal education beyond the fact that in a prose introduction to the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* his father is said to have been a *muʿallim*. According to the picture of his early life sketched in the *Kārnāma-yi Balkhī* and the panegyrics contained in his *Dīwān*, he was during these years a minor poet who maintained connections with patrons from all social groups in the Ghaznawid residence except, as it seems, the court of the sultan itself. We find among them officials of the state bureaucracy, military men, members of the Islamic clergy as well as scholars, scribes and poets. One of his most important protectors was Thiḳat al-Mulk Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī, the head of the department of correspondence, who also patronised the poet Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*]. According to a *ḳiṭʿa* in Sanāʾī's *Dīwān*, he prepared a collection of Masʿūd's poetry. There is also mention of his copying the poems of another prominent poet, ʿUthmān Mukhtārī [*q.v.*].

His relations with a few prominent Islamic scholars, belonging to the Ḥanafī school of law, foreshadowed the future course of his literary career. The celebrated story of Sanāʾī's abandoning professional poetry after a meeting with a "drinker of dregs" (*lāy-khʷār*), first told by Dawlatshāh towards the end of the 9th/15th century, has no historical value, but does reflect an evident break in his career as a poet, more or less coinciding with his departure from Ghazna. First he went to Balkh, and from there to other cities in Khurāsān, which was then under the rule of the Saldjūḳs. As it appears from the *Kārnāma-yi Balkhī*, written shortly after he left Ghazna, this event took place before 508/1114-15, the year of Masʿūd III's death. He probably did not return to his native city before about 520/1126. During this exile, he almost completely abandoned the secular poetry of the court tradition, seeking instead the patronage of people belonging to the religious class. Of crucial importance was his stay at Sarakhs, where he established a close relationship with Sayf al-Ḥaḳḳ Abu 'l-Mafākhir Muḥammad b. Manṣūr. This Ḥanafī scholar was, as his title *aḳḍā 'l-ḳuḍāt* indicates, also a person of some political weight. Besides, he was a renowned preacher (*wāʿiẓ*), who delivered his sermons in a *khānḳāh* of his own. Sanāʾī wrote some of his most remarkable poems for Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, addressing him both as a protector and as a spiritual guide. There are further references to the poet's visits to Nīshāpūr and Harāt. In the latter town, he met with the descendants of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*]. This is in fact the only contact of his with a Ṣūfī community for which there exists reliable evidence. The tradition that Sanāʾī was a pupil of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Hamadhāni, which eventually led to his inclusion in the Ṣūfī affiliations (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, i, Wiesbaden 1965, 8), is certainly unhistorical.

The reasons for his return to Ghazna are not known to us. However, again a remarkable change in his career can be noticed. While he was still in Khurāsān, Sanāʾī had become a celebrated writer of religious poetry for which there appeared to exist a lively interest among the ruling classes, who hitherto had only patronised secular poetry. For the first time in his career, Sanāʾī drew the attention of a royal patron when the Ghaznawid sultan Bahrāmshāh [*q.v.*] invited him to the court. Although he clearly stated his determination to stay aloof from the affairs of this world, he nevertheless wrote his major *mathnawī* as well as a number of short poems for this sultan. Very different dates are suggested in later sources for the year of his death. The most likely is 11 Shaʿbān 525/9 July 1131, mentioned in a notice on the last day of his life, which became attached as an appendix to a prose introduction to the *Ḥadīḳa*. The same date is mentioned in the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* of Djāmī [*q.v.*].

The works of Sanāʾī encompass the entire range of classical Persian poetry. Though most poems deal with religious subjects, specimens of purely secular poetry are by no means absent. Even the religious poems often contain panegyrical elements showing the poet's dependence on the material support of patrons throughout his career. The *Dīwān* of Sanāʾī is preserved in a number of ancient manuscripts, the oldest dated of which is Velieddin 2627 (Bayezit Library, Istanbul), copied in 684/1285. They show great differences, as far as the order of the poems, variant readings and the number of verses are concerned. It is, therefore, impossible to establish which of them could be taken to represent a genuine textual tradition going back to the time of the poet himself. In one strain of the early tradition, the poems were grouped into a few sections marked by generic indications. The most important genres thus distinguished are the *zuhdiyyāt*, "ascetic poems" (most of them long *ḳaṣīdas*) and the *ḳalandariyyāt*, poems characterised by the use of antinomian motives referring to the debauchery of beggars and drunks. Of considerable interest is also the group of the *ghazaliyyāt* because this is the earliest sizable corpus of this kind of poems known in the history of Persian literature.

As a writer of *mathnawīs*, Sanāʾi is best known for his long didactical poem which is usually entitled *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa wa-sharīʿat al-ṭarīḳa*, "The garden of truth and the law of the right path". The history of this text is even more complicated than that of the *Dīwān*. To all appearances, the poet died before he could give the poem its final form. At least one early version, however, was prepared for Sultan Bahrāmshāh, when the poet was still alive. A copy of this version, under the title *Fakhrī-nāma*, has survived in the manuscript Bağdatlı Vehbi 1672 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul), which was copied at Konya on 7 Shawwāl 552/12 November 1157. It contains about 5000 *bayts*, i.e. approximately half the amount of lines found in most later copies. It is not likely, however, that all the lines not contained in the Vehbi manuscript are unauthentic. The textual tradition has preserved a few documents which indicate that intensive editorial work was done on the poem soon after the first version was completed, including a rough copy (*musawwada*) of 10,000 *bayts* prepared by the poet to be sent to Khʷādja Burhān al-Dīn, a scholar from Ghazna who lived at Baghdād, after the poem had come under attack for its alleged pro-ʿAlid tendencies. After Sanāʾī's death, Bahrāmshāh ordered a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Raffāʾ to make yet another redaction. As a result of these initial rearrangements, as well as of subsequent editorial interference, the *Ḥadīḳa* was transmitted in several different forms. As late as the 11th/17th century, the Indian scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-ʿAbbāsī made an attempt to harmonise the various traditions of the text; he also wrote a commentary, entitled *Laṭāʾif al-ḥadāʾiḳ min nafāʾis al-daḳāʾiḳ*. Later a few other commentaries were composed (cf. J. Stephenson, *The enclosed garden of the truth*, repr. Wellingborough 1975, Introd., pp. xxi-xxv). One of the selections made from the poem, which is sometimes entitled *Laṭīfat al-ʿirfān*, has been ascribed to Sanāʾī as well as to Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], but its real author is probably Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī,

a poet of the 9th/15th century also known by the pen name of Dāʿī.

The *Ḥadīḳāt al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the first specimen of a mystical *mat̲h̲nawī* in Persian literature and has had a considerable impact on later writers in the same genre, notably on D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], whose *Mat̲h̲nawī-yi maʿnawī* was composed after the example given by Sanāʾī. The great number of manuscripts known to exist bears witness to an immense popularity lasting throughout the centuries. It is a didactic poem conceived as a continuing discourse on a wide variety of ethical and religious subjects. In the early *Fak̲h̲rī-nāma* version, the vague outline of an allegory, comparable to that of his earlier work *Sayr al-ʿibād ilā 'l-maʿād*, appears when the poet tells of a meeting with a spiritual guide, who is the personification of the Active Intellect. In later redactions this feature was almost obliterated and replaced by a division of the text into chapters. The text contains numerous references to philosophy and the sciences and has therefore often been called an "encyclopaedia of Ṣūfism". This is a misleading qualification because these elements are always subordinated to the didactic discourse. The same applies to the narratives, which take a far less important part in Sanāʾī's poem than they do in the works of later writers of Persian didactic *mat̲h̲nawīs*.

Sanāʾi left two other *mat̲h̲nawīs*, of a much smaller size. The first, *Kārnāma-yi Balk̲h̲ī*, sometimes also called *Muṭāyaba-nāma* ("Book of jest"), is a completely secular poem of no more than 433 *bayts*. It was written at Balk̲h̲ shortly after Sanāʾī had left G̲h̲azna. In a mixture of praise and satire, this topical poem reviews the people who were the poet's patrons during his early years, arranged according to their social position. The second, the *Sayr al-ʿibād ilā 'l-maʿād* ("The journey of the devotees to the place of return") is Sanāʾī's most interesting work. Two-thirds of its 800 lines describe the development of the narrator's soul in the allegory of a spiritual journey. From his conception onwards, he climbs the ladder of existence, partly under the guidance of the Active Intellect. He reaches the goal of this quest when he meets with the preacher Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, his actual patron during his stay at the city of Sarak̲h̲s, whose praise fills the remaining part of the poem. The *Sayr al-ʿibād* is written in an enigmatic style with only few explanations provided in the text. Stylistically it shows a resemblance to philosophical allegories in Arabic, such as Ibn Sīnā's *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*] and the *Lug̲h̲z ḳābis* by Miskawayh [*q.v.*]. An anonymous commentary is extant, the oldest version of which is contained in the ms. Nâfiz Paşa 410 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul), dated 674/1275.

All genuine *mat̲h̲nawīs* of Sanāʾi were written in the metre *k̲h̲afīf*, which, through his example, became one of the patterns most often used for didactic mystical poetry. In the same metre, a number of other short *mat̲h̲nawīs* occur in manuscripts of his works, which are falsely attributed to him. Some of these were works by other poets which were manipulated in order to pass them off as genuine texts by Sanāʾī, e.g. *ʿIs̲h̲k-nāma*, which actually is a verse commentary on the *Sawāniḥ* of Aḥmad al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*], and *Ṭarīḳ al-taḥḳīḳ*, written in imitation of the *Ḥadīḳa* by Aḥmad al-Nak̲h̲čiwānī who probably lived in the 8th/14th century (on these and other poems of this group, see B. Utas, *Ṭarīq ut-taḥqīq*, Lund 1973, *passim*). Others, like *Taḥrīmat al-ḳalam* and *ʿAḳl-nāma*, both appearing for the first time in the Velieddin manuscript of 684 A.H., were deliberately composed as pseudo-Sanāʾī texts (cf. *Of piety and poetry*, 113-18).

A small collection of letters by Sanāʾi was published by Nad̲h̲īr Aḥmad (*Makātīb-i Sanāʾī*, Aligarh 1962). There are two prose introductions to his works containing his name as the author. One of these, which is in fact the same text as the introduction by al-Raffāʾ, is almost certainly spurious.

Sanāʾī's great impact on Persian mystical poetry has given rise to the view that he was a prominent Ṣūfi himself. There is little historical evidence available to substantiate this view. The most important patrons of his art were Islamic scholars, many of whom were also renowned as preachers. The predominently homiletic style of his religious poetry fits this social environment extremely well. With its characteristic blend of ethics, wisdom, mysticism and praise of the Prophet and other great men of Islam it appealed to the community of the Muslims as a whole rather then to a restricted circle of Ṣūfi adepts only. This also explains the varied use made by later generations of his verse.

Bibliography: An extensive bibliography can be found in J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry: the interaction of religion and literature in the life and works of Ḥakīm Sanāʾī of Ghazna*, Leiden 1983. To be added are: idem, *The transmission of early Persian ghazals*, in *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, iii (1988), 27-31; idem, *The Qalandariyyāt in Persian mystical poetry*, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of mediaeval Persian Sufism*, London-New York 1992, 75-86; idem, *Comparative notes on Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭār*, in Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its origins to Rumi*, London-New York 1993, 361-79; idem, *The stories of Sanāʾī's Faxrī-nāme*, in *Mélanges offerts à Charles-Henri de Fouchécour*, ed. by Živa Vesely (forthcoming); Sanāʾī, *Viaggio nel regno del ritorno*, Parma 1993, contains an Italian translation of the *Sayr al-ʿibād ilā 'l-maʿād*, with an introduction and notes, by Carlo Saccone; M.R.S̲h̲. Kadkānī, *Tāziyānahā-yi sulūk. Naḳd wa taḥlīl-i čand ḳaṣīda az Ḥākim Sanāʾī*, Tehran 1372/1993.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

ṢANAM (a.), image, representation and, especially, idol (from the Common Semitic root *ṣ-l-m*, cf. Akk. *ṣalmu*, Aram. *ṣalmā*, Hebr. *ṣelem*, etc., by a shift of *l* into *n*, see Gesenius-Buhl, 684); for Old Testament parallels, see *inter alia*, Num. xxxiii. 52; II Kings xi. 18; Ezek., vii. 20; Amos, v. 26). It is in this sense that it is found in the Ḳurʾān, where the pl. *aṣnām* is cited five times (VI, 74; VII, 138; XIV, 35; XXI, 57; XXVI, 71).

Ṣanam progressively replaces *nuṣub* (pl. *anṣāb*, Hebr. *maṣṣᵉbōt*, Gen. xxxv. 14), a term denoting "carved stones over which the blood of victims sacrificed to idols was poured, stones making up tumuli and those delimiting the sacred enclosure (*ḥimā*) of the sanctuary" (T. Fahd. *Panthéon*, 26). From being the rough stone making up the *nuṣub*, the idol became "a carved stone" (Yāḳūt, iv, 622; *fa-naḥatahu ʿalā ṣūrat aṣnām al-Bayt* [i.e. the Kaʿba]). Ibn His̲h̲ām writes (*Sīra*, 54 = al-Azraḳī, *Ak̲h̲bār Makka*, 78) that all the inhabitants had an idol (*ṣanam*) which they worshipped, and whenever one of them left on a journey, the last thing he did before leaving and the first on his return, was to touch the idol (*tamassaḥa bihi*; cf. Gen. xxxi. 14). Hence, Yāḳūt says, the cult of stones amongst the Arabs in their encampments began from their deep attachment to the idols of the *Ḥaram* (*loc. cit.*). This cult reflects a state of affairs well before the reform of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy in the 3rd century A.D., which introduced into central Arabia statues of gods brought in from Hīt (Heliopolis = ʿAmmān), where he had sought medical treatment. "In effect, the *teraphīm* of the Canaanites, the *elōhīm* of the Hebrews and the *ilānī* of the Assyrians long survived up to the time of the coming of monotheism in the shape of betyles in stone, in sand

held together with milk, in flour and in wood, in pagan Arabia" (see refs. in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 28-9). "It was in the mid-3rd century A.D. that Nabataean and Syro-Palestinian influences affected, in the urban centres, the evolution in form of the Arab pantheon, and it was then that the stone betyle became an idol". Wellhausen correctly affirmed this when he wrote that the images were not genuinely Arabic, since *wat͟han* and *ṣanam* were imported words and things. See his *Reste*², 102; D. Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaische Überlieferung*, Strassburg 1904).

According to al-Azraḳī, there was no house in Mecca without its idol. Those carved out of wood seem to have been those of the high-born and rich, as were imported products. Ibn His͟hām states (*Sīra*, 303-4) that "ʿAmr b. D̲j̲amūḥ, who was one of the *sayyids* of the Banū Salama and one of their leaders, had taken into his house a wooden idol (*ṣanam*), called Manāt, according to the practice of notables of that time; he considered it as a god, and worshipped and purified it". ʿIkrima, son of Abū D̲j̲ahl [*q.v.*], the fierce enemy of the Prophet, made idols. Traders went and offered them to the Bedouins, who bought them and placed them within their tents (al-Azraḳī, 77-8).

After the triumph of Christianity in the Orient, the Ḥid̲j̲āz had remained a stronghold of paganism, where idol carvers could still gain a living. It was not surprising that, when the Prophet entered Mecca in triumph, he had 360 idols in the Kaʿba immediately destroyed (*ibid.*, 77; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ii, 192; cf. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 31). According to a leading Jordanian historian, met by the author in Kuwait shortly after the expulsion from the Kaʿba in 1979 by French guards of the rebels who had barricaded themselves there, the ground collapsed as the result of a bomb explosion and revealed a pile of statues buried below ground; the Saudi authorities hastened to dispose of them.

Thus the religions of pagan Arabia, from betyles to carved idols, retained their primitive internal structure, and although social conditions and artistic influences might affect the actual forms of representation, this had no effect on the conceptual development of the cults there. A list of the Arab gods can be found in Fahd's *Panthéon*, with all the known information about some 90 of them, and showing that these Arab cults were static and characteristic of the desert and nomadic life, in which betyles, idols and sacred trees were the dominant features.

Bibliography: This article is based on T. Fahd's *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968; see also idem, in *Mythes et croyances du monde entier*, ii, Paris 1985, section "Le panthéon arabe avant l'Islam". Amongst references used in the above, still of value, are: Wellhausen, *Reste*², Berlin 1897; E. Dhorme, *Religion primitive des Semites*, in *RHR*, cxxviii (1944), 1-27; idem, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, review of G. Ryckmans, in *ibid.*, cxxxiii (1947), 34-48; G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*², Louvain 1953 (= Bibl. du Muséon, xxvi = A. Quillet, *Hist. gén. des religions*, Paris 1960, ii, 199-228); D̲j̲urd̲j̲ī Zaydān, *Ansāb al-ʿArab al-ḳudamā*ʾ, Cairo 1906. See also HUBAL; ISĀF WA-NĀʾILA; ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ; AL-LĀT; MANĀF; RABB; SAʿD WA-NAḤS; S͟HAMS.

(T. FAHD)

ṢANAM ḲĀDIS, see ḲĀDIS, at vol. IV, 583-4, and add to the *Bibl.* there: Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟harnāṭī, ed. Ferrand, the main reference, now tr. Ana Ramos, *Abū Ḥāmid al-Garnāṭī (m. 565/1169), Tuḥfat al-albāb (El Regalo de los espíritus)*, Madrid CSIC-ICMA 1990, (*fuentes Arabico-Hispanas 10*), 46-7, for the passage in question (= ed. Ferrand 69-70), with representation here of the plate (= Ferrand, between 200 and 201) showing the "object", i.e. the lighthouse (which Ramos renders by "statue", *estatua*). See also P. Martínez Montávez, *Perfil de Cádiz hispano-árabe*, Cadiz 1974; Saḥar al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ṣāliḥ, *Madīnat Ḳādis wa-dawruhā fi 'l-taʾrīk͟h al-siyāsī wa 'l-ḥaḍarī li 'l-Andalus fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*, Alexandria 1990; D. Bramón, *El mundo en el siglo XII. El tratado de al-Zuhrī*, Sabadell 1991 (= Span. tr. of the *K. al-D̲j̲aʿrafiyya*, ed. M. Hadj-Sadok).

(J.-P. MOLENAT)

SANANDAD̲J̲ or SINANDAD̲J̲, older form SINNA, the administrative capital of the modern Persian province of Kurdistān and the general name for the district round it.

1. The town. The name Sinna came into historical prominence only from the 9th/15th century onwards, the main urban centre of the district having preciously been Sīsar [*q.v.*], as the seat of the Kurdish *wālīs* or local rulers of Ardalān [*q.v.*]. Under the year 988/1580, the 10th/16th century historian of the Kurds, S͟haraf al-Dīn K͟hān Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], speaks in his *S͟haraf-nāma* (ed. V. Véliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 88) of a land grant held by Tīmūr K͟hān of Ardalān, which included Ḥasanābād, Sīna, etc., but the local historian of Sanandad̲j̲, ʿAlī Akbar Muns͟hī Waḳāyiʿ-nigār (wrote *ca.* 1310/1892-3, see Storey, i, 1300, cf. also 369), in his ms. work on the geography and history of Sanandad̲j̲, the *Ḥadīḳa-yi Nāṣirī* (Fr. résumé by B. Nikitine, in *RMM*, xlix, 70-104), says that Sinna was built by the *wālī* Sulaymān Khān on the ruined site of an earlier settlement; the Persian *taʾrīk͟h* or chronogram for this event is given as *g͟hamhā* "sorrows" = 1046 in *abd̲j̲ad* [/1636-7].

The *wālīs*, being near the Perso-Turkish frontier, took an active part in the wars between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; during this period, Ardalān enjoyed, like ʿArabistān and Luristān, a semi-independent existence. During the Afg͟hān invasion of Persia, in 1132/1720, the Kurdish chief of Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*] seized Sinna, but the *wālī* of Ardalān Subḥān Werdī K͟hān recovered it in the time of Nādir S͟hāh. Amān Allāh "the Great" (1212-40/1797-1825) much improved the town of Sinna, and entertained there Sir John Malcolm and J.C. Rich, but his grandson Amān Allāh b. K͟husraw K͟hān Nā-kām (1265-84/1848-67) was the last hereditary *wālī* of Kurdistān, since the central government in Tehran under Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh [*q.v.*] now extended its direct control over the western provinces.

The town lies between the right bank of the Ḳis͟hlaḳ river (which eventually flows down to the Diyālā and then the Tigris) and Mount Āwīdar, which separates Sinna from the old capital Ḥasanābād. The citadel of the *wālīs*, described by such 19th century travellers as Malcolm, Rich and Čirikov, is on a hill some 21 m/70 ft. high in the centre of the town. The town's population at that time was largely Kurdish, but with a substantial Jewish minority and a few Chaldaean Catholic and Armenian Christians, and it was a lively commercial centre, exporting oak-galls, tragacanth, furs and carpets. In modern Persia, Sanandad̲j̲ (lat. 35° 19′ N., long 47° 01′ E.) is the administrative capital of the province (*ustān*) of Kurdistān, with a population in 1991 of 244,249 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Senna carpets remain a principal product of the town and its hinterland.

2. The district. The older district of Sinna corresponds with the heartland of the modern Kurdistān province, with high, treeless plateaux in the northeast and southeast, whilst its central part is intersected by

numerous valleys, sloping down to deciduous forests in the east. The main mountain massif is the Kūh-i Čihil Čas̲h̲ma (*ca.* 3,658 m/12,000 ft.) to the north of Sanandad̲j̲ and running westwards to the ᶜIrāḳī frontier. For a detailed survey of topography, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. *Senna.*

Ethnically, the population is mainly Kurdish, Sunnīs of the S̲h̲āfiᶜī *mad̲h̲hab*, amongst whom *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order have traditionally been influential, although the *wālīs* of Ardalān were S̲h̲īᶜī, possibly as a result of former connections with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] Gūrān. In addition to the majority of Kurdish speakers, the area to the west of Sanandad̲j̲, going up to and slightly across the frontier with ᶜIrāḳ, contains speakers of the Hawrāmānī or Awromani dialect of the Northwest Iranian tongue Gūrānī [see GŪRĀN; HAWRĀMĀN; and to the references there, add D.N. MacKenzie, *The dialect of Awroman (Hawramānī-ī Luhōn)*, in *Royal Danish Acad. of Sciences*, phil.-hist. series, iv/3 (Copenhagen 1966), pp. 141].

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(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ṢANᶜĀNĪ, ᶜABD AL-RAZZĀḲ B. HAMMĀM b. Nāfiᶜ, Abū Bakr al-Yamanī al-Ḥimyarī, Yemeni scholar, b. 126/744, d. in the middle of S̲h̲awwāl 211/middle of January 827. The *nisba* al-Ḥimyarī indicates that he was a *mawlā* [*q.v.*] of the Banū Ḥimyar. According to the biographical sources, he was of Persian origin (*min al-abnā*ʾ [see ABNĀʾ], ᶜId̲j̲lī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-t̲h̲iḳāt*, Beirut 1984, no. 1000). His father was already a learned man and traditionist (Ibn Saᶜd, v, 399). ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ received his training as a scholar in Ṣanᶜāʾ, where he studied for a period of about eight years with Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id (d. 153/770) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-ᶜIlal wa-maᶜrifat al-rid̲j̲āl*, Beirut 1988, ii, no. 2599; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-D̲j̲arḥ wa 'l-taᶜdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, iii, 38) who was himself of Baṣran origin and who had settled in Ṣanᶜāʾ after studying in Baṣra, Medina and Mecca. Moreover, ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ participated in the lectures of a number of visiting scholars including the Meccans Ibn D̲j̲urayd̲j̲ (d. 150/767), Sufyān b. ᶜUyayna (d. 198/813-4) and the Kūfan Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī (d. 161/778) (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-maᶜrifa li-kitāb al-d̲j̲arḥ wa-'l-taᶜdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, 52-3; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Mīzān al-iᶜtidāl fī naḳd al-rid̲j̲āl*, Cairo 1907, ii, 127). It was during his commercial trips to Syria (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 364) and during the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* that ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ came into contact and studied with other eminent scholars of the middle of the 2nd/8th century like al-Awzāᶜī (d. 157/774) and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) [*q.vv.*].

In the last quarter of the 2nd century A.H., ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ became the leading scholar of the Yemen. His fame attracted students from all parts of the Islamic world, amongst them the ᶜIrāḳīs Yaḥyā b. Maᶜīn (d. 233/848) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), two famous *ḥadīt̲h̲* scholars of the 3rd/9th century. The reputation of ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ was first of all based on his book or books. The oldest information about his works comes from his pupils mentioned above (Ibn Ḥanbal, *ᶜIlal*, iii, no. 3882, iv, no. 3940). There is a difference of opinion as to the titles of his book or books. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995), for instance, mentions a *Kitāb al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* and a *Kitāb al-Mag̲h̲āzī* (*Fihrist*, Cairo 1929-30, 318), Ibn K̲h̲ayr (d. 575/1179) claims to have known several *riwāyāt* of a work called *Muṣannaf*—which is probably identical with the *Kitāb al-Sunan* quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm—and the *Kitāb al-Mag̲h̲āzī*, which according to him was originally a part of the *Muṣannaf*. He further refers to a book annexed to the *Muṣannaf* called *D̲j̲āmiᶜ* which he describes as a work of Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id merely transmitted by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ (*Fahrasa*, Saragossa 1894, 127-30). Al-D̲h̲ahabī (d. 748/1347) mentions a *D̲j̲āmiᶜ al-kabīr* (*Mīzān*, ii, 126), al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362-3) a *Tafsīr* (*Nakt al-himyān*, Cairo 1911, 192), and Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (d. 774/1372-3), finally, alongside the *Muṣannaf* names a *Musnad* (*al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, ix, 265).

ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ's reputation as a traditionist is ambivalent. The reasons for reservations against him were: he sometimes transmitted from memory and then made mistakes (al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt*); at the end of his life he became blind and was then not able to personally verify transmissions from him (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 127; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-tahd̲h̲īb*, Ḥaydarābād 1907-9, vi, 312); and he was allegedly a partisan of the S̲h̲īᶜa (Ibn Ḥanbal, *ᶜIlal*, ii, no. 1545; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-T̲h̲iḳāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1982, viii, 412). Despite these insinuations, leading traditionists such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Buk̲h̲ārī, Muslim, etc., accepted a large part of his transmission as being reliable, and thus ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ became a key figure in the *asānīd* [see ISNĀD] of the most important Sunnī *ḥadīt̲h̲* compilations.

Of ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ's works the following have been preserved: (1) A compilation of traditions from earlier scholars, *Tābiᶜūn*, *Ṣaḥāba* and the Prophet, called *al-Muṣannaf* (ed. in 11 vols. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aᶜẓamī, Dabhel-Beirut 1970-2; [2]1983). It contains a *Kitāb al-Mag̲h̲āzī* and at the end a *Kitāb al-D̲j̲āmiᶜ* which are both to a very large extent works of his teacher Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id as transmitted by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ. (The ms. of a *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh* recorded by F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 99, is a fragment of the *Muṣannaf*.) The edition of the *Muṣannaf* is based on different transmissions of the work which have been put together (see H. Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*, Stuttgart 1991, 53-6). (2.) The *Ṣaḥīfat Hammām b. Munabbih*, a collection of 137 *aḥādīt̲h̲* of the Prophet from Abū Hurayra transmitted by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ through Maᶜmar through Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 101/719-20 of 102/720-1) (ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh 1953, rev. ed. Luton 1979). (3.) A *Tafsīr* (ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, no. 242 *tafsīr*), which is largely a *tafsīr* by his teacher Maᶜmar.

The works of ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ are extremely important for the study of early Islamic jurisprudence, *ḥadīt̲h̲* and exegesis of the Ḳurʾān because they contain older sources or materials which have otherwise been lost. ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ had direct access to authors of the first extensive compilations of traditions arranged according to subject (*muṣannafāt* [see MUṢANNAF]) like those by Maᶜmar b. Rās̲h̲id, Ibn D̲j̲urayd̲j̲, Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī and Sufyān b. ᶜUyayna. His own *Muṣannaf* is to a large extent compiled from materials received from these four scholars, and it is very probable that

these materials came for the most part from their books. In general, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's transmission from these teachers of his seems to be reliable (see Motzki, *op. cit.*, 56 ff.). Access to the oldest compilations of legal traditions which are not limited to prophetic *ḥadīth*—as ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's *Muṣannaf* offers—opens new venues for researching both the origins of Islamic jurisprudence as well as the development of *ḥadīth* in general.

Bibliography: Some information on ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ is to be found in almost all of the biographical sources on scholars of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.H. In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see also Bukhārī, *K. al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1941-2, iii/2, 130; ʿUḳaylī, *K. al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-kabīr*, Beirut 1984, iii, 107-11. The most comprehensive collections of traditions about him are in: Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1981 ff., ix, 563-80; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk li-Ibn ʿAsākir*, Beirut 1984 ff., xv, 97-107; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, Beirut 1992, xviii, 52-62. For the edition of the *Muṣannaf* mentioned in the article, two different indices are available: *Fahāris*, Beirut 1987 in 1 vol.; *Fihris aḥādīth wa-āthār*, Beirut 1988 in 4 vols.

(H. MOTZKI)

AL-ṢANʿĀNĪ, ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN SHAʿBĀN b. Salīm b. ʿUthmān al-Ḥāsikī al-Rūmī, Yemenite poet and physician (1065-1149/1655-1736).

Shaʿbān's father was an Ottoman trooper from the town of Ḥasaka on the river Khābūr [*q.v.*], and his mother was Yemeni by birth. Shaʿbān was held in high esteem by his contemporaries, above all in his capacity as a panegyrist and man of letters but he was also known for his stirring sermons of exhortation. For some time, he lived by trade, but later he devoted himself to medicine and henceforth earned his livelihood out of medical practice (*taṭabbub*). In his fifties, he was struck by hemiplegia (*fālidj*) which increasingly isolated him as he grew older. A poor man, he died in his home town Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] aged 81.

Most of Shaʿbān's œuvre fell into oblivion after his death, including an anthology entitled *Dīwān Badr Shaʿbān*. Except for some fragments of poetry as preserved by his biographers, only two pieces from his pen have come down to us, sc. a dispute about rank between a freeborn woman and a female slave (see *Bibl.*), and an extensive didactic poem on dietetics and hygienics designed for domestic use (see *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: O. Kahl, *al-Mufākhara baina l-ḥurra wal-ama. Ein Beitrag zur jemenitischen Rangstreitliteratur des 17./18. Jahrhunderts*, in *WO*, xvii (1986), 110-49; A. Schopen and O. Kahl, *Die Natāʾiğ al-fikar des Šaʿbān ibn Salīm aṣ-Ṣanʿānī. Eine jemenitische Gesundheitsfibel aus dem frühen 18. Jahrhundert. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Wiesbaden 1993, 3-8 (and the bio-bibliographical sources quoted there).

(O. KAHL)

AL-ṢANAWBARĪ, ABŪ BAKR (or Abu 'l-Ḳāsim or Abu 'l-Faḍl) MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD (or Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) b. al-Ḥusayn b. Marrār al-Ḍabbī (the *nisba* al-Ṣīnī, given by Mez, *Renaissance*, 250, Eng. tr. 261, is a scribal error) al-Ḥalabī al-Anṭākī, poet and librarian at the court of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in Mawṣil and Aleppo.

Born in Antioch before *ca.* 275/888 (if Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Dīwān al-Ṣanawbarī*, Beirut 1970, poem 231, v. 67 is to be taken literally), he died in Aleppo in the year 334/945. Since his chronology is consonant with neither the *Aghānī* nor the *Yatīma*, very little is known about his life. He was a close friend of Kushādjim [*q.v.*], the poet and master-cook to Sayf al-Dawla, and eventually became his son-in-law, exchanging several verse epistles with him, as was the practice of the time (see J.E. Montgomery, *Abū Firās's poetic correspondence with Abū Zuhayr*, in *The Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, St. Andrews, ii [1988], 1-45). The tradition that al-Ṣanawbarī was himself a keen gardener may be aetiological, based on his fame and pre-eminence as a nature poet. As Mez, *loc. cit.*, explains, the *laḳab al-ṣanawbarī* presumably means that either he or his father traded in pine nuts (*ṣanawbar*). Al-Ṣanawbarī, however, according to Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, Damascus 1329, i, 456, claimed that the name had been given to his grandfather by the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], on account of the keenness of his reasoning in disputations (?). His poems in praise of the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] point to his Shīʿī affiliations, but as this is not attested by any later authorities it may simply be that these poems were composed to harmonise with, or on behalf of, the Shīʿī Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*]. Among his *rāwīs* were Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Adīb and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djumayʿ al-Ghassānī.

Al-Ṣanawbarī's *dīwān* was edited (in alphabetical and not generic order) by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]. According to the *Fihrist*, 168, it amounted to 200 folios. The section containing the rhyme-letters *rāʾ* to *ḳāf* is still extant in a ms. in Calcutta (see ʿAbbās, *op. cit.*, 6), although this is not exhaustive as ʿAbbās, *Takmilat Dīwān al-Ṣanawbarī*, poems 83-98, and L. al-Ṣaḳḳāl and D. al-Khaṭīb, *Tatimmat Dīwān al-Ṣanawbarī*, Aleppo 1971, poems 27-37, indicate. The *dīwān* contains the full panoply of poetic types encountered in the collections of other contemporary poets (panegyrics and vituperations [50 pieces], love poems [especially *mudhakkarāt*, poems composed about boys, 80 pieces], veneric and cynegetic pieces, threnodies and consolations [40 pieces], occasional snippets composed to order, etc.) but is justly famous for its 40 nature poems, both epigrams and *ḳaṣīdas* [*q.v.*]: *rabīʿiyyāt* (vernal poems), *zahriyyāt* (floral poems), *rawḍiyyāt* (meadow poems) and even *thaldjiyyāt* (snow poems). Whilst al-Ṣanawbarī is heavily indebted to his poetic forbears, especially Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], he is acknowledged as the creator of the fully independent nature *ḳaṣīda*, doing as much for horticultural poetry as Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] did for viticultural poetry. His achievement is that he not only liberated nature as a theme of the Arabic poetic répertoire, establishing it as a genre in its own right, but that he also enlarged its scope to encompass other genres, such as the *khamriyya* [*q.v.*]. The key-note of this poetry is the striving after wonderment and effect, being very much the product of the *badīʿ* [*q.v.*] style and being heavily dependent upon "phantastic" (*takhyīlī*) imagery, as later defined by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1087 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), imagery which involves the inversion of the conventional leading to an anthropomorphisation of nature. These effects are directed at the auditor/reader's appreciation of the poet's display of "linguistic ingenuity ... a style in which the probable is made improbable, the familiar enigmatic, the ordinary miraculous" (S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989, 156).

In modern scholarship, al-Ṣanawbarī's nature poetry has been studied from the exclusive viewpoint of the imagination, as literary (mannerist) artifice devoid of any connection with reality. This is to overlook the occasional or social nature of much of this poetry; it is not the poetic exercise of the imagination, but was presumably composed for the garden banquet-cum-*madjlis* "when the caliph or a grandee would invite the habitués of his salon to a Sans-souci

in the gardens at the edge of town" (G.E. von Grunebaum, *Aspects of Arabic urban literature*, in *Islamic Studies*, viii [1969], 293). Hence the repeated, witty shifts in register, from the "phantastic" to the ontological, i.e. from the imaginary to the real. His influence on Andalusian poetry was such that Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*] was crowned the Ṣanawbarī of the West.

A commentary on Dhu 'l-Rumma's *Bāʾiyya* was also penned by al-Ṣanawbarī.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For a survey of 20th-century scholarship and an extensive discussion of al-Ṣanawbarī's nature poems, see G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung. Die Zahrīyāt, Rabīʿīyāt und Rauḍīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanaubarī. Eine gattungs-, motiv- und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Beirut 1974, 273-343; and Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 501-2. Other works containing discussions of al-Ṣanawbarī are A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 78-87; M.M. Badawi, *From primary to secondary Qaṣīdas: thoughts on the development of Classical Arabic poetry*, in *JAL*, xi (1980), 29-31; E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, Darmstadt 1988, ii, 145-50; J. Stetkevych, *The zephyrs of Najd: the poetics of nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasīb*, Chicago 1993, 183-7. See also C.E. Bosworth, *Ṣanawbarī's elegy on the pilgrims slain in the Carmathian attack on Mecca (317/930): a literary-historical study*, in *Arabica*, xix (1972), 222-39. (J.E. MONTGOMERY)

SANDĀBIL, a town said to be the capital of the king of China in the account of the Arab traveller and littérateur Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil [*q.v.*] purporting to describe his participation in an embassy of the Chinese king Ḳālīn b. al-Shakhīr returning from the court of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43 [*q.v.*]) at Bukhārā.

Abū Dulaf describes it as an immense city, one day's journey across, with walls 90 cubits high and an idol temple bigger than the sacred mosque at Jerusalem (*First Risāla*, Fr. tr. G. Ferrand, in *Relations de voyages ... relatifs à l'Extrême Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, Paris 1913-14, 219-20, 221; Ger. tr. A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abû Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, Bonn 1939, 17, 27-30, text originally known in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 440, 444-5, cf. 275, and in al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 30 ff.). It is not, however, mentioned in other early Muslim sources on China (the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Gardīzī, Marwazī), and its existence as such is dubious, given also further doubts about the historicity of this Sino-Sāmānid mission (see C.E. Bosworth, *An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad: a contribution to Sāmānid military history*, in Minovi and Afshar (eds.), *Yâdnâme-ye īrânī-ye Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 8-9). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 84-9, cf. von Rohr-Sauer, *op. cit.*, 58-60, sought to identify Sandābil with Kan-chu, in Kan-su province [*q.v.*], which would be geographically feasible. Minorsky pointed out, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 232, that the name of the "large town governed from China" in the anonymous geography, tr. 85, Khāl.b.k, resembles in the Arabic script the S.n.dāb.l of Abū Dulaf, especially in its last three letters, and noted that the place mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*'s chapter on China immediately before Khāl.b.k is Khāmčū = Kan-chu. It seems impossible to take the question any further than this.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṢANDAL (A., P. *čandal* from Skr. *čandana*) is the sandal wood, coming from several unrelated trees which are mainly of Indian and Southeast Asian origin.

Both white and yellow sandalwood were, in fact, only different kinds of *Santalum album L., Santalaceae*. It supplies the bright, white sap-wood and the reddish heartwood. Because of its peculiar scent, probably experienced as very pleasant, it was appreciated from time immemorial and used, among other purposes, for perfumeries, and its ethereal oils against inflammations of the urinary passages. The red sandalwood, on the other hand, is the heartwood of *Pterocarpus santalinus L., Leguminosae*. It is totally scentless and of little value, but was popular for its beauty. It is not known how the name *ṣandal* was transferred from the white-yellow to the red wood. The Arabic authors know the same threefold distinction. Sandalwood was unknown to the Greeks. The most comprehensive account about *ṣandal* is found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihaya*, xii, 39-42, tr. Wiedemann, in *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 252-4, 263. The yellow, fat (*al-dasim*), heavy wood, which looks as if it were painted over with saffron and is therefore also called *al-zaʿfarānī*, is accounted the best sandalwood. It has a strong fragrance and is designated as *al-maḳāṣīrī* (the meaning of this *nisba* is not clear, cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 358-9). Of the white sandalwood, which is also fragrant, there exist various varieties, which incline partly to yellow, brown and red.

The use of various sandalwoods in medicine, above all of their ethereal oils, is described extensively from several sources by Ibn al-Bayṭār (*Djāmiʿ*, iii, 89, 10-31 = Leclerc, no. 1418). When added to electuaries (*maʿdjūnāt*), they are *inter alia* effective against fever and heating of the bile. If inhaled, its powder is effective against pleurisy (*birsām*) and congestion (? *lahīb*). If the electuary is applied together with rosewater as a poultice, it is effective against erysipelas (*ḥumra*), boils of feverish gout (*al-niḳris al-ḥārr*) and infections of the eyelids (*shatar*).

In the Maghrib, as repeatedly stated by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Bayṭār's teacher (see Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, iii, 31, 38, 93, and Dozy, *Suppl.* i, 846a), *ṣandal* indicates thyme (*nammām*) and the wild and cultivated mint (*Thymus serpyllum L., Labiatae*).

Bibliography: Studies of the sources and further literature in A. Dietrich, *Disocurides triumphans. Ein anonymer arabischer Kommentar*, in *Ende 12. Jahrh. zur Materia medica*, i, 41, n. 2, *Abh. A.W. Gött., Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F.*, no. 173, Göttingen 1988; idem, *Die Ergänzung Ibn Ǧulǧul's zur Materia medica des Dioskurides*, no. 38, in *Abh. A.W. Gött., Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F.*, no. 202, Göttingen 1993. (A. DIETRICH)

ṢANDJ, ṢINDJ, pl. *ṣunūdj*, the generic term for any kind of cymbal. Both al-Djawharī and al-Djawālīḳī say that the word is an Arabicised one. Lane thinks that it is derived from the Persian *sandj* or *sindj* and Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. near the opening of the 10th century) avers that the Persians invented it (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 90 = § 3214). However, the instrument was well known to the ancient Semites. We read of the *ṣandj* in early Arabic literature. Al-Ḳuṭāmī refers to the *ṣandj al-djinn* and Ibn Muḥriz [*q.v.*] was called the *ṣannādj al-ʿArab*. The feminine form of the latter, said to express an intensive, is also to be found in the cognomen of al-Aʿshā Maymūn known as the *ṣannādjat al-ʿArab* and in a certain Mustarād *al-ṣannādja*. Yet it is difficult to say whether the actual instrument or mere symbolism is aimed at in these instances. Further confusion is added by the fact that the word *ṣandj* (< Pers. *čang*) was also given by some

Arabic writers to the harp, although the more general name for the latter was *djank* [see MIʿZAF].

The term *ṣandj* or *ṣindj* is generally used for the cymbal in the East, although *zindj* has been more common in the West since the Middle Ages. The instrument is played in pairs and is used to regulate the measure or rhythm in both music and dancing. That it had a definite place as a rhythmic intrument in days of old is stated by Ibn Zaylā (d. 440/1048) in his *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (ed. Z. Yūsuf, Cairo 1964). It is to be found in several shapes and sizes. The finger cymbals used today are generally about 4 or 5 cm in diameter and they are usually attached to the thumb and middle finger. They are depicted by Niebuhr (i, tab. xxvi), Villoteau (pl. cc. 26), Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, ch. xviii), Christianowitsch (no. 36), Lavignac (2794, 2936), and Sachsse (tab. 8, no. 36). Specimens may be found in museums, notably Brussels (no. 293) and New York (no. 383). Other names for the cymbal, according to Villoteau (980), are *zīl* (< Turk. *zill*), *kās* (probably of cup-shape form originally), and *sadjdja* or *sādjdja*, although probably this ought to be written *ṣadjdja*. In Syria we have the term *fuḳaysha*, and in Morocco *nuwayḳsa* (dimin. of *nāḳūs*) in common use, the former being a metathesis of *shuḳayfa* (see below). The term *ṣalāṣil* (sing. *ṣalṣal*) was also applied to all high-sounding clashed metal instruments, of this type. Like *zīl* or *zill*, it is of onomatopoeic origin, the verbal root being *ṣalla* ("to sound"). There are cognates in all the Semitic languages. Saadia (d. 941) equates the Arabic root with the Hebrew *ṣālal*, and we have the Arabic *muṣalṣalāt* standing for the Hebrew *ṣelṣelīm* (cymbals) of Psalm cl. 5, in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* (11th century). Small cymbals attached to a frame were also in use. This instrument was known as the *djaghāna* or *ṣaghāna* (see below). It resembled a pair of metal tongs with two or three arms branching from the open ends, a small cymbal being attached to each arm. Nowadays it is called a *zillī māsha* ("jingling tongs"). We see it depicted in Sāsānid art, and it is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (tr. de Slane, iii, 491) and in the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. There are two Turkish specimens at New York (nos. 353, 1377).

The hand cymbals are to be found in both the plate and bowl shape. This belongs to martial and processional music. Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus*) said that the Arabs used cymbals (κύμβαλα) in war, and this seems to be hinted at in the later Arabic reference to the *ṣannādjat al-djaysh*, although Arabic lexicographers think differently. Al-Djawharī describes a cup-shape instrument called the *ṣaḥn*. It was a small bronze cup (*ṭusayt*) which was struck against another of its kind. This cup or bowl-shape cymbal was favoured in martial music, and it is delineated in several pictures of a military band which are found in the treatise on automata by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Djazarī (*flor.* later 6th/12th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) which have been reproduced (*The legacy of Islam*, 1st ed., fig. 91; Schulz, *Die pers.-islam. Miniaturmalerei*, tab. ii; al-Djazarī, tr. D.R. Hill, *The book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices*, Dordrecht 1974). At this period, however, the cymbal was called the *kās*, *kāsa* or *kaʾs*, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 43, 46,47) mentions it among the martial instruments of the Fāṭimids. In the *Alf layla wa-layla* (i, 66,323; ii, 656; iii, 150, 271, 274, 298), these bowl-shaped *kuʾūs* or *kāsāt* are frequently mentioned in company with *ṭubūl* (drums) in the warlike scenes. In modern times, the hand cymbal is plate-shaped and known as the *ṣandj*, *zīl* and *kās* (Villoteau, *loc. cit.*; Russell, *Aleppo*, i, 151). Villoteau gives the diameter of the Egyptian instrument as 24.4 cm. For a Palestinian example, see Sachsse (66, tab. 8). For numbers used in military bands, see ṬABL-KHĀNA. For quite a century and a half, Turkey has been famed for the manufacture of cymbals and in the earlier part of the 20th century several thousands were exported from Istanbul every year. There are two other mediaeval names for the cymbal which are worth recording, viz. *ṣaffāḳatān* and *musāfiḳ*. The former occurs in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (v, 75), and Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (Berlin ms. 5517, fol. 19b) likens it to the *ṣandj* (cymbal). *Musāfiḳ* and *musāfiḳa* equate with *cymbalum* in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* and the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (12th-13th century).

Clappers. In Arabic, handclapping is called *ṣafḳ*, *safḳ*, *taṣfīḳ*, *tasfīḳ* and *taṣfīḥ*, all of these terms being derived from verbal roots meaning "to clap the hands", and are of the same kin as the Hebrew *ṣāpaḳ* (Ezekiel, xxi. 17). A plate of wood or metal was called a *ṣafīḥa*, and from the same root we get *muṣaffaḥāt*, a word which appears to denote "clappers". Labīd [*q.v.*], the Arabic poet, places *muṣaffaḥāt* in the hands of wailing women (*anwāḥ*). Another word for clappers occurs in the *Vocabulista Aravigo* (1501) where we have *maciquif* (*chapas para tañer*) and *mabiquif* (*tarreñas chapas para tañer*) registered. Doubtless the *b* in the latter is a slip for *c*. Dozy was of the opinion that both these words were metatheses of *musāfiḳ*, but it is more likely that the word intended is *mashāḳif* (sing. *mishḳifa*), the Aramaic root corresponding to this being *sheḳaf* ("to clap the hands"). See also *shaḳf* and *shuḳūf* (*testa*) in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* and the *Vocabulista in Arabico*. In modern times the *shuḳayfāt* were small small cymbals (or *castanets*) used by dancers. For a design of these clappers, see the *Kitāb al-Burhān* in the Bodleian Library (Or. 133, fol. 11b). In Persia and Turkey they are known as the *čārpāra* (lit. "four pieces") or *čālpāra*. See Farmer, *Turkish musical instruments*, in *JRAS* (1936). Castanets are mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Quatremère, ii, 354, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 397) and Villoteau (981) says that they were called *aḳligh* in Egypt. Outside of Spain, where they may have been known as the *kāsatān* (hence perhaps *castanet*), they have not been favoured.

The Percussion slab known as the *nāḳūs* is dealt with separately; see NĀḲŪS.

Percussion staff. This was the *ḳaḍīb*, an instrument found in the hands of several of the early musicians of Islam. Its identity has long been a puzzle to both musicographers and orientalists. It was a staff which was used for rhythmic purposes either by striking it upon the ground or upon something else. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 972/1565, fol. 19b) has a section entitled "Concerning beating (*ḍarb*) with the *ḳaḍīb* upon cushions (*wasāʾid*)". It recalls an incident in the "Story of the Mock Caliph" in the *Alf layla wa-laylā* where a cushion (*mudawwara*) is struck as a signal for servants to appear. Burton will not allow that a cushion is meant, and substitutes "a circular plate of wood or metal, a gong". We get a slight idea of the sound of the *ḳaḍīb* from the fact that Muḥammad is said to have been averse to the tick-tack (*ṭaḳṭaḳa*) of the *ḳaḍīb*, and the same is said of the imām al-Shāfiʿī (al-Shalāḥī, fol. 79). It is given a place in music by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (i, 91) and Ibn Zaylā, although later it fell into desuetude and was only to be found in the hands of the amateur and the folk. Indeed, the word *muḳtaḍab* came to mean "untrained" or "extemporised".

Bells. Ordinarily, the cup, bowl, or cone shape bell is known in Arabic as the *djaras*, whilst the sphere-shape bell is called the *djuldjul*. On the other hand, *djaras* also stands for a large bell (*campana*) and *djuldjul*

for a small bell (*tintinnabulum*), the probable reason being that the first-mentioned form was generally found in the large instrument whilst the second-mentioned form was generally found in the small instrument. Bells were used on the necks of animals in pre-Islamic days, and there is a tradition that Muḥammad was averse to the sound of the caravan bells so that the fiction arose that "angels will not associate with a company where there is a *d̲j̲aras*" (e.g. Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 103). A collection of these bells, either on a board or on a chain or rope, is known as a *ṭabla*. The term was probably borrowed from the Hebrew *ṭablā*, which, in turn, had its origin in the Greek τάβλα, because these bells were generally attached to a tablet of wood. There is a specimen of a *ṭabla* at New York (no. 2659), the largest bell being 10 × 5.8 cm. Bells were also used to increase the din of battle so as to affright the enemy, as we are told by Ibn Zaylā, and in the story of G̲h̲arīb and his brother ʿAd̲j̲īb in the *Alf layla wa-layla* (iii, 294) we read of the camels and mules in battle being furnished with large bells (*ad̲j̲rās*), small bells (*d̲j̲alād̲j̲il*), as well as jingles (*ḳalākil*). According to Cervantes, the Moors of Spain did not tolerate their use as martial instruments.

The small bell (*d̲j̲uld̲j̲ul*), sometimes called a pellet bell, was spherical. Like *ṣalṣal*, *dabdab*, etc., the word is of onomatopoeic origin. Al-K̲h̲alīl (d. probably in 175/791) likened the sound of the small cymbals (*ṣunūd̲j̲*) hanging in the rim of the tambourine (*duff*) to that of the small bells (*d̲j̲alād̲j̲il*; see K̲h̲ʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 236). Indeed, these small bells were sometimes attached to tambourines [see DUFF]. Al-Muzarrid (6th century A.D.) speaks of small (tambourine) bells (*d̲j̲alād̲j̲il*) replying to the wind instruments (*mazāmīr*; see the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, i, 165). These *d̲j̲alād̲j̲il* were also attached to the necks of smaller animals in the form of a *ṭabla*, and in Mamlūk times they were fastened to the hats of criminals (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/2, 106). They also formed part of the impedimenta of itinerant minstrels, who likewise wore them on their hats (J.S. Buckingham, *Travels*, i, 100), as did the fools in Talmudic Jewry (Jastrow, *Dict. Targ.*, 518). In Persia, the large bell is called a *zang* or *darā* and the small bell a *zangula* or *zangulīča*. In Turkey they are the *čang* and *čingraḳ* respectively.

An elaborate type of chimes was known to the Arabs, who borrowed the idea from the Greeks. It is described in a treatise by one Mūristus [*q.v.*], who, in turn, was indebted to an Egyptian named Sāʿāṭus or Sāṭus, whose writings were known in Arabic as early as the 4th/10th century at least (*Fihrist*, 270). This instrument was called the *d̲j̲uld̲j̲ul al-ṣayyāḥ* (clamorous bell) or the *d̲j̲uld̲j̲ul al-ṣiyāḥ* (octavo bell). See *Mach.*, ix, 26.

Another jingling instrument was the *d̲j̲ag̲h̲āna* or *ṣag̲h̲āna* (< Pers. *čag̲h̲āna*). It took several forms. One was a sceptre of wood surmounted by hoops of wire from which were suspended about a hundred small bells. For a design, see Niebuhr (tab. xxviii). Another kind was surmounted by a metal cone pavilion, hence the European name of *Chapeau Chinois* which was given to it. From this, and from three or four horizontal arms, small bells and cymbals were hung. It was borrowed by European military bands in the 18th century from the Turks, and in Britain was known as the "Jingling Johnnie". See Farmer, *Rise and development of military music*, fig. 9. For the Turkish instrument, see Wittman, *Travels in Turkey* (1803). Oriental Christians use a different type known as the *mirwaḥa* (lit. "fan"). It is described and delineated by Bonanni (127, pl. lxxxix), La Borde (i, 282), and Villoteau (1008-10). A fourth type is the *dabbūs* used by the *darwīs̲h̲* fraternities. It is a wooden sceptre, to the head of which is attached a number of chains (*ṣalāṣil*) with jingling pieces of metal fixed loosely in the links. There is a specimen 69 cm long at New York.

Rattle. This is generally known as the *s̲h̲ak̲h̲s̲h̲īk̲h̲a*. In Persia and Turkey, there is the *ḳās̲h̲iḳ*, which is two wooden spoons attached to each other, in the hollow of which are a number of small bells. It is more generally struck with a stick. See Advielle (15) and Lavignac (3076).

Harmonica and glockenspiel. The Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ (i, 90) deal with vessels (*awānī*), pots (*tard̲j̲ahārāt*), and jars (*d̲j̲irār*) as idiophones. In Arabic, the general name for the harmonica was *ṭusūt* and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn speaks (*loc. cit.*) of these *ṭusūt* being played with sticks (*ḳuḍbān*). The Persian Ibn G̲h̲aybī describes *sāz-i kāsāt* (lit. musical bowls), which were made of earthenware and the notes of which were determined by the amount of water with which each bowl was filled (*D̲j̲āmiʿ al-alḥān*, Bodleian Library, ms. Marsh 282, fols. 78, 81b). An Arabic author of the 9th/15th century refers to the harmonica as the *kīzān* (cups) and *k̲h̲awābiʾ* (jars) and mentions the water content (B.L., Or. 2361, fol. 173). Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-Haytamī describes (fol. 19b) the beating with reeds (*aḳlām*) upon earthenware (*ṣīnī*). The glockenspiel is mentioned only by Ibn G̲h̲aybī (fol. 81b), and he registers the instrument under *sāz-i alwāḥ-i fūlād* ("instrument of slabs of steel"). It comprised 35 slabs, each giving a particular note.

Bibliography: See that to ṬABL, and add Sachsse, in *ZDPV* (1927); La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 1870.

(H.G. FARMER)

SAND̲J̲A, the name of a small, right-bank affluent (Grk. Singas, Modern Tkish. Keysun Çayı, a tributary of the Gök Su) of the upper Euphrates and of a small town on it, both coming in mediaeval Islamic times within the northern part of Diyār Muḍar [*q.v.*]. The Sand̲j̲a river runs into the Euphrates between Sumaysāṭ and Ḳalʿat al-Rūm [*q.vv.*]. It was famed for its bridge, said by the Arabic geographers to have been composed of a single arch of 200 paces' length constructed from dressed stone, and to have been one of the wonders of the world (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 264-5). It was here and at nearby Baddāyā that the Artuḳid Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Il G̲h̲āzī crossed in 513/1119 on his campaign at Tell Bas̲h̲īr against the Franks from the County of Antioch (see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 283 ff., and MARD̲J̲ DĀBIḲ).

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 531; idem, *Lands*, 123-4; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 127, 295-6; J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie*, Wiesbaden 1977, 136.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SAND̲J̲AḲ (T.), a Turkish term with various significations. (1) flag, standard, banner (Arabic *liwāʾ*), especially of a large size (more important than the *bayraḳ*, Ar. *rāya* or *ʿalam*) and suitable for fixing in the ground or hoisting permanently on a monument or a ship; (2) (nautical term) ensign; pennant (*ikind̲j̲i sand̲j̲aḳ*), starboard; (3) formerly a military fief or *k̲h̲āṣṣ* [*q.v.*] of a certain extent in the Ottoman empire; (4) a Turkish administrative and territorial division; (5) (in the expression *sand̲j̲aḳ tikeni* or *dikeni*, from the Turkish translation of *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, 88, 25) a synonym of *sind̲j̲an tikeni* (on this plant, see Barbier de Meynard, ii, 101, who gives it as a Persian word).

As al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī pointed out in the 9th/15th century (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, v, 458), *sand̲j̲-aḳ* comes from the verb *sand̲j̲-maḳ* (not *sand̲j̲ī-maḳ*, as in the author already quoted) which means "to sting, prick, plant, stick a

weapon or pointed object in the body of an enemy or in the ground (cf. Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*). The form *sančaḳ* found in Čaghatāy (Boudagov) and even in an old Serbian loanword (Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost-europäischen Sprachen*, Vienna 1884, ii, 50) corresponds to the verb *sanč-* of the Orkhon inscriptions (see Thomsen, 42; Radloff, 132). Cf. also F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 78, 30 and 86, 48. In Kirghiz the form used is *shansh-* (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv, 949), and in Uriankhay *shanïsh-* and *čanïsh-* (Katanov, *Opït izledovaniya*, 429, 779, with the meaning "to prick, stab, erect, fix"). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (5th/11th century), *Dīwān Lughāt al-Türk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, ii, 171, 180, 182, iii, 310, also gives (iii, 108) *sandjghan* equivalent to *sandjan* (*sindjan*) already quoted, which is a Turkish participle used as the name of a prickly plant.

The word *sandjaḳ* belongs to a family of derivatives which all contain the idea of "point" and mean (the word itself sometimes): harpoon, fork, piercing pain, colic. Such are *sančïgh, sandjïkh, sandjïḳ, čančḳï* (Tobolsk), *shanïshḳï* (Kirghiz), *sandjïghï, sandjï* (whence *sandjï-maḳ* in ʿOthmānlï). We may add on the authority of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and the Turkish-Arabic glossary published by Houtsma, Leiden 1894, 80, and 29 of the Arabic text, the proper name *Sandjar* [*q.v.*], glossed *yaṭʿan*, in preference to the usually accepted etymology from Sindjar, the name of his place of birth (see *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, i, 1872, and index under *Sindjar*).

Sandjaḳ has passed into a certain number of other languages; more recently into the Balkan languages (cf. the work by Miklosich quoted above and Saineanu, *Influenta orientala*), and earlier into Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, and W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, 270, 90, 92), and into Persian where, according to the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, it means or meant a "flag, a large metal pin intended to keep on the head a kind of hood worn by women"; "a kind of girdle". In Modern Persian *sandjāḳ* (*sic*) simply means "pin" (in opposition to "needle") (cf. Nicolas, *Dictionnnaire français-persan*, under the word "pin"). Freytag took *sandjaḳ* for a Persian word, and the Turks still keep the orthography which it has in Persian (*s-n-dj-ā-ḳ*), while they write the verb *ṣandj-* with a *ṣād*. We may note that in Persian *dirafsh* "flag" also means "point" (see Vullers), whence the Ottoman Turkish word *direwüsh* (see Hind-oghlu s.v. "pointe" and "poinçon"). The *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* gives a variant of *sandjāḳ* in the form *sandjūḳ*. If it is not a corruption due to the Persian, we have here another example of a Turkish word preserved through its use in Persian. The word *sandj-ūḳ* is very well explained with the help of the Turkish suffix *-uḳ* (*-iḳ*) which makes a passive participle from transitive verbs. *Sandjūḳ* then would mean "sharpened, fixed". The suffix *-aḳ*, with its tendency to designate place-names (which very well fits a flag "fixed" or "able to be fixed") seems to have been more in use very early.

The etymological details which are given above without excluding the explanation of *sandjaḳ* by "lance with a pennon" (it is that of al-Ḳalḳashandī, who uses the word *rumḥ*) make very probable the explanation as "flag with a staff sharpened at the foot". Independently of this peculiarity it is difficult to say what was the exact form of the primitive Turkish *sandjaḳ*; did they have a horse's tail (or the tail of a yak, of which von Hammer speaks in his definition, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, xvii, 257) or were they always flags? Were they like the *čalïsh* or *shalïsh* mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (for the references see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the word *djālīsh*; it has become *ḥālīsh* by an error in Djewdet Pasha and Aḥmed Rāsim, quoted below in the *Bibliography*)? The meaning of these terms may be more indefinite than we think, and varied a great deal with time and place. The word *tugh* [*q.v.*], which could be taken in the meaning "horse's tail", meant, according to al-Kāshgharī, not only a "flag of silk or orange brocade" but also "drum", another symbol of sovereignty (i, 169, iii, 92). Ibn Khaldūn confuses the flag with the "parasol" of the prince or *djitr*, better *čatr* (Persian) pronounced *čatïr* (al-Kāshgharī, i, 340), then *čadïr* "tent", by the Turks who have preferred these words to their old *čovač* "silk parasol of the Turkish Khaghans" (*ibid.*, ii, 149, 17, iii, 45, 15; cf. the ʿOthmānlï *čoghash* "a place in the sun", and a passage in Rabghuzi in Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv, 59, under *djavač*!).

Whatever its primitive form, the *sandjaḳ* appears among the Saldjūḳs as an insignum of royalty. In the Turkish text of Ibn Bībī (ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil*, iii) the word *sandjaḳ* is always found in connection with the title *Sulṭān* (*Sulṭānïn sandjaghï*). This standard is mentioned (135-6, 144, 169, 170, 289, 357) à propos of different sieges of strong places, on the walls of which it was placed after capitulation. Sometimes (135-6) it is the besieged themselves who, ready to surrender and no doubt seeing in this banner a guarantee of protection against pillaging, asked for a *sandjaḳ* to be sent. It is not, however, necessary that the sultan himself should be present and the historian (357) shows us the *beylerbeyi* setting out on an expedition with the standard of the sovereign.

For a long time the neighbouring princes and vassals of the Saldjūḳs respected their privilege, but the Atabeg of Mawṣil, Sayf al-Dīn al-Ghāzī, son of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (d. November 1149), was the first of the *aṣḥāb al-aṭrāf* to have a *sandjaḳ* carried unfurled over his head (Ibn al-Athīr, *Hist. des Atabeks de Mossoul*, in *RHC*, *Hist. or.*, ii/2, 167).

The Ayyūbids followed the example of their predecessors. In 594/1198 the sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, conferred on his nephew al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿIsā, when he became prince of Damascus, "the *sandjaḳ* and the *liwāʾ* to display throughout the world" (*Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, in *RHC*, v, 117). In 648/1250 Aybak the Turkoman, married to an Ayyūbid princess and proclaimed sultan of Egypt, took part in a procession in which the royal banners were unfurled for him (*al-sanādjiḳ al-sulṭāniyya*; cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv, 516 of the Arabic text and 515 of the Latin tr.). Among the Mamlūks, a distinction was made between the *sandjaḳdār* "royal standard-bearer" and the ordinary *ʿalamdār* (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. xcvii); afterwards, in Turkish Algeria this distinction disappeared; see J. Deny, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923-5, ii, 35.

According to one later Ottoman tradition, not to be taken literally but nevertheless attesting to the significance of the *sandjaḳ*/banner as a political symbol, at the end of the Saldjūḳ empire in Asia Minor the *sandjaḳ* became one of the insignia of investiture of new sovereigns, notably of the first ʿOthmānlï sultan. In 679/1280, after the capture of Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār by ʿOthmān, Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II to celebrate this conquest sent him by the hands of Aḳ Timur, ʿOthmān's nephew, a *sandjaḳ* "with its accessories" (*sandjaḳ yaraghï*), as ʿĀshïḳ Pasha-zāde tells us (ed. Constantinople 1332, 8-9); Neshrī prefers another version (see Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xiii [1859], 207-9). ʿAshïḳ Pasha-zāde mentions in this connection that ʿOthmān thus became *sandjaḳ beyi*, and we know that it was from this time that the *khuṭba* was read in his name (for the first

time at Ḳarad̲j̲a Ḥiṣār by Dursun Faḳīh). According to the same authority, the *sand̲j̲aḳ*s were made of cloth produced in Philadelphia or Ala S̲h̲ehir (56).

When they became independent in their turn, the Ottoman rulers appointed *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi*s in larger and larger numbers and the *sand̲j̲aḳ*, somewhat diminished in splendour, became identified with the territory over which it waved, not as a symbol of independence but of political authority deputised by the ruler; it appears henceforth as the term for a political/administrative division. The original patrimony around Bursa remained the Ottoman *bey*'s [*q.v.*] domain; areas added by conquest, such as Ḳarasī [*q.v.*] and Izmid [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Anatolia or on the frontier zone in Thrace were entrusted, as newly created *sand̲j̲aḳ*s, to other members of the House of ʿOt̲h̲mān or to the commanders leading the conquest. In time, each of the smaller Anatolian principalities incorporated into the Ottoman state, and the successive frontier conquests in the Balkans, constituted a separate *sand̲j̲aḳ* as a territory of command. At a rough estimate, a *sand̲j̲aḳ* encompassed an area of several thousand km^2 and a population of perhaps 100,000 on average. Usually reflecting pre-Ottoman administrative divisions and geographical realities, *sand̲j̲aḳ* size and boundaries remained fairly stable through the centuries; provinces in modern Turkey, especially in western and northern Anatolia, are very similar to 15th-century *sand̲j̲aḳ* divisions.

At least until the mid-16th century, *sand̲j̲aḳ* maintained two distinct but eventually merging senses, military command and a provincial district: in the sense of command of a body of troops there were, in addition to the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* of a district, *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi*s of Anatolian auxiliary troops, *müsellem* (cavalry) and *yaya* (infantry). Even the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi*s proper, i.e. of a district, were sometimes referred to as *atlu sand̲j̲aḳ beyi*, i.e. cavalry commander, in their primary role as the commander of all the *dirlik*-holders, i.e. those officers and cavalrymen whose living was maintained by revenue-grants in a particular district. The *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* was required to maintain his own military retinue supported by the official *k̲h̲āṣṣ* [*q.v.*] revenues allocated to him, the number of his retinue being commensurate with the size of his *k̲h̲āṣṣ*. In time of mobilisation, the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* led his own household and the troops of his district to join the campaign, sometimes entrusted with discreet military operations such as reconnaissance and advance or rear guard, otherwise marching into battle under the command of the *beylerbeyi* [*q.v.*] of the province. The maritime *sand̲j̲aḳ*s, most of them included in the *ḳapudan pas̲h̲a*'s [*q.v.*] province of *D̲j̲azāʾir-i Bahr-i Sefīd* (*q.v.*; literally, Aegean Islands, but also including mainland Anatolian and Grecian districts) supplied ships for naval campaigns instead of (but sometimes as well as) cavalry troops.

Eventually, the sense of district for *sand̲j̲aḳ* (also *liwāʾ*, especially in documents) and district-governor for *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* (also *mīr liwāʾ*) came to predominate. *Sand̲j̲aḳ* can be considered the main administrative division in the Ottoman empire in various senses. For one thing, in lesser *dirlik*s the area supplying the *dirlik*-holder's income was co-extensive with the limits of his authority. For higher level officers, the *dirlik*, *k̲h̲āṣṣ*, was normally wholly included within the territory, but the territory governed was much larger than the *k̲h̲āṣṣ*. A *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* usually derived his *k̲h̲āṣṣ* income from the main towns of his district, the percentage of urban vs. rural taxes constituting his *k̲h̲āṣṣ* varying according to the level of town development and commercial taxes in each district; the rest of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* might support a dozen or so officers' *dirlik*s (*zeʿāmet*) and a few hundred *timar*s for cavalrymen (*sipāhī* [see SIPĀHĪ. 1]). In other words, it is at the *sand̲j̲aḳ* level that the administrative unit was much larger than an officer's revenue source. The governor-general (*beylerbeyi*) was also the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* of the chief district of his province. The primary administrative role of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* is underscored by the fact that provincial area regulations (*ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*]) as well as land and population surveys (*taḥrīr*) were drawn up for each *sand̲j̲aḳ*.

In 1527, after the great conquests of Selīm I but before Hungary and eastern Anatolia were fully integrated in the realm, there were 97 *sand̲j̲aḳ*s in seven provinces, as well as 17 Kurdish *sand̲j̲aḳ*s of special status (Topkapı Palace Archives, D. 5246). Later in the 16th century some larger districts e.g. Bosna [*q.v.*], were reconstituted as provinces; there was also expansion both in the north-west and in the east; the result is that the number of provinces and districts increased to about 35 and more than 300 respectively. Especially in frontier regions, the tendency was to create smaller provinces with just a few districts; the aim seems to have been to concentrate a larger number of higher-ranking officials in sensitive areas.

Identified very closely with the command of his district's troops, the position of the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* eroded as the military value of provincial cavalry declined in the 17th century. There was a relative centralisation of provincial authority at the province level in the hands of the governor-general, who very often came to depend on local notables for routine administration rather than through *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi*s. This process is already discerned at the end of the 16th century by the restyling of provinces as *eyalet*s rather than *beylerbeyilik*. Nevertheless, both the *dirlik*-holding provincial cavalry and the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* survived a long time after, though in reduced circumstances. When the *dirlik*s were finally abolished in 1837 the *sand̲j̲aḳ* became simply an administrative subdivision. The *mutaṣarrif*, the governor of a *sand̲j̲aḳ* (or *liwāʾ* or now also *mutaṣarrifliḳ*) was henceforth a civil official, distinct from the *mīr liwāʾ* who now became the modern general of the brigade. The division into *sand̲j̲aḳ*s was maintained by the 1864 and 1871 laws of the *wilāyet*s (the former *eyālet*s). The term was finally abolished in provincial administration by the Ankara Grand National Assembly in the 1921 Constitution.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see J. Deny's *EI*[1] art., to which should be added Pakalın, s.v. *Sancak*; for a summary of Ottoman provincial administration, see H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age, 1300-1600*, London 1973, ch. 13; M. Kunt, *Sancaktan eyalete*, Istanbul 1978, and idem, *The Sultan's servants. Transformation of Ottoman provincial government, 1550-1650*, New York 1983, include discussion of lists of provinces and districts; Anatolian historical geography is treated in T. Baykara, *Anadolu'nun tarihî coğrafyasına giriş: Anadolu'nun idarî taksimatı*, Ankara 1988; for the empire as a whole see A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, and D.E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972; for provincial regulations see *sand̲j̲aḳ ḳānūn-nāmes* in Barkan, *Kanunlar*; since M.T. Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, and İnalcık, *Suret-i defter-i sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, numerous studies of individual Anatolian and European *sand̲j̲aḳ*s have appeared.

(J. DENY-[M. KUNT])

SAND̲J̲AḲ BEYI [see SAND̲J̲AḲ].

SAND̲J̲AḲ-I S̲H̲ERĪF, LIWĀʾ-I S̲H̲ERĪF or ʿALEM-I NEBEWĪ, in Ottoman Turkish usage the sacred standard of the Prophet Muḥammad which is

kept in the palace of Topkapi̊ at Istanbul (see TOPKAPI̊ SARAYI̊) together with the other holy relics of Islam (*Emānāt-i Mübāreke* or *Mukaddese*) such as the Holy Mantle (the *Burda*) [see KHIRKA-YI̊ SHERĪF], Holy Footstep and Beard of the Prophet (see KADAM SHARĪF and LIḤYA-YI SHARĪF].

According to a tradition recorded by Mouradgea D'Ohsson (*Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788-1824, ii, 378) and the Ottoman historian Fi̊ndi̊kli̊li̊ Meḥmed Agha (*Silāḥdar Tar'īkhi*, ed. Aḥmed Refīk [Altınay], Istanbul 1928, i, 14) this is the black banner known as *ʿUkāb* used among other standards in the battles against Kuraysh. It was used as a door curtain by ʿĀʾisha as well. ʿAlī carried it at the conquest of Mecca and handed it to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] during the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657). During the reigns of the first four caliphs, this battle standard was always planted in front of the troops. It was handed down from the Umayyads to the ʿAbbāsids and was handed to the Ottoman sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*] by Khāʾir Beg [*q.v.*] after the conquest of Cairo in 922/1517. Another tradition has it that it was presented to the Ottoman sultan by Abū Numayy, son (and successor) of the *Sharīf* of Mecca Abu 'l-Barakāt, at the same time, as a symbolic expression of his submission. In this case, the colour is given as green and its size as 0.13 x 113 cm. However, according to the historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (948-1008/1541-1600) [see ʿĀLĪ], Sultan Selīm did not carry the sacred standard with him to Istanbul at the time. It appears to have been deposited in the provincial treasury of Damascus. A standard of the Prophet reportedly usually accompanied the yearly Ḥadjdj caravan from there. Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] mentions having seen the sacred standard next to the *Maḥmal* [*q.v.*] at the occasion of the departure of such a caravan in Damascus in 1672 (see S. Faroqhi, *Herrscher über Mekka: die Geschichte der Pilgerfahrt*, Munich-Zürich 1990, 52). The Ottoman historian Selānikī [*q.v.*], confirmed by ʿĀlī, narrates that in 1001/1593 at the outbreak of the so-called "Long War" against the Habsburg Emperor, it was decided to have the sacred standard from Damascus brought to the army in the field in order to raise the morale of the troops. The following years, each campaigning season, the standard travelled up and down under an escort of the Damascus Janissary contingent. In 1003/1595 it was decided to deposit the sacred standard definitively in the palace of Topkapi̊ so that it could be kept together with the other relics of the Prophet. On 23 Shawwāl 1004/20 June 1596, Sultan Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*] took the standard with him leading the army in person. At that occasion it was escorted by 300 *sayyids* led by the so-called *sandjak-i sherīf sheykhi*. During the battle it was planted in front of the tent of the sultan, with *ḥāfiẓs* reciting sūra XLVIII (*al-Fatḥ*). The sacred standard probably stood before the Sultan's person during the Battle of Mezö-Keresztes/Hač Owasi̊ [*q.v.*], 23-6 October 1596, although this is only mentioned by Selānikī and not by a number of eye-witness accounts which do mention the sultan as putting on the Holy Mantle and handling the sword of the caliph ʿAlī, Dhu'l-Fakār [*q.v.*].

From this time onwards, the sultans, when not joining their armies in the field, appointed the Grand Vizier *serdār-i ekrem*, commander-in-chief (see BAB-I̊ SERʿASKERĪ). Upon leaving the capital, the Grand Vizier went in a ceremonial procession to the imperial tent erected in camp at Dāwūd Pasha (in the case of war in Europe) or Ḥaydar Pasha (in the case of war in Asia), there to receive the insignia of office from the hands of the sultan: a sable fur caftan, a *Selīmī* turban with one or more aigrettes (*sorguč*), a gilt sword and the sacred standard. The sultan wished his vizier success and the latter left, carrying the sacred standard on his shoulder. Upon the return of the army, a like ceremonial took place.

When the *Kapudān Pasha* put out to sea, he offered a ceremonial salute to the *Sandjak-i Sherīf*, exhibited for the occasion in the arsenal (*Tersāne-yi ʿĀmire* [see TERSĀNE]) in the presence of the Grand Vizier. The sacred standard was also brought forward in times of rebellion. An exceptional occasion was Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayrakdār's [*q.v.*] planting it in front of his troops entering the capital to depose Sultan Muṣṭafā IV [*q.v.*] on 4 Djumādā II 1223/28 July 1808 (General State Archives The Hague (ARA), Van Dedem Papers 2.21.049-61).

Six Grand Viziers were killed in action while the sacred standard was with them, including Khādim Sinān Pasha on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/1517 while defending the person of the sultan against rebel soldiery, and Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha on 16 Shaʿbān 1128/1715 with the sacred standard in his hands in the Battle of Grosswardein/Nagyvarad, leading the counter attack against the imperial army. Count Marsigli, describing the various banners and standards in use with the Ottoman army, mentions the standard of the Prophet. He never saw it deployed either in camp or on the march. He concludes from the event that the Ottomans were always successful in saving the sacred standard from falling into the hands of the enemy in their many defeats during the war in Hungary (1683-99) because it was always heavily escorted. After the disastrous battle of Salankamen (24 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 1102/19 August 1691), the escort was richly rewarded for bringing it safely back home. According to the story, a miracle happened which made the banner invisible when passing through the enemy cavalry. (L.F. Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno*, The Hague 1732, repr. Graz 1972, ii, 51-2).

By the end of the 11th/17th century, the sacred standard was badly worn. The original black banner was replaced by three green silk banners, to each of which were attached pieces of the *Sandjak-i Sherīf*, thus transferring its blessed powers to the new standards. One of these was handed to the outgoing commanders-in-chief, one the sultan kept with his own person when travelling outside the capital and one was permanently kept in the treasury of the Topkapi̊ Palace (in the *Khirka-yi Sherīf Dāʾiresi*). The lasting respect in which the sacred standard was held by the Ottomans is exemplified by the traditional view that all men between seven and seventy years of age were obliged to join the *djihād* [*q.v.*] when the standard was brought forward. The place in front of the throne room in the Topkapi̊ Palace where it used to be planted was held to be sacrosanct and not to be trodden by anyone's feet. Till 1908, two soldiers with fixed bayonets stood on guard there.

The handling of the sacred standard was regulated. Texts of such regulations (*kānūn-nāme*) of different periods are extant. When Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] ordered the destruction of the Janissaries (see YEÑI ČERI) on 9 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 1241/15 June 1826, the loyal "people of Muḥammad" were called to gather around the sacred standard, which stood planted upon the *minbar* of the mosque of Sultan Aḥmed I. The last time the *Sandjak-i Sherīf* was deployed was on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1332/14 November 1914 at the proclamation of the so-called "Holy War" (*Djihād-i Ekber*) against the Entente Powers.

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SAND̲J̲AR b. Malik S̲h̲āh, ʿAḍud al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥārit̲h̲ Aḥmad, Sald̲j̲ūḳ *malik* in K̲h̲urāsān 490-511/1097-1118 and then supreme sultan of the Great Saldjuḳs, ruling K̲h̲urāsān and northern Persia till his death in 552/1157; he accordingly ruled for some 60 years. The name Sand̲j̲ar, which occurs for other members of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family and elsewhere in the Turkish world, seems to mean in Turkish "he who pierces, thrusts", cf. M.Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, text 29, glossary 78, 80, and the detailed discussion by P. Pelliot, in *Oeuvres posthumes*, ii, Paris 1949, 176-80; a contemporary European rendering is given by Otto of Freising in his chronicle, *sub anno* 1145: *Saniardos/Samiardos fratres*.

He was born in either Rad̲j̲ab 477/November 1084 or Rad̲j̲ab 479/November 1086, his mother being one of Malik S̲h̲āh's concubines. Whilst still a boy, he was in 490/1097 appointed by his half-brother Berk-yaruḳ [*q.v.*] as governor of K̲h̲urāsān after the unsuccessful revolt there and death of Arslan Arg̲h̲un b. Alp Arslan. During the internecine struggles over the supreme sultanate between Berk-yaruḳ and Muḥammad b. Malik S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], Sand̲j̲ar generally took the side of his full brother Muḥammad, but from the constitutional aspect regarded himself as governor only of the eastern provinces and as subordinate to the supreme sultan in the western lands, calling himself on his coins of this time merely a *malik* and acknowledging Berk-yaruḳ and then Muḥammad as *al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam*.

However, when Muḥammad died in 511/1118, Sand̲j̲ar refused to consider himself subordinate to his nephew in the west, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], and as the senior member of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family, both his *de facto* power and his position under Turkish tribal custom gave him a claim to the supreme sultanate even though this had previously been held, for eighty years, by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ who controlled western Persia and ʿIrāḳ. The squabbling sons of Muḥammad b. Malik S̲h̲āh were too divided and militarily weak to dispute Sand̲j̲ar's position, and they had generally to place Sand̲j̲ar's name plus his title of *al-sulṭān al-muʿaẓẓam* on their coins before their own names and titles. The only serious opposition at the outset to Sand̲j̲ar's claims here came from Maḥmūd, but in 513/1119 Sand̲j̲ar marched westwards with a powerful army, whose commanders included, besides the sultan himself, four vassal kings, defeated Maḥmūd at Sāwa [*q.v.*] in northern D̲j̲ibāl and marched onwards to Baghdad. When peace was made, Maḥmūd agreed to Sand̲j̲ar's supremacy and was made the latter's heir (in the event, he died long before Sand̲j̲ar did), but had to relinquish to Sand̲j̲ar the Caspian provinces of Māzandarān and Ḳūmis and the town of Rayy, the key point for control of northern Persia, and to agree to the re-appointment of Sand̲j̲ar's *s̲h̲iḥna* or military governor in Bag̲h̲dād. It was during these year also that Sand̲j̲ar was again concerned with the Ismāʿīlīs of northern Persia and K̲h̲urāsān; in 497/1104, when he was *malik*, he had sent an expedition against these sectarians in Ṭabas, and now in 520/1126 his vizier Muʿīn al-Dīn Muk̲h̲taṣṣ al-Mulk campaigned in Ḳuhistān (an action which doubtless contributed to his death by assassination in the following year). In the 1140s, however, Sand̲j̲ar and the Ismāʿīlī leaders who had succeeded to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] came to some sort of *modus vivendi*.

On Maḥmūd's death in 525/1131, his brothers Masʿūd, Ṭog̲h̲rïl (II) and Sald̲j̲ūḳ S̲h̲āh successfully disputed the succession of Maḥmūd's young son Dāwūd, but were unable to agree amongst themselves as to who should be sultan. They laid the question before Sand̲j̲ar, as senior member of the dynasty. Sand̲j̲ar's favoured candidate was Ṭog̲h̲rïl, but his preoccupation with events in Transoxania at this time (see below) prevented him from providing Ṭog̲h̲rïl with much military support, and the latter died anyway in 529/1134, allowing Masʿūd to succeed in the west and to reign there for twenty years. Sand̲j̲ar's last major intervention in the affairs of the family in the west had been his defeat of Masʿūd at Dīnawar in 526/1132, but thereafter, affairs in K̲h̲urāsān and Transoxania increasingly claimed his attention.

Sand̲j̲ar continued to exercise the overlordship over the Ḳarak̲h̲ānids of Transoxania [see ilek-k̲h̲āns] first imposed by his father Malik S̲h̲āh, but had on various occasions to lead expeditions acrosse the Oxus against recalcitrant K̲h̲āns. In 495/1102 he had stemmed at Tirmid̲h̲ the invasion of one Ḳarak̲h̲ānid claimant and had placed on the throne in Samarḳand Arslan K̲h̲ān Muḥammad (II). But towards the end of the latter's long reign, in 524/1130, Sand̲j̲ar had to come with an army to reinforce the K̲h̲ān's faltering authority in Samarḳand. He set up various Ḳarak̲h̲ānid nominees on the throne there, ending with (possibly in 526/1132) Arslan K̲h̲ān Muḥammad's third son Maḥmūd, who was Sand̲j̲ar's nephew, since his mother Terken K̲h̲ātūn was Sand̲j̲ar's sister. The fortunes of Sand̲j̲ar and Maḥmūd were to be closely interwoven over the ensuing year; when Sand̲j̲ar was captured by the Og̲h̲uz in 548/1153 (see below), Maḥmūd was recognised by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ army in K̲h̲urāsān as interim sultan of K̲h̲urāsān and, after Sand̲j̲ar's death, likewise as legitimate ruler there till his own death in 557/1162.

As ruler of K̲h̲urāsān, Sand̲j̲ar was also concerned with the neighbouring great power to his east, the G̲h̲aznawids. Since the peace agreement between Čag̲h̲rï Beg and the G̲h̲aznawid Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd in 451/1059, there had been a considerable Sald̲j̲ūḳ cultural penetration of the G̲h̲aznawid empire, visible for instance in numismatic patterns, titulature and literary trends. A raid early in his reign by Sand̲j̲ar into G̲h̲ūr [*q.v.*], the mountainous central region of Afg̲h̲ānistān, is recorded, but a succession dispute within the G̲h̲aznawid royal house also allowed Sand̲j̲ar to extend direct Sald̲j̲ūḳ sovereignty over the G̲h̲aznawid lands of eastern Afg̲h̲ānistān. When Arslan S̲h̲āh came to the throne of G̲h̲azna in 509/1115, his brother Bahrām S̲h̲āh escaped to K̲h̲urāsān and appealed to Sand̲j̲ar for help. The Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan marched eastwards with a formidable army, defeated Arslan S̲h̲āh, sacked G̲h̲azna and placed Bahrām S̲h̲āh on the throne there (510/1117). The latter agreed to become Sand̲j̲ar's vassal, to place his name first in the *k̲h̲uṭba* and on the coinage and to pay an annual tribute of 250,000 dīnārs. For some thirty years, Bahrām S̲h̲āh acknowledged this subordinate status, only once becoming restive when in 529/1135 Sand̲j̲ar and his other vassal, the K̲h̲ʷārazm

Shāh Atsïz, came with their forces to Ghazna, expelling Bahrām Shāh to India before he returned and agreed to resume his vassalage.

Along the northern fringes of Khurāsān, Sandjar had as vassals, in addition to the Ḳarakhānids, the Khwārazm Shāhs of the line established by his father Malik Shāh, sc. the line of Anūshtigin Gharčaʾī [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS]. The second ruler of this line, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, was Sandjar's faithful vassal, as was initially his son and successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsïz, attending Sandjar's court regularly. But relations deteriorated as Atsïz built up his own military strength and began to identify himself with the particular interests of his province, until in 533/1138 he rebelled openly. Sandjar invaded Khwārazm, drove out Atsïz and left there a Saldjūḳ prince and his atabeg; but as on earlier occasions when outside powers had endeavoured to impose their rule over the province, the Khwārazmian people rose up against the occupiers and expelled them, enabling Atsïz to return and take the offensive against Transoxania.

There now appeared a new force in the affairs of Central Asia, the Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*], the Kʾi-tan or Liao of the Chinese sources. Within the western Ḳarakhānid principality, disaffected Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] tribesmen called in the Ḳara Khiṭay; Maḥmūd Khān of Samarḳand in turn appealed to his suzerain and kinsman Sandjar. The latter appeared in Transoxania with a large army, but was in 536/1141 defeated by the Ḳara Khiṭay in a bloody battle on the Ḳaṭwān steppe of Ushrūsana [*q.v.*], on the middle Syr Darya. Sandjar and Maḥmūd Khān fled to Khurāsān, abandoning Transoxania, and the Ḳara Khiṭay went on to make Atsïz their own vassal; accordingly, whilst Sandjar's defeat was clearly opportune for Atsïz, it seems improbable that the Shāh had, as some of the Islamic sources assert, incited the Ḳara Khiṭay to invade as an act of revenge on Sandjar for the sultan's killing of his son Atlïgh. At this point, Atsïz raided into Khurāsān himself, but was driven back by a Saldjūḳ counter-invasion of Khwārazm which penetrated to the capital Gurgāndj and compelled the Shāh to disgorge the treasuries which he had previously looted from Sandjar's capital of Marw (538/1143-4). Yet once again, Khwārazm proved too hostile for Saldjūḳ troops to be able to remain there.

However, the tragic end to Sandjar's reign and the resultant downfall of Saldjūḳ power in the east came about not from the attacks of external foes like the Ḳara Khiṭay or from those of rebellious vassals like Atsïz, but from an explosion of internal discontent within Khurāsān itself, largely brought about by the policies of Sandjar's aides and officials there. Khurāsān and the steppes to the southeast of the Caspian Sea, in Gurgān and Dihistān, contained extensive pasture grounds which supported numerous groups of tribally-organised Turkmens. These included Turkmens driven southwards into the Khurāsānian fringes by the recent upheavals in the Central Asian steppes, including the pressures from the Khwārazm Shāhs and the Ḳara Khiṭay, and also descendants of the Oghuz tribesmen whose dynamic had brought the Saldjūḳs to power in the Islamic lands a century earlier. The sultans had accordingly always felt certain obligations towards these kinsfolk of theirs, often making special administrative arrangements for them in the regions where they were especially numerous, appointing special officials (*shiḥna, raʾīs* [*q.vv.*]) to act as channels of communication between the nomads and the Saldjūḳ state, whose dominating Perso-Islamic ethos was now largely alien to the Turkmens. These arrangements now came under severe strain because of the financial exigencies arising from Sandjar's military adventures, increasingly expensive after 529/1135; he is said to have disbursed three million dīnārs for the Transoxanian campaign of 536/1141, not counting the cost of presents and robes of honour given to various local potentates. The burden of taxation in order to pay for these fell on sedentaries and nomads alike, but the Oghuz in the upper Oxus regions of Khuttal and Ṭukhāristān [*q.vv.*] finally rebelled against the tax demands and the harsh collecting methods of the *shiḥna* over the Turkmens there, the slave commander ʿImād al-Dīn Ḳumāč of Balkh. Despite placatory approaches from the Oghuz, Sandjar insisted on mounting punitive expeditions against them, but he was twice defeated, forced to evacuate his capital Marw and finally captured by the nomads (548/1153). The Oghuz bands swept through Khurāsān, attacking towns there and showing particular violence and hostility towards members of the Saldjūḳ administration and the religious classes, closely linked with the Saldjūḳ state; a general climate of insecurity was created in both towns and countryside of Khurāsān, in which various other anti-social elements such as the *ʿayyārs* [*q.v.*] took advantage of the breakdown of authority to further their own interests.

The leaderless Saldjūḳ army in Khurāsān offered the throne there to the refugee Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd Khān who, as the son of Sandjar's sister, had Saldjūḳ blood in his veins, and the Saldjūḳ sultan in the west, Muḥammad (II) b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], agreed to this and sent an investiture diploma. In fact, over the next few years, real power in Khurāsān fell into the hands of Saldjūḳ *amīrs*, such as Muʾayyid al-Dīn Ay Aba at Nīshāpūr and Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ay Taḳ at Rayy, for Maḥmūd Khān was never able to establish firm control over the whole of Khurāsān, and he died in any case by 559/1164. Sandjar, meanwhile, was carried round by his Oghuz captors for three years, apparently in humiliating circumstances and enduring hunger and deprivation, until he managed in 551/1156 to escape to Tirmidh and Marw. But a year later he died, aged 71, and with him, the authority of the Saldjūḳs in eastern Persia ceased; to contemporaries it seemed like the end of an epoch.

Sandjar's court, when he was not campaigning, was normally based on Marw, where he also had a fully-developed administration, headed by the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, presided over by a series of viziers, of whom eight are known, from Shihāb al-Islam ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (511-16/1117-22) to Niẓām al-Mulk Ḥasan (at some point after 547/1152). These were usually Persians or Arabs, though from 516/1122 to 518/1124 Sandjar had a Turkish vizier, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Kāshgharī Yïghan (or Ṭoghan) Beg. We know something also of provincial administration within Sandjar's dominions, *inter alia* from the collection of administrative documents, the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, made by Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ Djuwaynī, who was head of Sandjar's chancery, *dīwān-i inshāʾ*, at Marw. This administration was exercised through centrally appointed officials with designations like *wālī, nāʾib, shiḥna* and *raʾīs*, although this last had an additional role as representative of the urban notables vis-à-vis the sultan [see RAʾĪS. 2], and we possess from Sandjar's reign documents on the nomination of provincial governors for Gurgān and its dependencies, Māzandarān, Rayy, Balkh and its dependencies, Marw, Ṭūs and Dihistān.

The court at Marw was also a centre for Persian literary activity, under the patronage of the sultan and

of his great officials and commanders. Barthold's categorical assertion that Sandjar was illiterate (*Turkestan*, 308) requires further proof before this can be accepted, since we know that some at least of his kinsmen and contemporaries amongst the western Persian Saldjūḳs were highly literate. The Persian poet Muʿizzī (d. *ca.* 519-21/1125-7 [*q.v.*]) was Sandjar's chief eulogist during the earlier part of his reign, and it was to seek Muʿizzī's intermediacy that the anecdotist Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī [*q.v.*] came to Sandjar's court when it was at Ṭūs in 510/1116-17. Also, Adīb Ṣābir [*q.v.*] served both as Sandjar's panegyrist and on official missions, and it was in this latter function that the poet was killed by the Khwārazm Shāh Atsïz (in the mid-1140s). The great theologian al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] sent a letter to, and made a speech before, Sandjar (see *Makātīb-i fārsī-yi Ghazālī bi-nām-i Faḍāʾil al-anām min rasāʾil Ḥudjdjat al-Islām*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1333/1954, 3-5, 6-10 (with interesting introd. by the original compiler), German tr. Dorothea Krawulsky, *Briefe und Reden des Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Gazzālī*, Friburg-im-Br. 1971, 63-76.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢANF, a geographical term appearing in the accounts of Arab travellers from the mid-8th century and denoting at times an island, and at others a kingdom of the mainland, bordering on the sea, or a sea. Study of these itineraries makes it clear that they refer to Čampā or Champa situated between Cambodia and the delta of the Song Coi in Viêt Nam. The information given by these authors is very laconic, and, curiously, the 13th and 14th century texts are much less well documented than the earliest ones. There is practically nothing on the people there, sometimes described as being brown, nor on the political situation, except that Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] (end of the 10th century) speaks of a victorious war by the Viêt Nam which ravaged the land. All accounts stress the production there of aloes wood, considered as excellent, except for Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān* (end of the 12th-opening of the 13th century), who considered this product as the worst possible. Al-Idrīsī (12th century) is the fullest, speaking of stock-rearing (bovines and buffaloes) and agriculture (rice, sugar cane, coconut palms and bananas). He describes Hindu-type customs (respect for cows), whereas Ibn al-Nadīm merely mentions Buddhist temples, which can only have been rare at his time. These texts also contain tall stories, such as that in the *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿadjāʾib* (beginning of the 11th century) on the legend of the island of the White Palace, made of crystal, which Alexander the Great allegedly visited.

Ṣanf seems to have been a stage much frequented by Muslim merchants travelling between the Indian Ocean and the China Seas. Better known under its Sanskrit name of Čampā, the plains around the deltas were inhabited by populations of controversial origin but who belonged to the Austronesian linguistic family. In the mountains, proto-Indo-Chinese tribes (Sedang, Bahnar, Jörai, Rhadé, etc.), speaking Austronesian or Môn-Khmer languages, were more or less in a vassal status.

The ancient Cham seem to have been organised in principalities which were at first independent, stretched along between the Hoanhsoʾn and the Phan-rang region. The first to appear in history was the most northerly one, founded in A.D. 192 and known under the Chinese name of Línyì. Before the beginning of the 7th century, all these principalities must have been brought together. Čampā had a very lively history. The Čam were excellent warriors and remarkable sailors, willingly turning to piracy. The land was torn apart by frequent revolts and succession wars. As an agressive neighbour, it often fought with Cambodia, occupied Angkor 1177-81, but became a Khmer province 1202-20. During 1283-5, it successfully repelled a Mongol invasion. But the main enemy was Viêt Nam. Having the advantage until the 10th century, it then fell behind, alternately suffering defeats and making counter-attacks. The king Bong Nga (1360-90) invaded the delta of the Song Coi three times. After him, decadence set in. In 1471 the Viêtnamese emperor Lê Thanh Tôn crushed the kingdom, which became a vassal state, gradually nibbled away and progressively depopulated. There remained only a few enclaves and a shadow of former royalty. In 1832, the last king and part of the population took refuge in Cambodia.

Inspired by Indian culture, the Cham created a brilliant and varied civilisation whose architectural remains, for long neglected, are now being restored. Society was in origin matrilineally organised, and it adopted the Hindu system of castes and customs. At the present time, there remain few Cham in Viêt Nam, most of them preserving an impoverished form of Brahmanic rites.

The presence of colonies of Muslim merchants is known from the middle of the 10th century, and a Muslim even led two embassies to China in 958 and 960 (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, tr. 86, comm. 240). It is unknown when Islam penetrated Cham society, but this was probably at the end of the 15th century. Yet it has always remained a minority faith, and one varying a great deal from the fundamental norms [see further Čam].

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(P.L. LAMANT)

ṢANHĀDJA, an important group of Berber tribes who played an historical role in North Africa from the 4th/10th century onwards. They lived in the two Maghribs and in Ifrīkyia; some were sedentary, whilst others had moved into the desert and become nomadic. According to the Berber genealogists, the Ṣanhādja were one of the seven great tribes descended from Bernès, son of Berr. On the other hand, for the Arab genealogists, like Ibn al-Kalbī, they had, in common with the Kutāma or Ketāma, a Yemeni origin, and had allegedly been sent to the Maghrib by Ifricos, one of the kings of Yemen.

The whole history of the Ṣanhādja was dominated by their opposition to another great group of Berber tribes, the Zanāta, in particular, to the Miknāsa, Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] and the Banū Ifrān [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Ṣanhādja had almost 70 branches, one of the most important being the Talkāta who occupied part of the central Maghrib. The first known chief of the Talkāta was probably Manād b. Mankūs, whose son Zīrī was the ancestor of the Zīrid dynasty [*q.v.*] and the founder of their capital, Ashīr, in the Djabal Titteri (324/935).

As partisans of the Fāṭimids, this branch of the Ṣanhādja had adopted Shīʿism (they were later, however, to return to Sunnism), and when the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] left for Egypt (361/972), he entrusted the government of Ifrīkiya to the Zīrids. Since they then became practically independent, the Zīrids ruled in Ifrīkiya and the eastern part of the central Maghrib until the opening of the 12th century A.D. (498/1105). Their break with the Fāṭimids in Cairo provoked the unleashing against Ifrīkiya by the Fāṭimids of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] Arabs, who devastated the land. Another Ṣanhādja kingdom had seen the light in the central Maghrib; a grandson of Zīrī b. Manād, Ḥammād b. Buluggīn, after having built the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.* and ḤAMMĀDIDS], separated from his Zīrid cousins. In order to get away from the Hilālian pillagers, one of Ḥammād's successors founded Bidjāya [*q.v.*] (Bougie) (before 461/1068-9). But gradually, these Ṣanhādja of the eastern Maghrib became dominated by the Hilāl and other Arab tribes.

At the end of the 4th/beginning of the 11th century, a son of Zīrī b. Manād, Zāwī, departed for Spain, where, after having entered the service of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the regent for the Umayyad empire, he founded an independent state around Granada. This Ṣanhādja branch, however, abandoned al-Andalus in 416/1025 [see ZĪRIDS of Spain].

Within the Sahara, there nomadised a second group of the Ṣanhādja, the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], wearers of the *lithām* or veil, the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. After having conquered Morocco, these last seized Tlemcen, Oran and all the coastal region up to Algiers (475/1082). They clashed with their fellow-tribal brethren of the Banū Ḥammād and then embarked on the conquest of al-Andalus.

The two Ṣanhādja kingdoms, descendants of Zīrī b. Manād, in the Maghrib and in Ifrīkiya, disappeared around the middle of the 6th/12th century when a further wave of Berbers, the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], conquered the whole of Barbary as far as Tunis. As for the Almoravid Ṣanhādja, they were crushed by the Almohads in Spain as well as in the Maghrib. A fraction of them, the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], ruled in the Balearic Islands in the 6th/12th century. They even managed to seize Bidjāya (581/1185), Algiers, the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād and Gafsa, invaded the Djerid and reached Tripoli and Tunis in 599/1203; but they ended up being defeated by the Almohads (621/1224), and Ṣanhādja domination of Barbary was ended.

A few tribes of the Ṣanhādja lived in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, in the Sūs and in the Atlas, sc. the Lamṭa [*q.v.*] and the Gazzūla, nomads, and the sedentary Haskūra. Other less important groups lived, and still live, in the Atlantic coastal plains of Morocco, the Shāwiya [*q.v.*] and the Dukkāla, and above all, in the north, near the Rīf [*q.v.*], such as the Boṭṭuya and the Banū Uryāghul; but none of these Ṣanhādja tribes enjoyed any political power.

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(CHANTAL DE LA VERONNE)

AL-**SANHŪRĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ, b. 11 August 1895 in Alexandria, Egypt, d. 1971 in Cairo, is the Arab world's most distinguished scholar of modern jurisprudence, with the regeneration of Islamic law figuring prominently in his work. He is renowned for drafting new civil codes for Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Libya which incorporate Islamic legal rules to the extent which he considered appropriate for each country, and for comparative treatises on civil law and the sources of legal right in Islamic jurisprudence.

Al-Sanhūrī obtained a *licence en droit* in 1917 from the Khedival School of Law (Cairo), graduating top in his class. He began his juristic career as *wakīl niyāba* in the Mixed Courts of al-Manṣūra and was a teacher in the school for *Sharīʿa* judges. In 1921 he went to France for doctoral studies at the University of Lyon with E. Lambert. There he wrote two theses, one on English law which won the *prix de thèse*. The other, *Le Califat* (Paris 1926) is a study of doctrine and history of the caliphate which concludes with proposals to revive that institution (abolished by the Turks in 1924) and to reform the legal systems of Arab states.

Returning to Cairo in 1926, al-Sanhūrī was appointed in the Faculty of Law at the National (later Cairo) University, and began to write treatises on the theory of obligations and contracts, notably *ʿAḳd al-īdjār* (1930) and *Naẓariyyat al-ʿaḳd* (1934). Drawing from comparative and Islamic law and case material of the Egyptian courts, he sought to make Egyptian and Islamic law part of comparative jurisprudence.

In 1935 he was invited to Baghdād as professor and Dean of the newly-established Law School. He taught comparative (Islamic and Western) law and began work on constructing ʿIrāḳ's modern civil code. The technique he used to compare codifications of Islamic law (*Madjalla* and *Murshid al-ḥayrān*) with legal rules in European codes is explained in *Madjallat al-Ḳaḍāʾ* (Baghdād) (1936/2).

Back in Egypt in 1936, he was briefly Dean of the Law Faculty of Cairo University and began work on revising the Egyptian civil law. His views about revision appear in *al-Ḳānūn wa 'l-iḳtiṣād* (1936/6) and *al-Kitāb al-dhahabī li 'l-maḥākim al-ahliyya* (Cairo 1938). Al-Sanhūrī defended the final version before Parliament in 1948 against critics who wanted a completely Islamic code. He claimed the revised code included all the Islamic law it was then possible to adopt, "having

regard to sound principles of modern legislation."

Al-Sanhūrī was active in Egyptian nationalist politics and became prominent in public life from the 1930s. He was among the founders of the Saʿdist party (1937), Deputy Minister of Justice (1944) and Minister of Education (1945-6 and 1947). The pinnacle of his public career came in 1949 when he was appointed Chief Justice of the *Madjlis al-dawla*. He made it "a towering fortress of the protection of rights and the guardian of liberties" (Mūrsī, 1980).

At first he supported the Revolution of 1952 and the Free Officers. Later came his concern to re-establish constitutional government and civilian rule. During the political turbulence of March 1954, al-Sanhūrī was physically attacked at the *Madjlis* by demonstrators and never again held public office.

Thereafter, he worked on his two major treatises: *Maṣādir al-ḥaḳḳ fī 'l-fiḳh al-Islāmī*, 6 pts. in 2 vols., Cairo 1954-9, and *al-Wasīṭ fī sharḥ al-ḳānūn al-madanī al-djadīd*, 10 pts. in 12 vols., Cairo 1952-70, completed the year before he died. Both are still in print and serve as basic reference works.

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(ENID HILL)

AL-**SANHŪRĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH al-Nuṭūbisī al-Mālikī, Nūr al-Dīn, Egyptian *uṣūlī faḳīh* and grammarian (*ca.* 814-89/*ca.* 1411-84).

He was born at Nuṭūbis, and he lived at Sanhūr near Alexandria, where he learnt the Ḳurʾān, and finally settled at Cairo, in the Azhar. Amongst his masters there were some of the most celebrated religious lawyers of the time, with whom he studied, amongst other works, the *ʿAḳīla* and the *Ḥirz al-maʿānī* of al-Shāṭibī [*q.v.*]. The *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*] and the two *Mukhtaṣars* of Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]. He also followed courses in mathematics and the division of inheritances. He then made the Pilgrimage, and spent some time at Mecca.

He wrote a *sharḥ* on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], an unfinished work; a *taʿlīḳ* to the *Talḳīn* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādī (d. 422/1031); and two commentaries on the grammatical work, the *Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn Ādjurrūm [*q.v.*] (see for the mss. of this, Brockelmann, II², 238 no. 5 and S II, 333 no. 5; he is not to be confused with another commentator on the *Ādjurrūmiyya*, ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Sanhūrī al-Shāfiʿī). He taught at the Barḳūḳiyya and Ashrafiyya *madrasas*, becoming in the end *shaykh al-Mālikiyya*. His pupils included the famous North African *faḳīh* and mystic Aḥmad Zarrūḳ, as well as other outstanding Egyptian scholars (see a story on their numbers in Makhlūf) who studied *fiḳh* and Arabic grammar and philology with him. Concerning one of them, we know that he studied with al-Sanhūrī the *Mukhtaṣar*, part of Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana* and the *Tafrīʿ* of Ibn al-Djallāb, Ibn Abī Zayd's *Risāla*, Ibn ʿAskar's *ʿUmda*, as well as the *Irshād* (see al-Ḳarāfī, *Tawshīḥ*, 184 no. 183).

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(MARIBEL FIERRO)

AL-**SANHŪRĪ, ABU** 'L-**NADJĀ** [see SĀLIM B. MUḤAMMAD].

SANIYA [see NĀʾŪRA].

SANṬŪR, a musical instrument still surviving today in the urban music-making of Turkey (very rare), of ʿIrāḳ (integrated with the *čalghī* quartet accompanying *al-maḳām al-ʿirāḳī* [see MAḲĀM], of Persia and of Kashmīr (played solo). It is a cithara-tympanon-dulcimer made of wood, in the shape of a flat isosceles trapezoid provided with 72 to 96 strings of metal stretched from the string-holders (left-hand side of the trapezoid) to the pegs (right-hand side), grouped into groups of four strings and then resting on from 18 to 24 bridges. It is played with two wooden sticks (*maḍrab*) covered with tow or cotton and held by the musician between thumb and index finger (the techniques differ according to various schools); the strings give out a crystal-like sound prolonged by lengthy reverberation.

The *sanṭūr* of Persia spans four octaves and 33 degrees in heptatonic diatonic scales. Since the bridges are arranged in two groups of nine each, the ninth bridge allows the division of a note (e.g. *fa* natural and *fa* sharp in order to change *gūsha*, melodic model). It is therefore more a question of the soloist's virtuosity than of modulation (*talwīn*).

The *sanṭūr* of ʿIrāḳ spans three octaves and a third, and its two groups of twelve bridges define 48 degrees. The various ways of tuning the strings provides in the same register the possibility of modulating between genres (*djins*) and of passing from a Bayātī (A-B𝄳-C-D ♮) to a Ṣabā (A-B𝄳-CH-D ♮) and a Ḥidjāz (A-B♭-CH-D ♮).* It thus leads more to modulation than to virtuosity.

The origins of the *sanṭūr* are unclear. It has been alleged to be Assyrian(?). It does not appear in classical miniature paintings; it may be evoked in the *K. al-Adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī [*q.v.*] (Baghdād, 7th/13th century); it appears on a fresco of the Čihil Sutūn palace in Iṣfahān (11th/17th century); it is mentioned in the Comte de Gobineau's *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859; and it appears at the end of the 19th century on the "chromolithographs" of Ḳādjār-period Persia. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was very common in the coffee houses of Istanbul, Tehran and Baghdād, and took on a connotation of being connected with amusement and play, before illustrating the type of music called "traditional" by the West. Its present-day most brilliant exponent is the Persian Farāmarz Pāyvar.

* *Musical abbreviations*: 𝄳 = less one or two commas; H = sharpened by a lemma.

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sanṭūr (30 exercises in virtuosity for the *sanṭūr*), Tehran, both publ. after 1960; *The new Grove dictionary of musical instruments*, London 1984, iii, 291-2 (good bibl.). (J.-C. Chabrier)

SANTURIN ADASÎ, the Turkish name for Santorin, Grk. Thera, Lat. Sancta Irini, the volcanic island which is the southernmost of the Aegean Cyclades group, to the north of Crete.

It may already have suffered from Arab raids from Crete in the 3rd/9th century, from the Arabs of Sicily and then from Western corsairs, although it is recorded as inhabited in *ca.* 549/1154 by al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, ii, 127), the first to employ the name Santurin (< the island's patroness St. Irene) (see A. Savvides, *Notes on mediaeval Thera/Santorin until the late 15th century*, in *Pariana*, xv, no. 53 [1994], in Greek). Turkmen raids from Menteshe and Aydîn [*q.vv.*] in 1318-31 and 1345-60 resulted in limited damage (see E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin, 1300-1415*, Venice 1983, 13, 51, 93-4, 103, 188) and during the 9th/15th century, the Ottoman sultans recognised Venetian suzerainty over the island in a series of treaties (see Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman empire*, 67 and maps VIII, XIV). Ottoman raids, including one by Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] in 943/1537, led to an agreement (*ʿahd-nāma*) in 972/1575, and in the next year Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] took it in a series of operations which ended Latin rule in the Archipelago (see B. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus ... 1550-1718*, Leiden 1982, 32 ff., 73 ff.). In fact, it was administered on favourable terms by Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos [see NAKSHE] and in the following century was still largely self-governing but suffering from Venetian corsair raids, even though there were no Muslims on the island and at least part of the Christians were Roman Catholics.

A brief Russian capture of the island during the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish War was followed by definitive Ottoman rule until in May 1821 the island rebelled against Turkish rule (see Pegues, *Histoire ... de Santorin*, Paris 1842, 352-3, 619 ff.), though, as was also the case in Naxos, by no means unanimously, given the Catholic population. The island in fact briefly rose against its first Greek governor, Capodistrias, in 1831, but was finally annexed to the newly-founded Kingdom of Greece by the 1832 Treaty of Constantinople.

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SANUA, JAMES [see ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA].

AL-**SANŪSĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Maḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. Shuʿayb (b. at Tlemcen 838 or 839/1435-6, d. Djumādā II 895/May 1490), North African theologian and mystic.

1. Life and influence.

Despite the decline of the Banū Zayyān or ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*], Tlemcen was still one of the main cultural centres of the Maghrib. In his youth, al-Sanūsī studied the Ḳurʾān with his father, and other teachers for Arabic language and for arithmetic and the law of successions (receiving an *idjāza* from one of the later teachers, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳalaṣādī, on whom see Brockelmann, II², 343-4, SII, 378-9), for the *Mudawwana* of al-Tanūkhī, for the astrolabe, for the *uṣūl al-dīn* and for the *Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī. In such an environment of scholars, al-Sanūsī stood out as precocious. With his half-brother ʿAlī al-Talūtī, he studied the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*], the *Irshād* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] and *tawḥīd*, and received another *idjāza*. During a stay in Algiers, he studied the *ḥadīth* collections under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī, and then at Oran followed the teaching of the great Ṣūfī Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Tāzī.

Being inclined to asceticism, he fasted one day out of two and rarely left his dwelling. He kept vigils for several night on end and then embarked on a period of fasting. He was famed for his practise of *istikhāra* [*q.v.*], one which enabled him to give a reply to a problem obtained during sleep. Because of his gift of knowing how to interpret (lit. "read", *ḳaraʾa*) his dreams and those of others, the public came to him from all over the kingdom to hear his dicta, and he gained an unequalled reputation in the religious, especially mystical, sciences. He continued to teach in the mosque until illness compelled him to slow down and in the end brought his life to an end in 894/1490.

Soon afterwards, a *ḳubba*, rectangular in shape and covered with shiny green fabrics, was erected in his honour in the cemetery of al-ʿUbbād (Sidi Bou-Médine); it contained the catafalques of al-Sanūsī and his half-brother al-Talūtī, who had died shortly after. But he allegedly had another tomb amongst the Awlād Ḥammū, thus gaining him the name of Bū Ḳabrīn (likewise amongst the Banī Bū Saʿīd, etc.). Each winter, when the corn was still green, a great communal meal (*waʿda*) was given by the people of Tlemcen to the poor and to strangers, near al-Sanūsī's tomb, the latter being called *Dhū 'l-Waḳfa* "master of the drought" because of a miracle described by Ibn Maryam in his *Bustān*. At the end of the meal, there was a communal prayer for rain. Sīdī Sanūsī was equally invoked in periods of protracted drought. At Tlemcen, no less than two mosques perpetuate his memory. An apparently older one, at the gate of the Darb al-Masūfa quarter, is said to be that of Ibn al-Bannāʾ and to have been the mosque were al-Sanūsī taught and worshipped. The other is said to have been built on the site of the house where he was born, in the Banū Djumla quarter. Both were richly endowed with *ḥubus*.

Al-Sanūsī had numerous students, such as al-Mallālī, author of his biography and of a commentary on the *Ṣughrā*; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zawāwī; Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣaghīr, Ibn Abī Madyan; and Ibn Saʿd al-Tilimsānī, one of the sources of Aḥmad Bābā. They contributed to the spread of their master's works in the West Africa, by means of the trading links well established with that region, especially through the milieux of scholars, such as the family of Aḥmad Bābā of Timbuctu, in the 10th/16th century in Mali, and ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] (Usumanu dan Fodio) in northern Nigeria in the 12th/18th century.

Over the centuries, al-Sanūsī has remained a source of inspiration and study. His three *ʿaḳāʾid* marked the grades of primary, middle and advanced studies, with the *Ṣughrā al-ṣughrā* sometimes replacing the *Sughrā* in the first grade. In Algeria, there have been various commentaries from scholars so diverse as al-Warthīlānī (d. 1193/1779), Abū Rās (d. 1238/1823), etc. The famous poet Ibn Amsāyib (d. 1190/1768) used the theme of a visit to Sīdī Sanūsī's tomb and was buried near him. At the opening of the 20th century, Ibn Bādīs used al-Sanūsī for his Ḳurʾān commentary. Moroccan scholars studied the three *ʿaḳāʾid* with the commentaries and gloss of al-Dasūḳī. Thus the Fāsī al-Mandjūr studied and commented on al-Sanūsī, as well as the Miknāsī al-Wallālī, the minister al-Zayyānī and the Ṣūfī Ibn ʿAdjība. Till the beginning of the 20th century, the teaching of logic at Fās was

done through the *Mukhtaṣar*; *kalām* with the three creeds and the abridgement of the *Ṣughrā*, with commentaries; and theology with the *Ṣughrā* and the gloss of al-Yūsī on the *Kubrā*. In the 11th/17th century, the *ʿAkīda al-ṣughrā* spread through West Africa to the Niger under the Fulani name *kabbe*. Thereafter, commentaries and glosses on them began to abound in the Arabic literature of West Africa, especially the lesser, middle and greater commentaries on the *Ṣughrā*, which was most often called *Umm al-barāhīn*.

In Egypt, al-Sanūsī was taught at the Azhar, notably with the commentaries of al-Faḍālī (d. 1821) and his pupil al-Badjūrī (d. 1860), up to the coming of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] cultural and social reform movement. Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] often cites him, and it was certainly al-Sanūsī who provided him with the three modalities of judgement: necessity (*al-wudjūb*), impossibility (*al-istiḥāla*) and possibility (*al-djawāz*), and his attitude to the Muslim community, in his *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, has reminiscences of that of the scholar of Tlemcen. Finally, in Asia, and especially in Malaysia and Indonesia, it has been the *Umm al-barāhīn*, also called *al-Durra*, which has been the most popular of those works explaining the Ashʿarī doctrine on the divine and prophetal attributes (*ṣifāt*). Copies of it often have interlinear Malay or Javanese translations. In the Pesantrens [*q.v.*], the commentaries and glosses are studied on the old, original texts (*matn*).

2. Works.

As far as is at present known al-Sanūsī's work (apart from the five *ʿakāʾid, al-Kubrā, al-Wusṭā, al-Ṣughrā, Ṣughrā al-ṣughrā* and *Mukaddima*) comprises a large number of commentaries on many varied topics—works of logic, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, algebra, medicine, the Ḳurʾānic *ḳirāʾāt*, Ṣūfī manuals, *tafsīr*, etc. (for details, see Brockelmann, II², 323-6, S II, 352-6, and Moh. Ben Cheneb, *EI*¹ art. *s.v.*). Almost all of these are abridgements or works of vulgarisation.

In his *Ṣughrā*, al-Sanūsī gives an exposition of the essentials of faith according to a methodical form of augment. Knowledge (*ʿilm*) is based on judgement *ḥukm*), which stems from the divine law (*sharīʿa*), custom (*ʿāda*), experience and reason (*ʿaḳl*). Rational judgement (*al-ḥukm al-ʿaḳlī*) comprises the three categories of necessity, impossibility and possibility, Aristotelian modalities adopted by Islamic philosophy and theology. God has twenty attributes: six are divine, seven comprise real ideas (*ṣifāt al-maʿānī*) and seven are ideal ones (*ṣifāt maʿnawiyya*). These are followed by the attributes of the divine messengers. Finally, he concludes that the *shahāda* sums up in its first part all that a believer need know of God, whilst the second part involves belief in all the prophets, angels, revealed books and the Resurrection, affirmed as true by the Prophet.

Al-Sanūsī's doctrine, as it appears from his works, is made up of prudence (*tawaḳḳuf*) and reason, in pursuit of equilibrium and salvation. It was certainly influenced by signs of a shaking-up of values in the society of his time vis-à-vis the state, religion and cultural traditions, with the faith confronted by new problems. It was open to non-Muslim theological influences, as in his interpretation of the Gospel according to St. John, xiv, 16-17, 26, 29, and of the theme of the Paraclete (*baraḳlīṭ*): the saviour of the human race is our Lord Muhammad (*raḥma li ʾl-ʿālamīn*). The ideas of the various *madhāhib* are set forth and discussed. It was also inspired by the works of al-Ghazālī's teacher al-Djuwaynī (the former's ideas being spread in the Maghrib by Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]), notably by the *Irshād* and the *Shāmil*, seen both in its form and in certain concepts, such as al-Ashʿarī's classification of the divine attributes into three subdivisions, as in al-Djuwaynī; and the difference between *nafsiyya* or consubstantial attributes and qualitative, *maʿnawiyya*, ones. Similarly, al-Ghazālī's influence (the *Iḳtiṣād*) appears in the division into seven of the divine attributes of God and the prophets, whilst al-Sanūsī also takes up the Ashʿarī idea of *kasb*.

However, at times he takes up a position differing from such Ashʿarī authorities as these two, al-Ashʿarī himself and al-Bāḳillānī, rejecting that which offends against reason and dogma (*Muḳaddima*, 65-7). His system of ethics is inspired by al-Ghazālī, especially in the *Iḥyāʾ*, where, on all occasions, he seeks out a middle position.

He condemns firmly blind acceptance (*taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]). Merely reading the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīths* is inadequate for understanding the bases of faith (*īmān*); sound reasoning (*al-naẓar al-ṣaḥīḥ*) is preferable to this (*Wusṭā*), and must lead to what is sought. Judgement thus rests on proof, aided by knowledge (*ʿilm*) or intuition (*maʿrifa*). Dogmatic theology is the queen of sciences and involves demonstrable proof (*burhān*) to distinguish between dialectic, rhetoric, poetry and sophism (the divisions of Aristotelian logic). The truths of the Ḳurʾān can thereby be apprehended and anthropomorphic interpretations (*tadjsīm*) avoided. Following a tradition of the Almohad dynasty, al-Sanūsī wanted the people to have a simplified access to God, leaving for an élite (*khāṣṣa*) the possibility of a deep study of the principles of religion, a theme which he often takes up with his pupils and in his works, notably in his division of knowledge into two branches, an external (*ẓāhir*) one and an esoteric (*bāṭin*) one, for him the truest and noblest knowledge.

Finally, by his public and private life, al-Sanūsī became part of the popular Ṣūfism illustrated by Tlemcen's patron saint, Abū Madyan: a moderate Ṣūfism, with simple dogma and intelligible to the believers. From his independence and originality, and his deep, widely-connected thought, he seems clearly to be, in company with the Persian al-Dawānī [*q.v.*], the most important Muslim theologian of the 9th/15th century (Fakhry).

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AL-SANŪSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ, scholar and Ṣūfī of Algerian origin, and founder of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*].

Born on 12 Rabīʿ I 1202/22 December 1787 at al-Wāsiṭa (or douar al-Thorch), some 40 km/25 miles to the east of Mustaghānim, he belonged to the Awlād Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh, Idrīsid *shurafāʾ* of the Madjāhir, a Makhzan tribe of Oran under the Turkish régime. He inherited from his family the *nisba* al-Khaṭṭabī (from ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaṭṭāb, the ancestor of the Awlād Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh, who lived at the beginning of the 10th/16th century), and those of al-Ḥasānī and al-Idrīsī (which refer to the origins of his Sharīfian line). The qualificative of al-Sanūsī would appear to have been borrowed from a local toponym (the name of a mountain) of the region of Tilimsān (Tlemcen), where his family previously lived. This *nisba* implies no link of kinship with Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī, the Tlemceni scholar of the 9th/14th century [*q.v.*].

Muḥammad al-Sanūsī studied initially within his own family and in several intellectual centres of Oran: Mustaghānim, Mazūna and Tilimsān. At eighteen years old, in 1220/1805 (al-Dadjdjānī, following King Idrīs), or at twenty-one, in 1223/1808-1809 (K. Vikør, following al-Lībī), he left to pursue his studies at Fez. He stayed there, according to the authors, seven years (al-Libi/Vikør) or fourteen years (Idrīs/al-Dadjdjānī), associating with major scholars of the period. In Fez, he joined several major Ṣūfī orders, in particular the Shādhiliyya in its Djazūliyya, Nāṣiriyya and Ṭayyibiyya branches, as well as various local *ṭuruḳ*. He appears also to have been affiliated to the Darḳāwiyya and the Ḳādiriyya, but he does not mention them in the list of the forty *ṭuruḳ*, the *wird* of which he was later to claim. He was the pupil of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī, with whom he studied the Ḳurʾān, but whose way he does not seem to have adopted.

He left Fez in 1233/1818 (al-Lībī) or in 1235/1819-20 (al-Dadjdjānī). According to al-Lībī, he apparently made a first pilgrimage to Mecca in 1232-3/1817-18, before his final departure from the Moroccan city. After Fez, his traces are followed with some difficulty: he probably spent some time in his native region, and then he made a leisurely progress along the confines of the Sahara. But the statement of Rinn (1884), according to which al-Sanūsī was crossing the Sahara at the time of the arrival of the French in Algiers, is not to be taken seriously. He had long since left Algeria and was never to return there.

After staying two to three years in Cairo, al-Sanūsī arrived in Mecca *ca.* 1240-1/1825-6. It was there that he encountered the Moroccan scholar and Ṣūfī Aḥmad b. Idrīs, who had been residing in the Holy City some twenty years. A mystical master, Ibn Idrīs claimed a brief lineage which was traced by way of two intermediaries to the mysterious Ḳurʾānic figure of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*], and hence to the Prophet, always present at the origin of these successive transmissions (whence the names of Khaḍiriyya and Muḥammadiya given to the Way). Ibn Idrīs was not the founder of a structured fraternity but the respected master of a circle of disciples in the Holy Cities, and later in the Yemen.

Al-Sanūsī did not remain for more than two or three years under the tutelage of his master. When the latter departed for the Yemen (1243/1827-8), he became his *khalīfa* at Mecca. As a pupil of Ibn Idrīs, al-Sanūsī had acquired specific esoteric knowledge

and had reconsidered certain areas of *ᶜilm*. It was also no doubt under his influence that he consolidated his distinctive positions in judicial matters: the criticism of blind imitation (*taḳlīd*), the combined utilisation of the four *madhāhib*, and the recourse to *idjtihād*, which were to characterise profoundly his later positions, and which would expose him to the criticisms of the scholars of al-Azhar (in particular, of Muḥammad ᶜAlī ᶜIllaysh). The teachings of Ibn Idrīs were clearly distinct from those of the Wahhābīs, with whom a number of restrained polemics were held.

When Ibn Idrīs died at Ṣabyā in 1253/1837, al-Sanūsī became a master in his own right and the *zāwiya* of Ibn Idrīs, situated on the hill of Abū Ḳubays, a neighbourhood of Mecca, became by gradual and barely perceptible stages, at no date which can be specifically assigned, the centre of the new "Sanūsiyya" brotherhood. Distinct derivatives emerged at the same time under the influence of other disciples, such as the Mirghāniyya which found its preferred territory in the Sudan.

Probably hindered in Arabia, by Wahhābī activity and the power of the local religious establishment, the founder of the Sanūsiyya henceforward sought new places for settlement in the African continent. From this time until his death, the chronology of his life is one of alternation between Mecca and the new African *zāwiyas*: 1255/1840: departure from Mecca; 1262/1846: return to Mecca, after founding four *zāwiyas*, including that of al-Bayḍāʾ, in the territory of Barḳa (Cyrenaica); 1270/1854: new departure from Mecca and settlement at al-ᶜIzziyya, then, in 1273/1856, at Djaghbūb, a "new city" created out of nothing in an inhospitable desert location on the western borders of Egypt. It was there that he died, on 9 Ṣafar 1276/2 September 1859.

At the time of his first journey to the West, Muḥammad al-Sanūsī had entered Tunisia and approached the Algerian frontier, but the region was unstable at that time and seemed to him unfavourable for his projects, and the presence of other Ṣūfī orders was also a hindrance. Finally, in Tripoli, he reached an agreement with the local Ottoman power, then barely reinstated in Libya, and he turned, in the course of his wanderings, towards the Djabal al-Akhḍar, to the north of Cyrenaica, approaching the Bedouin of the region, entirely ignorant of the precepts of the Law. Thus the Sanūsiyya, unable to establish itself in the neighbouring countries, became "Libyan", with a strong concentration in the Djabal al-Akhḍar, and a salient extending across the Fezzān as far as the Algerian borders.

Muḥammad al-Sanūsī conceived his work as being primarily a carefully-structured missionary project. He thus laid the foundations of a system which his son and successor Muḥammad al-Mahdī was subsequently to pursue energetically. In this system, the epitome of pious endeavour is the construction of a *zāwiya*, a place of assembly, of teaching and of arbitration, a sedentary and agricultural centre for the diffusion of Sanūsī ideas and policies in a nomadic environment. Thus there was established across Cyrenaica and the Fezzān a network of Sanūsī *zāwiyas*, which guaranteed the diffusion of Islamic models and celebrated the *baraka* of the founder.

On the doctrinal level, al-Sanūsī is seen as a reformist (appeal to *idjtihād*). Tenacious legends notwithstanding, al-Sanūsī was not, no more than was Aḥmad b. Idrīs, an apologist of *djihād* against the Europeans. He maintained an apolitical stance, prepared to deal with the Ottoman authorities and giving priority to a "grass-roots" re-Islamisation among the disinherited populations. In terms of Ṣūfism, he is seen as the reviser, and to a certain extent the unifier, of the forty *ṭuruḳ*, the *asānīd* of which he lists meticulously. Al-Sanūsī left behind him, in the various domains of *ᶜilm*, and more particularly in that of Ṣūfism, a prolific written corpus, quite apart from his numerous letters. Al-Dadjdjānī has listed 44 titles. Among these, eight of the most important have been collected and printed in *al-Madjmūᶜat al-mukhtāra* at the orders of King Idrīs: *al-Durar al-saniyya*, which eulogises the Idrīsī family; *Īḳaẓ al-wasnān* and *Bughyat al-maḳāṣid*, which deal with *taḳlīd* and *idjtihād; K. al-Manhal al-rawī al-rāʾiḳ*, which, in its early sections, recalls his masters and his studies; *Muḳaddimat Muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imām Mālik*, which addresses questions of Mālikī law; *al-Salsabīl al-muᶜīn*, which is devoted to the analysis of forty Ṣūfī brotherhoods; and *Shifāʾ al-ṣadr bi-ārā al-masāʾil al-ᶜashar*, which concerns ten problems of cultic practice (prayer with arms folded, etc.). Some works, destroyed by the Italians, are known only by their titles.

Thus there evolves, across the 72 years of his life, the figure of a teacher versed in multiple disciplines, of a reviver of Islam and of Ṣūfism, of a missionary and an organiser, but also of an eminent individual, endowed with *baraka*, whose charisma was renowned throughout the central and eastern Sahara.

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AL-**SANŪSĪ**, SHAYKH SAYYID AḤMAD (1290-1351/1873-1933), Third Grand Master of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] order of dervishes. His full name was al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Sanūsī al-Khaṭṭābī al-Hasanī al-Idrīsī.

He was born at Djaghbūb, a grandson of the founder of the order, and received a classical education in Islamic learning from his father, uncle, etc., according to the high standards of Sanūsī tradition. He succeeded to the leadership at Ḳūrū (Borku, in Chad), where his uncle resided from 1899 till his death in 1902, being the eldest member of the Sanūsī family. Next to his spiritual leadership, Aḥmad al-Sharīf developed a political and military organisation for the Sanūsī community against French expansion in the Sudan region, but after a defeat, he decided to withdraw from Ḳūrū to the old centre at Kufra [*q.v.*] in 1902. In need of international recognition and support, he agreed to the establishment of direct Ottoman rule in Cyrenaica and Fazzān (1910), and the 7,000 Ottoman troops in the province co-operated now against the enemies of the faith, these being in 1911

the Italians invading Ottoman Libya [see LĪBIYA. 3] until Muḥarram 1331/December 1912. During this period the Sanūsī *shaykh* issued a proclamation of *djihād* against the enemies of Islam. After the conclusion of the Italo-Ottoman peace of Lausanne-Ouchy (15 October 1912), the Sanūsī leader continued resistance against the Italians with the discreet support of the Ottoman (Young Turks') government. The sultan-caliph, Meḥemmed V [*q.v.*] approved of Aḥmad al-Sharīf's installation of a "Sanūsiyya Government" in Cyrenaica and Fazzān. From 1912 till 1915 Aḥmad al-Sharīf was able to defeat Italian forces at times. Apart from regular financial and logistic support, the sultan-caliph awarded the Shaykh honours and decorations. When Italy joined the Entente Powers against, i.a., the Ottoman Empire in 1915, Aḥmad al-Sharif was secretly appointed the sultan's representative (*nā'ib ul-sulṭān*) with the rank of Vizier and the title of Pasha (*irāde* of 6 August 1915). During the same year 1915, from June onwards, a regular communication with Istanbul was ensured by German and Austro-Hungarian submarines carrying arms, munitions and men to the Sanūsī forces, but their guerrilla attack against the British in western Egypt failed (15 Rabīʿ I 1334/22-3 January 1916).

Aḥmad al-Sharīf retreated with 800 followers and was chased back to Djaghbūb, from where he went on to the Sirtica region of Tripolitania. He maintained his relationship with the Ottomans, but the influence of his cousin, Sayyid Muḥammad Idrīs (the later King Idrīs I al-Sanūsī of Libya) was by now increasing. With the permission of Aḥmad al-Sharīf, Idrīs opened up negotiations with the British and the Italians (1917). In 1918 the Sanūsī *shaykh* was made the sultan's representative in all North Africa, but his actual influence on affairs was steadily in decline. On 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1336/21 August 1918 Aḥmad al-Sharīf left Libya, for good as it turned out to be, brought by a German submarine to Istanbul. He relinquished political leadership but remained the spiritual chief of the Sanūsiyya *ṭarīḳa* till his death, and his lasting prestige is evident from the fact that he was chosen to officiate at the ceremonial girding of the sword of the new Ottoman sultan, Meḥemmed VI Waḥīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], at Eyyūb in 1336/1918. Widely regarded as one of the foremost fighters for Islam, Aḥmad al-Sharīf chose the side of the resistance against the Allies in Anatolia led by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha [see ATATURK], and became one of his emissaries in the provinces of Anatolia. (Muṣṭafā Kemāl was photographed in an Arab dress presented to him by the Sanūsī *Shaykh* at this time.) In 1922 he journeyed to southeastern Anatolia along the Turco-French front, *inter alia* arbitrating a peace amongst the Arab tribes there, but after the definitive victory of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, Aḥmad al-Sharīf returned to Istanbul and became involved in the question of the Ottoman caliphate [see KHILĀFA], which was not after all offered to him, in spite of the support of his cause by Ibn Suʿūd [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ ĀL SAʿŪD], Imām Yaḥyā of Yemen and Saʿd Zaghlūl Pasha [*q.v.*]. In 1924 he left for Damascus. The French did not permit him to stay there, and he went on to the Ḥidjāz, dying at Medina on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1351/10 March 1933.

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(A.H. DE GROOT)

SANŪSIYYA, a Ṣūfī brotherhood or *ṭarīḳa*, founded in the middle of the 19th century by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*]. Denounced by a French "black legend", as tenacious as it is ill-founded, as a centre of anti-western subversion across the Sahara, the Sanūsiyya order was confronted at a very early stage with the game of the European Powers. For this reason, it is better known for its political role, real or supposed, than for its specifically Ṣūfī teaching.

After studying in Fez, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (born in December 1787 near Mustaghānim, in Algeria), had become, at the time of his Pilgrimage during the 1820s, one of the disciples of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, a Moroccan Ṣūfī and Sharīf residing in the Holy Places; when the latter departed for the Yemen in 1827, he remained in Mecca as his *khalīfa*. Aḥmad b. Idrīs belonged to a mystic lineage going back to the Moroccan Ṣūfī and Sharīf ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh, belonging to a Shādhilī spiritual lineage, initiated by the mysterious Ḳur'ānic figure known by the name of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*].

After the death in 1837 of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, who was more the founder of a circle of disciples than of an organised *ṭarīḳa*, the disciples of the Master split into different groups. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, who was one of the oldest and, perhaps, one of the most advanced in the way, then inaugurated his own structure by gradual stages, and the Idrīsiyya *zāwiya* of Mecca, on the hill of Abū Ḳubays, became the first "Sanūsī" establishment.

Muḥammad al-Sanūsī emerges, in his works, as the inspirer of a Sunnī and moderate Ṣūfism. Summing up the forty ways into which he was initiated, he claims a *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* which is the quintessence of them all and which makes the encounter, in dreams and while awake, with the Prophet, and the appeal for his guidance and imitation of his model, the supreme qualities of the initiate. The *dhikr* of the *ṭarīḳa* is constituted by a distinctive prayer, the *ṣalāt al-ʿaẓīmiyya*, a prayer for the Prophet inherited from Aḥmad b. Idrīs, which takes its title from the repetition of *Allāh al-ʿAẓīm* ("God the Most Great"), and by various *aḥzāb* and *awrād*, including a *haylala* the text of which is prolonged by the formula "in every look and every breath, a number of times which only the knowledge of God can apprehend" (a formula which also features in the *ʿAẓīmiyya*).

But it is not the *dhikr* which constitutes the most original part of the Sanūsī programme. The principal work of Muḥammad al-Sanūsī was directed in fact towards the realisation of a centralised and hierarchical order based on a network of *zāwiyas* established in places judged to be strategic from the point of view of communication routes, of the supply of water or of the local tribal composition. The *zāwiya* is thus the

ultimate act of piety, and the creation of it follows a precise protocol. The appeal for it must be made by the population concerned. The latter sends a delegation to the chief of the brotherhood, before whom it solemnly confirms its wishes, and takes on the obligation of constructing the buildings of the *zāwiya* and of working periodically in its service. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī would then appoint, from among his disciples, a *shaykh*, obliged to marry into the local population. Regular and prolific correspondence maintains the link between the centre and the new local outpost. Each *zāwiya* is simultaneously an educational centre, a staging-post and a hostel for travellers, a place of worship and an agricultural location. It is, in the desert environment, a small urban enclave, representing the sedentary values and models which are those of normative Islam. By virtue of this network, which developed in Libya from the 1840s onward, the *ṭarīḳa* is observed, in the first phase of its existence, to be a missionary order whose vocation is then to disseminate Islam among the disinherited populations of the central Sahara.

The history of the Sanūsiyya may be divided into several sequences. The first, under the leadership of the founder—known as *al-Ustādh* (Master) and as *al-Imām al-akbar* (Great Imam)—saw the expansion of the movement in an east-west direction, following the lines of wells and the routes of the Pilgrimage. Before reaching its furthest point and establishing its niche in Cyrenaica, the brotherhood had, in fact, spent a long time in search of the right territory. The Sanūsiyya often encountered the resistance of the existing local powers and the presence of other Islamic organisations and clientèles. Its extension into Cyrenaica (foundation of the first African *zāwiya*, al-Bayḍā᾽, at Cyrene at the end of 1842) and, to a lesser extent, into the central Sahara, thus represents a last resource: it was only in these regions that the presence of weak and scattered authorities, and the absence of powerful religious institutions, enabled it to acquire suitable space.

During its expansion in the Sahara, the Sanūsiyya came into contact with the world of the nomad. It was there, far from the major centres of power and of scholarship, that it found a loyal following, one which was furthermore more attached to the *baraka* of the Master than to his erudite teaching. Thus there was established between the brotherhood and the Saharan nomads a durable bond of friendship. The Sanūsī made alliance with the Bedouin (Madjābra and Zwāya, in Cyrenaica, and to a lesser extent, Ṭwāreg Ajjer, to the west) one of the pillars of their system.

But the Sanūsī system was not restricted to the nomadic world. The brotherhood exploited to its advantage a new trans-Saharan route, inaugurated at the beginning of the century through the initiative of Ouaddaï (Waddai). This route, still precarious and experimental, which ran from Benghāzī to Abeche by way of Kufra, and which was one of the last trans-Saharan axes still usable (the others having fallen victim to political anarchy or to European interference), became under its protection, from the middle of the century onward (*zāwiya* of Tazar, to the north of Kufra, 1848-9; *zāwiya* of al-Djūf, Kufra, *ca.* 1856), one of the principal foundations of its power. The Sanūsī system was born of this combination of exploitation of a caravan axis with colonisation of the desert. In the course of this process, the *ṭarīḳa* became the manager and controller of a region and the promoter of an economy. But its activity was essentially regulatory. Just as it did not then aspire to political power, the Sanūsiyya had no wish to undertake economic enterprises. The benefits which accrued to it from its protection of commerce were symbolic (alliances and allegiances) or material (gifts, agricultural produce). The activity of the Sanūsī *ikhwān* was one element in a major project, envisaging first a general recognition of the *baraka* of the Master, from which esteem, clientèle and material goods would subsequently flow.

A veritable "Maghribī multi-national" at the outset, bearing in mind the origin of the closest disciples of the Master, the Sanūsiyya then began to "Libyanise" itself. The two sons of the *Imām al-akbar*'s middle age were born in Cyrenaica, respectively in 1262/1844 (Muḥammad al-Mahdī) and 1262/1846 (Muḥammad al-Sharīf). Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī himself left the Ḥidjāz for good in 1854 and established his headquarters at Djaghbūb, a new city in the heart of the desert and near the Egyptian border, in 1856. It was there that he died in 1859.

His son and successor Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who was to preside over the destinies of the movement for more than forty years, emerges as an organiser of talent. It was he who gave to the foundations laid by his father a systematic development. It was also he who oriented the brotherhood towards the south, in the direction of Central Africa. The first sub-Saharan *zāwiya* came into being at Chemidour (currently in eastern Niger) from 1861-2 onwards. Later, faced by increasing interference on the part of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, Muḥammad al-Mahdī who, like his father, had maintained amicable relations with the Ottoman authorities, abruptly transferred his headquarters from Djaghbūb to Kufra (June 1895), then to Gouro, to the north of what is currently Chad, in December 1899, preferring a *hidjra* to confrontation. The attractions of Ouaddaï, rich in ivory, in ostrich feathers and, additionally, in slaves, also played a role in this long march towards the south.

This southward orientation of the movement coincided with the French advance towards Lake Chad. From 1901 onwards the Sanūsiyya improvised, in difficult conditions, resistance to the French assaults, establishing for this purpose a defensive system and then appealing for Turkish protection. Its destiny was henceforward to be inseparably embroiled in the game of the Great Powers. Thus on 9 November 1901, French troops attacked the *zāwiya* of Bīr ʿAlālī situated some 100 km/60 miles from Lake Chad. Initially defeated, the French forces took control of the place on 20 January 1902. This was the beginning of a long Franco-Sanūsī war which ended with the fall of the fortified *zāwiya* of ʿAyn Galakka (to the south of Gouro) on 27 November 1913.

After the death of Muḥammad al-Mahdī at Gouro on 2 June 1902, the latter's nephew, Aḥmad al-Sharīf (1872-1933 [see AL-SANŪSĪ, SHAYKH SAYYID AḤMAD]), became the third Master of the *ṭarīḳa*. He immediately decided to return to Kufra and began to organise the brotherhood on more secular lines, a development which prolonged and reinforced the politicisation and militarisation which had become apparent during the confrontation with the French. When the Italians arrived in Libya (October 1911), he used all his influence to achieve the mobilisation of his followers in a *djihād* against the invader and allied himself with the Ottoman forces. This "djihādist" orientation, alien to the founder of the Way, henceforward made of the Sanūsiyya a politico-military organisation aligned with the Ottoman caliphate. In 1914, Aḥmad al-Sharīf allied himself to the Central Powers. At the latter's insistence, Sanūsī forces fought on all fronts: they attacked the British in Egypt (November 1915),

expelled the Italians from Tripolitania and the Fezzān (September 1914-April 1915), then engaged in a conflict with the French in the Sahara, which culminated in the seizure of the French fortress of Djanet (2 March 1916), the capture of P. de Foucauld, killed accidentally by a Ṭwāreg sentry (1 December 1916), and the siege of the French outpost of Agadès (1 December 1916-3 March 1917). Already split into a number of "fiefs" according to the various branches of the family, deprived progressively of a single direction, the Sanūsiyya were devastated by this war and by the defeats inflicted on it in all theatres of operation after 1916. Muḥammad Idrīs, elder son of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, promoted by the British as a useful intermediary, negotiated with the latter and with the Italians and signed an accord at ʿAkrama near Tobruk in April 1917. The accord integrated the Sanūsīs into the camp of the Allied Powers in exchange for a partial recognition of the brotherhood. In August 1918 Aḥmad al-Sharīf left Tripolitania aboard a German (or Austrian) submarine and abandoned the supervision of the *ṭarīḳa*.

The subsequent period reflects the political history of Libya. After a long period of ambiguity in the relations between Italians and Sanūsīs, and the signing of accords which were never properly implemented, the final struggle began in the late 1920s: Italian troops entered Djaghbūb in February 1926 and Kufra in January 1931. One of the leaders of the brotherhood, ʿUmar al-Mukhtār, kept alive the last embers of Sanūsī resistance until he was captured and publicly hanged by the Italians in September 1931.

During the Second World War, a Sanūsī force was raised to fight alongside the British. The liberation of Cyrenaica (1943) and British support for Muḥammad Idrīs cleared the way for the inauguration of the Sanūsī monarchy at the head of an independent Libya (24 December 1951). Like other Maghribī Sharīfian lineages in other periods, the *ṭarīḳa sanūsiyya* thus became, in circumstances of peril for the Muslims, a symbol of political legitimacy, but these new dispositions proved impossible to maintain or to extend. The seizure of power by the "Free Unionist Officers" under the leadership of Colonel Ḳadhdhāfī (1 September 1969) [see LĪBIYĀ. 3] led in Libya to a lasting "excision from history" of the brotherhood, which has come to at least temporary extinction.

Bibliography: C.C. Adams, *The Sanusis*, in *MW* (1946), 21-45; G. Albergoni, *Variations italiennes sur un thème français: la Sanusiyya*, in *CRESM, Connaissance du Maghreb. Sciences sociales et colonisation*, Paris-Aix 1984; G. Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français au Tchad (1897-1914). La confrérie sénoussie et le commerce transsaharien*, Paris-Marseilles 1987; D.D. Cordell, *Eastern Libya, Wadai and the Sanūsiyya: a Tarīqa and a trade route*, in *Jnal. of African History* (1977), 21-36; A.S. al-Ḍadjdjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-sanūsiyya. Nashʾatuhā wa-numuwwuhā fi ʾl-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, Beirut 1967; H. Duveyrier, *La confrérie musulmane de Sidi Mohammad ben Ali Es-Senousi et son domaine géographique en l'année 1300 de l'Hégire = 1883 de notre ère*, Paris 1884 (the classic form of the "black legend"); E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1949; H. Klopfer, *Aspekte der Bewegung des Muhammad Ben ʿAlī As-Sanūsī*, Wiesbaden 1967; A. Martel, *Aux origines de l'Etat libyen: La Porte et la Sanusiya au Sahara, 1835-1922*, in *CRESM, Enjeux sahariens*, Paris-Aix 1984, 233-9; B.G. Martin, *The Sanusi brotherhood in Libya and the Sahara*, in *Muslim brotherhoods in 19th century Africa*, Cambridge 1976; C.A. Nallino, *Senussi*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, 1936, 395-7; idem, *Le doctrine del fondatore della confraternità senussita*, in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inedite*, ii, Rome 1940, 395-410; J.-L. Triaud, *Tchad 1901-1902. Une guerre franco-libyenne oubliée? Une confrérie musulmane, la Sanūsiyya, face à la France*, Paris 1988; idem, *La légende noire de la Sanūsiyya. Une confrérie musulmane saharienne sous le regard française*, Paris-Aix 1995, 2 vols.; K.S. Vikør, *Sufi and scholar of the desert edge. Muhammad b. Ali al-Sanusi and his brotherhood*, London 1995; N.A. Ziadeh, *Sanūsiyah: a study of a revivalist movement in Islam*, Leiden 1958.

(J.-L. Triaud)

SAR-I PUL, "the head of the bridge", called by Arab geographers Raʾs al-Ḳanṭara, is a town of Afghān Turkistān (lat. 36° 13′ N., long. 65° 55′ E., alt. 610 m/2,007 feet), on the Āb-i Safīd, from the bridge over which it takes its name. It is not to be confused with a village near Samarḳand or a quarter of Nīshāpūr, both of the same name, each of which is historically as important as the Afghān town. Between the northern spurs of the Paropamisus and the sands to the south of the Oxus, in a fertile tract well-watered by streams from the mountains, but proverbially unhealthy, lay four Özbeg khānates or petty principalities, Akča, Shibarghān, Maymana and Sar-i pul with Andkhūī (Andkhud), the independence of which was destroyed by the Durrānī and Bārakzāy Amīrs of Afghānistān in the mid-19th century. Of these principalities, Sar-i pul was the last to succumb to the ruler of Kābul. In 1865 the troops stationed there revolted against the Amīr Shīr ʿAlī, but the mutiny was suppressed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, who eventually succeeded as Amīr; not long afterwards Sar-i pul lost the last vestiges of its independence, but the former geographical and political divisions of the principalities were preserved and their Uzbeg inhabitants exempt from liability to military service.

The site of Sar-i pul is probably identical with that of the town Anbār or Anbīr, one of the main centres of the mediaeval Islamic principality of Djūzdjān [*q.v.*, and see *EIr* art *Anbār* (C.E. Bosworth)]. The modern town of Sar-i pul comes within the present Djūzdjān province of Afghānistān; in *ca.* 1955 it had an estimated population of 5,000.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 426; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 335; J. Humlum, *La géographie d'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 151.

(T.W. Haig*)

SĀRA, wife of the Biblical patriarch Abraham [see IBRĀHĪM]. Sarah enters the text of the Ḳurʾān only in its rendition of the etiological narrative surrounding the name Isaac (Hebrew *wayyiṣḥaḳ* "and he laughed") from Gen. xvii, 15-22, xviii, 11-15 and xxi, 5-7; thus in Ḳurʾān, XI, 71-3, and LI, 29-30, Sarah laughs at the messengers who bring the news that she will bear a son in her (and Abraham's) old age, but she remains unnamed and is referred to simply as *imraʾatuhu* "his [Abraham's] wife". The issue of Sarah's laughing (and thus doubting God) drew some Muslim exegetical attention as it did in the Jewish tradition (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr, ad* XI, 71); the solution cited by al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī ʾl-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1955-72, ii, 22, and Ibn Ḳutayba, *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1958, 205-6, and then in many sources after them, avoids the problem by defining the verb *ḍaḥika* as "menstruate" rather than "laugh" (justified by the idea that "rabbits laugh when they menstruate"), reflecting a popular rabbinic gloss of the Hebrew *ʿednah* in Gen. xviii, 12, as "menstruate" rather than "pleasure" (see M.M. Kasher, in *Encyclopedia of Biblical interpretation*, New York 1953, iii, 26).

In the wider Muslim elaboration of Biblical history, Sarah plays a substantial role. The story of her beauty and her being taken by Pharaoh, leading to the proclamation by Abraham that "She is my sister", created a great deal of discussion (see R. Firestone, *Difficulties in keeping a beautiful wife: the legend of Abraham and Sarah in Jewish and Islamic tradition*, in *Jnal. of Jewish Studies*, xlii [1991], 196-214). The incident became a part of an early tradition concerning the "three lies of Abraham" (e.g. Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Khuṭab wa 'l-mawāʿiẓ*, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1986, 113) as well as creating extensive discussions concerning the true lineage of Sarah (see Firestone, *The problem of Sarah's identity in Islamic exegetical tradition*, in *MW*, lxxx [1990], 65-71; idem, *Prophethood, marriageable consanguinity, and text: the problem of Abraham and Sarah's kinship relationship and the response of Jewish and Islamic exegesis*, in *JQR*, lxxxiii [1993], 331-47). One tradition also states that her original name was Yasāra, but this was changed to Sāra when she was promised Isaac, and the *yāʾ* was given to John (the Baptist) whose name was changed, through this addition, from Ḥayā to Yaḥyā (see Abū Rifāʿa al-Fārisī, *Badʾ al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978, 308). This may be compared with the change from Sarai to Sarah in Gen. xvii, 15, and the rabbinic comments on the status of the *yod* in her name (see Kasher, ii, 248, where reference is made to the change of name from Hoshea to Joshua (Num. xiii, 16) with the addition of a *yod* from Sarah's name is also cited).

The sacrifice of Abraham's son [see ISḤĀḲ; ISMĀʿĪL] also brings Sarah into the accounts, especially as it ties into the understanding of her death. The concern of the son for the fate of his shirt and whether this would cause his mother grief (and lead to her death) is prominent. Also, Sarah is portrayed as a true believer in God alongside Abraham and her son, as within Judaism and Christianity (see Hebr. xi, 11), in the accounts of her resisting Satan's temptation to interfere in the sacrifice after Satan tells her about Abraham's plan (see Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Khuṭab*, 111-12; al-Ṭabarī, i, 293).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 114, on the pre-Islamic use of the name; R. Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, Albany, N.Y. 1990. (A. RIPPIN)

SARĀ [see SARĀY].

SARĀB (A.), mirage.

1. As a natural phenomenon. *Sarāb* is specifically the illusion of water (sometimes running water, due to a sense of the verb *saraba*) seen at midday which appears to be on the ground, as compared to *āl*, which is seen early and late in the day and makes things appear to float in mid-air and quiver. The lexicographical tradition attempts several ways of distinguishing these two words, but the emphasis on the time of day of their appearance is the most consistent differentiation. *Sarāb* is used twice in the Ḳurʾān, in XXIV, 39, within a simile for the deeds of the unbelievers, the value of which turns out to be a mirage before God, and in LXXVII, 20, in reference to the last day on which mountains will vanish (into thin air), as in the experience of a mirage.

The image of a "mirage" as reflected in Ḳurʾān, XXIV, 39, gains powerful resonances in Ṣūfī thought, especially Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt Makkiyya*, Būlāḳ 1329/1911, ii, 105, where the verse is interpreted to suggest that God appears to people in the form of their need; pursuing that form, which is a mirage, reveals the non-being of God and leads to the true vision of the divine.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], s.v. *āl*; Lane, i, 127-8 (s.v. *āl*); *tafsīr* and Ḳurʾān-lexicographical tradition esp. on XXIV, 39; W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge. Ibn al-ʿArabī's metaphysics of imagination*, Albany, N.Y. 1989, 378-9. (A. RIPPIN)

2. In poetry. The mirage or fata Morgana, in its two forms distinguished by the Arabs (*sarāb* and *āl*, see above), is very often described by pre- and early Islamic Arabic poets in brief passages rarely exceeding two lines, incorporated in their *ḳaṣīda*s containing desert scenes. Often it is said to move, dance or "amble" (*djarā, raḳaṣa, khabba*), to glitter or shimmer (*taraḳraḳa, lamaʿa*) like water, enveloping hills and sand dunes that appear clothed in it, or partly hiding camels that seem to wade or move in it like ships. Its apparent movements make it seem alive, like animals or humans. Later, urban, poets remain fond of the images, the main differences being that the mirage, now become part of the poetic universe rather than an everyday reality, generally changes from a *primum* into a *secundum comparationis*, and that it is increasingly used less as a potential source of strongly visual imagery than as a symbol of deceit, thwarted expectations, illusions and unfulfilled promises, to point a moral rather than adorn a scene. The frequent occurrence of this image is no doubt partly due to the Ḳurʾān, where the *sarāb* already stands for illusion and futility (XXIV, 39) or instability (LXXVIII, 20). For small selections of the vast but scattered material (Dhu 'l-Rumma's *Dīwān* alone offers over thirty passages), see e.g. Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, London 1950, 71-4; Abu 'l-Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352/1933-4, ii, 128-9; Shimshāṭī, *al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*, i, Kuwait 1977, 355-9.

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

SARACENS, a vague term used in the West for the Arabs and, eventually, other Islamic peoples of the Near East, in both pre-Islamic and mediaeval times.

1. Earlier usage.

Saracens was one of the many terms that Classical authors and ecclesiastical writers, used for the Arabs, the others being Arabes, Skēnitai, Ṭayyāyē, Ismailitai and Hagarēnoi. It became the most common of all these terms, although it was one that the Arabs did not use in referring to themselves. The term was a coinage composed of *Sarak and the Greek suffix *ēnos*, and both its etymology and denotation are controversial.

Many *etyma* have been suggested for this term, such as *sharḳ* (the east), *saraḳa* (steal) and *Sawāriḳ* (a tribe), but all of them have been weighed and found wanting. The most recent effort, one that has received a wide vogue, considers the *etymon* to be *shrkt*, federation, a term to be found in the bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Thamūd in Ruwāfa. Many serious objections were advanced against this etymology, even before a close examination of this inscription revealed that the term *shrkt* was a misreading of *shrbt* (tribe), a conclusion supported by the Greek version of the inscription which has *ethnos*, the exact equivalent of *shrbt*.

The failure of all these attempts to explain *Sarakēnos* calls for a return to what the Classical authors said about the term, accepted long ago by Nöldeke as the true etymology. The earliest certain attestations of it go back to the 1st century A.D. when Dioscorides of Anazarbos, a physician-pharmacologist, spoke of the Saracen tree imported through the Nabataeans, and Pliny the Elder, who spoke of the Saracens as the Arcani who lived beyond the Nabataeans. Thus the two authors pinpointed the Saracens as a people in northwestern Arabia and clearly indicated that the term was not a generic but specific one. Ptolemy in his

Geography speaks of a district *Sarakēnē* in Arabia Petraea, and Stephanus of Byzantium in his *Ethnika* speaks of Saraka as a district beyond the Nabataeans whose inhabitants are called the *Sarakenoi*; although a 6th century writer, Stephanus depended on the much earlier works of Ulpianus and Uranios. These writers provide data for the most plausible etymology of the term, that relating to a region, Saraka. This is supported by the fact (unnoted by the etymologists of this term) that the Greek suffix *ēnos* is used to form ethnic adjectives from geographical names.

Surprisingly, however, Saraka seems to have disappeared from Arabian toponymy, although Arab geographers know of two almost homophonous placenames in the Ḥijāz, a valley (Suwāriḳ) and a village (al-Suwāriḳiyya). Serious consideration should, therefore, be given to the possibility that Saraka is none other than Sarā(t), the well-known mountain range in that area. It is either a dialectal version of Sarā(t) or it experienced epenthesis by the intrusion of the *kappa*.

Even more important is the denotation of the term. It clearly was applied originally to a group of Arab pastoralists in northwest Arabia, but soon it became the generic term for all the Arab pastoralists within as well as without the Roman *limes*. And so it was used by the secular and ecclesiastical historians of the 4th century, such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Eusebius respectively. The latter developed an interest in both the term and what the term stood for. For them, the Saracens were the Biblical people, the sons of Ishmael, hence the children of the bondwoman Hagar and thus "outside the promises". As some of the Saracens attacked the inmates of the monastic establishments in the Orient, such as those in Chalcidice and the Desert of Judah near the Jordan, they acquired a bad reputation among these ecclesiastical historians, some of whom indulged in etymologising the term "Saracen" along pejorative lines. Such was Sozomen, who suggested that in order to avoid the opprobrium attaching to their descent from Hagar, the bondwoman, the Arabs started to call themselves by a name that related them to Sarah, the wife of the first patriarch. These perceptions of the Arabs most probably explain the emergence of other Biblical terms for the Arabs, such as Ismailitai and Hagarēnoi, with the same pejorative implications.

Latin authors who came to the East, such as Jerome, also etymologised the term along these Biblical lines and so projected an uncomplimentary image of the Saracens. Jerome's unfortunate experience with some marauding Saracens while he lived in Chalcidice and at Bethlehem, contributed further to the deterioration of that image in his writings. Such was also the experience of the pilgrim, the Anonymous of Placentia, with the Saracens of Sinai in the 6th century. Thus through the writings of such influential figures as Jerome, the term "Saracen" with all its pejorative implications reached Western Europe long before the Muslim Arabs appeared in the Roman Occident in the 2nd/8th century.

Bibliography: Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, Berlin 1958, i, 60; Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, Hildesheim 1966, book V, ch. 17, p. 69; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, ed. A. Meineke, Berlin 1849, 556; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Beirut 1957, iii, 275-6; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII.15.2; XXIII.6.13; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical history*, ed. J. Bidez, Berlin 1960, book VI, ch. 38; D.F. Graf and M. O'Connor, *The origin of the term Saracen and the Rawwāfa inscriptions*, in *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines*, iv (1977), 52-66; O'Connor, *The etymology of Saracen in Aramaic and pre-Islamic contexts*, in *The defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, *BAR*, International Series, 297, ii (1986), 603-32; I. Shahîd, *Rome and the Arabs*, Washington D.C. 1984, 123-41; idem, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century*, Washington D.C. 1989, 484, 485, 543; B. Moritz's art., *Saraka* in Pauly-Wissowa and J.H. Mordtmann's *Saracens* in the *EI*[1] may be consulted for the old controversies on the etymology of *Saracenus*.

(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

2. In mediaeval European usage.

The term "Saracen" (OFr. *Sar(r)azin, Sar(r)acin*, OEng. *Sarracene*), whatever its origin (see above, 1.) came into both Late Greek and Late Latin usage during late antiquity, and at that time simply meant "Arab". With the rise of Islam, and in subsequent mediaeval European times, European writers used "Saracen" to denote "Arab" or "Muslim" or both, according to context. With the contacts of the Crusaders with the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the 6th/12th century and the rise of the appellation *Turcia* for Asia Minor, and, above all, with the appearance of the Ottomans, "Saracen" in the sense of "Muslim" gave place to "Turk". As the Christian *reconquista* in the Iberian peninsula progressed, followed by Spanish and Portuguese attacks on the North African mainland, "Saracen" in the sense of "Arab" began to be generally replaced by "Moor", since the Christian peoples of the Iberian peninsula had used *Mauri* and *Moros* for the Arab-Berber invaders of their land [see MOORS]. The increasing numbers of Western travellers in North Africa and the Near East also came to use "Arab" more particularly in a pejorative sense (here following the usage of the indigenous urban populations of those lands) for "Bedouins, brigands". Hence in Western Europe, by the later Middle Ages, "Saracen" had tended to fall out of usage and to be replaced by somewhat more specific terms.

The great literary usage of "Saracen" in the European high Middle Ages was, of course, to designate the Muslim opponents of the Christians in the *Chansons de geste*, mostly set fictiously in the time of Charlemagne or his son Louis I ("The Pious") and written in the various forms of Old French. From these originals, whose genesis in time is uncertain, the views and concepts of the *Chansons* spread to other vernacular literatures, such as Spanish, Provençal and Italian, and also to English and German literature. These *Chansons* provide for us an idea of what was the unofficial, un-clerical, un-academic view of the Muslims (as opposed to the views of monkish and other clerical polemicists) during the Middle Ages. But whether their (largely unknown) poetic creators meant to provide a realistic portrait, as they conceived it, of their Muslim foes in Spain, North Africa, Syria or Egypt, or whether they used "Saracen" in a vague, general sense, is not always clear.

Byzantine usage of the term "Saracens" probably lasted till the end of the empire. Certainly, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was addressed as such (*ḳul li-hādhā 'l-Sarākinū yaʿnī al-Muslim*) by a monk in Constantinople (H.A.R. Gibb pointed out that it was chronologically impossible, however, that this monk could have been the ex-Emperor Andronicus II) when he was there, probably in the autumn of 732-3/1332 (*Riḥla*, ii, 441-2, tr. Gibb, ii, 512-13).

Bibliography: The literature on Christian conceptions of Muslims as shown by the *chansons de geste* is extensive. A useful start can be made from the detailed bibliographical information in N. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens. An interpretation of the* Chansons de Geste, Edinburgh 1984, 280-1 (studies), 320-7 (texts).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARAJEVO, principal city of Bosnia (and of

the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of former Yugoslavia), situated on the banks of a small river known as the Miljacka (western tributary of the river Bosna), at the outlet of a valley opening towards the West, this being the "Plain of the Seraglio"—in Turkish *Saray Ova* or *Saray Ovası* (hence the name of the city), surrounded by tall and precipitous mountains (notably those of Ozren (1,452 m/4,762 feet) and of Trebević (1,629 m/5,343 ft)), at an altitude, according to the various neighbourhoods, of between 537 m/1,761 ft and 700 m/2,296 ft.

Its first mention, under the name of *Vrhbosna* ("the Crete of Bosnia", of which the *župa* (local parochial district) of the same name is mentioned from the 10th century onwards) apparently dates from 1415, but this appellation in fact only applied to the fortress situated on a rocky promontory dominating the city (and the small township in front of the latter), since the city of Sarajevo as such, for a long time called simply *Saray* (meaning the seraglio, i.e. the "palace"), or *Bosna Saray*, was founded *ca.* 1429 according to some authors, but quite certainly at a later date, by the Ottomans (see e.g. B. Djurdjev, art. BOSNA, at vol. I, 1263a).

The fertile region around Sarajevo, with its abundant water sources and forests, was inhabited from the Neolithic period (2400 to 2000 B.C.), as is proved by the excavations of Butmir (one of the principal urban centres of the Balkan peninsula in this period, the ceramics of which are renowned). Other prehistoric dwellings have been brought to light on the slopes of Trebević (as on those of Debelo Brdo), some of which may have possibly existed even before the Roman period. Towards the end of the Bronze Age (900 B.C.), this region experienced an Illyrian influx, of which numerous vestiges have been discovered. In the Roman period, the 8th Augustan Legion was based on the plain of Sarajevo, and the well-known sulphurous bathing establishments of Ilidža, a thermal station situated in the foothills of Mount Igman (today some ten kilometres from the centre of the city) were developed. Other Roman remains have been discovered within Sarajevo itself.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Eastern Goths were the first to establish themselves in this territory, then, in 535 A.D. the entire region was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I. During the 7th century Slavic tribes occupied the region, and from the 10th century onwards there began to be formed, in the depression between the current cities of Sarajevo and of Zenica, the nucleus of the future mediaeval Bosnian state. It is known, on the other hand, according to a document of the king of Hungary Béla IV dating from 1244, that at that time the territory of Sarajevo formed a part of the *župa* (local parochial district) of Vrhbosna, then the site of the cathedral of Saint Peter, centre of the diocese. As early as 1379, the presence was noted at Vrhbosna of traders from Ragusa, who mentioned a locality called Trgovište (meaning "the place of [open] market") situated in the territory of what is now the city of Sarajevo, at the point where the stream known as Koševo (currently the name of a quarter of the city) joins the river Miljacka. It is also known that in 1415 a local dignitary, the voïvode Pavle Radenović, was buried at Vrhbosna.

The first decades of the 15th century were marked by increasingly frequent incursions on the part of the Ottoman cavalry, who took possession in 1416 (or possibly not until 1428) of the fortress of Hodidjed, a strategic position commanding the valley of Miljacka, situated two hours' march from Vrhbosna. Hodidjed was definitively captured by the Ottomans in the summer of 1435 (according to some sources in the previous year), thus some thirty years before the laying of the first foundations of the future city of Sarajevo, intended as a secure base for the conquest of Bosnia, of Herzegovina, of northern Serbia, of Dalmatia and of a part of Croatia, then also, a century later, of a part of Hungary.

The Ottomans recognised at a very early stage the value of its location, and when they conquered Bosnia during the time of Meḥemmed I, in the spring of 867/1463, they made it the principal arsenal of the conquered territory. From 1438-9 onward an Ottoman governor was installed there, with the duty of controlling the indigenous local dynasties (in particular that of the Pavlovićs) who were required to pay tribute. After the definitive conquest of the kingdom of Bosnia, and the execution of its last king, Stjepan Tomašević, the Ottoman governor at first resided at Vrhbosna, the name of which was to be retained for some time (at least until the beginning of the 16th century), as is shown by the travel-writing of Felix Petancius and of Benedict Kuripešić, and exchanges of letters with Ragusa (where the following forms are found: Werchbossen, Verchbossen, Verbosavia, Verbosania, Verchbossania, etc.).

The first significant foundations date from the years 1460-1 (cf. the *wakf-nāme* of 1462 of ʿĪsā Beg, son of Isḥāḳ Beg, who was to become *sandjaḳ beg* of Bosnia in 1464): initially, the governor's palace and a wooden mosque, then a bridge over the Miljacka, a caravanserai, a *bedesten*, a *ḥammām*, residential houses, shops, water-mills, etc. It is said that from 1455 onward the new urban centre (*ḳaṣaba*), was called sometimes *Saray*, sometimes *Saray owasî*, or even *Saray ḳaṣabasî*, the first mention of its current form (which is found in a letter written in Cyrillic characters) dating from 1507. Twenty years after the first constructions, in 1480, the city was taken by assault and burnt, in the course of a raid mounted jointly by the Hungarian garrison of Jajce led by Peter Doczy, and Serbian troops under the command of the despot Vuk Grgurović/Branković ("Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk").

Sarajevo's most illustrious period belongs to the 16th-17th centuries. It corresponds, of course, to the era of the greatest expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and in South-Eastern Europe, but also to the Ottoman golden age *per se*, a period in which the massive quantities of booty amassed in the course of incessant military campaigns against "the infidels" brought prosperity to commerce and to craftsmanship, and assisted in the development of a large number of towns. Sarajevo was for close on a century the seat of the governors of Bosnia (more precisely, from 1463 to 1533, at which date the latter was transferred to Banja Luka [*q.v.*] before being restored to Sarajevo in 1637-8). Its governors (ʿĪsā Beg, Ayās Beg, Yaḥyā Pas̲h̲a, Iskender Pas̲h̲a (whose name is still born by the quarter of "Skenderija"), then the son of the latter, Mustay Beg, and the most illustrious of them, G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲osrew Beg, a native of the town of Trebinje in Herzegovina, who lived for seventeen years on the banks of the Miljacka (he was several times *sandjaḳ beg* of Bosnia between 1521 and the year of his death, 1541, and was buried in Sarajevo), embellished it with the construction of a large number of renowned buildings: the mosques of ʿĪsā Beg (926/1520), of G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲osrew Beg (937/1530 [see K̲H̲OSREW BEG]) with a *medrese* built in 1537, a library, a *tekke*, a public kitchen, a hospice for travellers, a stone-built *k̲h̲ān*, a *bedesten*, a *ḥammām*, etc.), of G̲h̲āzī ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (969/1561), of Ferhād Beg (also in

969/1561), not forgetting the Imperial Mosque "Careva džamija" (built in 1566 at the order of Süleymān the Magnificent, to replace the former mosque of the same name, founded in 1457 and destroyed in 1480), and many others; the *tekke*s of the Mewlewīs, of the Khalwetīs, as well as that of the Ḳādirīs (the renowned *tekke* of Ḥādjdjī Sinān Āghā, constructed in 1638-40 and subsequently restored on numerous occasions); the *bedestens* (in particular the well-known "Bursa bezistān" built by Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1551); the clock tower (built at the end of the 16th century or at the start of the 17th), the *medreses*, the *türbes*, the fountains, the baths, the *khāns*, etc.

The number of inhabitants of the city, which had gained the status of *shehir* before the 16th century, grew rapidly as a result of the influx of the Muslim population, which settled at the outset on the left bank of the Miljacka; for a very long time, each religious group lived in separate *maḥalles*. This population consisted above all of new converts—there had been progressive Islamisation of a significant section of the local Slav population—as well as numerous administrative and religious cadres, Ottoman civilians and soldiers, of diverse origins and belonging to the most varied ethnic groups, as is demonstrated by the genealogies of some of the eminent Muslim families of the city. But the city also expanded as a result of an influx of indigenous Christian populations. It is interesting to note in this context that in 1477 there were in Sarajevo 103 Christian households, 8 households of Ragusans, and only 42 Muslim households (see Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi*, 1958, 9, quoting an article of Nedim Filipović). The Christian population was composed of the Orthodox—whose Old Church, "Stara Crkva", was built in 1528, then rebuilt on several occasions after numerous fires, in particular in 1616 and in 1658, subsequently reconstructed completely in 1730, then once more renovated in 1793 (the list of popes of Sarajevo from 1516 to 1804 may be found in V. Skarić, *Srpski...*, 140-1)—and of Catholics, some of whom came from Ragusa [*q.v.*] in the course of the second half of the 16th century and settled in a separate quarter, subsequently called "Latinluk". Not to be ignored is the arrival, also around the middle of the 16th century, of a relatively substantial Jewish colony. These were, of course, Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal, who settled in a quarter later known as "Čifuthana". The synagogue was probably built around 1580, then completely renovated in 1821, having been twice damaged by fire, in 1697 and in 1788. The total number of hearths (in Turkish *odjāk*) thus apparently increased from 153 in 1477, to 181 in 1480, subsequently to 1024 in the first half of the 16th century, then to 4270 in the second half of the 16th century. Aided by geographical position and "the industries of war", commerce and craftsmanship developed rapidly, as is clearly shown by the number of warehouses and covered markets, of traders and of types of merchandise which were sold there or which passed through the city. In fact, the city was located "on the caravan-route leading from Istanbul and from Salonica towards the West, at a staging-point where it was necessary to substitute horses and mules for camels" (G. Veinstein, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 92). It was linked to the Adriatic coast on the one hand by the valley of the Neretva, on the other by the route situated further to the north-west, leading from Livno to Split. Furthermore, in the local context, the city, situated at a crossroads, was also an excellent outlet for agricultural markets. In a totally different domain, it may be added that in 1085/1674-5 under Meḥemmed IV and in 1099/1687-8 under Süleymān II [*q.vv.*], copper coinage was struck there (these being the coins known as *mankïr*). This economic prosperity was naturally accompanied by increasingly intense religious and cultural activity, for Sarajevo had very rapidly become an important administrative centre. With reference to the Muslim population, there is abundant testimony (cf. for example the works cited in the *Bibl.* of H. Tahmiščić, of M. Mujezinović and of H. Šabanović); in the literary domain as such, the best known names for the whole of this period remain those of Meḥmed Nergisī (d. 1044/1635 [*q.v.*]) and of Ḥasan Ḳāʾimī (d. *ca.* 1101/1690, cf. J. Šamić, *op. cit.*). It should, however, be noted that the overall development of the city was thwarted on numerous occasions by various scourges: outbreaks of plague (like that of 1526-7) and of cholera (1691), fires (particularly worth mentioning are those of 1644 and 1656) and earthquakes, not to mention famines. In spite of all this, the description of Sarajevo in 1660 provided by Ewliyā Čelebi (even bearing in mind the exaggerations characteristic of this author) is quite impressive: the city reportedly then comprised 400 *maḥalles*, including ten Christian ones and two Jewish ones (it may be recalled that according to an earlier source at the end of the 16th century, the city allegedly comprised 91 Muslim *maḥalles* and two Christian *maḥalles*), 17,000 houses, 77 mosques and 100 *mesdjids*, a clock tower, numerous *medreses* and other specialised religious schools, 180 *mektebs*, 47 *tekkes*, 110 public fountains, 300 *sebīls*, 700 wells, 76 flour mills, five *ḥammāms*, 670 private bathrooms, three caravanserais, 23 *khāns*, 1,080 shops, a *bedesten*, seven bridges over the Miljacka, an Orthodox church, a Catholic church, a synagogue, seven *ʿimārets*, etc.

This long period of prosperity was brusquely interrupted four decades later, in September 1697, by a terrible and totally unexpected blow, the sacking and burning of the city by Austrian troops commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy who, taking advantage of his victory over the Ottomans before Zenta, carried out an exceedingly bloodthirsty raid, leaving behind him, after a brief occupation of the city, the ruins of Sarajevo ablaze. The unsuccessful siege of Vienna attempted by the Ottomans in 1683 marked, effectively, the beginning of a totally different period, that of the *reconquista*, and of the definitive withdrawal of Ottoman troops from Hungary and from Slavonia, but also from Voïvodina, from Croatia and from Dalmatia. A new era also began for the city of Sarajevo (the seat of the Ottoman *wezīrs* was furthermore transferred after 1699 to Travnik, where it remained until 1850), a period during which relations between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of the region deteriorated sharply, as did relations between on the one hand the ruling classes composed of indigenous Muslims, the *aghas*, the *aʿyāns* and the local *begs*, struggling fiercely to preserve their long-standing privileges, and on the other the Porte, resolutely promoting a whole series of new reforms—for the most part exceedingly unpopular—and its representatives who, appointed for very short periods, sought to enrich themselves with maximum haste at the expense of the indigenous populations, irrespective of religion, although the non-Muslims bore the heaviest burden.

In the 18th century, the economic and financial crisis of the Ottoman Empire, following the crisis of the very structures of the state, considerably weakened the latter's military power. This had immediate repercussions for the whole of the *eyālet* of Bosnia, henceforward a frontier region bordering on Christian Europe, as well as for the city of Sarajevo, where

disorder and corruption became rife. In fact, the arrival in the city of huge numbers of Janissaries forced to leave the vast territories conceded to the "infidels" provided a ready source of troops for rebel governors, who relied upon them on every occasion, also upon a large number of malcontents among the aggrieved local *sipāhīs* and the Muslim masses of the city, whose standard of living had worsened considerably since the beginning of the reconquest, with the constant increase in levies and the creation of new taxes. There ensued a series of revolts and seditious activities, punctuated by full-scale internal wars such as those conducted, on behalf of the central power, after the major revolt against the Porte which erupted in Sarajevo in 1750, by Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Kukavica, a native of Foča in Bosnia (from 1752 onwards), or by the *ḳul čāwūš* ʿAlī Ag̲h̲a (from 1772 onwards). These difficult times were accompanied by a whole series of scourges, first plague, which raged on a number of occasions in the course of this century (in 1731-2, 1741, 1762-3 and 1781-2), then numerous fires which devastated Sarajevo on some ten occasions (in 1721, 1724, 1731, 1748, 1766, 1769, 1773, 1776, the most serious occurring in 1788 and 1797), as well as numerous floods. In spite of all this, efforts were made to restore certain ancient buildings, such as the fortress situated in the old town (in 1729-39), the mosque known as "Magribija" (constructed in the 16th century and entirely rebuilt in 1766), the Serbian Orthodox church (rebuilt in 1730 and fully restored in 1793—we are told that in 1720 the city reportedly contained between 3,000 and 5,000 Serbs, cf. V. Skarić, *Srpski*, 54, but this number must also include the Serbs of the surrounding villages gravitating round the Orthodox church in Sarajevo), etc. It may be recalled finally that the history of Sarajevo in the second half of the 18th century is drawn from an exceptional source, the *Chronicle* of Mullā Muṣṭafā Bāšeski (1731-2 to 1809), which covers the years 1746-1804, and which contains a mine of first-hand information.

At the beginning of the 19th century, general discontent and resistance to reforms continued in Sarajevo, just as in other regions of Bosnia and of Herzegovina, to the point where insurrections against the governors sent by the Porte (or even sometimes directly against the central power) were carried out with increasing intensity. This was particularly the case in 1814 and then in 1826 (date of the major revolt which followed the suppression of the corps of Janissaries). But these revolts were invariably brutally suppressed, for example, by D̲j̲elāl ul-Dīn Pas̲h̲a in 1829, and subsequently by ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān Pas̲h̲a. However, soon afterwards, in 1246/1831, a new major uprising erupted, this time against reforms in the organisation of the Ottoman army and led by the *ḳapudān* Ḥuseyin Beg Gradaščević, nicknamed "Zmaj od Bosne" (i.e. "Dragon of Bosnia"). The movement spread rapidly at first, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but when, some time later, other *ḳapudāns* dissociated themselves from it and joined the side of the government forces [see RIḌWĀN BEGOVIĆ], it too was suppressed, with much bloodshed, after a decisive battle which took place at Pale near Sarajevo. (Attention should be drawn in this context to a tendency which has been observed throughout the Balkans: during the Communist period, some historians and pseudo-historians of former Yugoslavia represented these various uprisings against the Porte, led by various local *condottieri*, as "national revolts" of the indigenous Muslim populations against the Ottoman Turks, which is manifestly false.) In spite of these numerous setbacks, some years later (in 1840 and then in 1848), there was a renewal of uprisings against the *wezīrs* of the Porte based in Travnik, which induced the latter to embark on a wide-ranging policy of repression. The task was entrusted, in 1850, to ʿÖmer Pas̲h̲a (formerly a junior officer in the Austrian army, a native of Lika, in Krajna, a region of Croatia, whose name before his conversion to Islam was Mihailo (Mića) Latas (1806-71)), who, armed with special powers and a substantial military force, definitively crushed all resistance in 1850-1, executing in the process a large proportion of the indigenous Muslim ruling class, just as he had done previously, in actions of a similar type, in Syria, in Albania and in Kurdistan, or was later to do in Montenegro and in Herzegovina, although his efforts in Crete in 1867 were unsuccessful. After these bloody events, the seat of the Ottoman *wezīrs* in Bosnia was definitively transferred from Travnik to Sarajevo. From this time onwards, the city experienced the implementation of a number of reforms aimed at European-style modernisation, as during the vizierate of Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a (i.e. between 1861 and 1869), a period which saw a hesitant and belated reform of education, the establishment of the first Ottoman printing-press in these regions (that of the *wilāyet*), and thus the appearance of the very first local Muslim journals (cf. Dj. Pejanović, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*). Two other phenomena affected the city of Sarajevo substantially from the mid-19th century onwards: on the one hand, the gradual and final disappearance of the organisation of the *eṣnāf* (guilds of craftsmen) which had dominated the economic life of the city in preceding centuries; on the other hand, and most importantly (as this was to change enormously the relations existing between the various populations of the city), the gradual but constant enrichment of many of the Serbian families of Sarajevo, who were subsequently to represent a considerable social force in the material and spiritual life of the city. It is, however, worth remembering that, in the words of a significant remark of M. Ekmečić, "around the middle of the last century (i.e. the 19th), Sarajevo contained 100 mosques, and *one* Serbian Orthodox church" (cf. *Srpski narod u Turskoj od sredine XIX veka do 1878*, in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, v/1 [Belgrade 1981], 454). Finally, it may be noted that, as in the past, Sarajevo had to endure in the 19th century a prolonged outbreak of plague (in 1813-16), and a number of major fires (in 1831, 1842, 1852, and the most devastating of all, in 1879).

According to the resolutions of the Congress of Berlin (June-July 1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the mandate of Austria-Hungary, although the latter did not formally annex the two provinces until October 1908. The troops of the Dual Monarchy entered the city of Sarajevo in August 1878, having encountered a desperate resistance, as unexpected as it was murderous, on the part of a section of the Muslim population of the city, which lasted eight hours. It was led by numerous local individuals, including an *imām*, Hadži Lojo (Loyo), although there was no significant involvement on the part of Sarajevo's Muslim ruling class, which remained aloof from this popular movement. The forty years of Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918) transformed the appearance of the city beyond recognition, not only in matters of town-planning and architecture, but also in terms of the religious (corresponding in this particular case to *ethnic*) composition of the population. This is clearly illustrated by the following table, devised by one of the two most knowledgeable historians of the city, Hamdija Kreševljaković (the

other specialist being Vladislav Skarić). What is established is on the one hand a quite spectacular fall in the percentage of the Muslim population, and on the other an extraordinary increase in the percentage of the Catholic population (see Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme*, 38):

year	*total pop.*	*Muslims*	*Orthodox*	*Catholics*	*Jews*
1851	21,102	15,224 (72.23%)	3,575 (16.94%)	239 (1.14%)	1,714 (8.12%)
1879	21,377	14,848 (69.45%)	3,747 (17.52%)	678 (3.26%)	2,077 (9.74%)
1885	26,267	15,787 (60.09%)	4,431 (16.88%)	3,326 (12.66%)	2,618 (9.96%)
1895	38,083	17,787 (45.06%)	5,858 (15.39%)	10,672 (28.02%)	4,054 (10.64%)
1910	51,919	18,460 (35.57%)	8,450 (16.27%)	17,922 (34.51%)	6,397 (12.33%)
1921	60,087	21,465 (35.73%)	12,479 (20.77%)	18,076 (30.08%)	7,427 (12.36%)

Seeing the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a first stage in its colonisation of the Balkans, the Austro-Hungarian government proceeded methodically towards the implementation of numerous projects, especially in Sarajevo, designed to facilitate the attainment of this objective, while at the same time demonstrating to international opinion the civilising nature of its mission: construction of railway, of a central electricity system and of urban canals; improvement of the quays of the Miljacka; construction of the Catholic cathedral (1884-9, replacing the former Catholic church, on which little information is available, as is hardly surprising when the figures in the above table are considered); building of a monumental Town Hall in pseudo-Moorish style (1896), and many other public buildings on the grand scale (such as the magnificent Zemaljski Musej (1888), modelled on the Vienna Museum, the Theatre, the Law Courts, the Bank, the Protestant Church, the Hospital, schools, hotels, etc.; not forgetting the laying-out, in 1886, of the city's first municipal park on the site of a Muslim cemetery). This rapid Europeanisation brought to Sarajevo many soldiers and officials. Among the latter, both in administration and in education, there were to be found a large number of Orthodox (i.e. Serbs) and Catholics (predominantly Croats, who were joined by considerable numbers of new arrivals from elsewhere: Austrians, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenians, Rumanians, etc.) (see Kreševljaković, *op. cit.*, 37-9). The city was extended rapidly in a westwards direction, i.e. towards the plain, and towards Ilidža, which soon became a kind of "oriental Baden". At the same time, as was to be anticipated, there was a decline in the craftsmanship of the city, an inevitable consequence of the appearance of the first factories.

The shock experienced by the Muslim population of Sarajevo, as a result of Austro-Hungarian occupation and the sudden irruption of all this modernity, was acute, as is shown by many texts of this period, and also by the emigration (although apparently of limited extent) of some of the inhabitants of the city to Turkey, or towards closer regions still controlled by the Ottoman Empire (see A. Popovic, *Isl. balk.*, 272-3). However, gradually the Muslim reacted and organised themselves into a religious community guided by an *Ulema medžlis* and an administration of *wakfs*, at the head of which was the chief of the community bearing the title of *Reʾis al-ulema* (see *EI*², I, 1273b). In matters affecting schools, and education in general, great changes took place, since the Austro-Hungarian authorities completely reformed the organisation of public instruction. In this new system, which had little effect on the various Muslim elementary schools, *medreses*, more or less "reformed", served for the training of religious functionaries of inferior status. The best-known in Sarajevo at this time were the Kuršumlija and Hanika *medreses*, both dating from the time of G͟hāzī K͟hosrew Beg (cf. *Spomenica Gazi...*). Furthermore, in 1887, a special college was inaugurated in Sarajevo with the aim of training judges for the Muslim courts and senior religious functionaries. This was the highly-renowned *Šeriatska Sudačka Škola u Sarajevu*, which was the principal seed-bed of the Muslim religious intelligentsia of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1887 and the Second World War, and where the duration of studies was five years. Many details concerning this institution are to be found in the two volumes compiled on the occasion of its thirty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries: in *Tridesetpetogodišnji izvještaj Šeriatske Sudačke Škole u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo 1917, and especially in *Spomenica Šeriatske Sudačke Škole u Sarajevu, izdana povodom pedesetgodišnjice ovoga zavoda* (*1887-1937*), Sarajevo 1937. In 1892 an academy was also founded for the training of school-teachers (*Dār al-muʿallimīn*), where the course of study lasted three years. It should be noted that there was at first, among the local Muslims, a period of passivity, of mistrust and of defiance regarding everything emanating from the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In this context, worth citing for example is the fact that in 1887, at the time of the inauguration of the *Šer. Sud. Škola* which has been mentioned above, the new administration encountered obstinate resistance on the part of the Muslims, who refused to send their sons to the school, with the result that the first pupils of this establishment were recruited among orphans (cf. Abduselam Balagija, *Les musulmans yougoslaves*, Algiers 1940, 115). But subsequently, as a result of a gradual transformation of opinions, many Muslim children began to attend secular elementary schools and academies. Some even pursued studies abroad, especially in Vienna and in Budapest, for those to whom Zagreb was not a preferable option, to qualify as doctors, engineers, etc. Others also went abroad, but with the object of pursuing traditional studies, in Istanbul, in Cairo and in Medina, or on

the contrary, to become initiated into Western-style Islamology, in Vienna (as was the case with Šukrija Alagić, Fehim Bajraktarević and Safvet-beg Bašagić) or in Budapest (in the case of Šaćir Sikirić), thus becoming the very first local orientalists.

There is much that should be said regarding the Muslim press of Sarajevo during these four decades. This evidently reflects accurately the principal political, social, cultural and other tendencies which emerged in the Muslim community, a community which found itself from day to day, without really understanding *how*, being carried along in the wake of the other populations of the city, which until recently had only constituted the *reʿāyā*. Details should also be supplied regarding the first Muslim political parties founded in Sarajevo in this period (on these parties, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 287-9). Finally, it may be recalled that it was in Sarajevo, on 28 June 1914, that the Archduke of Austria Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a young local Serb, and that this act served as the pretext for the unleashing of the First World War.

From 1918 to 1941, Sarajevo was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (a state which was initially called, and for a short time, "Kingdom of the Serbs, of the Croats and the Slovenians"). While continuing to play its role as a major regional city, and although it was, from 1929 onwards the centre of the Drinska Banovina, i.e. the Department of Drina, Sarajevo quite rapidly lost its former importance and was relegated to the second rank, suffering unfavourable comparisons (in all respects) in regard to the major centres of the country, such as Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. It retained its picturesque monuments and its pleasing aspect of an ancient Ottoman city, with its "upper town" composed of residential quarters and its "lower town", with its *čaršija*, the streets of which still bore the names of the crafts which had been practised there, its mosques, its quarters of former times, and its cemeteries extending over the neighbouring hills (in particular, one of the most spectacular of all, the Jewish cemetery, dating from the 16th century, situated on the left bank of the Miljacka). Sarajevo nevertheless continued to develop on the economic, industrial, cultural and political levels. Its population, within which the religious barriers were becoming blurred, with the consequence that an increasing number of mixed marriages was observed, grew from 60,087 inhabitants in 1921 ("more than a third of whom are Muslims, who are for the most part craftsmen", F. Babinger, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*) to slightly more than 80,000 in 1941. The city was naturally the principal religious and cultural centre not only for the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also for the Muslim community of the Kingdom as a whole (see BOSNA, and Popovic, *Isl. balk.*, 312 ff. and *passim*). As regards the Muslim scholastic establishments, it should be noted that the *medrese* of Ghāzī Khosrew Beg continued to offer higher secondary education, but also that a new pilot scholarly establishment was opened, known as the "Academy of Islamic Law" (*Šerijatska gimnazija*), which was the only Muslim academy in the Kingdom where Muslim pupils could receive an education comparable to that dispensed in other public academies. As for the *Šeriatska Sudačka Škola*, it was converted in 1937 to the *Viša islamska šerijatsko-teološka škola u Sarajevu* ("Islamic High School of Law and Theology") and gained the status of a Faculty. Furthermore, the Muslim press (of various tendencies) continued to develop, as did the Muslim political parties (which were to disappear in 1941). (On these topics, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 328-31 and *passim.*)

During the Second World War (1941-5), the city of Sarajevo was part of the Fascist Croat state of Ante Pavelić, then, after the war, it became the capital of the Federal Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Titoist Yugoslavia. In the course of this latter period (1945-92), Sarajevo experienced extraordinary growth, expanding from some 100,000 inhabitants in 1946, to 213,092 in 1961, then to about 250,000 in 1968, and passing the figure of 300,000 in 1992, henceforward comprising a large number of modern quarters, most of them extending over the plain. The city continued to be the base for the guidance of the Yugoslav Muslim community and the seat of its chief. (On relations between the latter and the Communist authorities during this period, see Popovic, *Les musulmans yougoslaves*.) As regards the Muslim educational establishments, they experienced several phases, which may be summarised thus. At the very beginning of the taking of power by the Communists, all the Muslim religious schools mentioned above were closed. Thus the *Viša isl. šer.-teol. škola* was definitively closed in April 1946, this coinciding with the abolition of the Muslim courts. Then, gradually, as a result of an extraordinary reversal of the situation, beginning with the Communist government's decision to seek a major role in the organisation—predominantly Muslim—of Non-Aligned States, a new system was put in place. Under this system, the principal institution for the training of religious cadres became once more the renowned Gazi Husrevbeg *medrese*, then some time later, in 1977, there was established (still in Sarajevo) a Faculty of Islamic Theology (*Islamski Teološki Fakultet*). The same period saw a remarkable flourishing of the Muslim press.

The disintegration of Titoist Yugoslavia, following the collapse of the Communist world and the resurgence of various local nationalisms, culminated in the spring of 1992 in a brutal civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the city of Sarajevo has become one of the principal theatres of operations (on these controversial and poorly-understood issues, as well as on the Muslim community, cf. X. Bougarel, *Discours d'un ramadan de guerre civile*, in *L'Autre Europe*, 26-7 [Paris 1993], 171-197; and idem, *Un courant panislamiste en Bosnie-Herzégoviné*, in G. Kepel (ed.), *Exils et royaumes. Les appartenances au monde arabo-musulmans aujourd'hui*, Paris 1994, 275-99). At present, it is impossible to see when, or how, the city of Sarajevo can regain a semblance of normality.

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SARAKHS, a town of northern Khurāsān, lying in the steppe land to the north of the eastern end of the Köpet Dagh mountain chain. It was situated on the right or eastern bank of the Tadjant (modern Tedjen) river, whose uncertain flow received the waters of the Harī Rūd before finally petering out in the Ḳara Ḳum desert [*q.v.*]. According to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, the river bed only contained water at the time of floods, i.e. winter and early spring. Various channels were taken off the river for irrigation, but scantiness of water supply always limited agriculture there. In mediaeval times also the road from Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs to Marw passed through Sarakhs.

The geographers record a tale that the town was founded by the legendary Turkish king Afrāsiyāb, but nothing seems to be known of any pre-Islamic history. The first mention of Sarakhs in Islamic history is in 22/643 when the Arab commander al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] sent one of his officers to it, but this can only have been an exploratory probe since ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] in 31/651-2 led a campaign into Khurāsān, capturing Nīshāpūr and other towns as far as Sarakhs (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2682, 2884, 2887-8). Sarakhs is mentioned during the fighting in Khurāsān between Abū Muslim's partisans and the last Umayyad governor there, Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*], and in 185/801 there took place at Sarakhs and at neighbouring Nasā [*q.v.*] a rebellion against the oppressive ʿAbbāsid governor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān [*q.v.*] led by the *mawlā* Abu 'l-Khaṣīb Wuhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh (183-6/799-802) (see E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 171). The geographers of the 4th/10th century describe Sarakhs as a considerable town, half the size of Marw, with a Friday mosque, good agriculture, including grain grown for export to Nīshāpūr, and extensive pasture grounds for camels and sheep. Within the population, so al-Muḳaddasī states, there were two factions of the Ḥanafī ʿArūsiyya and the Shāfiʿī Ahliyya (see C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 165-6).

Sarakhs played a significant role in the overrunning of Khurāsān by the Turkmens in the first half of the 5th/11th century. In 425/1025 Maḥmūd of Ghazna allowed 4,000 Oghuz families and their herds to cross the Oxus and settle near Farāwa, Abīward [*q.vv.*] and Sarakhs, but by 428/1036 the Oghuz were demanding a grant of the revenues of Marw, Abīward and Sarakhs. It suffered badly from the devastations of the Turkmens, so that when Masʿūd of Ghazna appeared there with his army in 431/1040, the exasperated inhabitants refused him entry, and Masʿūd had to storm the citadel, killing many of the people; it was thus from Sarakhs that the sultan set forth for his ill-fated battle with the Saldjūḳs and their forces at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the waterless desert between Sarakhs and Marw (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 224, 250-1, 265). In the second half of the 5th/12th century and after the end of Sandjar's sultanate, Sarakhs was held by the Oghuz chief Malik Dīnār, and then by the Khʷārazmian claimant to power, Sulṭān Shāh b. Il Arslan. During the time of the Mongol invasions, Čingiz Khān in 618/1221 sent his son Toluy to occupy the towns of Khurāsān, including Sarakhs; it submitted and received a Mongol *shiḥna*, but rebelled, like other towns in the province, on hearing rumours of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn's successes (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 155-6, 162, 301). The town must nevertheless have slowly revived after the Mongol devastations. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] passed through it without mentioning anything except Sarakhs's connection with the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Luḳmān al-Sarakhsī (whose *gunbad* or tomb still exists in the town) (*Riḥla*, iii, 79, tr. Gibb, iii, 583), but Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (mid-8th/14th century) describes the town as having a strong wall 5,000 paces in circumference and a flourishing agriculture, especially of melons and grapes (*Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 159, tr. 155).

During the period of Ṣafawid-Özbeg warfare, it had an exposed position in the frontier zone between the two rival powers. In 932/1526 ʿUbayd Allāh Khān Shībānī occupied Sarakhs en route for his campaign against Mashhad and Ṭūs (*Bābur-nama*, tr. Beveridge, 534). The raids of the Tekke Turkmens of Marw on Persian territory did not cease until after the Persian government in *ca.* 1850 constructed a strong fort at Sarakhs, on the left or western bank of the Tedjen river, shortly after which a new threat appeared when the Russians moved into Central Asia and built a military post and settlement at Old Sarakhs on the right bank (G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 195-8).

Modern Persian Sarakhs (lat. 36° 32′N., long. 61° 07′ E.) is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* of the same name in the *shahrastān* of Mashhad in the province (*ustān*) of Khurāsān; in *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 5,000 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 212-13), which had increased by 1991 to 22,247 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

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AL-**SARAKHSĪ**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD b. al-Ṭayyib b. Marwān, the most prominent disciple of al-Kindī and, like his master, a dedicated advocate of Greek learning at the unsure early stage of its Muslim integration, but with a more pronounced inclination toward *adab*.

He was born around 220/835 and died early in 286/899. A fact attested for his obscure early life is his participation as the delegate of al-Kindī in a multireligious philosophical-theological debate about Christianity and the Trinity (see Moosa and Holmberg). He began his career as an educator of the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid. In 271-2/885, he accompanied the prince on an unsuccessful military expedition to al-Ṭawāḥīn in southern Palestine, keeping a journal detailing its itinerary. He became an influential *nadīm* [*q.v.*] of the caliph and, in 282/895, was appointed to the *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] and other offices. This, however, may have contributed to his downfall. Already in the following year, he was incarcerated. He died, or rather was put to death, in prison three years later. The reason for this turn in his fortunes was a mystery that was much debated at the time and continued to intrigue scholars through the centuries. Many explanations were put forward, none of them provable. The unwise betrayal of a high-level secret, a falling-out with the caliph himself, and also rumours of "heresy", might have contributed. He appears indeed to have unwisely expressed objectionable views, including seeming doubts about the credibility of prophets (see also below). His supposed influence on the caliph in religious matters might have become an embarrassment to the latter, once he was given highly visible official positions. And there were no doubt the usual rivalries at court; he himself is described as fiercely protective of his position (see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xii, 17, under al-Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Raʿd al-Khurāsānī).

His great productivity as a scholar and writer may in part have been as transmitter of al-Kindī, albeit, it seems, a rather creative one; this is particularly likely where identical titles on philosophical subjects are attested for both only in late bibliographical tradition. No copy of a complete work of his has been authenticated so far. The recent discovery of a *Kitāb Ādāb al-mulūk* also remains doubtful for the time being, even though the title appears among his works; the attribution to him is found in only one of the two manuscripts now known, and the work itself is an interesting reworking of the *Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Taghlibī/Thaʿlabī, published earlier as *Kitāb al-Tādj* with a wrong attribution to al-Djāḥiẓ (see G. Schoeler, in *ZDMG*, cxxx [1980], 217-25). On the other hand, we have a cornucopia of quotations from his works or attributed to him as a transmitter; a noteworthy recently published source is Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1408/1988. Geography, in particular, was enriched by his above-mentioned journal; it was discovered in al-Muʿtaḍid's library under interesting circumstances and acquaints us with a unique document of early Muslims geography. He is credited with other geographical and topographical writings. He and al-Kindī are said to have provided the materials for a world map (see M. Kropp, in *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, between 160 and 161). He wrote on the full extent of the paideia of the *nadīm*, on cooking and politics, on love and music, among many other subjects. Fragments on the theoretical aspects of music are preserved in al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kātib, *Kamāl adab al-ghināʾ*, ed. Cairo 1975, v. *mūsīḳī*, vii, 683-4; Fr. tr. Amnon Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, Paris 1972). He occurs frequently as a transmitter of anecdotes on singers and wits. His interest in comparative religion is further attested by his report on the Ṣābians on the basis of al-Kindī preserved in the *Fihrist* (another fragment in ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, v, 152). His hilarious spoof that targeted the anti-Greek religious bias of a narrow-minded member of the Ibn Thawāba family [*q.v.*] as told by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, ed. Ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, Damascus 1385/1965, 235-47, may possibly have been concocted or embellished by al-Tawḥīdī himself; be this as it may, its ascription to him as well as his writing on Ṣābianism could easily have added to impeaching his orthodoxy for later generations. All his works and ideas (among them the invention of a transliteration system for foreign languages, see Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Tanbīh*, ed. M.Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād 1968, 35) reveal a lively thinker and (to a degree) free spirit who probably had few equals in his time. He may well be considered as representative of intellectual currents in contemporary Baghdād that were about to change direction.

Bibliography: The main sources for his life and works are the *Fihrist* and, secondarily, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Cf. further, for instance, Masʿūdī; Ḳifṭī; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 158-60; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, Beirut 1412/1992, xiii, 448-9; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 5-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, i, 198-9; Brockelmann, I^2, 231-2, S I, 375; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 259, v, 263, vi, 162-3, vii, 137, ix, 233. Numerous other biographical references are almost exclusively concerned with the circumstances of his death. See F. Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Saraḫsī*, American Oriental Series 26, New Haven 1943; idem, in *JAOS*, lxxi (1951), 135-42, lxxvi (1956), 27-32, lxxxi (1961), 222-4; idem, articles to be published on *Ādāb al-mulūk* and on the *Rangstreit* between lovers of boys and of girls; Matti Moosa, in *al-Madjalla al-Baṭriyarkiyya* (*The Patriarchal Magazine, Organ of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East*), vii (1969), 189-97, 244-52; idem, in *JAOS*, xcii (1972), 19-24; B. Holmberg, *A treatise on the unity and Trinity of God by Israel of Kashkar*, Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions 3, Lund 1988, 50 ff., 84 ff.; Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, in *Djāwīdan Khirad*, i (1354/1975), 9-18 (no more publ.; reference provided by Said Arjomand). (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-**SARAKHSĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD b. Abī Sahl Abū Bakr, Shams al-Aʾimma, a Ḥanafī jurist of the 5th/11th century, who lived and worked in Transoxania, inheriting and developing the juristic tradition of that region. He produced a number of works, the most important being the *Mabsūṭ*, the *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabīr*, and the *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*. The first of these is a work of *furūʿ*, a commentary on the *mukhtaṣar* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (d. 334/945). This in turn was an epitome of the works of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, the foundational texts of the Ḥanafī tradition. Al-Sarakhsī reintroduced and explored the rules of al-Shaybānī, organising his material around points of dispute (*ikhtilāf*) and incorporating information related to local Ḥanafī tradition and other schools of law, apparently derived from oral transmission and local teaching practice. His organisation, comprehensive coverage, exploration of *ikhtilāf*, and manipulation of hermeneutical argument, all conduce to make this work a remarkable achievement of juristic literature. It remained a point of reference for the developing Ḥanafī *furūʿ* tradition till the 19th century. The *Sharḥ* is a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Siyar al-kabīr* of al-Shaybānī. In its published form it is not always easy

to distinguish the text and the commentary (also true of the *Mabsūṭ*), but it too demonstrates an overall concern for comprehensive coverage, development of rules and considered hermeneutical argument. Al-Sarakhsī's *Uṣūl* draws on the independent Transoxanian Ḥanafī tradition represented by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/951) and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāshī (d. 344/955) and on the *uṣūl* works of al-Djaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/980). He also refers to the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī, the opinions and some writings of later Shāfiʿī thinkers (e.g. Ibn al-Suraydj, d. 306/918), and to the major stances of other traditions.

The Ḥanafī biographical tradition has little independent information on al-Sarakhsī's life. It draws on and elaborates clues supplied in the works. The Introduction to the *Mabsūṭ* and the concluding formulae of a number of its sections reveal that the author dictated it from prison. The *Sharḥ* identifies ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad al-Ḥulwānī as a teacher, and the *Uṣūl* begins with the statement that it was dictated in Ūzdjand or Özgend in 479/1086. Biographical notices emerge later e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Abi 'l-Wafāʾ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī (d. 775/1373) and the *Tādj al-tarādjim* of al-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḳuṭlubughā (d. 879/1474). In addition to conventional and formulaic items, al-Ḳurashī states that al-Sarakhsī died *ca.* 490/1096, and names three students, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaṣīrī, ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-Baykandī and ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb, grandfather of al-Marghīnānī, the author of the *Hidāya*. Ibn Ḳuṭlubughā expands the story of the imprisonment, adds that al-Sarakhsī ended his life in Farghāna under the protection of the Amīr Ḥasan, suggests a date of death about 500/1106, and gives an anecdote about a local *amīr* and his *umm walads*. The anecdote is intended to demonstrate the knowledge, skills and integrity of al-Sarakhsī, but Heffening, in *EI*[1], discovered in it a cause for his imprisonment. Abu 'l-Ḥasanat Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī, writing in 1293/1876, summarised the biographical tradition, incorporating a few more details (e.g. he identifies another student, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ūzdjandī, grandfather of Ḳāḍīkhān) and citing an aberrant death date of 438/1046. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 363, gives 483/1090 as date of death and has been followed by Brockelmann, Heffening and Sezgin.

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SARAḲUSṬA, Saragossa, a town situated on the river Ebro in Spain, regional capital of its eponymous province and of the current *Communidad Autónoma de Aragón*. Founded in 24 B.C. by Augustus as a Roman military colony, on the Iberian site of Salduba, it was called in Latin *Caesarea Augusta*, a name corrupted into the form *Cesaragosta*, which was adopted, virtually unchanged, by the Muslims after their conquest of the Iberian Peninsula; it is transcribed into Arabic as *Saraḳusṭa* (*nisba: Saraḳusṭī*). The correspondences *s* > *z* and *ḳ* > *g* and the current assimilation *-st-* > *-z-* explain its modern form in Spanish, Zaragoza.

Saraḳusṭa was one of the most important cities (*madīna*) of al-Andalus, between 95/714 and its conquest by Alfonso I of Aragon (512/1118), considered the regional capital (*ḥāḍira*) or the "metropolis" of the "Upper March" of al-Andalus (*umm al-thaghr al-aʿlā*), the *thaghr* or northern frontier extending in principle to the north of the Pyrenees, and, after the Christian conquests as far as Pamplona (captured in 183/799) and Barcelona (captured in 185/801). This was fixed, for the duration of the three remaining centuries, in the valley of the Ebro, with the zones (*iḳlīm*) of Saraḳusṭa and of Tudela (Tuṭīla), Huesca (Washḳa), Barbastro (Barbiṭāniya), Lerida (Lārida) and Calatayud (Ḳalʿat Ayyūb), in addition to the eastern zone of Tortosa (Ṭurṭūsha) and the southern zone of Bārūsha, bordering on the "Middle March" (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*).

The zone (*iḳlīm*) of Saraḳusṭa included the districts (*nāḥiya*) of the city itself (*al-madīna*), and others such as Belchitá (Balshād), Cazarabet (Ḳaṣr ʿAbbād), Cutanda (Ḳutanda), Fuentes (Fūntish), Gallego (Djalliḳ), Jalon (Shalūn), Pleitas (Balṭash), and Zaydūn. It comprised fortresses (*ḥiṣn*), villages (*balda*) and hamlets (*ḳarya*), denominations applied not always systematically to places in this zone, such as Alcañiz (Ḳannīsh), Almenara (al-Manāra), Caspe (Ḳashb), Calanda (Ḳalanna), Montañana (Munt Anyāt), Ricla (Rikla), Rueda de Jalón (Rūṭa), and Zuera (Ṣukhayra).

The town plan of Saraḳusṭa included a space enclosed within a wall of stone, built by the Romans and preserved throughout the four centuries of Muslim domination; this wall surrounded an irregular rectangle of approximately 600 × 900 m where, according to the calculations of L. Torres Balbás, some 17,000 inhabitants lived. This intramural space was crossed by two perpendicular highways (the former *cardo* and *decumanus*) which connected four gates: the Gate of the Bridge (*Bāb al-Ḳanṭara*), on the river Ebro; to the east, the Gate of *al-Ḳibla*, or of Valencia; to the west the Gate of Toledo, or "of the Jews" (*Bāb al-Yahūd*), and to the south the Gate of the Ṣinhādja, indicating a settlement of these Berbers, a name still evident in the "Cinegio" Arch. In the north-west corner of the enclosed space there was a fortified compound, the seat of authority (*al-Ḳaṣr*), known as *al-Sudda* (like the *Sudda* of Cordova), a name currently born by the "Torreón de la Zuda". Also within the enclosed space stood the Great Mosque (*al-Djāmiʿ*), which according to an improbable tradition is said to have been founded by a number of venerable individuals (*ṣaḥāba* or *tābiʿūn*) who were supposed to have arrived in Saraḳusṭa with the vanguard of the Muslim conquerors: archaeology has proved that this Great Mosque was built over a Roman temple, dating from the time of Tiberius, which became a church with the arrival of Christianity. Some Andalusian sources indicate that the Great Mosque of Saraḳusṭa was enlarged twice, in 242/856-7 and *ca.* 409-12/1018-21. Recent archeological excavations have revealed the rectangular shape (54 x 86 m) of this Mosque, with a pillar-supported hall of nine naves, comparable in dimensions to the greatest mosques of al-Andalus, those of Cordova and Seville. All that remains of it are the lower portions of the minaret, and a few capitals dating from the 5th/11th century and uncovered in excavations carried out in what is now the Seo del Salvador, the church constructed by the Christians on the site of the Great Mosque of Saraḳusṭa.

Outside the wall there were extensive suburbs (*rabaḍ*), such as that known as "the Tannery" (*al-*

Dibāgha, currently the suburb of "Altabás", formerly "Atabahas", on the other side of the river), several named after the Ṣinhādja (outside the eponymous Gate), and other suburbs which encompassed the wall in its entirety, in their turn defended by a wall of clay (*radam*), with its own small gates, five of which are known to us by later names belonging to the Christian period. Outside the Gate of Sancho, to the north-west, stretched the great public esplanade of the *Muṣāra* or *Muṣallā* (a name retained in what is now "Almozara" street.)

Outside this wall of clay is located the most important building of Saraḳusṭa which is still standing: the castle-palace of Aljafería (*al-Djaʿfariyya*), named after Abū Djaʿfar, *kunya* of the king of the *ṭāʾifa* of Saraḳusṭa, al-Muḳtadir (second half of the 5th/11th century), who built the palace alongside a tower dating from the Umayyad period (currently "Torre del Trovador") which possibly has Roman foundations. The builder-king celebrated his palace in his poetry, calling it "house of joy" (*dār al-surūr*); his honorific title of al-Muḳtadir is to be found inscribed on a capital of the Aljafería. preserved in the Museum of Saragossa.

Saraḳusṭa, known as the "White City" (*al-madīna al-bayḍāʾ*), appeared, according to the Arab geographers, as "a white stain surrounded by the vast emerald green of its countryside". In fact, the sources praise the quality and the abundance of its agriculture, well irrigated by the great river Ebro and its numerous tributaries. Commerce found in Saraḳusṭa "the gateway to all routes", according to a reference in the sources. There were salt mines and a thriving fur trade, producing some renowned furs known as *saraḳusṭiyya*.

In this space, the Muslim life of Saraḳusṭa developed during the four centuries (2nd-8th to 6th-12th) of Islamic political domination, also during the following four centuries (from 1118 to 1614) of the well-documented presence of "Mudéjar" [*q.v.*] and "Moriscos" [*q.v.*], the "Moors", subjected to Christian politieal power. The four centuries of Muslim political domination reflect the general chronology of the history of al-Andalus [*q.v.*]: (a) conquest and rule by *amīrs* dependent on the Orient and Ifrīḳiya; (b) the independent Umayyad dynasty of al-Andalus; (c) the kingdoms of *taifas* (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*); and (d) the Almoravids. Nothing certain is known regarding the Muslim conquest of Saraḳusṭa, possibly in 95/714; Christian sources, such as the *Crónica Mozárabe*, speak of fierce resistance on the part of the town, but two Christian churches remained in use there throughout the Islamic period: the church of Santa Maria (with the pious tradition of the apparition of the "Pillar") and the church of Las Santas Masas, centres of an active Christian presence in the town. There was also a Jewish community, to which sporadic reference is made.

Saraḳusṭa takes a prominent role in the history of al-Andalus from the year 124/742 onwards, becoming embroiled in the struggles of the *baladiyyūn* Arabs against the Shāmiyyūn, and of the "North Arabs" against the "South Arabs", the latter forming the majority in the Upper March. In 132/749-50, the governor of al-Andalus Yūsuf al-Fihrī [*q.v.*] sent to Saraḳusṭa as *wālī* a certain al-Ṣumayl, a "North Arab", in the hope of exercising better control over the "South Arab" majority; the latter rose in revolt four years later, and ultimately supported the candidature of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*], but after the latter had become *amīr* of al-Andalus, these "Southern Arabs", dominating the Upper March, rebelled incessantly against the central power of al-Andalus, even seeking the aid of Charlemagne, who came to Saraḳusṭa in 778 but found the gates of the city closed against him; whilst withdrawing, the Frankish army was attacked, this constituting some of the most renowned episodes recorded in the *Chanson de Roland*.

These frontier regions of al-Andalus persisted in their autonomist tendencies, rejecting both dependence on the Christians and dependence on Cordova, which sent its armies there on numerous occasions, commanded in person by successive *amīrs* of al-Andalus, who succeeded, periodically, in controlling the region by installing Cordovan governors, an unsatisfactory measure in terms of internal administration, and especially in terms of the external Christian threat. Collaboration with local families, in principle loyal to the Umayyads, was the major recourse of the central power, from the later years of the 2nd/8th century onwards. The *muladí* (*muwallad* [*q.v.*]) family of the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] were to become periodically the masters of Saraḳusṭa, leading protagonists, probably, in the activities of the Upper March, alternating loyalty and rebellion towards the Umayyad *amīrs*, until the decline of *muladí* power throughout al-Andalus, and its progressive replacement by a new power exercised by certain Arab families, who were relied upon by the Umayyads from the later years of the 3rd/9th century onwards, as happened as Saraḳusṭa with the Banū Tudjīb or Tudjībiyyūn [*q.v.*], in power between 276/890 and 430/1038, such families alternated between submissiveness and an autonomism which was total after the civil war (*fitna*) of the early 5th/11th century, leading to the establishment of the first dynasty of the *taifa* of Saraḳusṭa, which was replaced by the dynasty of the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*], from 430/1038 until the conquest by the Almoravids in 503/1110. The latter were, however, unable to maintain Muslim political domination at Saraḳusṭa for more than eight years, until 512/1118. The Muslim inhabitants remained there after the Christian conquest, subject to the regulations imposed upon "Mudéjars" [*q.v.*] and "Moors" [*q.v.*], until their expulsion in 1614.

Cultural life came into being very early at Saraḳusṭa, given its status as an important urban centre, with the first manifestations in the 3rd/9th century, and with consolidation in the following century, centred on cultured families such as the Banū Fūrtish and the Banū Thābit, among others. During these two centuries, Saraḳusṭa was in a state of some cultural isolation from the rest of al-Andalus but maintained direct relations with the Orient and the Maghrib, especially through the journey of the Pilgrimage. The cultural flowering of the 5th/11th century was, in part, the result of the arrival of major poets and scribes from Codova, making their way to the great *taifa* of the Upper March, under the patronage of the rulers of the Banū Tudjīb and Banū Hūd. In the 6th/12th century, the finest flowering of the culture of Saraḳusṭa was to be seen amongst its citizens in exile, as in the case of Ibn Bādja [*q.v.*], but in the city and its neighbourhood the culture of the Mudejars and the Moors also survived, manifesting itself in *aljamía* (*al-ʿadjamiyya*).

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(M.J. Viguera)

AL-**SARAKUSTĪ**, the *nisba* of two Andalusian traditionists, father and son, both connected with the northern Spanish town of Sarakusta [*q.v.*] or Saragossa. These are Abū Muḥammad Kāsim b. Thābit b. Ḥazm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṭarrif b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-ʿAwfī al-Zuhrī (255-302/869-914) and his father Abu 'l-Kāsim Thābit (217-313/832-925 or 314/926). The biographical sources mention variants in their *nasab* that show that their genealogy was manipulated. They were Berbers who had established ties of *walāʾ* (*walāʾ ʿalāka*) with the Banū Zuhra, as all the Berbers of the Upper Frontier in al-Andalus had done. Kāsim's father Thābit, angry for some unknown cause, decided not to use the *nisba* al-Zuhrī and adopted instead the *nisba* al-ʿAwfī. This way he pretended that his ancestors were clients of a descendant of the Prophet's Companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*], who was allegedly in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the conquest.

Kāsim and his father are credited with having introduced into al-Andalus al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, but they are especially famous for their work on *gharīb al-ḥadīth* (before them, the Andalusians ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb and Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Khushanī had already written books on the same genre). Both travelled to the East in the year 288/900, studying in Miṣr (Old Cairo) and Mecca with, among others, the traditionists al-Nasāʾī, al-Bazzār and Ibn al-Djārūd (a complete list of their teachers is given by Ibn Ḥārith al-Khushanī; see also al-Fahhām in *RAAD*, li [1976], 512-3). In 294/906 they returned to al-Andalus as experts in *ḥadīth* and *lugha*. Kāsim commenced work on his *al-Dalāʾil fī sharḥ mā aghfala Abū ʿUbayd wa-bn Kutayba min gharīb al-ḥadīth*, but died before he finished it. The book was completed by his father Thābit. Al-Zubaydī reports that some said they were not the real authors but rather it was the work of an Eastern author. In any case, it was much lauded, all the Andalusian biographers repeating Abū ʿAlī al-Kālī's praise, stressing that it was unparalleled even in the East (we are here at the beginning of the development of an Andalusian sense of local pride well reflected in Ibn Ḥazm's *Risāla fī faḍāʾil al-Andalus* where of course the *K. al-Dalāʾil* has a place of honour). Organised according to the *musnad* system, the *K. al-Dalāʾil* is partially preserved in three mss.: BG Rabat, no. 197 *kāf* (microfilm in the Maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt); Ẓāhiriyya, no. 1579 = no. 41 *lugha* (microfilm in Maktabat al-Awkāf, Baghdād); Türk Evkaf Müzesi, Istanbul, no. 1682. They have been carefully described by al-Faḥḥām, who is also responsible for a partial edition of the text. Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ, *mawlā* of al-Ḥakam II, wrote a *Taʿlīk ʿalā 'l-Dalāʾil* (see M. al-Manūnī, *Thakāfat al-ṣakāliba bi 'l-Andalus*, in *Awrāk*, v-vi [1982-3], 27, no. 33). The well-documented transmission of *al-Dalāʾil* through different chains reaches up to the Andalusī Ibn Sālim al-Kalāʿī (7th/13th century).

Kāsim is described as ascetic and pious. Pressed by his father, who had been a judge in Saragossa, to accept the same post, Kāsim asked for three days to consider the matter and died in the meantime. On the basis of this anecdote, the historical value of which is open to discussion, he is credited with being a *mudjāb al-daʿwa*, for he would have succesfully asked God to spare him the dangerous office of judge.

There is information about other members of the family who specialised in the transmission of the *K. al-Dalāʾil*, for example Kāsim's son Thābit (289-352/902-63), who wrote a copy of the work for al-Ḥakam II. The last known descendant is Thābit b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Thābit b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b. Kāsim b. Thābit (d. 514/1120).

Bibliography: For the primary sources, see M. Fierro, *Historia de los autores y transmisores andalusíes (HATA)*, forthcoming. See also Kaḥḥāla, iii, 99-100, viii, 96-7; Ziriklī, ii, 97, v, 174; J. Vernet, *El valle del Ebro como nexo entre Oriente y Occidente*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, xxiii (1950), 249-86, nos. 181, 200, 201 (repr. in J. Vernet, *De ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I a Isabel II*, Barcelona 1989); M.A. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana*, Madrid 1968, 156, 198-9, 264; Mª J. Hermosilla, *Las obras andalusíes en la* Gunya *del Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ*, in *Anuario de Filología*, v (1979), 192, no. 2; *GAS*, viii, 252; L. Molina and Mª L. Avila, *Sociedad y cultura en la Marca Superior*, in *Historia de Aragón*, iii, Saragossa 1985, 90; M. Marín, *Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus*, in *EOBA*, i (Madrid 1988), nos. 335, 1051; L. Molina, *Familias andalusíes*, in *ibid.*, ii (Granada 1989), 69-70; J.M.F. Vizcaíno, *Familias andalusíes en la* Fahrasa *de Ibn Jayr*, in *ibid.*, v (Madrid 1992), 473, no. 5. On the *K. al-Dalāʾil*, see ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, *Kāsim b. Thābit al-Sarakusṭī wa-kitābuhu fī gharīb al-ḥadīth al-musammā bi* 'l-Dalāʾil, in *RAAD*, xli (1966), 3-20; Sh. al-Faḥḥām, *Kitāb al-Dalāʾil fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* li-Abī Muḥammad Kāsim b. Thābit al-ʿAwfī al-Sarakusṭī, in *ibid.*, l (1975), 75-110, 303-21, 512-27, li (1976), 232-94, 481-517; idem, *Ḥadīth al-Shaʿbī fī ṣifat al-ghayth. Naṣṣ mustakhradj min* Kitāb al-Dalāʾil fī gharīb al-ḥadīth *li-Abī Muḥammad Kāsim b. Thābit al-ʿAwfī al-Sarakusṭī*, in *ibid.*, lviii/1 (1983), 3-69.

(Maribel Fierro)

SARANDĪB, the name given in mediaeval Islamic geographical and historical sources to the island of Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka). The Arabic form renders well the Skr. *Siṃhala* "Ceylon" + *dvīpa* "island"; an intermediate form is found in al-Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. E. Sachau, London 1910, i, 233, as *Sangaladīp*. By the time of Yāḳūt (early 7th/13th century), the form *Sīlān* is found (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 346, art. *Baḥr al-Hind*).

Most of the mediaeval Islamic geographers, from Ibn Khurradādhbih onwards, give some account of Sarandīb, placing it in the Sea of Harkand (= the Bay of Bengal) between India and China and describing it as the last of the Dībadjāt (an Arabised plural form of Skr. *dvīpa*), i.e. the Indian Ocean archipelagos of the Laccadives, Maldives [*q.vv.*], etc. An authority like al-Idrīsī gives an exaggeratedly large size for Sarandīb, an over-estimation going back to Ptolemy and noted by Marco Polo in his section on Seilan (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, ii, 312-30, chs. xiv-xv). For the Arab and Persian writers, the most notable feature was the island's mountain, called *R.hūn* (from Skr.) in the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* (written 236/851), § 5 (a text much used by subsequent writers, e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 167-8 = §§ 175-6, etc.), regarded as the spot to which Adam descended on his expulsion from Paradise, leaving a footprint given as 70 cubits in size. At a later time, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was to note that Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists alike regarded the mountain as holy, with the Buddhists considering the footprint as that of the Buddha (*Riḥla*, iv, 165-85, German tr. H. von Mzik, *Die Reise des Araber Ibn Baṭūṭa durch Indien und China (14. Jahrhundert)*, Hamburg 1911, 353-67).

The *Akhbār* further states (§§ 5, 51) that Sarandīb had two kings and that it was the custom of the island that a dead king was immolated with his wives also throwing themselves on the funeral pyre, if they wished. Sauvaget observed that the detail of the two kings was known from the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century A.D.), reflecting the frequent division of power between a Singhalese monarch and a Tamil one in the north-east of Ceylon. Also mentioned are the import of wine from ʿIrāḳ and Fārs by Muslim merchants for the king to enjoy personally and to sell to his subjects, and, apparently, the existence in the forests of Ceylon of the aboriginal Vedda people.

Bibliography: See especially, J. Sauvaget, *ʾAḫbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa l-Hind. Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, §§ 5, 51 and comm., and G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages et textes géographiques ... relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, Paris 1913, see index s.v. Sirandib, with trs. of the relevant texts, to which may be added *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 61, § 5.2, comm. 194, and *Marvazī*, tr. idem, 46, 50. For Idrīsī's detailed account of Sarandīb and his map, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in ... al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, text 27-30, comm. 122-6 and Map II. For the spread of Islam there and subsequent history of the island, see CEYLON.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SĀRANGPUR, a small town in Central India, before Partition in the Native State of Dewās, now in the Shajapur District of the state of Madhya Pradesh in the Indian Union (lat. 23° 34′ N, long. 76° 24′ E). It is essentially a Muslim town, founded by the sultans of Mālwā [*q.v.*], but on an ancient site. It was reputedly the location of a battle in 840/1437 when Maḥmūd Khaldjī I of Mālwā was defeated by the forces of Mēwāṙ [*q.v.*], and, of more certain historicity, it was captured in 932/1526 from Maḥmūd II of Mālwā by Rāṇā Sāṇgā [*q.v.*] of Čitawr. Then in 968/1561 it was seized by Akbar from the local governor Bāz Bahādur and incorporated into the Mālwā *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire, becoming the chef-lieu of the *sarkār* of Sārangpur. After falling to the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*] in 1734, it was in 1818 restored to the Dewās State. The town contains several ruinous Islamic buildings, including a mosque with an inscription from 901/1496 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shāh Khaldjī.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 95-7; K.A. Nizami and M. Habib (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. V. The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi, etc. 1970, 790-1, 936-7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARĀPARDA (P., lit. "palace-curtain"), the term applied in the sources for the Great Saldjūḳs and the Rūm Saldjūḳs to the great tent carried round by the sultans, regarded, with the *čatr* or *miẓalla* [*q.v.*], as one of the emblems of sovereignty. It is described in such sources as Rāwandī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Ibn Bībī as being red, the royal colour, and as having internal curtained compartments forming rooms.

Bibliography: İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 31, 37, 121; Sukumar Ray, *Bairam Khan*, Karachi 1992, 232.

(ED.)

AL-**SARĀT** (A. "the back"), the collective name, not particularly widespread, of the chains of mountains which run from the Gulf of ʿAḳaba down to the Gulf of Aden [see AL-ʿARAB, Djazīrat, ii]. The word *sarāt* occurs quite often in the construct state, as in *sarāt al-azd*, *sarāt al-hān*, etc. In both Saudi Arabia and in Yemen, al-Sarāt separates the lowlands along the Red Sea [see AL-GHAWR; TIHĀMA] from the high plateau. The commonest view in the Arab sources is that al-Sarāt is identical with al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*] "the barrier". As a whole, the chains of mountains are cut up into large and small ranges which intersect in all directions. Al-Sarāt is in general treeless, with black rocky ravines, ridges, peaks and pinnacles. Breakneck paths and bridle paths, often hardly traceable on the rock, lead up to narrow gates which give access to mountain villages found on almost inaccessible heights. There are well-cultivated fields in terraces along the slopes and in the valleys, protected by a wall of large stones. The fields yield coffee, protected from the heat of the sun by shade-giving trees, grapes and sugar-cane.

The heat on the western slopes is tropical, reaching from 23° C. in January-February to daytime shade temperatures of 38° C., and frequently of 49° C., in summer (June-August). In winter some cyclones skirt the Arabian Peninsula moving southwards and providing some precipitation [see MAKKA. 3. The Modern City. Floods]. At night, the temperature drops considerably, and the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow. In March and April some rains fall, normally torrential, while the rainy period lasts from the middle of June to the end of September. A further particularity of the climate of the western slopes are the Tihāma fogs, called *umma* or *sukhaymānī*. The climate of the eastern slopes is extremely dry, but the valleys, because of the rainy seasons, have a perennial water supply and show great wealth in fruit, cereals, plants and trees.

There are only a few gaps in the al-Sarāt chains: from Yanbuʿ al-Baḥr to Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl, and via Badr Ḥunayn to Medina; from Djudda to Mecca; from al-Shuḳayya via al-Darb to Abhā [*q.v.*]; in Yemen, from al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*] to Ṣanʿāʾ and from al-Mukhā to Taʿizz [*qq.v.*].

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, vi, Index

Geographicus, 58; L. Forrer, *Südarabien nach al-Hamdani's "Beschreibung der arabischen Halbinsel"*, Leipzig 1942, esp. 62 ff.; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, *Fihrist*, 26, *s.v.*.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, vi, Index 115, iv, 1020; *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll 1853, 20-2; E. Glaser, *Von Hodeida nach Sanʿaʾ*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxxii (1886), 43; R. Bayly Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965; British Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1946. (A. GROHMANN-[E. VAN DONZEL])

SARAṬĀN (A.), masculine substantive (pl. *sarāṭīn*) denoting crustaceans (*kishriyyāt*) in general and, more specifically, those which are collected for human consumption. The root *s-r-ṭ* evokes, on the one hand, the notion of eating greedily and, on the other, that of running rapidly. The form *saraṭān* serves as a substantive, also as a verbal noun and an adjective; it is only the substantive which is considered in this article. Being applied to edible crustaceans (*maḥāra*), it has undergone considerable distortions according to specific regions; thus the forms encountered include *sarṭaʿān, salṭaʿān, ṣalṭaʿān, salṭaʿūn, salʿaṭān* and *zalʿaṭān*. Alongside this term, each crustacean bears other names which often recur to denote other species.

1. The decapod crustaceans.

(1) The spider crab (*Maia squinado*): *samak ʿankabūt, durūnī, ʿuḳrāysha, midja*.

(2) The squill-fish (*Scyllarus latus*) and the mantis-shrimp (*Squilla mantis*): *zīr al-baḥr, istākūzā al-raml*.

(3) The crab (*Carcinus*): *saraṭān al-baḥr* and all the distortions of *saraṭān* mentioned above, *ʿaḳrīsha, ḳamarūn, abū ḳamrūn* from the Spanish *camaron, djanīb, bū djnīb, abū djalambū, manʿ*.

(4) The edible crab (*Cancer pagurus* or *Carcinus maenas*): *umm djnība, khumkhum, risī*.

(5) The prawn and the shrimp (*Penaeus caramote, Palemon serratus*): *abayān, irbiyān, urbiyān, rubyān, burghūth al-baḥr, naylūn, ḳumbrī, ḳunbrī, bū ḳūsa, djambarī, djammarī, bū ḳamrūn, ḳazzāzī*.

(6) The crayfish, river lobster (*Astacus fluviatilis*): *saraṭān nahrī* and all the distortions of *saraṭān* mentioned above, *gharan, djarād al-nahr*.

(7) The lobster (*Homarus vulgaris*): *saraṭān al-baḥr, zalʿaṭān baḥrī, irbiyān, urbayān, rubyān, ḥimār, bābās/pāpās, ḳarnīṭ, ḳunbār, karkand, bū maḳḳūsa, djarād al-baḥr*.

(8) The crawfish, spiny lobster (*Palinurus vulgaris*): *angust, ankūsh, istākūzā 'l-shuʿāb al-murdjaniyya* and all the names of the crab, the prawn, the crayfish and the lobster.

(9) The hermit crab, soldier crab (*Pagurus bernhardus*): *ḳaṭā, saraṭān nāsik*.

2. Literature.

Few ancient authors have discussed crustaceans. Aristotle, in his *Historia Animalium* (see *Bibl.*), offers some observations regarding the ethology of these aquatic creatures, observations which later Arab authors were content to reproduce to the letter; these include al-Djāḥiẓ, in the 3rd/9th century and, later, al-Damīrī in the 8th/14th century, in his brief article *saraṭān* (see *Bibl.*) concerning the crayfish and ancient legends relating to it. Thus finding in a village a dead crayfish, lying on its back, is a mark of protection against plagues and natural disasters. If it is attached to a fruit-tree, the latter will bear an abundant crop. In the Sea of China, a marine crustacean which comes ashore and dies of desiccation provides Chinese physicians with an ingredient for medicines designed to combat leprosy. In the same period as that in which al-Damīrī was writing, Ibn Manglī included, in his treatise on hunting (see *Bibl.*), a brief chapter on the crayfish borrowed from his contemporary. It is interesting to note that for all these ancient authors the crustaceans are not decapods, but octopods, the pair of pincers (*minḳash, minḳākh, malḳaṭ*) not being regarded as feet.

3. Permissibility of consumption.

By virtue of the Ḳurʾānic verse (V, 95/96): "You are permitted the game of the sea (*ṣayd al-baḥr*) and the food which is found there", crustaceans taken alive may, once cooked, be lawfully eaten.

4. Specific qualities.

According to al-Damīrī, the flesh of edible crustaceans is beneficial in the treatment of dorsal pains and of phthisis. Bearing on one's person the head of a crayfish prevents sleep when the moon is shining brightly, but induces sleep when there is no moon. If a crayfish is roasted and pulverised, the powder, applied to haemorrhoids, causes them to subside. If the pincer of a crayfish is applied to a fruit-tree bearing a full crop, all the fruits will fall without the slightest cause. If a crayfish is applied to a deep wound enclosing an arrowhead, the latter is easily extracted. Finally, the crayfish serves as a talisman against any bite of a snake or a scorpion.

5. Oneiromancy.

Seeing a crustacean in a dream is the sign of a person of great guile, strongly armed, very preoccupied, going far afield in search of possessions and of unsociable nature. One who dreams of eating the flesh of a crayfish could receive good things from a faraway place.

6. Astronomy.

Al-Saraṭān, "the Crayfish" or "Cancer" is the fourth zodiacal constellation containing the two stars known as "the two Pincers" (*al-zubānayān*ⁱ), these being:

(1) α (alpha) *Cancri*, mag. 4,4 (*zubānā 'l-saraṭān al-djanūbiyya*) "the southern Pincer of the Crayfish"; and

(2) ι (iota) *Cancri*, mag. 4,2 (*zubānā 'l-saraṭān al-shamāliyya*) "the northern Pincer of the Crayfish".

7. Medicine.

Al-saraṭān is the medical name currently given to the disease of cancer, with the synonym *ākila*, "the devourer", and the adjective *saraṭānī*, "cancerous".

Bibliography (in alphabetical order of authors): Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, i, 222-32; A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles* (attempt at identification), in *AIEO Alger* (1951), ix, 147-9; Chenu, *Encyclopédie d'histoire naturelle* (vol. *Crustacés*), Paris 1877, 1-70; Damīrī, *K. Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, ed. Cairo 1937, s.v. *saraṭān*, ii, 19-20; Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1947, s.v. *saraṭān* and *passim*; Ibn Manglī, *Uns al-malā..., De la chasse*, tr. F. Viré, Paris 1984, 225-6; A. Malouf (al-Maʿlūf), *Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān. An Arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, s.v. *saraṭān*, 47, 74-5, 152; P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959, 205 no. 179; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1991, Tier-Index s.v. "Krebs"; G. Oman, *L'Ichtyonomie dans les pays arabes* (Red Sea, Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf) (in Italian, English, French), publ. Instituto Universitario Orientale, Naples 1992, 129-31; A. Salonen, *Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen*, in *Annales Academiae Fennicae*, Helsinki 1970, 156-7, 210.

(F. VIRÉ)

SARAWAK, a state on the west coast of the island of Borneo and a constituent part of the Federation of Malaysia since 1963. Originally the name referred to a dependency of the sultanate of Brunei consisting of the Sarawak, Samarahan and

Lundu river basins. Through a series of treaties (the first in 1841) with the Sultan of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.], these territories passed to the "White Rajahs", the Brooke dynasty who administered Sarawak between 1841 and 1946. In 1946 the Brookes ceded their territory to the British Crown, and Sarawak, together with Sabah [*q.v.*], became British colonies. The wide variety of indigenous ethnic groups includes Ibans, Bidayuh (Land Dayaks), Melanau, Kayans, Kenyahs, Klemantans, Muruts and Malays. The general term "Dayak" was widely used to describe any non-Muslim peoples.

The Muslim population has generally been held to be about 20% of the total and is made up primarily of Malay-speaking riverine and coastal dwellers.

Brooke policy was to give effect to native laws and customs, and Islam was but one amongst a number of recognised law systems. There was no attempt to administer the strict principles of the *Sharīʿa* until very recently (see below). Instead, it became the practice to note down the main principles of Islam as these were seen to affect public administration, and to enforce them through administrative procedures. Marriage, divorce, inheritance and conversion were all regulated in this way.

From the early years of this century, Muslim matters were governed by the *Undang-Undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak* (Laws of the Sarawak Malay Court). This document was a compendium of Malay custom and amended from time to time. It never constituted a "Code of Muslim Law" but instead was directed toward the regulation of a society whose members shared recognisably Muslim values, particularly as to relations between the sexes. No hard and fast line was drawn between custom (*adat*) and the *Sharīʿa*.

It has been noted that the conflict between traditional and modernist Muslims which occurred in the Peninsular Malay states was absent in Sarawak, possibly because the small number of local religious scholars studied in Mecca, not in Cairo, the centre of late 19th century reformist ideas, and because Brooke rule isolated Sarawak Muslims from contact with the international Muslim community. Also, the *pondok* schools [see PESANTREN] which on the Peninsula provided elementary training in the Muslim sciences, were not developed in Sarawak. In 1939 a group of Malays in Kuching established the *Persatuan Melayu Sarawak* (the Sarawak Malay Association), one of whose aims was to protect Islam. The Association was banned under the Japanese Occupation of Sarawak, although there was otherwise little interference by the Japanese in the everyday affairs of Malays (Muslims).

This rather static position has been fundamentally changed from the 1980s. A Department of Religious Affairs has been established, Muslim officials have a defined status in the administrative system of the state, a *Sharīʿa* Court system is in place and *ḥadjdj* and educational finances are provided. Islam has also a political voice in state affairs as in the other states of Malaysia [*q.v.*]. *Dakwah* activity has been increasingly evident.

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(VIRGINIA MATHESON HOOKER)

SARAY, or SARAI, the name of two successive capitals of the Golden Horde located on the lower Volga. Of Persian origin, *sarāy* "palace" or "court", entered Turkic in the 11th century, where it was often paired with *ḳarshi*, from the Tokharian B *kerciye* "royal palace", to designate the principal camp of a nomadic ruler (Nadelyaev, *et al.*, *Drevnetyurskiy slovar'*, 429, 488 and Clauson, *Etymological dictionary*, 664). In the Mongolian era, 13th-14th centuries, there was a further proliferation of Sarais (see, for example Galstyan, *Armyanskie istočniki*, 28) and this has given rise to considerable uncertainty and debate over the nomenclature, locale and chronology of the Golden Horde capitals.

The first of these capitals, now called Old Sarai for the sake of clarity, is located along the left bank of the Akhtuba, an eastern tributary of the Volga, near the modern village of Selitrennoe, about 125 km/77 miles north of Astrakhan. Founded by Batu, the son of Djoči, Činggis Khān's eldest son, some time after the conquests of Russia and the Ḳïpčaḳ steppe (completed around 1242), Sarai is first mentioned by name in 1254 when the Franciscan William of Rubruck visited the site on his way to Mongolia. He relates only that Sarai was newly-built by Batu and had a palace (*Mongol mission*, ed. Dawson, 207, 210). The character of the new capital is nicely evoked in Djuwaynī's depiction of Sarai as both a "camp" (*mukhayyam*) and as a "city" (*shahr*) (i, 222; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 267).

According to the archeological evidence, Sarai was a large complex, about four km/12½ miles in length and covering an area of 10 km². The city had a well-developed network of streets (usually defined by drainage ditches), water reservoirs, markets and substantial artisans' quarters which housed jewellers, metalsmiths and glass- and ceramics-makers. The walled villas of the wealthy were generally located on the outskirts of the city (Egorov, *Istoričeskaya geografiya*, 114-117; Fyodorov-Davydov, *Golden Horde cities*, 19-22).

The most informative literary sources on Old Sarai all date to the 1330s, just before the move of the capital upstream to New Sarai (Sarāy al-Djadīd), and consequently there has always been some dispute over which city is described in these accounts. In most cases, however, a careful reading of the source resolves the apparent ambiguity. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, for example, begins his description of "al-Sarā" by stating that it took four days of travel to reach the capital from Ḥādjdj Tarkhān, the modern Astrakhan. Clearly, therefore, he visited Old Sarai, which is 125 km/77 miles from Astrakhan, and not New Sarai, which is a further four days' journey to the north. Moreover, the dimensions of the Sarai he depicts also confirm this conclusion; his city, like Old Sarai, is large, a half-day's ride in length (tr. Gibb, ii, 515-16), while the New Sarai, according to recent topographical studies (see below), was much smaller, barely 2 km² in area. Other contemporaneous accounts, by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and al-ʿUmarī, also picture a large, populous city and are, in all probability, referring to Old Sarai (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ *Taḳwim*, tr. ii, i, 322-3; al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 146, Arabic text 81).

The city described by these authors was full of merchants and markets. European sources, such as the commercial manual of Pegolotti, correctly place Sarai on the main overland trade route leading from the Crimea to China (Yule, *Cathay*, iii, 147; cf. Bratianu, *Recherches*, 239-41). The inhabitants, as was typical of

Mongolian capitals, were diverse: Muslims and Christians and numerous ethnic groups including Alans, Circassians, Russians, Ḳîpčaḳs and Greeks, each of which, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, had its own quarter and bazaar. In its early decades Sarai had a substantial Christian, mainly Orthodox, population. In 1261 a bishop was appointed to Sarai to minister to its Christian residents and visitors. This bishop also played a central role in diplomacy between the Mongols, the Russian principalities and Byzantines (*Nikon chronicle*, tr. Zenkovsky, iii, 37, 45, 63, 132; Meyendorf, *Byzantium*, 45, 46, 78, 132, 150, 185). The Orthodox presence at Sarai is reflected in the numerous finds of metal icons and other religious objects (Poluboyarinova, *Russkie lyudi*, 49-54). Over the course of time, and particularly during the early decades of the 14th century, the city took on a more Muslim character. Özbek, the khān of the Golden Horde (*r.* 1311-41), and a convert to Islam, built a *madrasa* in Sarai and successfully attracted Muslim scholars to his capital (al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 136, Arabic text 68). By the late 1330s when the Franciscan Pascal of Vittoria reached "Sarray", he viewed it as "a city of Saracens", and notes further that several years prior to his arrival Christian missionaries were martyred there (Yule, *Cathay*, iii, 82, 83).

The transference of the capital from Old to New Sarai took place, by the best available evidence, at the end of Özbek's reign. The issue is complicated, however, by the existence of contradictory information on the origin and name of the new capital. Muslim writers of the 14th and 15th centuries often refer to a second Sarai founded by Berke (*r.* 1257-66), the first ruler of the Golden Horde to embrace Islam. According to a tradition related by Ibn ʿArabshāh, the historian of the Tīmūrid period, Berke first constructed and then peopled his Sarai with Muslim divines as a conscious means of spreading Islam in the pagan steppe (tr. Sanders, 77-9; cf. al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 146, Arabic text 81). Moreover, Naṭanzī, writing in the early 15th century, refers to both a Sarāy-i Barka and a Sarāy-i Bātū (ed. Aubin, 81, 97, 366). Such terminology, however, is never encountered in earlier sources. Rashīd al-Dīn, for example, speaks of Bātū's death at Sarāy, and more significantly, of Berke's burial at Sarāy-i Bātū (ed. Karīmī, i, 122, ii, 744). Berke's capital, an island of the faith in a sea of paganism, is, in all likelihood, a pious fiction, one that has bedevilled many 19th- and 20th-century scholars who have sought to equate Sarāy-i Barka with Sarāy al-Djadīd. In reality, Sarāy al-Djadīd was built in the 1330s and became the new capital in the early 1340s when Djanibek (*r.* 1342-57) came to power. Several lines of evidence point to this conclusion. First, the earliest literary reference to New Sarai is a report of an anonymous 14th-century Mamlūk author who relates that Özbek died there in 1341 (Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, i, Russian tr. 263, Arabic text 254). Second, and even more helpful, is Ibn ʿArabshāh's statement that "between the building of Sarāy and its devastation there passed sixty-three years" (tr. Sanders, 79). Since its destruction by Tīmūr occurred in 1395, the city was founded in *ca.* 1332. The numismatic evidence also supports this chronology; minting, which began in Old Sarai around 681/1282-3, is drastically reduced after 740/1339-40, and in the following year, 741/1340-41, silver dirhams appear for the first time in Sarāy al-Djadīd. Thereafter, Sarāy al-Djadīd becomes one of the most active mints in the Golden Horde, while Old Sarai's output is limited and intermittent (Fedorov-Davīdov, *O načale monetnoy čekanki*, 83; Mellinger, *Coins of the Golden Horde*, 170-3). Lastly, extensive archeological investigation of the site shows that it was founded in the 14th century; no evidence has emerged to support an earlier date.

New Sarai, modern Tsarev, was located on the Akhtuba, just below the great bend of the Volga, about 125 km/77 miles north of Old Sarai. The area encompassed by New Sarai is well defined by a defensive ditch that encircled the city. Oval in shape, New Sarai was 1.6 km in length and 1 km wide. Inside are the remains of a modest earthen embankment with strong points guarding the main gates. In the view of the excavators, the ditch and the wall were not part of the original construction but a later addition, probably dating to the 1360s. Within the walls, the New Sarai, like the Old, had a network of streets defined by drainage ditches, along which were located individual homes. In the southeastern quarter of the city, there were a number of fenced-in villas, while the poorer classes and artisans were concentrated in the centre of the city where they often lived in earthen dugouts (*zemlyanka* in Russian). Northwest of the main city was a suburb with its own walls, streets and water supply (Fedorov-Davīdov *et alii, Arkheologičeskie issledovaniya*, 68-71). The living quarters unearthed at New Sarai reveal, not unexpectedly, an admixture of styles. The square and rectangular houses of wood and brick find their prototypes in Khʷārazm, the well-attested use of yurts in the city goes back, of course, to Mongolian-Turkic traditions, while the earthern dugouts show continuity with the local Saltovo-Mayaki culture of the 5th-10th centuries (Egorov, *Zilishča*, 172-93).

The internal history of the new capital is little known. One can infer that it was touched but not devastated by the plague which repeatedly swept through Russia and the Volga region between 1345-54 (*Nikon chronicle*, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 157). This threat, as Mellinger has suggested, might explain the appearance of new coins in 749/1348-49 bearing the inscription Sarāy al-Maḥrūsa, "Saray the preserved [of God]" (*Coins of the Golden Horde*, 178-80). New Sarai, from the number of metal, stone, and ceramic crosses found there, also had a Christian population, and it seems likely that the "bishops of Sarai" appointed in the latter half of the 14th century, because of the continued importance of their diplomatic functions, were now stationed at New Sarai, near the court of the Golden Horde (Poluboyarinova, *Russkie lyudi*, 54-72; *Nikon chronicle*, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 242, iv, 14, 135, 139).

New Sarai was buffeted by the growing turmoil within the Golden Horde. Under Mamai, a non-Činggisid general who attempted to control the Horde through puppet rulers, the capital became a major centre of resistance to his rule. In 1361, according to a Russian source, "the Lords of Sarai" rebelled, "fortified Sarai", elevated a khān of their own, and in the following year fought a battle with the forces of Mamai (*Nikon chronicle*, ed. Zenkovsky, iii, 189). Apparently it is these events that produced the ditch and embankment uncovered by Soviet archeologists at New Sarai. Mamai later met defeat at the hands of the Moscovite Principality in 1380 and Toktamïsh, a Čingisid from the eastern wing of the Djočid line, seized control of the Golden Horde with the support of Tīmūr. According to Russian and Turkish sources, he occupied "Sarai" where he was formally enthroned (*Pamyatniki literaturï drevney Rusi*, 191, 192; Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, *Histoire*, tr. Desmaisons, 171). That New Sarai is probably meant here is supported

by the fact that Toktamīsh issued considerable coinage at Sarāy al-Djadīd throughout his reign. But since coins were also minted at Sarai at this time, a measure of ambiguity remains (Mukhamadiev, *Monetnaya sistema*, 147, 152). In this connection, however, it is important to consider that for the Mongols the concept of a single and fixed capital had far less significance and meaning than it did for sedentary peoples and that they continued their nomadic lifestyle long after the empire was founded. The elder Polos, for example, met Berke in the vicinity of Oucaca (Ükek), a summer pasturage halfway between Sarai and Bulghar, and Russian sources indicate that Özbek had a camp as far west as the Sea of Azov (Marco Polo, ed. Moule and Pelliot, i, 74, 76; *Nikon chronicle*, tr. Zenkovsky, iii, 104). This pattern persisted into the later 14th and 15th centuries, for the extant *yarlïks* (decrees) of the Golden Horde clearly reveal that its rulers were still on the move, making annual rounds (Usmanov, *Žalovannïe aktï*, 264-5). For the Mongols, their successive capitals, Old and New Sarai, were much enlarged winter camps which housed them for only part of the year (see al-ʿUmarī, ed. Lech, Ger. tr. 147, Arabic text 83; cf. also Györffy, *Système des résidences*, 48-53, 135). This is why the Russian chroniclers, who report endless official trips to the Khān, always say that their prince went to the *orda*, never to Sarai, for they well understood that the actual "capital" of the Horde was wherever the moving camp (*orda*) of the Khān was located at a given point in time.

The rapid decline of the Golden Horde, quite visible by the last decades of the 14th century, had immediate and disastrous repercussions for all the Golden Horde cities of the Volga basin. When Toktamīsh and his patron Tīmūr fell out, the latter launched a major punitive campaign which culminated in the winter of 1395 with the destruction of Hadjdj Tarkhān and New Sarai, or Sarai the Great (Saray Velikiy) as the Russian "Story of Temir Aksak" has it (*Pamyatniki literaturï drevney Rusi*, 232, 233). According to Tīmūrid historians, Sarai and its surrounding districts were sacked, levelled and set ablaze (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, ed. ʿAbbāsī, i, 552; Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, ed. Tauer, i, 164). Yet despite the claims of total devastation, these cities were at least partially rebuilt. In the reign of the Khān Muḥammad (1421-45) Hadjdj Tarkhān, Sarāy al-Djadīd and Sarai were again issuing a limited number of coins (Mukhamadiev, *Monetnaya sistema*, 157).

The final destruction of the Golden Horde capitals can be dated to the last half of the 15th century. Afanasiy Nikitin, a Russian merchant who traversed the entire length of the Volga in 1466, mentions only one Sarai in his detailed itinerary (Nikitin, *Khoženie*, 11, 34, 53, 71). By this time, evidently, one of the two capitals had already faded into obscurity. And the survivor, whatever its identity, was soon under attack. In 1471 troops from the Russian town of Vyatka raided down the Volga, temporarily occupied Sarai, seized much booty, and successfully returned home (*Iosafovskaya letopis'*, ed. Zimin, 73). Another Russian raid came in 1480, and in the following year the Siberian and Noghai Tatars joined forces and systematically pillaged all the camps of the Great (Golden) Horde "between the Don and Volga" (*Kazanskaya istoriya*, ed. Moiseeva, 56; *Ustyužskii letopisnïi svod*, ed. Serbina, 93-4). The Golden Horde had been dealt a crippling blow from which it never recovered and Sarai, its long-time capital, departs from the historical stage.

Well-known and important cities in the Islamic world and Eastern Europe, the fame of the Sarais spread much further afield. Chaucer, in *The Squire's Tale* refers to "Sarray in the Land of Tartarye" and Sarai/Sarra appears on European maps in the 1320s with anachronistic references as late as the 17th century. Fra Mauro's world map of 1459 even registers the two Sarais, the "great" and the "small" (Tardy, *Contribution*, 182, 184, 185-6, 189, 190, 206, 212, 217).

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(T.T. Allsen)

SARĀY (p.) (from an Old Persian form **srāda*, root *Θrā* "to protect") means in Persian dwelling, habitation or house. The word is frequently compounded with another substantive to indicate a particular kind of building. The best known example is *kārwān sarāy* "caravanserai", a roadside stopping-place for caravans [see KHĀN]. Similarly, the *Djannat-sarāy* added to the northern part of the shrine at Ardabīl by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I *ca.* 947/1540 is a domed octagonal building used for Ṣūfī gatherings and prayer (A.H. Morton, *The Ardabīl shrine in the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I*, in *Iran*, xii [1974], 31-64, and xiii [1975], 39-58, no. C). The word *sarāy* was extended to refer to the seat of government and the residence of a prince. It could refer to a town. Aḳ Sarāy [*q.v.*], for example, is a town in inner Anatolia with a castle built by the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, Ḳïlïdj Arslan II (r. 551-88/1156-92). Seray Berke [*q.v.*], capital of the Blue Horde in southern Russia, takes its name from its founder Berke (r. 655-65/1257-67). The most common meaning of *sarāy*, however, is palace, and this article is a general review of Islamic palaces. It includes examples known by other names, but concentrates on those in the eastern Islamic lands, where the word *sarāy* is common and on those that are not published elsewhere in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

In early Islamic times [see ARCHITECTURE], palaces were known in Arabic by various terms, including the rare *balāṭ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], derived from the Latin *palatium*. A more common term was *ḳaṣr*, used for Umayyad desert palaces and frontier forts. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*], for example, was an Umayyad castle, and Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*q.v.*], an Umayyad agricultural settlement. These fortified residences were square, two-storeyed structures, usually 35 or 70 m per side, with apartments of several rooms opening on to a central court. They are remarkable for their elaborate decoration, including floor mosaics, paintings, and carved stuccoes, and the fancier establishments formed part of larger complexes with mosques, baths, dams and other buildings. The biggest, the palace at Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*] in southern ʿIrāḳ, is generally considered to be somewhat later (late 8th century) and is distinguished not only by its larger size (112 × 82 m) but also by its inventive vaulting and extensive decoration in carved stucco and brick laid in geometric patterns. Many of these residences can be considered to continue the Late Antique tradition of the *villa rustica*, centres of agricultural exploitation and private pleasure away from the prying eyes of the urban establishment. The square forms were repeated extensively in Central Asian palaces of the feudal aristocracy [see DIHḲĀN]. Their residences, known as *kūshk*, were mud-brick buildings with a central court or domed hall surrounded by living quarters.

In contrast to these rural establishments from early Islamic times, many of which are still standing, contemporary urban palaces are known primarily through texts and identified by other names. One was *ḳubbat al-khaḍrāʾ*. This was the name of the palace erected at Damascus by the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya (r. 41-60/661-80), and it reoccurs frequently in early Islamic times, for example at the palace erected by the ʿAbbāsids in their new capital at Baghdād, founded in 156/962. Although often translated as "Green Dome", referring to an oxidised copper coverning over a wooden dome, the term is better translated "Dome of Heaven", referring to the long-standing Mediterranean tradition of a heavenly dome over the ruler's throne.

Another type of urban palace was the Dār al-Imāra ("House of Government"), usually built adjacent to the congregational mosque to allow the governor ready access. The Dār al-Imāra erected by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*] at Kūfa in 17/638 just after the conquest of ʿIrāḳ was excavated between 1935 and 1956 by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities. It was a square building (12,100 m square, or 110 m on a side) enclosing a large courtyard with *īwāns* on three sides and a triple-aisled hall and domed room on the south. The Dār al-Imāra erected by Abū Muslim at Marw in 129/747 is known through textual descriptions. It was also a square building, but had a central domed chamber surrounded by four *īwāns* that opened on to four courts.

With the founding of Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*] by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the 3rd/9th century, Islamic palaces changed dramatically and became significantly broader and lower. The gargantuan 176-ha palace founded by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim at Sāmarrāʾ in 221/836 was known as the Dār al-Khilāfa and later as the Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī. Excavated by the German Samarra Expedition of 1911-13 and surveyed since 1983 by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities, the site included immense gardens and two main palatial units. The southern one, used for public audience, was a square building (180 × 200 m) with a monumental gateway (Bāb al-ʿĀmma), throne halls, rooms and a large courtyard on the east. The northern one, used for private residence, had a smaller square reception hall and residential apartments. The palace built by al-Mutawkkil two decades later was on a similar scale and had a corresponding division between spaces for public audience and private residence. These sprawling palace-cities with *īwāns* connecting closed and open spaces allowed visitors to process in an ascending crescendo towards the ruler, and the magnificent wall decoration, known from contemporary descriptions and fragmentary remains, was intended to underscore the ruler's power and majesty.

ʿAbbāsid palaces set the model throughout the Islamic world in the mediaeval period, and other rulers copied not only the architectural units—two juxtaposed rectangular halls or four *īwāns* around a court—but also the sprawling spaces divided into public and private realms. The palace-city founded in 325/936 by the Umayyads of Spain outside Cordova at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*], which has been excavated and reconstructed by the Spanish since 1911, was laid out on the slopes of the Sierra Morena in a series of cascading terraces that took advantage of the site. From gardens in the lower zone, one ascended to workshops and court buildings in the middle zone and then to the Alcazar in the highest zone, which contain-

ed the *dār al-mulk*, the private quarters of the caliph and his close associates. The large scale (the site measured some 1500 by 750 m or 112 ha) and layout, like the rich decoration, was meant to project the Umayyad caliph's role, as had the ʿAbbāsid palace at Sāmarrāʾ.

The two palaces built by the Fāṭimid caliphs in their new city of al-Ḳāhira [*q.v.*] were smaller but also splendid establishments. They flanked the main north-south road through the city, which became known as Bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn. The Great Eastern Palace built for the caliph al-Muʿizz (r. 341-65/953-75 [*q.v.*]) reportedly covered 10 ha and had 12 pavilions; the Small Western Palace built for his successor al-ʿAzīz (r. 365-86/975-996) was set in front of a vast garden. The Fāṭimid palaces were destroyed and the sites built over after the Ayyūbids transferred the seat of power to the citadel. The palace and state buildings were located in the southern enclosure constructed in the second half of the 7th/13th century. The most impressive unit was the dome chamber of the Dār al-ʿAdl, built by the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 733/1333-4. It survived until the 19th century, when it was cleared to make way for the Mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī. The citadel, with palace and other establishments for the rulers, was a common feature of cities in the Levant during the mediaeval period which can be found in Damascus, Aleppo and elsewhere.

Palaces in the eastern Islamic lands also repeated many of the same ideas established under the ʿAbbāsids. Three mud-brick palaces were built at La<u>sh</u>karī Bāzār [*q.v.*], a royal suburb that extended six km northwards from Bust along the east bank of the Helmand River. Begun as a garden development in the 4th/10th century and expanded in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, the site was excavated by the French in the 1940s and 1950s (D. Schlumberger *et alii, Lashkari Bazar. Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride*, Méms. DAFA, xviii [1978]; see also the important considerations by Terry Allen, *Notes on Bust*, in *Iran*, xxvi-xxviii [1988-90]). The earliest was the small Centre Palace, erected along the river bank with a nearby pavilion and large garden to the east. It may be the *kū<u>sh</u>k* erected by the Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir at the beginning of the 4th/10th century and is unrelated to the larger and better known South Palace, assigned to the reign of the <u>Gh</u>aznawid Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030). In both plan—a large rectangle enclosing a central courtyard with *īwāns* on the four sides—and decoration—panels of stucco carved in relief—the South Palace at La<u>sh</u>karī Bāzār copies the Mesopotamian prototypes used at the ʿAbbāsid palaces at Sāmarrāʾ. Its most distinctive feature is a second *īwān*-hall lying beyond the north *īwān* and overlooking the river. The grandest reception room in the palace, it had a dado painted with a frieze of attendants and walls revetted in baked brick and carved stucco in geometric patterns and inscription bands. The third palace at the site, the poorly-known North Palace, was a large rectangular enclosure containing three self-contained buildings, each with a central courtyard.

The plan of *īwāns* grouped around a courtyard, and rich decoration in carved stucco and painting, continued to be hallmarks of palaces erected in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries at other sites in the eastern Islamic lands under later <u>Gh</u>aznawids and their local representatives. For example, the large palace erected by Masʿūd III (r. 492-508/1099-1115) to the east of <u>Gh</u>azna [*q.v.*] had a rectangular court (50 × 32 m) paved in marble and surrounded by 32 niches and *īwāns* on the four sides, with an additional throne room beyond the south *īwān*. Excavations uncovered an extraordinary inscription in floriated Kūfic that extends for 250 m around the court. The text is a Persian poem extolling the virtues of the sultan and the glories of his palace and was composed specifically for the new construction (A. Bombaci, *The Kūfic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the Royal Palace of Masʿūd III at Ghazni*, Rome 1966). Similarly, the palace erected by local rulers in the northern suburb of old Tirmi<u>dh</u> [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Oxus River comprised several buildings grouped around a courtyard. Excavations by the Termez Archaeological Expedition (TAKE; 1936-8) and others have yielded rich decoration in carved stucco, including panels with animals and other zoomorphic motifs. The palace built in the late 3rd/9th or early 4th/10th century at Hulbuk, capital of the mediaeval province of <u>Kh</u>uttalān [*q.v.*] on the Kyzyl (A<u>khsh</u>) River in southern Tajikistan, was rebuilt three times, and each time the carved stucco panels and murals were renewed. The site, excavated since the 1960s, has yielded more than 5,000 panels and fragments of carved stucco, with an exceptionally diverse range of geometric, floral and epigraphic motifs (E. Gulyamova, *Reznoy <u>sh</u>tuk <u>Kh</u>ul'buka, Material'naya kul'tura Tad<u>zh</u>ikistana*, iii [1978], 186-202).

Nothing has survived of Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ palaces in Persia, but they probably provided the models for the palace parks built by the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs of Rūm in the 7th/13th century in or near Konya, Kayseri and Alanya. They had multi-storey pavilions commanding fine views, often over a nearby lake, and were resplendently revetted in glazed tiles. A riparian view also provided the setting for the contemporary Ḳara Sarāy ("Black Palace"), the palace built by the Atabeg Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ at Mawṣil between 630/1233 and 657/1259 (F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1920, ii, 239-49). Although much of the palace was destroyed in the 1980s, it was a two-storey masonry construction with *īwāns* grouped around a central court and had fine decoration in carved stucco. It is one of the few examples of a *sarāy* in the Arab lands, but in its foundation inscription (*RCEA*, no. 4451) it was simply called *bināʾ* ("building" or "structure"), and the name Ḳara Sarāy is probably modern.

With the advent of the Mongols, the tent, often set in a garden, became a major form of palatial architecture [see <u>KH</u>AYMA]. These portable structures with rigid supports covered with fabric have not survived, but textual descriptions and depictions in later book paintings show that they were large and elaborately decorated ensembles. For example, the tent that Hülegü used when he ascended the throne near Bal<u>kh</u> was made of gold-on-gold material and attached by a thousand gold nails; it included an elevated pavilion and a magnificent audience hall decorated with gold and silver gem-studded vases (Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn, *<u>Dj</u>āmiʿ al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, ed. and tr. É. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, repr. Amsterdam 1968, 159-65). The ruler's large tent supported by guy ropes (*bārgāh*) was often combined with a trellis tent (*<u>kh</u>argāh*) which served as a private chamber. These tents made fitting palaces for rulers: a trellis tent that belonged to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan (r. 857-82/1453-78 [*q.v.*]) had a wooden door painted in red and blue with scenes of fighting beasts and was covered with blue cloth and trimmed with red silk.

The tent was not the only type of palace used in the later period, however, and other palaces built of more permanent materials continued forms and decoration used earlier. The large and elaborately decorated

hunting lodge uncovered by German excavations in the early 1960s at Takht-i Sulayman, to the southeast of Lake Urmiya, was begun *ca.* 673/1275 by Abaḳa on the foundations of the Sāsānid sanctuary of Shīz [*q.v.*], the site where the Sāsānid emperors were crowned. The palace had an artificial pond in the centre of a large courtyard (125 × 150 m) surrounded by porticoes and four *īwāns* and lavish decoration in carved marble and lustre and *lādjwārdīna*; and a balcony supported on wooden columns afforded a fine view of the pond (R. Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman*, Berlin 1977). Textual descriptions and depictions in contemporary paintings show that other Il Khānid palaces also used the *īwān* plan and had elaborate decoration. By the Mongol period, the word *sarāy* was increasing applied to palaces, even those built earlier. The Il Khānid historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, for example, referred to the palace that the Būyīd ʿAḍud al-Dawla (r. 367-72/978-83) had built in eastern Baghdād as *sarāy-i sulṭān* ("palace of the sultan"; *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Nawāʾi, Tehran 1339, 415). An enlarged and rebuilt version of the one his father Muʿizz al-Dawla had founded, the palace, which is totally destroyed, had a great court surrounded by domed porticoes, halls for audience, residences, and gardens.

The Tīmūrids continued to use both the tent and the structural palace, and the word *sarāy* was also used with a qualifying adjective of colour to refer to a major palace or citadel. The most famous Tīmūrid example is the Aḳ Sarāy ("White Palace"), the palace that Tīmūr built between 781 and 798/1379-96 in his birthplace, Kish [see KASH], later known as Shahr-i Sabz ("The Verdant City"). The palace was located in the northeast quadrant of the new walled enclosure, and its façade faced north towards Samarḳand, the chief city of the realm. All that remains is the colossal entrance portal (*pīshṭāḳ*) with a vault 22 m wide, but from the description by the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, it is possible to reconstruct the plan of a courtyard building with four axial *īwāns*. The name, which was used in contemporary sources, cannot refer to the actual colour of the building, which was resplendent with coloured tiles, but is thought to signify "aristocratic" (L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton 1988, no. 39). The Gök Sarāy ("Blue Palace") that Tīmūr built at Samarḳand *ca.* 802/1400 was a four-storey palace that has been destroyed. Suburban palaces were often called *bāgh*, meaning a park or estate with buildings and gardens; other terms used in the Tīmūrid period include *takht*, meaning a pavilion with a view, *khāna* and *manzil* ("residence"), and *kūshk* or *ḳaṣr*, some of which were larger than kiosks or pavilions (T. Allen, *A catalogue of the toponyms and monuments of Timurid Herat*, Cambridge, Mass. 1981, nos. 405 and 206)

The palace precinct laid out between 998/1590 and 1020/1611 by the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I in his new capital at Iṣfahān continues many Tīmūrid traditions, especially the unfortified exterior and the garden setting dotted with pavilions, but most of the structures were built of masonry, and not fabric tents. The precinct, sandwiched between the *Maydān-i Shāh* ("Royal Square") and the *Čahār Bāgh*, the boulevard with trees and water channels that leads south across the Ziyānda River, was divided into two zones. A more public zone near the *maydān* contained workshops and administrative offices, while a more private residential area behind it contained gardens with small open pavilions. These were often known as *hasht bihisht* ("Eight Paradises"), from their plan—an octagon with eight rooms or apartments arranged around a large central hall. The form copies now-vanished Tīmūrid models, known from other buildings such as the *Çinili Köşk* ("Tiled Kiosk") added to the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul in 878/1473 and the Hasht Bihisht, the palace that the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Yaʿḳūb built at Tabrīz in 892/1486. The name was popular in the Ṣafawid period, as in the pavilion built in Iṣfahān by Sulaymān I/Ṣafī II (r. 1077-1105/1666-94), and many smaller examples. Columnar porches were another popular design for Ṣafawid palaces, found in Iṣfahān at the Čihil Sutūn and repeated at Khīva, where the Tash Ḥawli ("Stone Courtyard") palace (1830-8) incorporated several pillared porticoes arranged around courtyards within its 163 rooms.

Many of these Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid forms were copied in the palaces built under the Mughals in the Indian subcontinent, but they were incorporated inside walled palace-fortresses and executed in local materials, particularly red sandstone contrasted with white marble. In general, a main gate led to a long bazaar which gave on to the courtyard and hall for public audience. This public area was separated from a more private one that had courtyards with pavilions, often called *maḥall* (*q.v.* for an extensive discussion of both pavilions and their setting; and see MUGHALS. 7. Architecture, for a discussion of chronological and stylistic developments). Buildings were laid out to take advantage of topography and setting. At Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*], Abkar's fiat city (979-93/1571-85), for example, the tallest building, the five-story pavilion with domed kiosk now known as the Pandj Maḥall ("Palace of Five [Levels]"), demarcates public space from private; in the Red Fort (1048-58/1639-48) built by Shāh Djahān in his suburb of Shāhdjahānābād [see DIHLĪ. ii], the private pavilions overlook the Yamunā or Jumna River. The looser arrangement of earlier sites, such as the Red Fort at Āgra, became increasingly regularised, as at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, and especially at Shāhdjahānābād. This greater attention to symmetry and axiality underscores the increasing role of ceremonial in Mughal life.

Unlike the Ṣafawids and Mughals, who built numerous palaces in several places, the Ottomans maintained their court in a single palace, the *Saray-i humayūn*, founded by the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] after the conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453 and used as the primary residence of the Ottoman sultans until the 19th century. Although commonly known today as the Topkapı Seray after a shore pavilion built near a gate of that name, until the 19th century it was called in Ottoman sources *sarāy-i djedīd-i ʿāmire* ("New Imperial Palace") or *yeñi sarāy* ("New Palace") to contrast it to the *eski sarāy* ("Old Palace"), the first palace that Meḥemmed had built in the centre of city, and to the Tekfūr Sarāy, the Byzantine palace (Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial, and power: the Topkapi Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, New York and Cambridge, Mass. 1991, 4). Set on a magnificent promontory on the tip of the peninsula overlooking the Bosphorus and the harbour of the Golden Horn, the palace comprises an outer precinct or park, known as the First Court, and an inner precinct of three courts constituting the palace proper. A line of three great portals leading into the First, Second, and Third Courts provided a major ceremonial axis to the audience hall (T. *ʿarḍ odasī*) set beyond the third portal. Behind were gardens with pavilions, and to the left were several residences with courtyards, including several for the sultan's harem.

The separation of men's and women's quarters was picked up in European languages, where several loanwords from *sarāy*, such as the Italian *seraglio* and the French *sérail* are sometimes found with the meaning "harem".

The palace-city was also developed in the western Islamic lands, as at the Alhambra, built up in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries outside Granada [see GHARNĀṬA. Monuments. B]. One of the best preserved and most popular examples of an Islamic palace, it is actually a series of palaces, including the more public Comares Palace with its audience hall and the more private Palace of the Lions.

The arrangement seen at the Alhambra reappears in palaces built later in the western Islamic lands. The ruined Badīʿ Palace, built at Marrākush [*q.v.*] by the Saʿdian ruler Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (r. 986-1012/1578-1603) for official receptions, for example, is an inflated version of the Court of the Lions. The biggest was the palace-city built by the Filālī ruler Ismāʿīl (r. 1082-1139/1672-1727) at Miknās [*q.v.*], where seven km of thick mud-brick walls with bastions enclose three separate palaces, each comprising several smaller palaces of differing arrangements as well as pavilions, mosques, barracks, prisons, stables, granaries, olive presses and huge pools to water the extensive gardens (M. Barrucand, *Urbanisme princier en Islam: Meknès et les villes royales islamiques post-médiévales*, Paris 1985). The scale is far grander than at the Alhambra, and the site was so large that the palaces were never finished. Pisé, made from the ever-available earth, was the main material of construction, but other materials, such as columns and marbles, were salvaged from other sites or imported.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, palaces in the Islamic lands were often built on European models or incorporated features of Western architecture, such as monumental stairways, tall windows, engaged pilasters, and landscape murals. Dolmabahçe Palace, the Ottoman palace built on the shore of the Bosphorus in 1853-5 to replace Topkapı Palace, had an opulent double staircase with rock crystal balustres, the first ceremonial staircase to survive since the Bāb al-ʿĀmma at Sāmarrāʾ. The Ḳādjār dynasty of Persia continued the practice of seasonal migration that the Il Khānids and Tīmūrids had maintained and had palaces throughout the country. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (r. 1212-50/1797-1834) enlarged the Gulistān Palace in Tehran, a rambling series of buildings and gardens within a walled enclosure that served as winter residence and administrative centre, by adding the Takht-i Marmar, a columnar audience hall on the form of a traditional *tālār*. To cater for his peripatetic lifestyle, he also established many summer palaces, often terraced structures set in elaborate gardens, including several in hillside villages subsequently incorporated in the northern suburbs of Tehran. His palaces were often decorated with large murals depicting the Shāh and his court. The largest was a mural painted by ʿAbd Allāh Khān in 1812-13 to decorate the Nigāristān Palace; it showed the ruler enthroned in state with 118 life-size figures. The spate of palace construction continued under Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 1264-1313/1848-96), but the elegant symmetry typical of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's work was abandoned and European elements, such as pilasters and tall windows, were added to traditional features such as coloured tilework, ornately carved stucco, and mirror mosaic.

Bibliography: In addition to the monographs on individual palaces cited in the text, see G.A. Pugačenkova, *Puti razvitiya arkhitekturī yuzhnogo Turkmenistana porī rabovladeniya i feodalizma*, Moscow 1958 (esp. ch. 3 on the *kushk* of the 6th-10th centuries); K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, Harmondsworth 1958, revised and supplemented by J.W. Allen, Aldershot 1989; O. Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973, revised ed. 1988; idem, *The architecture of power: palaces, citadels and fortifications, in Architecture of the Islamic world*, ed. G. Michell, London 1978, 48-79; R. Hillenbrand, *'La dolce vita' in early Islamic Syria. The evidence of later Umayyad palaces*, in *Art History*, v (1982), 1-35; J. Scarce, *The royal palaces of the Qajar dynasty: a survey*, in *Qajar Iran*, ed. E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, Edinburgh 1983, 329-51; R. Ettinghausen and Grabar, *The art and architecture of Islam 650-1250*, Harmondsworth 1987 (pictures of many early Islamic sites); *Ars Orientalis*, xxiii (1993) (special issue on pre-modern Islamic palaces, with articles on many of the sites and periods mentioned above); R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture*, Edinburgh 1994 (esp. ch. VII, palace); S.S. Blair and J.M. Bloom, *The art and architecture of Islam 1250-1800*, London and New Haven 1994 (colour plates of many palaces from the later period); Bloom, *Palace, Islamic lands*, in *Dictionary of art*, in press. (SHEILA S. BLAIR)

SARBADĀRIDS, the name given to the rulers of the Bayhaḳ (Sabzawār [*q.v.*]) region of Khurāsān and a section of their followers, in the half century between the death of Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] and the conquest of Persia by Tīmūr [*q.v.*]. (On the name, often also found as Sarbadāl ("refactory"), see e.g. Nawāʾī, note in Samarḳandī, 432.) The Sarbadārid régime has been variously viewed as a robber state, a social revolutionary movement animated by a strong Mahdist impulse, and a type of Shīʿī "republic" (see Roemer, 38-9). It can most usefully be seen as an attempt at self-government among the indigenous population of western Khurāsān, faced with the disintegration of Mongol rule.

The Sarbadārid uprising started in Bāshtīn, in the district of Sabzawār, on 9 Shaʿbān 737/13 March 1337 (Faryūmadī, 347; cf. Samarḳandī, 147). ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, son of a respected local notable, murdered a tax official and, in an effort to forestall the consequences, rose in revolt. The readiness of others to follow ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, who is painted as a rash and abusive character, and later his more sophisticated brother, Wadjīh al-Dīn Masʿūd, can and has been explained by the financial oppression of the *wazīr* of Khurāsān, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (Āmulī, 181-2). ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's exactions were driven by the need to finance the aspirations of the Čingizid pretender Ṭughāy Tīmūr, whose vain efforts to impose himself as heir to the Īlkhānate depleted Khurāsān's resources and caused the Mongol leaders to neglect the Sarbadārid uprising until it was too late.

ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ was himself devoid of any great political purpose, but was able to gain control of Sabzawār (12 Ṣafar 738/9 September 1337), where several members of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's family were killed (Faryūmadī, 347, 326). ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's immoral behaviour led to his death late in 738/June 1338 at the hands of his brother Masʿūd, who represented the wider ambitions of the rural landowners of the region, anxious to throw off Mongol rule. The growing band of soldiers, young men and *ʿayyārs* [*q.v.*] who eagerly joined him were rewarded by an egalitarian distribution of the spoils gained from a series of raids, directed particularly against the Djaʾun-ī Ḳurbān, which culminated in the capture of Nīshāpūr (Āmulī, 182).

More significantly, Masʿūd sought to strengthen

the rather flimsy bases of his authority, and also to attract further support, by involving Shaykh Ḥasan-i Djūrī, a disciple of the Māzandarānī Shīʿī *darwīsh*, Shaykh Khalīfa, in his cause. Although there seems little doubt that Djūrī had not become master of a radical underground movement, he recognised that the grievances of his adherents and of the oppressed Muslims of Khurāsān in general could best be represented if he associated himself with the protests being voiced by the outlaws of Sabzawār. Thus began the uneasy alliance between the Sarbadārids and the Shaykhīs that gives the régime its distinctive character (Aubin, in *StIr*, v/2 [1976]).

Ṭughāy Tīmūr, in whose name coins had continued to be minted, even in Sabzawār (Masson Smith, 109, 201), could no longer afford to ignore the Sarbadārids, and after an exchange of messages that reflected the new religious dimension contributed by Ḥasan-i Djūrī (Mīrkhwānd, 614), the two sides met near the Gurgān river. Ṭughāy Tīmūr's army was routed. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, his *wazīr*, was pursued and killed in Kābūd Djāma on 23 Shaʿbān 742/1 February 1342 (Ibn Yamīn, 569). The Sarbadārids now coined in the name of Ṭūghāy Tīmūr's rival Sulaymān, the protégé of the Čūbānids [*q.v.*], and sought to expand their domains further at the expense of the Karts [*q.v.*] of Harāt. This evidently coincided with a crisis in the relationship between Masʿūd and the Shaykhīs, for during a battle near Zāwa on 13 Ṣafar 743/18 July 1342 (Ibn Yamīn, 570), Ḥasan-i Djūrī was killed, allegedly on Masʿūd's orders (Faryūmadī, 348), turning victory into defeat. Undeterred, Masʿūd soon launched an invasion of Rustamdār and Māzandarān, but the campaign ended in disaster, and he was killed in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 743/April 1343 (Āmulī, 183-9; Faryūmadī, 348). The following year, coins in Ṭughāy Tīmūr's name were again minted in Dāmghān, which had previously passed out of his control.

The leadership was now assumed by one of Masʿūd's commanders, Muḥammad Aytīmūr, who was obliged to acknowledge once more the sovereignty of Ṭughāy Tīmūr. Although he had shown himself a competent ruler, he was murdered at the instigation of the *darwīshs*, in Muḥarram 747/April 1346 (Faryūmadī, 348), who perhaps favoured a more aggressive policy. This inaugurated a period of instability as the Sarbadārs, broadly loyal to the family of Masʿūd Bāshtīnī, and defending the interests of the Sarbadārid troops, vied for power with the *darwīshs*, whose chief spokesman (though not their spiritual leader), Khwādja Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn Čishumī, finally agreed to become ruler (16 Shaʿbān 748/21 November 1347; Faryūmadī, 348). Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī brought a measure of order to Sarbadārid affairs. He issued the first independent Sarbadārid coinage (748/1348), Sunnī in type, and followed a programme of economic and moral reform designed to appeal to the wide range of opinion contained within the Sarbadārid state (Masson Smith, 130-2). In general, he was also able to reach agreements with his various neighbours. In 752/1351, following the incorporation of Harāt into the Čaghatayid sphere of influence, ʿAlī deemed it prudent to mint coins once more in the name of Ṭughāy Tīmūr. This appeasement of the Mongols, in top of his own autocratic methods, led to his murder on 28 Shawwāl 752/18 December 1351 (Ibn Yamīn, 571).

One of the assassins, Yaḥyā Karrābī, a landed proprietor of the district, resumed military hostilities and after several confrontations with Ṭughāy Tīmūr, whose *ordū* was weakened by the Black Death, he feigned a willingness to make peace and treacherously murdered the last of the Čingizids in his camp at Pul-i Ḥadjdjī Khātūn, near Sulṭān Duwīn, on 16 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 754/13 December 1353 (Dawlatshāh, 237-8). Karrābī later came to terms with the Mongol rulers of eastern Khurāsān, in a coalition against the *malik* of Harāt, but was almost immediately murdered, on 10 Muḥarram 759/23 December 1357 (Ibn Yamīn, 568; Aubin, in *Turcica*, viii [1976], 39-41).

Another period of instability followed, again marked by a series of coups and political murders, the precise chronology of which remains elusive; even the most reliable sources are inconsistent and mutually incompatible. This may partly be due to the difficulty (even for contemporaries) of distinguishing the nominal from the actual periods of power enjoyed by the different leaders, the two most prominent of whom, Ḥaydar-i Ḳaṣṣāb and Ḥasan-i Dāmghānī, both installed their own candidates before seizing power. One of these, Luṭf Allāh son of Wadjīh al-Dīn Masʿūd, was the last member of this family to rule. Internal divisions spawned external threats. Amīr Walī, son of the former governor of Astarābād, took advantage of the situation to extend his control in the area, ostensibly on behalf of Ṭughāy Tīmūr's son Luḳmān. He defeated the forces sent by Ḥaydar-i Ḳaṣṣāb and was able to issue coins in his own name in Astarābād in 759/1358 (Morton, 257). A large force led by Ḥasan-i Dāmghānī was also defeated (Faryūmadī, 330). Dāmghānī faced further difficulties. Darwīsh ʿAzīz, a follower of Ḥasan-i Djūrī, installed himself in Mashhad, where his devotions attracted followers. With their support, he rose in revolt and seized Ṭūs. Contrary to some assertions, there is no numismatic evidence that he tried to establish a Mahdist state there (Morton, 257). He was expelled from Khurāsān, but Khwādja ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad, son of a Sabzawārī notable, rose in revolt in Dāmghān, sought Darwīsh ʿAzīz's help and together they captured Sabzawār. Ḥasan-i Dāmghānī was murdered, evidently in 763/1362.

With the accession of Khwādja ʿAlī, the Shīʿism of the Sabzawārīs first found explicit political expression. He announced his rule with a new issue of coins bearing a Shīʿī formula, and instituted the practice of leading a horse out twice daily for the Ṣāḥib-i Zamān's expected arrival. Towards the end of his reign he invited an Imāmī scholar, Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*], to Sabzawār to preside over the establishment of Twelver Shīʿism in the Sarbadārid realm, anticipating a similar move by the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] a century and a half later. Ibn Makkī was unable to accept, but he wrote a work on Imāmī *fiḳh* to guide Khwādja ʿAlī (Mazzaoui, 66-7). The earlier measures probably reveal the influence of Darwīsh ʿAzīz and the Shaykhiyya, still hoping for a new dispensation; nevertheless, Khwādja ʿAlī's commitment to this view was lukewarm, and within a year he had engineered the removal of Darwīsh ʿAlī (18 Rabīʿ I 764/5 January 1363; Faṣīḥ, 95-6) and driven out the Shaykhiyya, even going so far as to desecrate the tombs of Shaykh Khalīfa and Ḥasan-i Djūrī (Mīrkhwānd, 624). The flight of Darwīsh ʿAlī's successor, Rukn al-Dīn, to the court of Shah-i Shudjāʿ the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] led to an invasion of Sarbadārid territory with Muẓaffarid support, in which Sabzawār was captured in 778/1376. Khwādja ʿAlī was obliged to seek refuge with Amīr Walī, who helped him regain the city on 8 Radjab 781/20 October 1379 (Faryūmadī, 331-3); but Khwādja ʿAlī was left with a greatly reduced realm.

Two years later, in 783/1381, Khwādja ʿAlī took

the opportunity of preserving himself by entering Tīmūr's service. On his death in Ḥuwayza in 788/1386, the Sarbadārid realms were divided amongst several leaders, who also served Tīmūr, particularly in the administration of Lower ʿIrāḳ. In 808/1405, an attempt by a relative of Kh^wādja ʿAlī to claim his "hereditary rights" to the former Sarbadārid territories ended in his execution and the sack of Sabzawār. Another member of the family later won fame as the poet Amīr Shāhī.

The Sarbadārid régime channelled a number of currents flowing through Khurāsānian society in the 8th/14th century. Its history reveals something of the aspirations of the rural population and their leaders, the activities of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] organisations, the growing role of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* in political life, and the hesitant emergence of Shīʿism as an expression of local particularism. Many of these themes are apparent in the poetry of the panegyrist Ibn Yamīn [*q.v.*], who also praises the building works of rulers such as Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī and Yaḥyā Karrābī (Ibn Yamīn, 30, 86). The latter's restoration of the *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] in Ṭūs (Dawlatshāh, 282-3) is symptomatic of the Sarbadārids' vain but heroic attempt to counter the negative effects of Mongol rule in Khurāsān.

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2. Studies. For the earlier work, see V.F. Büchner, EI[1] SERBEDĀRS. Two full-length monographs have since appeared, namely I.P. Petrushevskiĭ, *Dvizhenie serbedarov v Khorasane*, in *Učenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSR*, xiv (1956), 91-162, tr. Karīm Kishāwarz, *Nahḍat-i Sarbadārān dar Khurāsān*, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, x (1341/1962), 124-224, and J. Masson Smith Jr., *The history of the Sarbadār dynasty 1336-1381 A.D. and its sources*, The Hague and Paris 1970. The latter attracted useful comments from H. Arroyo, *Complement to the numismatic history of the Sarbadār dynasty*, in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1975), 302-4, and A.H. Morton, *The history of the Sarbadārs in the light of new numismatic evidence*, in *NC*, 7th ser., xvi (1976), 255-8. Knowledge of the period has been greatly advanced by a number of studies by J. Aubin, notably, *La fin de l'État sarbadâr du Khorassan*, in *JA* (1974), 95-118; idem, *Aux origines d'un mouvement populaire médiéval: le Cheykhisme du Bayhaq et du Nichâpour*, in *StIr*, v/2 (1976), 213-24; idem, *Le khanat de Čagatai et le Khorassan, 1334-1380*, in *Turcica*, viii (1976), 16-60; idem, art. *ʿAbd-al-Razzāq Bāštīnī*, in *EIr*, i (1985), 153-4; and idem, *Le* quriltai *de Sultân-Maydân (1336)*, in *JA* (1991), 175-97. The most recent survey is by H.R. Roemer, *The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadārs*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi (1986), esp. 24-39, 49-50. ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ Ḥaḳīḳat, *Taʾrīkh-i djanbish-i Sarbadārān wa dīgar djanbish-hā-yi Īrāniyān dar ḳarn-i hashtum-i hidjrī*, [2]Tehran 1363/1984, is unaware of Masson Smith and Aubin's work. See also Rashīd Yāsimī, *Aḥwāl-i Ibn-i Yamīn*, Tehran 1303/1924; M.M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Ṣafawids: Šīʿism, Ṣūfism, and the Gulāt*, Wiesbaden 1972. (C.P. MELVILLE)

SARDĀB (P.), literally "cool water", often found in the Arabised form *sirdāb*, an underground chamber used for keeping cool during the extreme heat of e.g. the ʿIrāḳī or Persian summers.

Such building constructions are an ancient feature of Middle Eastern life, being found amongst the Egyptians of Pharaonic times and in Babylonia. Examples of them have been found in the remains of the early ʿAbbāsid palace at al-Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*] and at al-Muʿtaṣim's palace, the Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī, at Sāmarrā. At Baghdād until recent times, traditional-type houses had a semi-basement vaulted cellar sunk into the ground some 1.5 m/5 ft. below the surface of the ground. This was ventilated by a shaft on the north side of the chamber running up to the highest point of the house in order to catch the cooler north wind (this shaft being called in mediaeval Arabic *bādahandj* or *bādandj*, Arabised from Persian *bādhandj* [see BĀDGĪR in Suppl.], and also by several small windows just above ground level. People would spend the hottest hours of the day, from mid-morning till sunset, in these rooms. In the equally hot and humid coastlands of Khūzistān, Fārs and Kirmān in southern Persia, such chambers are also found and are called *zīr-i zamīn* ("subterranean"); again, they are usually provided with a ventilating shaft or *bādgīr*. It was more elaborate forms of these which G.N. Curzon encountered at Shushtar on Khūzistān, under the name of *shabedan* or *shevedan*. These were hewn into the bedrock on which the town stood to depth of 18 m/60 ft. or more, reached by steps, and with a ventilating shaft and with light coming from a circular light in the vaulted roof; during July and August, the inhabitants lived almost entirely in these subterranean chambers (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 367).

By extension, the term *sardāb/sirdāb* came to designate any kind of underground room or passage. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, i, 264-5, tr. Gibb, i, 165-6, *sardāb* is used for the passage constructed by ʿĀʾisha and leading from the Prophet's mosque in Medina to what was the house of Abū Bakr outside the mosque precincts (cf. the *khawkha* or private entrance to the mosque, regarded as a special privilege (*khaṣīṣa*) of Abū Bakr's; see Wensinck, *A handbook of Muhammadan tradition*, 6, and C.E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of contention and strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim"*, Manchester n.d. [1981], 86-7, 139).

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SARDĀNIYA, the most usual Arabic transcription of the place name Sardinia, the second largest in size of the island in the western Mediterranean. The author of the *EI*[1] article mentions also the transcription *Sardaniya*.

Amongst the reasons impelling the Arabs, who had just invaded North Africa at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., to conquer Sardinia, was the fact that it was an appendage of the Byzantine Exarchate of

Africa. To this first reason, one might add a desire to acquire the silver mines required for a bimetallic monetary system, one based on both gold and silver, and timber for constructing ships. In Sardinia, there were silver mines in the district of Sulcis, not far from Cagliari, whilst the whole island was practically covered with forests.

The historical information.

At least eleven different Arabic sources describe, in a summary fashion and without details, a series of incursions stretching from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. and taking place at the following dates: 84/703-4; 87/705-6; 89/707-8; 92/710-11; 114/732; 117/735; 119/737; 135/752-3; 201/816-17; 206/821-2; 322/933-4; 323/934-5; 405/1014; 406/1015; and 446/1054. The sources in question are 1. the *K. al-Imāma* of Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, attributed to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977); 2. al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1203); 3. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1233); 4. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233); 5. Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331); 6. al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332); 7. Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. 750/1349); 8. al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348); 9. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406); 10. al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442); and 11. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470).

On the Sardinian side, the sources provide no details at all on an Arab presence in the island except for general statements that the Sardinians always fought with great courage against the invaders. One fact only is reported in detail by sources worthy of credence, such as the Venerable Bede and Paul the Deacon, author of the *Historia Langobardorum*. This is the transfer of the body of St. Augustine from Cagliari to Pavia, in northern Italy, at the intervention of the King of the Lombards, Liutprand, who between 721 and 726 purchased the relics of the saint so as not to leave them in the hands of the Saracens.

Surviving traces.

Epigraphy. In the Cagliari Archaeological Museum there are three Kūfic inscriptions. The first is a funerary stele of the prismatic type called *mḳabriyya* in the Maghrib, which comes from Assemini, a small town to the north of Cagliari. On it there is the name of a certain Maryam, daughter of ʿAṭiyya al-Sarrādj, deceased in 470/1077. The second was found at Cagliari, in the neighbourhood of the palace which was formerly that of the Viceroy; it is a fragment, whose date may be identified with the former one. The third stems from Olbia, in the north. It is a large rectangular slab, with the top part and the right-hand side missing. The name which can be partly read is Muṣṭafā Muḥammad al-M ... These inscriptions are carved on a kind of limestone which is found in Sardinia, but the dates fall after the period of an Arab presence, which ended towards 1070.

Coins. Given the small number of pieces of money (19 in all) kept in the Archaeological Museum at Cagliari, one is tempted not to take them into account. But 11 of the coins belong to the period between 700 and 778; moreover, 7 are copper, a metal which was not transported about and which no-one hoarded in a monetary form.

Toponyms. Numerous scholars have categorically stated that Sardinian toponomastic has no Arabic terms at all. There are nevertheless some elements which invite reflection. The etymology of Alghero could be "grotto, cave" in Arabic. There exists in fact in the outskirts of this town the "grotta di Nettuno" to which one descends by means of "la escala del Cabirol" of 600 paces and which has been known since Antiquity for its internal lake and its enormous halls with fantastic rock-shapes. There are at least two other examples of place names involving numerals: Arbatax, which is pronounced locally Arbatash, which in Maghribī Arabic means "14", and also Assemini, which could mean in Arabic "8th", and which is found inserted into a context of place names which begins with Quinto ("the 5th") and ends with Decimo ("the 10th").

In brief, the dates given, with not exactitude, by the Arabic historians point rather to raids, except perhaps for a half-century of occupation in the area around Cagliari, between 700 and 750 A.D. The surviving traces—epigraphic, numismatic and some place names—have dates varying between the 8th and the 11th century, which could suggest the existence of colonies which are not, unfortunately, confirmed by other sources.

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SARDĀR (P.), often Arabised as Sirdār, "supreme military commander", literally "holding or possessing the head", i.e. chief or leader. It was borrowed in the military sense by the Turks, who, however, sometimes derive it in error from *sirr-dār* ("the keeper of a secret"). Through Turkish it has reached Arabic, and in a letter written in 989/1581 by "one of the princes of the Arabs (of Yaman)" occurs the phrase *wa-ʿayyana sardār*[an] *ʿala 'l-ʿasākir* ("and he appointed a commander over the troops"), on which Rutgers comments "Vocabulum *sardār*, quod Persicae originis est, *ducem* exercitûs significat". The abstract substantive *sardāriyyat* in the sense of the post or office of commander of an army also occurs; and it was doubtless owing to the familiarity of the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt with the borrowed word that it was selected as the official title of the British commander-in-chief of the Egyptian and Sudanese armies in the periods of the Protectorate and the Condominium. In Persia the word was until the early 20th century much used as a component part of honorific titles, such as *Sardār-i Ẓafar* and *Sardār-i Djang*. In British India it was used generally of the (Indian) commissioned officers of the army as a class. *Sardār log* meant "the (Indian) officers of a corps or regiment". It was formerly applied to the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it was still in the early 20th century applied to the valet or body-servant of a European in northern India, as the chief of his household servants. *Sardār Bahādur* was a title of honour attached to the first class of the Order of British India, an order confined to Indian commissioned officers of the army.

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SARDHANĀ, a town, also the centre of a *taḥṣīl*, in the Meerut [see mīraṭh] District of northwestern India, now in the Uttar Pradesh State of the Indian Union. The town is situated in lat. 29° 09′ N., long. 77° 36′ E. and lies some 19 km/12 miles to the northwest of Meerut town.

It achieved fame in the later 18th century, when Walter Reinhardt, called Sombre or Samrū, of Luxemburg origin, after having been a mercenary in both French and British service, received from Mīrzā Nadjaf Khān, general of the Mughal Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II [*q.v.*], the *pargana* [*q.v.*] of Sardhanā [*q.v.*]. This became, after his death in 1778, the centre of a small, virtually independent principality, kept up by his remarkable Indian wife, the Bēgam Samrū [*q.v.*], surviving within British territory as a distinct entity and family estate until her death in 1836, when it was resumed, eventually being granted to Djān Fishān Khān, formerly leader of the Sayyids of Paghmān in Afghānistān and his family. In 1961, Sardhanā had a population of 16,563, and the *taḥṣīl* (in whose rural areas the Muslims are especially represented) one of 361,063.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxii, 104-7; P. Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls, studies in late Mughul Delhi*, Cambridge 1951, 115, 143, 152. *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Meerut*, Allahabad 1968, 44 ff., 48-9. See also SAMRŪ, BĒGAM.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARDJ (A.), a masc. noun (pl. *surūdj*) denoting the horse saddle, and this uniquely; from the same root *s-r-dj*, there is *sarīdja* for a mule or camel saddle. From this root stem also the verbs *saradja*, also forms II and IV, for "to saddle a mount" (also used are *kasā al-sardj* and, for unsaddling, *ramā al-sardj*), and then *sarrādj* and *surūdjī* for the saddle-maker and seller of saddles, and *sirādja* and *surūdjiyya* for the craft of making saddles. A horse which is saddled is *musarradj*. Every town of the Arab lands had its own quarter or market for saddle-makers (*sūḳ al-sarrādjīn*), usually located near the ways out of the urban area in order to facilitate traffic with the countryside.

Amongst the Arabs, the traditional saddle is made up of the saddle-bow (*ʿaẓam al-sardj*), a basic frame made out of two wooden curved pieces connected together by their ends and forming a vaulted shape on the mount's back. The interior of this vaulted shape is padded, and on this base is placed the leather seat (*kursī*) of the saddle. The front of the pommel (*ḳarbūṣ*, pl. *ḳarābīṣ*, and vars. *ḳarbūs, ḳarbūṭ*) is slightly raised and the reins can be fastened.to it. The back pommel (*karbūs muʾakhkhar*) supporting the rider's reins is generally very high. Each lateral facing of leather or quarter, on which the backside of the rider is set down, receives the stirrup-leather (*sayr al-rikāb*) bearing the stirrups and the stirrup-holder (*ribāṭ*, pl. *rubuṭ*). Between the mount's back and the saddle is placed the saddle-cloth (*mirshaḥa*), with wool preferred to cotton, thus avoiding rubbing, callosities and wounds. The whole of the saddle is then fixed on the animal's back by the saddle-girth (*miḥzam, waḍīn, ʿadjala*), and a long chest tether (*labab*) or breast-strap keeps it from moving back. At the opening of the 8th/14th century, the author of a work on hunting, Ibn Manglī (see the tr. of F. Viré, *De la chasse*, Paris 1984, 43-4), categorically forbids use of the high back pommel of the saddle, which the Persians, he alleges, supposedly introduced, because it impedes the drawing of a bow, both in hunting and in combat; he denounces its nine major faults and adjures the Mamlūks to reject this type of saddle.

The saddle could be decorated with gleaming ornaments and pieces of embroidery and copper studding; for ceremonial processions, parades, etc., it could be covered over with a caparison (*ḳarabasūn*) embroidered with gold thread.

The saddle strapped on to the horse's back provides the basis for figurative expressions like *māla sardjuka* "your saddle has slipped off" for "your affairs are going badly"; *rānī fi 'l-sardj* "see me firmly in the saddle", meaning "I have succeeded"; and, the contrary, *rānī warāʾ al-sardj* "see me behind the saddle", meaning "I have failed/lost".

Bibliography: See the exhaustive bibls. to FARAS and FURŪSIYYA. (F. VIRÉ)

SAREKAT ISLAM, a Muslim movement in the Netherlands East Indies which flourished 1912-27.

The establishment in 1912 of *Sarekat Islam* opened a new era for both Islam and political mobilisation in the Dutch East Indies. It actually grew out of an association with more limited aims, the *Sarekat Dagang Islam* ("Association of Islamic Traders"), set up in 1909 by Raden Mas Tirtoadisoerjo, a Javanese aristocrat and merchant whose trading company was then being liquidated. He and other Javanese merchants set this up as a co-operative trading association to counter Chinese economic dominance; from the late 19th century, the Chinese had begun to take over even those small industries (such as the production of batik cloth and *kretek* cigarettes) which had till then been Javanese-dominated. The association organised successful anti-Chinese boycotts and propaganda, leading to government action against it. One of its members, the batik manufacturer Hadji Samanhoedi, consequently turned to Hadji Omar Said Tjokroaminoto to rebuild the association. Tjokroaminoto, born in 1882, was the son of a relatively minor official in the colonial Javanese bureaucracy, and had himself been trained at the training school for native officials (OSVIA, *Opleidingsschool van Inlandschen Ambtenaren*). However, he spent only three years in the bureaucracy before moving on to other occupations which led him to travel widely across Java. He now established a re-formed organisation, called *Sarekat Islam*, on 10 September 1912. The original commercial orientation and anti-Chinese element remained and are evident in the association's newsletter, *Oetoesan Hindia* ("The Indies Messenger"). But *Sarekat Islam* soon became a mass movement whose membership went far beyond the élite group responsible for its foundation. It grew phenomenally and drew in diverse elements: not only the small group of Muslim entrepreneurs from whom the founders had been drawn, but also Muslims from the world of the mosque school, Islamic reformists, and, increasingly, the peasant masses. Already by 1914 it had over 360,000 members, and by the time of its first national congress in June 1916 it had recruited more than 80,000 members outside Java.

Islam had had a leading role in large-scale political mobilisation for many centuries. Yet this mobilisation had been pre-modern in its organisational form, being led by traditional élites such as the hereditary aristocracies of the Indies or the élites associated with mosque schools and *tarekats*. In Java, mobilisation in the name of Islam had been led by princes, and Islam had been largely subordinated to pre-Islamic Javanese political values. Many Islamic concepts had been redefined to accommodate to a highly monarchocentric policy in which service tó the ruler (*ngawula*) was the supreme moral virtue, and Javanese rulers claimed to be endowed with both *waḥy* [*q.v.*] and the Light of Prophecy. From the foundation of *Sarekat Islam* it is clear that Islam had freed itself from the old royalist ideology and patrimonial forms of mobilisation, and had done much to make possible an indigenous political life based on associational forms, on *Gesellschaft* rather than *Gemeinschaft*. Indonesia's links with the heartland of Islam had also greatly

strengthened since the late 19th century through a large increase in those making the Pilgrimage, who returned with a stronger commitment to Islamic norms and also brought back a better knowledge of political and military developments overseas. At the local level, the modernising aspect of *Sarekat Islam* was less evident, indeed was sometimes replaced by a protest against the cost to the peasantry of economic modernisation under the colonial aegis, or against the Chinese money-lenders to whom indebted or tax-burdened peasants had to turn. The years 1913-14 saw a peak of anti-Chinese violence. To say "I am a Muslim" at this period was a way for those at the bottom of the colonial racial hierarchy (below Dutch, Eurasians, and Chinese) to claim a more positive identity than that allocated to them by the Dutch term *inlander* (native). *Sarekat Islam* by its very name tapped this sense of identity and grievance. In addition, Tjokroaminoto was a charismatic leader who became a focus for the messianic beliefs that had been a prominent feature of traditional movements, whether Islamic or Javanist. By now the organisation, rather ambitiously, claimed a membership of two millions.

The role of Islam in introducing more modern concepts into political mobilisation in the Indies was certainly not uncontested. Socialist ideas first developed a significant presence in the Indies just at the time *Sarekat Islam* was established. The Dutch Socialist Sneevliet founded the ISDV (*Indische Sociaal-Demokratische Vereeniging,* Indies Social Democratic Union) in May 1914 and, after a lack of success with the Eurasian community, turned his attention to *Sarekat Islam.* From 1916, the Semarang branch of *Sarekat Islam* was the centre of the Socialist wing, led by the 17-year-old Semaun. Semarang was then the most progressive and liberal city in the Indies, the centre of an embryonic proletariat (associated with the railways and service industries) and of trade union activity. At the second *Sarekat Islam* conference in 1917, the Semarang group moved to insert into the organisation's programme the combating of "sinful" (i.e. foreign) capitalism, later to be extended to capitalism in general. The position of the Semarang group was strengthened after the October Revolution in Russia (which led to a dramatic rise in membership of *Sarekat Islam*), and they were joined by two central Javanese aristocrats, Darsono and Surjopranoto. An opposing group under Abdul Muis and Hadji Agus Salim (who had originally joined *Sarekat Islam* as a government spy but been converted to its cause) were branded as tools of the colonial government. At the third *Sarekat Islam* conference, Tjokroaminoto succeeded in reconciling the two factions.

1919 was a turbulent year on Java, with sugar plantations set on fire and peasants refusing to perform forced labour. In mid-year there occurred local incidents first in Sulawesi and then in West Java. The latter case ended in the slaughter by government troops of a Garut landowner, Hadji Hasan, and members of his family, after they had shut themselves into their house and refused to hand over the rice tax. It was claimed that there was within *Sarekat Islam* a clandestine "Section B", dedicated to the overthrow of colonial rule. As planters and others in the European community panicked at the spectre of a Muslim conspiracy, the government reacted strongly, leading many of the middle-class Muslims who had founded *Sarekat Islam* to leave the organisation. The relatively liberal attitude to Islam initiated by Snouck Hurgronje's policy advice to the colonial government was under serious challenge.

In May 1920 the ISDV changed its name to Perserikatan Komunis di Inida ("Indies Communist Union", later "Party") and in July 1920 the Comintern passed a resolution that pan-Islamic movements be opposed as strengthening Turkish imperialism, despite Sneevliet's plea that cooperation continue. *Sarekat Islam* had already set up a committee in support of the caliphate and it was becoming clear that the division between the Socialist and pan-Islamic wings of the party was sharpening. Tjokroaminoto, the chief architect of compromise, was arrested on the grounds of supposed involvement in the Garut affair. During his absence, on the occasion of the October 1921 conference, Hadji Agus Salim introduced party discipline in *Sarekat Islam,* leading to a split between the Islamic and Socialist-Marxist movements and to a subsequent battle between them for control of the branches. Despite the organisational break, at the popular level Islamic communist movements continued to exist, as for instance that led by the extremely popular Haji Misbach in Solo, whose peasant following were attracted by the idea of reinstituting a golden age of justice for all. When *Sarekat Islam* imposed party discipline, he opted for the PKI, and was subsequently banished by the government.

In January 1922 a strike of employees in the government-run pawnshops, the first large-scale union-sponsored work stoppage, took place. It was supported by a number of political organisations, and the subsequent government crack-down fell most heavily on *Sarekat Islam* in the arrest and deportation of its leadership. At this juncture the gulf between the aspirations of the Indonesian oppositional movements and the limits set by the colonial government was harshly illuminated. Semaun subsequently resumed leadership of the decapitated PKI, and Tjokroaminoto that of *Sarekat Islam.* The latter now published his book *Islam and Socialism* (*Islam dan Sosialisme*) which represents a hardening of his attitude to Marxism. In it he attempts to demonstrate that Islamic socialism is the most perfect kind, not only by reference to Muhammad's teachings but also by a reconstruction of society under the Orthodox Caliphs. He says that the state owned land, which was the same as ownership by the people; that society was neither autocratic nor bureaucratic; and that the army was a people's army. Among the socialistic regulations in force were prohibition of *ribā*, the institution of *zakāt*, injunctions to charity, and the egalitarianism evident in the communal prayers and during the Pilgrimage. In this book, Tjokroaminoto strongly attacks historical materialism as denying God, and deifying material things. He condemns Bebel's famous dictum to the effect that it is not that God created man, but that man has invented God. Much of the work is organised not around specifically socialist ideas but around the ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, indicating the extent to which Islamic thinkers of the period felt the need to justify Islam in terms of Western political ideals, whether liberal or socialist.

December 1927 saw the first federation of Indonesian political parties (PPPKI: *Permufakatan Perhimpunan Politiek Kebangsaan Indonesia,* "Union of Indonesian Political Associations"), subsequent to the elimination of the Communist Party after an unsuccessful localised uprising in 1926. This began a phase when there was pressure on all political parties to define or re-define themselves in terms of the nationalist focus indicated by the use of the word "Indonesia". *Sarekat Islam* duly changed its name to *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* ("The Sarekat Islam Party of Indonesia"). After Tjokroaminoto's death in 1934, PSII lost much of its influence, and from 1937 on-

wards, a number of breakaway movements left to establish separate parties, adding to the plurality of Islamic organisations, which already encompassed the social movement Muhammadiyah (set up in the same year as *Sarekat Islam*) and the *Nahdatul Ulama* ("Association of *Ulama*") set up in 1926. In an evermore repressive colonial situation, it was impossible for any movement to replicate the early success of *Sarekat Islam* in mass mobilisation: in 1939, PSII, though still larger than any other political party, had only 12,000 members left. PSII was dissolved at the beginning of the Japanese Occupation, and in November 1943 the Japanese created the *Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia* ("Indonesian Muslim Council" or Masjumi) as a single organisational vehicle for Islam. This unity lasted until 1952, when the *Nahdatul Ulama* split off, and Indonesia's first elections in 1955 were contested by a number of Islamic parties which, though they jointly obtained a majority of the votes, were unable to co-operate to form a government based on Islam.

The history of *Sarekat Islam* is thus paradigmatic of that of political Islam in Indonesia, exhibiting a tremendous capacity for mass mobilisation, the necessity to address powerful competing ideologies both traditional and modern, and the effect of continuing internal divisions in preventing the translation of mass appeal into political dominance.

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ṢARF (A.), a term of Arabic grammar. Literally meaning "averting", "divergence", this term became in later grammar the current indication for the science of "morphology" as a synonym for *taṣrīf* [*q.v.*]. In the early stages of Arabic grammar the term was used in two completely different senses. In Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, *ṣarf* is almost always connected with the verb *inṣarafa* in the sense of "to be fully declined", said of a noun. In Sībawayhi's theory of grammar the normal situation for a noun is to have three case-endings to indicate the three cases (in Western grammars of Arabic such words are said to be triptotic in contrast to words that have only two endings, which are said to be diptotic). This normal situation obtains when the noun is as near as possible to its lightest, i.e. most flexible form, the triliteral masculine noun. Such a noun is said to be completely *mutamakkin*, i.e. having full freedom of movement (synonym *munṣarif*). When a noun is diverted from this normal pattern it runs the risk of losing its full declension. This at least is the way the later grammarians (as for instance al-Zadjdjādj's *K. mā yanṣarif wa-mā lā yanṣarif*) view the behaviour of these words. But it seems that in the *Kitāb Sībawayhi* matters are somewhat different; here the emphasis is on the absence or presence of nunation. The lightness of a word (i.e. its unmarked use with maximum syntactic freedom) enables it to carry nunation, but when it deviates from its normal pattern, it becomes heavier (i.e. more marked) and as a consequence, loses the nunation and full declinability (*tark al-ṣarf*, e.g. *Kitāb*, i, 163.11; ii, 2.11 and many other examples, cf. Troupeau, 1976, 123, who translates *ṣarf* with "conversion"). It is difficult to explain this use from the lexical meaning of the word, since it is precisely the adherence to a certain pattern that brings nunation and thus *ṣarf*, and only when a word is diverted from its normal pattern (*maḥdūd ʿan al-bināʾ alladhī huwa awlā bihi* as al-Khalīl says, *apud* Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ii, 14.5-11, who himself uses the term *maʿdūl ʿan* in the same passage) it loses the *ṣarf* (for a detailed analysis of the treatment of this issue in the *Kitāb*, see Reuschel, 1959, 41-7).

One explanation for this use of the term *ṣarf* may be the behaviour of a word like *amsi* "yesterday". Normally, this word has no nunation and only two endings, since it is used as a temporal adjunct (*ẓarf*), i.e. in a more restricted construction than the syntactically free words. But when it is diverted from its usual category and used as a proper name it becomes fully declinable with nunation (*maṣrūf*, *Kitāb*, ii. 43.6 *li-anna amsi hāhunā laysa ʿalā 'l-ḥadd*). Perhaps this is the origin of the term: sometimes words are diverted from their own category to another and then they acquire nunation and full declinability. If this explanation is correct, the original meaning of the term has been generalised to all words receiving nunation (and full declinability). In later grammar, the theory of full declinability was expressed in a canonical list of factors that cause words to lose one of their endings (the so-called *mawāniʿ al-ṣarf*): two factors from this list in combination (e.g. when a word is both feminine and used as proper name) cause a word to become diptotic (cf. e.g. in al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*, 9-10).

The discussions in this part of the *Kitāb* are typically morphological problems, in which the test of the proper names is used as a device to find out what the status of a word is and to which category it belongs (cf. Carter, 1983). These problems have nothing to do with the syntactic relations within the sentence, since diptotic words, even though they have only two endings, are syntactically used in all three cases. This may explain why in later grammar *ṣarf* was used as a synonym for *taṣrīf* and became one of the normal terms for "morphology".

The lexical meaning of *ṣarafa* "to divert, avert" is much clearer in the other sense in which *ṣarf* is used in early grammar, in particular by al-Farrāʾ. Here it means the divergence or non-identity between two constituents of the sentence. In the sentence *lā taʾkul al-samaka wa-tashraba 'l-labana*, for instance, the subjunctive of *tashraba* is explained by al-Farrāʾ by a principle of "divergence" between the two verbs. This construction may be compared to the use of the accusative indicating referential non-identity in a sentence such as *zaydun khalfaka*, as against the sentence *zaydun ṣāḥibuka*, where the nominative indicates the identity of the two nouns. According to Carter, 1973, this is Sībawayhi's theory (he uses the verb *ṣarafa* in connection with this construction, *Kitāb*, i, 418-19), but it became associated with Kūfan grammar under the name of *ṣarf*, which continued to be used in this sense in later explanations of the construction (cf. e.g. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf*, 229-30; Owens, 1990, 157 f.; Baalbaki, 1981, 22). The term is, indeed, fairly frequent in al-Farrāʾ's *Maʿānī* (e.g. i, 33; other instances in Carter, 1973, 298, n. 1).

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H.M. Ḳarāʿa, Cairo 1971; R. Baalbaki, *Arab grammatical controversies and the extant sources of the second and the third centuries A.D.*, in Wadād al-Ḳāḍī (ed.), *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Iḥsān ʿAbbās*, Beirut 1981, 1-26; M.G. Carter, Ṣarf *et* ḫilāf: *contribution à l'histoire de la grammaire arabe*, in *Arabica*, xx (1973), 292-304; idem, *The use of proper names as a testing device in Sībawayhi's* Kitāb, in C.H.M. Versteegh, K. Koerner and H.-J. Niederehe (eds.), *The history of linguistics in the Near East*, Amsterdam 1983, 109-20; J. Owens, *Early Arabic grammatical theory: heterogeneity and standardization*, Amsterdam 1990; W. Reuschel, *Al-Ḫalīl ibn-Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sībawaihs, als Grammatiker*, Berlin 1959; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976. (C.H.M. VERSTEEGH)

ṢARF, a term of Islamic law [see Suppl.].

SARḤADD (P.), lit. "upper frontier, boundary", a general geographical term specifically applied in southeastern Persia to the mountain region in the modern Persian province of Balūčistān and Sīstān adjoining the frontier with Pākistānī Balūčistān. Its mountain chains run generally from northwest to southeast, and include the volcanic (still partially active) Kūh-i Taftān (4,042 m/13,262 feet), the highest point, but there are also east-west-running outliers, such as the Kūh-i Bazmān (3,489 m/11,478 feet) which connects the Sarḥadd with the D̲j̲abal Bāriz [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The only village/small town of any note is K̲h̲ʷās̲h̲ or Vas̲h̲t, in a broad and fertile valley on the western slopes of the main mountain chain and situated on the road linking Zāhidān (Zahedan) with Īrāns̲h̲ahr and Čāhbahār on the Makrān [*q.v.*] coast.

The Sarḥadd's role in history has been mainly as a refuge area e.g. for the Mihrabānid Maliks of Nīmrūz in the later 9th/15th century (see C.E. Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247-861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York 1994, 463-5). By the later 19th century, the region had become largely depopulated, with irrigation and agriculture abandoned, because of endemic banditry; this last provoked in 1916 a punitive expedition of the Indian Army mounted from British Balūčistān into the Kūh-i Mōrpīs̲h̲ (see R.E.H. Dyer, *The raiders of the Sarhad, being an account of a campaign of arms and bluff against the brigands of the Persia-Baluchi border during the Great War*, London 1921).

Bibliography: See also P.M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Irán*, London 1902, 93, 136 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, *Historical notes on the Sarhadd region in Baluchistan*, in Irfan Habib (ed.), *Professor Mohammad Habib centenary volume*, ʿAlīgaṙh, forthcoming. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARHANG (P.), a term denoting a rank of officer or commander in mediaeval Persian armies and paramilitary groups (cf. Vuller, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, ii, 261-2, 293; *dux exercitus, praefectus*). Thus the *sarhang*s were leaders of bands of *ʿayyār*s [*q.v.*] or Sunnī orthodox vigilantes combatting the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲īs in 3rd/9th century Sīstān, and Yaʿḳūb b. al-Lay̲t̲h̲, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*], embarked on his rise to power by becoming a *sarhang* in the *ʿayyār* forces of a local leader in Bust, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naḍr al-Kinānī (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, passim; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. Nazim, 11, ed. Habībī, 139; see the discussion by Bosworth in *BSOAS*, xxxi [1968], 539-40).

In modern Persia, *sarahang* denotes the rank of colonel.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SĀRĪ, Arabic form Sāriya, a town of the Caspian region of Persia, in mediaeval Islamic times within the province of Ṭabaristān, now in the modern province of Māzandarān [*q.v.*] (lat. 36° 33′ N., long. 53° 06′ E.). It lies some 32 km/20 miles from the Caspian Sea on the Tīd̲j̲in river (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 77: Tīžin-Rūd̲h̲) and in the hot and humid coastal plain; the surrounding region has always been famous for its silk production and its fruits.

Whether Sārī had any pre-Islamic history is unclear, though Islamic lore assigned its foundation to the legendary Pīs̲h̲dādid [*q.v.*] figure, Ṭahmūra̲t̲h̲. Details are lacking of the first appearance of the Arabs there; this may have been in the time of ʿU̲t̲h̲mān's governor of Kūfa, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*]. Sulayman b. ʿAbd al-Malik's governor Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [see MUHALLABIDS] temporarily occupied the town, but was compelled to withdraw by the Dābūyid [see DĀBŪYA] Ispahba̲d̲h̲ Farruk̲h̲ān. The first Islamic building erected there was a congregational mosque built by the first ʿAbbāsid governor of Ṭabaristān, Abu 'l-K̲h̲uḍayb, in 140/757-8. It remained generally the capital of the indigenous Ispahba̲d̲h̲s, with the Arab governors installed at nearby Āmul [*q.v.*], although in the 3rd/9th century the Ṭāhirid governors and the local ʿAlids moved their capital to Sārī, and the Bāwandids remained there till the 7th/13th century. The town was flourishing in the 4th/10th century, according to the geographers, with a citadel surrounded by a moat and rampart and a flourishing textiles industry.

There is little mention of Sārī in later Islamic times. It suffered on Mongol times and was sacked by Tīmūr's troops in 795/1393, yet recovered and remained the capital of Māzandarān till the Zands, who transferred it to Bārfurūs̲h̲. Āg̲h̲ā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār brought it back again to Sārī, but in the 19th century the town declined in favour of Āmul and Bārfurūs̲h̲-Bābul and only revived in the 20th century with the advent of the railway and of better road communications during the Pahlavī period. It is now the capital both of a *s̲h̲ahrastān* or canton of the same name and of the province (*ustān*) of Māzandarān; in *ca.* 1950 the population was 25,000, but this has now risen to 185,844 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). See further, MĀZANDARĀN.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 128-31; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 170-1; G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 379; Le Strange, *Lands*, 370, 374-5; H.L. Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, London 1928, 51-7; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, iii, 147-9. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARĪʿ, an Arabic metre with the following three main types, each consisting of six feet to the line and differing in the last foot (*ḍarb*) only:

(a) – – ᴗ – | – – ᴗ – | – ᴗ – ‖ – – ᴗ – | – – ᴗ – | – =
(b) – – ᴗ – | – – ᴗ – | – ᴗ – ‖ – – ᴗ – | – – ᴗ – | – ᴗ –
(c) – – ᴗ – | – – ᴗ – | – ᴗ – ‖ – – ᴗ – | – – ᴗ – | – –

(in which = represents an overlong syllable i.e. consonant + long vowel + consonant). The first and fourth foot come in three variants: – – ᴗ –, – ᴗ ᴗ – and ᴗ – ᴗ –. The second and fifth foot have either – – ᴗ – or – ᴗ ᴗ –. In the work of Ibn al-Rūmī (221-76/836-96 [*q.v.*]), the distribution of these types is: type (a) 6%, (b) 39% and (c) 55%; the three types together are used in almost 7% of the poems in the *dīwān*.

In K̲h̲alīlian theory [see ʿARŪḌ], *sarīʿ* is the ninth metre, and the first metre of the fourth circle. The

scansion of the circle metre is *mustafʿilun mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu* (twice). Types (a), (b) and (c) are called *awwal al-sarīʿ*, *thānī 'l-sarīʿ* and *thālith al-sarīʿ*. Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791 [*q.v.*]) distinguishes three other types of *sarīʿ*, whereas some later metricians mention a seventh type. The most important of these are two types of three-foot *sarīʿ*:

(d) – – ⏑ – | – – ⏑ – | ⏓ – =
(e) – – ⏑ – | – – ⏑ – | ⏓ – – .

In practice, however, types (d) and (e) are called *radjaz* [*q.v.*] by many authorities (cf. Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 183; al-Damanhūrī, *Irshād*, 76 ll. 13-17). The division of opinion explains why, for instance, the ten pieces in three-foot *sarīʿ* metres of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām are placed under the *ardjāz* in the index of the edition of al-Marzūḳī's commentary, whereas al-Tibrīzī's commentary contains an explicit reference to the *sarīʿ* metre in seven of these pieces (see ed. Freytag, i, 308, 332, 675, 798, 801, 802, 808; but note the fact that the metre of the piece which begins on p. 297 is said to be *min mashṭūr al-radjaz*).

A different system is found in al-Djawharī (d. 393/1003 or later [*q.v.*]). He does not recognise the *sarīʿ* as an independent metre, but considers the six-foot types as sub-forms of a *basīṭ* from which the second foot of each hemistich has been left out (*ʿArūḍ al-waraḳa*, 23-4; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 137, ii, 303). The three-foot or *mashṭūr* types, sc. (d) and (e) above, are, according to him, sub-forms of *radjaz* (*ʿArūḍ al-waraḳa*, 46 n. 15).

For further statistics and a discussion of the growing importance of the metre in ʿAbbāsid times, see J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, 203-40.

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(W. Stoetzer)

AL-**SARĪ** b. al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf al-Balkhī, governor and financial controller of Egypt from 1 Ramaḍān 200/3 April 816. On 1 Rabīʿ I 201/27 Sept. 816, the troops openly mutinied against him, and al-Maʾmūn was forced to remove al-Sarī from his post and replace him by Sulaymān b. Ghālib; al-Sarī was put in prison and Sulaymān entered upon his office on Tuesday, 4 Rabīʿ I 201/30 Sept. 816. He was removed from office as early as 1 Shaʿbān 201/22 Feb. 817, as the result of a repeated revolt of the troops, and al-Sarī was again appointed by al-Maʾmūn. The news of his appointment reached Egypt on 12 Shaʿbān 201/4 March 817; al-Sarī was released from prison and entered al-Fusṭāṭ on the same day. He held office till his death on 30 Djumādā I 205/11 Nov. 820. That al-Sarī played a prominent part in Egypt even before his appointment as governor is evident also from his mention in the *ṭirāz* of a *kiswa* intended for the Kaʿba of the year 197/812-13. His name is also found on gold and copper coins of Egypt; see W. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des Khalifes orientaux*, 188, no. 1700 (Miṣr 200 A.H.), 193, no. 1737 (200 and 202 A.H.); H. Nützel, *Katalog d. orient. Münzen in den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i, 367, no. 2247; Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Meskūkāt-i ḳadīme-yi islāmiyye ḳatalogï*, 188, no. 563 (Miṣr 200 A.H.), 387, no. 928 (Miṣr 201 A.H.), no. 929 (Miṣr 204 A.H.).

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AL-**SARĪ** b. **MANṢŪR** [see abu 'l-sarāya].

AL-**SARĪ** b. Aḥmad b. al-Sarī al-**RAFFĀʾ** al-Kindī al-Mawṣilī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (d. 362/972-3 according to Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 185, and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ix, 435; other dates are also given), Arab poet and anthologist, particularly famous for his descriptive poetry (*awṣāf*).

He was born in Mawṣil, where his father apprenticed him to the clothes-menders/jobbing tailors (*raffāʾūn*), hence his nickname, which is, however, not yet used by the contemporary source Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 169). In spite of his lowly occupation he tried his hand at poetry, and al-Bākharzī lists him among poets who had to earn their living by hard work, alongside the rice-bread baker al-Khubzaruzzī, the market-crier al-Waʾwāʾ al-Dimashḳī, and the cloth merchant Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [*q.vv.*] (*Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1968, i, 528-9). He was apparently not a complete autodidact, since the name of his teacher, the otherwise unknown Abū Manṣūr Ibn Abī Barrāk, is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 169, l. 12), but he is otherwise said to have been uneducated. After achieving a certain fame as a poet, he went to the Ḥamdānid court in Aleppo in 345/956-7 (for the year, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ix, 428) and found acceptance among the court poets of Sayf al-Dawla. After the latter's death in 333/945, he moved on to Baghdād and sang the praises of the Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī (d. 352/963 [*q.v.*]). The sources are not in unison about his worldly affairs in this period: some depict him as poor and debt-ridden (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 194), others as wealthy (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 119; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, xi, 185). For the time of al-Muhallabī's successor al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shīrāzī (appointed vizier in 356/967, d. 362/973 [*q.v.*]) we have an anecdote related by al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 401/1010; see al-ṣābī, no. 8), according to which al-Sarī must have been a man of modest means at the time (*apud* Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ix, 429-30).

The main feature of al-Sarī's life as depicted in the sources is his constant feud with the two Khālidī brothers, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hāshim and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Hāshim (see al-khālidiyyān). They too came from Mawṣil and it seems that already early on al-Sarī accused them of stealing his own as well as other poets' poetry. Ibn al-Nadīm, in his paragraph on the Khālidīs, concurs that it was second nature to them to appropriate (*ghaṣabā*) verses they liked (*Fihrist*, 169, l. 21-3). To make the accusation stick, al-Sarī used the devious method of making copies of the *dīwān* of Kushādjim (d. *ca.* 350/961 [*q.v.*]), whom he admired and emulated, and including the best poems of the Khālidīs in them (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 118; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, xi, 183; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 360). The feud between al-Sarī and his adversaries was a long-lasting one; in the account of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the Khālidīs appear as al-Sarī's ineluctable nemesis, who succeed in poisoning his relationships with Sayf al-Dawla, al-Wazīr al-Muhallabī, and other patrons. Al-Sarī himself was, however, not immune to the accusation of *sariḳa*: Ibn al-Nadīm—amidst a

string of admiring epithets—calls him a man "of many thefts" (*kat͟hīr al-sariḳa, Fihrist*, 169, l. 28). It is, however, important here to distinguish between two kinds of plagiarism, (a) wholesale lifting of other people's poems (*muṣālata*, for the term see e.g. *Yatīma*, ii, 119, l. 5), and (b) taking up, and playing with, existing and attributable motifs. Both play a role in al-Sarī's literary life. On the one hand, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that al-Sarī is said to have appropriated the poetry of his teacher Ibn Abī Barrāk (*Fihrist*, 169, l. 12), and al-T͟haʿālibī writes that he discovered a number of identical poems in the collection of poetry of the two K͟hālidīs in the handwriting of Abū ʿUt͟hmān, the younger of the two brothers, and the collection of al-Sarī's poetry in the poet's own handwriting, both belonging to the bibliophile Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān (*Yatīma*, ii, 118-19; one of the poems he quotes in this regard is actually also included in Kus͟hād͟jim, *Dīwān*, ed. K͟hayriyya M. Maḥfūẓ, Bag͟hdād 1390/1970, 230, no. 210, and has even a fourth avatar in an unattributed appearance in al-Sarī's own anthology *K. al-Muḥibb* [see below], iv, 326, no. 717). Al-T͟haʿālibī declares himself unable to decide whether the duplication of poems is due to *tawārud* "two poets having the exact same idea" or *muṣālata* "appropriating another poet's poems" (*Yatīma*, ii, 119, ll. 4-5). If theft is involved, it is still unclear who is the thief and who the victim. In his chapter on the K͟hālidī brothers, al-T͟haʿālibī thus uses the term *tasāruḳ* "two-way theft" to characterise the cases of strong similarity between the K͟hālidīs and al-Sarī which he presents to the reader (*Yatīma*, ii, 184-6 [Abū Bakr], and 199-201 [Abū ʿUt͟hmān]). He also makes an important observation concerning the reason that made the free floating, or malicious stealing, of so many poems possible: there is, between al-Sarī and the K͟hālidīs, "an amazing agreement and a close similarity in handling the reins of the rhymes and fashioning the adornment of the motifs" (*Yatīma*, ii, 119, ll. 5-6). The only way of redress that a poet had to combat an infringement of his "copyright" was to complain (*taẓallum*) about this injustice to the authorities, most commonly to the recipients of their panegyrics. A fair amount of al-Sarī's poems contain such complaints against the K͟hālidīs.

The other type of plagiarism is the more regular and—in an age of mannerist poetising—hardly reprehensible type of adopting and, if possible, improving successful motifs of earlier poets. Al-T͟haʿālibī gives a list of 44 such cases and praises al-Sarī for his skilful "plagiarism" (*ḥusn al-sariḳa wa-d͟jawdat al-ak͟hd͟h*, see *Yatīma*, ii, 120, penult.). The "victims" are almost all "modern" poets, led by al-Mutanabbī who serves as a model twelve times.

Al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ has left three works, two of which, the *Dīwān* and *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb wa 'l-mas͟hmūm wa 'l-mas͟hrūb*, have been preserved. The latter is an anthology of the *maʿānī*-catalogue type, i.e. a topically arranged selection of poetic fragments with descriptions of the various parts of the beloved, of the lover, of spring, and of wine. The majority of the poets are "Moderns", but Umayyad poets have their fair share, while pre-Islamic ones occur very rarely.

The *Dīwān* was, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 169, penult.), edited by the poet himself shortly before his death on *ca.* 300 leaves who then added more material to it. It was also edited by an unknown "modern" *adīb* in the alphabetic arrangement according to rhyme letters. This may mean that the poet's edition was not alphabetical. If so, the situation may be reflected in the surviving manuscripts, some of which are alphabetical, while others are not (see the description of the mss. in *Dīwān*, i, 188-208). However, the situation was very likely more complicated: al-T͟haʿālibī enumerates three sources for his knowledge of al-Sarī's poetry: the *Dīwān* as brought to him from Bag͟hdād, a number of outstanding poems recited to him and given for copying by the famous poet and epistolographer Abū Bakr al-K͟hʷārazmī (d. 383/993 [*q.v.* under AL-K͟HʷĀRAZMĪ]), and a volume (*mud͟jallada*) in al-Sarī's own hand-writing in the possession of Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān and containing many additions to the *Dīwān*. But still, he says, he found in the secondary literature fragments of poems by al-Sarī that he could not trace in his sources. Ibn al-ʿAdīm lists nine people, among them Abū Bakr al-K͟hʷārazmī, who are said to have transmitted al-Sarī's poetry (*Bag͟hya*, ix, 428). The details of the early transmission of al-Sarī's poetry are thus still obscure.

The opinions about al-Sarī's stature as a poet were generally very high. He is even called "next in line" (*radīf*) after al-Mutanabbī and superior to him in tenderness (*riḳḳa*) (on the title-page of the *Dīwān* ms. Laleli 1745, see introd. of ed. in *Dīwān*, i, 189). He is particularly famous for his ecphrastic poetry, "very versatile in similes and descriptions" (*kat͟hīr al-iftinān fi 'l-tas͟hbīhāt wa 'l-awṣāf*), as Ibn al-Nadīm says (*Fihrist*, 169, 29). The index of poetically described objects in the recent *Dīwān* edition lists 150 items (!). Not all of them yield monothematic poems, many are integrated into larger frameworks. Some of these seem to be unusual polythematic structures, possibly created by al-Sarī. Thus poem no. 353 (*Dīwān*, ii, 464-5) starts with a description of the morning and a rooster, leads on to a wine song, and ends with a panegyric on Sayf al-Dawla. An interesting subgenre with al-Sarī is his descriptions of his own poetry, of which al-T͟haʿālibī gives a small collection of examples (*Yatīma*, ii). A close literary study is still lacking.

Bibliography: Works. *Dīwān*, first ed. Cairo 1355 (based on two mss.); ed. Ḥabīb Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī, 2 vols., [Bag͟hdād] 1981 (based on ten mss.); *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb wa 'l-mas͟hmūm wa 'l-mas͟hrūb*, ed. Miṣbāḥ G͟halāwund͟jī [?], 4 vols. [vol. 4, ed. Mād͟jid Ḥasan al-D͟hahabī], Damascus 1306-7/1986 (the ms. Vienna 359 bearing the same title is not al-Sarī's work; the ed. has identified it as a rearranged version of *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* by al-Nawād͟jī [*q.v.*], see introd., m4-m5).

Studies. Yūsuf Amīn Ḳaṣīr, *al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ*, Bag͟hdād 1956; Ḥabīb Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī, as an introd. to his ed. of the *Dīwān*, i, 9-182; for comparisons with the ecphrastic poetry of Kus͟hād͟jim, see Alma Giese, *Waṣf bei Kušāǧim*, Berlin 1981, 222 (snow), 255 (melon), 263 (candle), 269 (fire), 273 (writing utensils). On *K. al-Muḥibb* see J. Sadan, *Maidens' Hair and Starry Skies. Imagery systems and maʿānī guides; the practical side of Arabic poetics as demonstrated in two manuscripts*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, xi (1991), 57-88, in particular 67-70, 74-84.

Sources. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel; T͟haʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., ²Cairo 1375-7/1956-8; al-K͟haṭīb al-Bag͟hdādī, *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, ix, Cairo 1349/1931; Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād al-arīb*, ed. A.F. Rifāʿī, xi, Cairo n.d.; Ibn K͟hallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, ii; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bug͟hyat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīk͟h Ḥalab*, facs. ed. F. Sezgin, ix, Frankfurt 1409/1989; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-S͟hīʿa*, xxxiv, Beirut 1370/1950, 35-147.

(W.P. HEINRICHS)

SARĪ AL-SAḲAṬĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Mug͟hallis, important Ṣūfī of the second generation of Ṣūfīs in Bag͟hdād, 155-253/772-867.

Biography

Born as the son of a pedlar (*saḳaṭī*) who had settled at an early date in the Karkh [*q.v.*] quarter of Baghdād, Sarī rose to be a distinguished wholesale trader, known for his honesty (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (= *TB*) ix, 189). Like other merchants, he devoted himself to *ḥadīth* studies which, as the names of his teachers indicate, must have brought him from Baghdād via Kūfa to Mecca (*Ḥilya*, x, 127).

At the age of *ca.* 35-40 he encountered the saint Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d. 815 [*q.v.*]), which brought his career as a merchant to a sudden end and initiated the second period of his life. The world had beome indifferent to him; he abandoned his trade and chose the Ṣūfī path. Several journeys opened up new horizons for him. In the convent of ʿAbbādān [*q.v.*] he tried to join the Baṣra school through fasting exercises. On the road he came to know the Syrian anchorite ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī, who exerted a lasting influence upon him (*Ḥilya*, x, 110-11) and directed his eye towards Syria, where he became acquainted with the school of Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*], which was to impress him in more than one way. He stayed at Damascus, Ramla, Jerusalem and Tarsus in the north, from where he joined the *djihād*, at already sixty years of age (*Ḥilya*, x, 126). His wandering years ended around 218/833 with his definite return to Baghdād. Probably already before his journeys he had won there Bishr al-Ḥāfī (d. 840 [*q.v.*]) as a paternal friend. For his views he was also indebted to Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 803 [*q.v.*]), whom he did not, however, come to know personally. He does not seem to have maintained close relations with al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857 [*q.v.*]), who was very closely connected to him as far as Ṣūfī ethics and self-education were concerned (cf. J. van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 10).

The third period of Sarī's life, which began immediately after his return to Baghdād, was that of his great role as a teacher. Pupils did not only come flocking in from ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd, Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī, Samnūn, Ibn Masrūḳī and others), but also from Syria (e.g. ʿAlī al-Ghaḍāʾirī and Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāmī). It was not only professional Ṣūfīs who joined him, but also pious workmen and merchants, unto the *muḥaddith* [see ḤADĪTH] and the *ḳāḍī* (*TB*, ix, 191-2, 189, l. 15). Sarī must have been an outstanding teacher, who knew how to address and stimulate everyone, whether personally or in the course of lectures (e.g. *Ḥilya*, x, 119, ll. 15 ff.), but who also knew what he could demand of the individual person. Only the intimates had insight in his mystical experience. On the other hand, he also composed a rule for novices (*Ḥilya*, x, 117 below).

We do not know how long Sarī was active as an educator. From a certain moment onwards he withdrew completely into his own world of experience and permitted only intimates, above all Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd (d. 910), to approach him. For this fourth period of Sarī's life, too, people in Baghdād had a concrete explanation. Once he was teaching in his circle when the misanthrope Abu Djaʿfar al-Sammāk passed and marred the holding of further sessions by remarking: "Abu 'l-Ḥasan, you have become the resting-place of the idlers" (*TB*, xiv, 411).

Sarī's character

In his statements as well as in the accounts about him, Sarī appears as a noble, unselfish, helpful and dynamic personality who, as a member of the Islamic community, felt himself responsible for the well-being of his fellow men (cf. *TB*, ix, 188). This attitude had already won him the favour of Maʿrūf al-Karkhī and made him later responsive to the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] of Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who did every kind of work for others but would himself never lay claim to their help. The after-effects of his influence also sharpened Sarī's sensitivity to decent good manners (*adab*, cf. *Ḥilya*, x, 120, ll. 20-1, 122, ll. 18-20).

Like Ibn Adham, Sarī was a man of action and not a theoretician. Knowledge (*ʿilm*) interested him only in so far as it could be turned into deed (*ʿamal*). He shared Bishr al-Ḥāfī's scepticism of knowledge of the *ḥadīth*; according to him, it was "no provision for the hereafter" (*ibid.*, x, 127). Consequently, he transmitted only traditions which were illustrated by his own attitude or which would support the latter. He was no less at a loss with theology, even if occasionally he knew how to gain a Ṣūfī aspect from a theologumenon (cf. *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashk* = *MTD*, ix, 227 in the middle). There was only one knowledge for which he had a burning interest, namely, the paths to self-knowledge and self-education; as a protagonist of this field of knowledge, he particularly esteemed al-Muḥāsibī (*Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, ii, 35, ll. 11-12 = Gramlich, *Die Nahrung*, i, 503).

Other main features of Sarī's character were his sincerity and veracity. Bishr al-Ḥāfī had trained him in the freedom not to fool others in anything (*Lumaʿ* 373, ll. 5-8), and Sarī himself demanded that nothing should be done or left out "on behalf of people" but only on behalf of God alone (*Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 213), in other words, that there should be practised what in ʿIrāḳ was understood as *ikhlāṣ* [*q.v.*] and which Sarī, in association with al-Djurdjānī, still called *taṣḥīḥ al-irāda* "purification of intention" (al-Sulamī, 51; for al-Djurdjānī, see *Ḥilya*, x, 112). In the method of carrying through this attitude against all impulses of hypocrisy (*riyāʾ*), he largely followed al-Muḥāsibī (cf. *ibid.*, x, 125, and van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 149 ff.).

Above all, he fought a particular case of hypocrisy, which one might qualify as "business by means of religion". On a lower level he condemns "eating thanks to one's religion" (*Ḥilya*, x, 117, ll. 7-10; see for this, *Lumaʿ*, 201, l. 3; Meier, *Abū Saʿīd*, 304); on a higher one, he censures the claim to social authority of many a Ḳurʾān reader on the ground of his piety and religious knowledge, which he misuses (*MTD*, ix, 226-7). As a general remedy and as preventive medicine, he recommends "anonymity" (*khumūl*), following also in this point Bishr al-Ḥāfī's example.

The end of zuhd

Sarī belongs to the generation of Ṣūfīs in which—not least under the influence of a new mystical experience—the authentic wealth of ideas of *zuhd* is partly commuted, partly refined, but sometimes also hyperbolically brought *ad absurdum*. The theatrical tirades of the ascetics against the world became silent, and the fierce battle against its allurement gave way to indifference (see for this, *MTD*, ix, 219). Sarī indeed abandoned his trade because of lack of interest in wordly affairs, but on the other hand he did not simply throw away all his worldly goods but put them into action for works pleasing to God. *Zuhd* became an inner attitude and signified that "the heart is free from that from which the hands are free" (*Lumaʿ*, 46).

The most important means of commuting *zuhd* was "scrupulousness" (*waraʿ*), i.e. the painful effort to come only in contact with "what is permitted" (*ḥalāl*). The first matter to be dealt with was one's daily bread. The scrupulous person wanted to know where his sustenance came from, and who had dealt with it before it reached his hands. Sarī then extended this method to all implements of daily life (*TB*, ix, 189). He apparently came to know these implements in Syria, in the heritage of Ibn Adham (cf. *Ḥilya*, x, 116,

22-3). The idea of narrowing what is permitted by means of *wara*ᶜ in such a way that *zuhd* practically loses its object goes also back to this heritage. This was in any case the way in which Sarī proceeded (*TB*, ix, 190). When sure of their irreproachable origin, he was by all means open to worldly titbits (*MTD*, ix, 217 below). But he followed Ibn Adham's ideas of *wara*ᶜ also in another aspect; not only did he not want to eat anything which might burden him before God, but neither should food render him indebted to any creature (*Luma*ᶜ 183, ll. 6-7; on Ibn Adham, cf. al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, 59, ll. 9-10 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 172).

All along there had been a latent conflict between excessive service of God (*ᶜibāda* [*q.v.*]), as practised by the ascetics, and social requirements. Initially, Sarī had clearly decided in favour of the latter. He transmitted to his pupils (al-Sulamī, 165, ll. 9-10) the relevant *ḥadīt̲h̲*, taken over from Maᶜrūf: "He who fulfills a wish of his Muslim brother is rewarded in the same way as one who has served God during all his life" (*Manāḳib*, 626-7). In the last period of his life, however, he recommends as "the direct path into paradise" that "one should occupy oneself with the service of God, turn only to Him in such a way that there does not remain anything else inside oneself" (*Ḥilya*, x, 119). Ascetic piety expressed in works is certainly not at stake any more here, but it was on the one hand a matter of the delight of being alone with God (cf. *ibid.*, x, 117, l. 14, 125, l. 10) and on the other a matter of avoiding temptations, no less important for Sarī (al-Sulamī, 50, ll. 6-7).

With the conviction of his own depravity, Sarī enters the field of hyperbolism. This conviction may have been furthered by continuous self-criticism and by examination of his conscience, but it also corresponds to an old praxis of exercise in humility (cf. van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 158): one forces oneself to the notion that one is worse than everybody else. Fuḍayl b. ᶜIyāḍ [*q.v.*] held the same view (*Ḥilya*, viii, 101). To the alarm of his pupils, Sarī did not even wish to have preference over homosexual boys (al-Sulamī, 49, ll. 10 ff.) and continuously squinted at the tip of his nose in order to investigate whether his face had not already become black because of his depravity (*Ḥilya*, x, 116; this passage became famous, cf. *Taᶜarruf*, 31, l. 8).

Sarī also gives a new turn to another ascetic motive, namely ostentatious and continuous mourning as it was practised by the *bakkāʾūn* and later by Fuḍayl b. ᶜIyāḍ. Sarī still allows for this attitude when he mentions "weeping about one's sins" as the first of the "five most beautiful things" (al-Sulamī, 54). Later, being mournful becomes for him the characteristic of someone who loves God (as in *Ḥilya*, x, 125, l. 24), and when he exclaims before al-D̲j̲unayd "I should wish that the mourning of the entire mankind be thrown upon me" (*ibid.*, 118); this may conceivably have an altruistic meaning, but certainly not the former ascetic one.

Finally, a word on the primal ascetic motive of fear of God and His Judgement. It is true that reminiscences of both the absolute and the polarised fear of God are not lacking in Sarī's thinking (e.g. *Ḥilya*, x, 118, ll. 2-4, and al-Sulamī, 53, l. 5), but the starting point of his reflections is a well-considered balance between fear and its counter-force, namely, hopefulness (for this problem see Meier, *Abū Saᶜīd*, 148 ff.), put down in a fragment of a letter of a later period, the only authentic document of Sarī which we possess (*Luma*ᶜ, 238). However, he developed this dichotomy further in a Ṣūfī way. On the one hand, he does this with the help of a surmounting third notion: firstly, it is the shame (*ḥayāʾ*) before God's eye (*Ḥilya*, x, 117), which takes the place of the mere fear of His punishment and hope for His grace (see also ᶜAṭṭār, *Tad̲h̲kira*, i, 253, ll. 14-15, 247, ll. 20 ff.); secondly, Sarī introduces here as a fourth binding force, after the example of S̲h̲aḳīḳ al-Balk̲h̲ī (*Adab al ᶜibādāt*, 20-1), the love of God, which outshines the elementary experiences of fear and hope. On the other hand, he refines fear and hope into feelings of reverence (*hayba*) and intimacy (*uns*) (*Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 215, ll. 7-8). All "new" notions are characterised as personal feelings towards God and therefore indicate that we find ourselves already in the sphere of mysticism. In the "five things next to which nothing else rests in the heart", Sarī gives a summing up, namely "fear of God alone, hope in God alone, love of God alone, shame before God alone, and intimacy with God alone" (*Ḥilya*, x, 124-5).

Sarī's mystical experiences

We are extremely badly informed about what Sarī made public of his mystical experience (cf. al-Sulamī, 48, ll. 3-2; al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, 10, l. 2 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 41). It is certain that this experience was completely under the imprint of the love of God. The impulse might go back to Maᶜrūf al-Kark̲h̲ī who, after his death, could only be imagined in paradise as being drunk with the love of God (*Manāḳib*, 675-6) and who is said to have been moved by the love of God to that form of renunciation of the world which he also knew how to provoke in Sarī (*Ḳūt*, iii, 82, ll. 4 ff.). In fact, it is to al-D̲j̲unayd exclusively that we owe all information on Sarī's love of God, and so it dates only from the third or fourth periods of his life.

Here, too, in the most authentic field of his mysticism, Sarī is seen as the practical man who is averse from all forms of speculation. He does not want to have anything to do with the Ṣūfī theory of love; on the contrary, he wants to understand love of God as a psychosomatic phenomenon. While speaking about this, he tried to extend the skin of his forearm, and when this proved to be impossible, he said, "If I were to assert that this skin had dried up on this bone out of love for Him, I would speak the truth" (al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, ii, l. 11 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 41-2). Elsewhere, too, he depicts the love of God as an inner burning (*TB*, ix, 191, ll. 7-10) and does not get tired of quoting corresponding verses on profane love (*Luma*ᶜ, 251, ll. 4-6). It is, therefore, no wonder that he also transmitted the famous-infamous *ḥadīt̲h̲ al-ᶜis̲h̲ḳ* (al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, 112, l. 23 = Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben*, 317; for the *ḥadīt̲h̲* itself, see Massignon, *Essai*, 195-6).

Sarī represents here the well-known conviction that lovers of God would be tested by Him in the hardest possible way, so that the truthfulness of their love might prove itself. In a dream he hears God telling them: "I want to bring down upon you as many proofs as you have breaths, which not even the solid mountains would stand. Will you bear them patiently (*a-taṣbirūna*)?" They answer: "If it is You who tests us, do whatever You wish!" (*Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 216, ll. 15 ff.). Sarī himself did not advance any further opinion on this, but we possess a vivid description by al-D̲j̲unayd of the torments in question, where he depicts the desperate endeavours with which the mystic tries to win back the situation of bliss, caused by the union, after he has awaken from ecstasy (*Kitāb al-Fanāʾ*,34-8 = Gramlich, *Islamische Mystik*, 19-22). Perhaps the linguistic virtuoso that the pupil was, retained here his master's experiences.

Sarī was indeed very well acquainted with the ecstatic heights of mystical experience. Al-D̲j̲unayd

reports about a trance of the master, in which his face radiated in such a way that the bystanders could no more stand the sight (*Lumaᶜ*, 307, ll. 13 ff.). Moreover, Sarī confirmed to him that ecstatic experiences (*mawādjīd ḥādda*) and intensive thoughts of God (*adhkār ḳawiyya*) could lead the mystic so far that "his face might be beaten with a sword without him being aware of it" (*ibid.*, 306, ll. 6-12). It may be that what Sarī once indicated as his nightly "experiences" (*fawāʾid*) (*Ḥilya*, x, 121, ll. 20-1) were such states of trance, and that what he called his *awrād* [see WIRD] were corresponding *dhikr* exercises. But since he considered ecstasy as a charisma (*karāma*), he did not of course want to talk about it (cf. his postulate of the *ṣiyānat al-karāmāt*, *Ḥilya*, x, 120, l. 13).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. (a) The most reliable are *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; Abū Nuᶜaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1351-7/1932-8; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Shurayba, Cairo 1372/1953; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1359/1940, tr. R. Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben al-Qušayrīs über das Sufitum*, Wiesbaden 1989; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, Ḥaydarābād 1388-92/1968-72. (b) Sources with weaker traditions are Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1351/1932, tr. Gramlich, *Die Nahrung der Herzen*, Stuttgart 1992-4; Sarrādj, *K. al-Lumaᶜ fi ʾl-taṣawwuf*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914; Kalābādhī, *al-Taᶜarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1934; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Nashshāwī, Damascus 1405/1985. (c) Unreliable sources are Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, ed. Zhukovski, Leningrad 1926; ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Ḥabībī, Kabul 1340 ASH; ᶜAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, Tehran 1336 ASH. (d) Other sources are Shaḳīḳ al-Balkhī, *Ādāb al-ᶜibādāt*, ed. P. Nwiya, in *Nuṣūṣ ṣūfiyya ghayr manshūra*, Beirut 1986; Djunayd, *Kitāb al-Fanāʾ*, ed. A.H. Abdel-Kader, in *The life, personality and writings of Al-Junayd*, London 1976; *Manāḳib Maᶜrūf al-Karkhī wa-akhbāruh*, ed. in *al-Mawrid*, ix/4 (Baghdād 1401/1981), 609-80.

2. Studies. G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in Classical Islam*, Berlin 1980; J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥāriṯ al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn 1961; R. Gramlich, *Islamische Mystik, Sufische Texte aus zehn Jahrhunderten*, Stuttgart 1992; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, ²Paris 1954; F. Meier, *Abū Saᶜīd-i Abū ʾl-Ḫayr*, Leiden 1976; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970; B. Reinert, *Sarī al-Saqaṭī und seine Bedeutung für die islamische Mystik*, in *Oriens*, xxxv, forthcoming. (B. REINERT)

ṢARÏ ᶜABD ALLĀH EFENDĪ, Ottoman poet, man of letters and bureaucrat (?992-?1071/?1584-?1661).

He was also reported to have been a good calligrapher and an ardent lover and cultivator of flowers, Ibrāhīm I dubbing him *sershükūfedji* (*čičekči bashi*) (see Ömer Faruk Akün, in *İA*, art. *Sarı Abdullah*). In his own works he is referred to as ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Seyyid (or al-Sherīf) Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh (Akün, *loc. cit.*). He seems to have been born in Istanbul, but the sources disagree on the date of birth. His father Sayyid Muḥammad had fled from the Maghrib to Istanbul and settled there; his mother was a daughter of the Beglerbegi Meḥmed Pasha (d. 997/1588-9), brother of the Grand Vizier Khalīl Pasha, by whom he was brought up and given an education under Shaykh Maḥmūd of Scutari and others (see Nihad Sâmi Banarlı, *Resimli Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1976, 700), with early exposure to mysticism, Khalīl Pasha himself having close *ṭarīḳa* connections [see KHALĪL PASHA ḲAYṢARIYYELI].

He served as *tedhkiredji* (private secretary) to Khalīl Pasha when, in his second vizierate, the latter was given command of the troops in the Persian campaign, and in 1037/1627-8 was appointed *reʾīs ül-küttāb* [*q.v.*] in place of Meḥmed Efendi, who had just died, but was soon dismissed at the same time as his patron. After the latter's death in 1038/1629, he remained out of office until 1040/1638 when he was appointed to the imperial *rikāb* [*q.v.*]. He accompanied Murād IV on his Baghdād campaign and then became *reʾīs ül-küttāb* for the second time. He continued in various positions until 1065/1655 when he retired from public life and devoted his remaining years to writing. His tomb is in the cemetery of Maltepe outside the Top Kapı (Gate of St. Romanus) in Istanbul (Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 79).

A member of the Bayrāmiyya *ṭarīḳa*, Ṣarï ᶜAbd Allāh Efendi had a close relationship also with leaders of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*], and most of his works (in Turkish and Arabic) were connected with mysticism. His five-volume *Djewāhir-i bewāhir-i Methnewī*, written 1035-41/1625-31 and dedicated to Murād IV, is a Turkish translation of and commentary on the first volume of Mawlānā's Persian *Mathnawī*, but has been described as an "encyclopaedia of mysticism" (Akün, *loc. cit.*), containing as it does information about various orders and legends of saints. The interpretation is closely related to Ṣarï ᶜAbd Allah's knowledge of Ibn al-ᶜArabi's [*q.v.*] doctrines. Although stylistically the work is part of the high culture, with sections in rhymed prose, it also contains sentences that are short and simple, and close to the spoken language (Banarlı, *op. cit.*). It was printed at Istanbul in 1288/1871. Among his other works are: *Naṣīhatü ʾl-mülük*, a Mirror for Princes and discussion of death and the hereafter; *Themerātü ʾl-fuʾād*, a discussion on mystical topics with Ismāᶜīl Anḳarawī [*q.v.*], which also refers to various orders and personages; *Djawharatu ʾl-bidāya*, another mystical work but dedicated to Murād IV, with an introduction describing his recent conquest of Baghdād; and *Dustūru ʾl-inshāʾ*, a collection of official correspondence and other documents (some of his own composition), interesting from the aspect of foreign relations. He also wrote poetry and songs of a mystical tenor under the *makhlaṣ* ᶜAbdī.

Bibliography: For further details and bibl., see Akün, *op. cit.*

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ṢARÏ KÜRZ or ṢARÏ GÖREZ (on the pronunciation of the second element in the name, see M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *Yeni kaynak ve vesikalar ışığı altında Yavuz Sultan Selim'in İran seferi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xvii/22 [1967], 49-78, n. 20), *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of the Ottoman scholar and statesman Nūr al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Yūsuf of Ḳarasi.

The date of his birth is unknown. According to Tashköprü-zāde [*q.v.*] (*al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuᶜmāniyya fī ᶜulamāʾ al-dawlat al-ᶜUthmāniyya*, Beirut 1395/1975, 181), he studied with the "*ᶜulamāʾ* of his age", and successively with Khaṭīb-zāde and Khōdja-zāde [*q.v.*]. He next "entered the service" of Khōdja Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], Grand Vizier between 881/1476 and 882/1477 (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Hızır Bey oğlu Sinan Paşa'nın vezir-i âzamlığına dâir çok kıymetli bir vesika*, in *Belleten*, xxvii [1963], 37-44), accompanying his patron to exile in Sivrihisar in 882/1477 (Tashköprüzāde, *op. cit.*, 106-9). On his accession in 886/1481, Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] recalled Sinān Pasha, and appointed him *müderris* at the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Edirne [*q.v.*], whither Ṣarï Kürz accompanied him as his teaching assistant. After the Dār al-Ḥadīth, Ṣarï Kürz became *müderris* "at several *madrasas*", finally at one of the Eight Madrasas attached to the Mosque of Meḥemmed II [see ṢAḤN-I THAMĀN]. He evidently remained on

intimate terms with Bāyezīd II, since the only incident in his career to enter the Ottoman historiographical tradition is his embassy on behalf of this sultan to his son Prince Selīm (Selīm I [*q.v.*]) in 917/1511 (*Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, Breslau 1922, 130; Ahmet Uğur, *The reign of Sultan Selīm I in the light of the Selīm-nāme literature*, Berlin 1985, 160, 171, 177; D̲j̲elāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Selīm-nāme*, ed. Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar, Ankara 1990, 258, 295). By the year 917/1511, Bāyezīd had also appointed him *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, a post which he held until 919/1513 or later (for *wakfiyyes* which he validated in these years as *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, see Ö.L. Barkan and E.H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defeteri. 935 (1546) tarihli*, nos. 2107, 906). Selīm I appointed him successively *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia and *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia. It was he who in 920/1514 issued the *fatwā* sanctioning the opening of hostilities against the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] and the massacre of their adherents in Anatolia (for text and facsimile of the *fatwā*, see Tekindağ, *op. cit.*). Tas̲h̲köprü-zāde reports that Selīm eventually dismissed him as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia "because of something that happened between them", and re-appointed him to one of the Eight Madrasas. He seems to have ended his career as *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, since he validated *wakfiyyes* in Istanbul in 924/1518 and 927/1521 (Ö.L. Barkan and E.H. Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, nos. 917, 2163). He died, Tas̲h̲köprü-zāde says, "in 928 or 929"/1521-3, and was buried "next to his mosque in the city of Constantinople". The mosque in question must be the mosque of "Ṣarî Kez", which Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] (*Seyāhat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 310) places "in the ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a market, near [the mosque of Meḥemmed] the Conqueror". The mosque gave its name to a quarter in the Fātiḥ district of Istanbul, known variously as Ṣarî Kez or Ṣarî Güzel (Semavi Eyice, *İstanbul'da yayla camileri*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, x [1954], 34 nn. 8, 9).

Tas̲h̲köprü-zāde records Ṣarî Kürz as the author of a work of Ḥanafī *furūʿ* entitled *al-Murtaḍā* (see Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ed. Flügel, *Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*, v, 491), and a book of responsa to the legal conundrums of Sayyidī Ḥamīdī (*ibid.*, vi, 241). Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (iv, 170) also lists a gloss on al-Iṣfahānī's commentary on the *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* of al-Bayḍāwī.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, Oxford 1986, 218-20; Meḥmed T̲h̲üreyyā, *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, repr. Farnborough 1971, iv, 581; Ḥafiẓ Ḥüseyn Aywansarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, 133-4. (C. Imber)

ṢARÎ MEḤMED PAS̲H̲A, Baḳḳāl-zāde, Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī, S̲h̲ehrī, Defterdār (?-1129/1717), Ottoman statesman, born in Istanbul (hence: *S̲h̲ehrī*), a son of a Muslim Turkish grocer. He styled himself *El-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Meḥmed ed-Defterī* in the preface to his chronicle.

He made his career in the financial department of the Porte [see māliyye]. In 1081/1671 he was employed in the office of the *rūznāmd̲j̲e-yi ewwel ḳalemi* [*q.v.*]. He won the patronage of the *defterdār* Ḳilič ʿAlī Efendi, *bas̲h̲defterdār* (in function 1102/1691-2) and was promoted to *mektūbd̲j̲u* (= *mektūbī*), head of the secretariat of the principal *defterdār*. The Grand Vizier Rāmī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] appointed him principal *defterdār* (17 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1114/5 May 1703). This was the first of his seven appointments to this high office. At the time of the Edirne Revolt he was dismissed (13 Rad̲j̲ab 1115/23 August 1703). The new Sultan Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] reinstated him soon at the behest of the rebels, who demanded Ṣarî Meḥmed's financial acumen to produce the necessary funds for their "Accession Fee" (*d̲j̲ulūs bak̲h̲s̲h̲īs̲h̲ī*). Dismissed after this operation, he was relegated to the *rūznāmd̲j̲e-yi ewwel* office. *Defterdār* again on 23 S̲h̲awwāl 1115/29 February 1704, he lost the position after eleven months. Re-appointed 14 months later, he remained in function for one year and 5 months. The next turn of office lasted from 20 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1119/12 February 1708 till 3 D̲j̲umādā II 1121/10 August 1709, when he lost favour with the Grand Vizier Čorlulu ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and retired into private life at his *ḳonaḳ* in the Ḳumḳapî quarter of the capital. The Grand Vizier removed him from the centre of power by appointing him (titular) *mutaṣarrîf* of Salonica, ranking as a pas̲h̲a of "two tails" [see ṭug̲h̲] and sending him as military governor to the frontier fortress town of Bender (Bessarabia) [*q.v.*]. Later, he was given the government of Izmid as well. Ṣarî Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a became *defterdār* again in 1123-4/1712 for five months. After the conclusion of peace with Russia at Edirne (1125/1713), he was appointed a member of the boundary commission which settled the new border in Podolia. Upon their return to Istanbul, the sultan awarded caftans of honour to *inter alios* Ṣarî Meḥmed, who soon was made *defterdār* again (1126/1714). He appears to have been a client of the *ḳapudānpas̲h̲a* Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a "D̲j̲anîm K̲h̲od̲j̲a" [*q.v.*]. Next year he joined the campaign in the Morea led by the Grand Vizier Damād ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. His task was the provisioning of the army via Eğriboz [*q.v.*]. After the Grand Vizier's death in the battle of Peterwardein, Ṣarî Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a received the rank of vizier (4 Ramaḍān 1128/22 August 1716). He had been hoping for the grand vizierate, but he loyally served under the new Grand Vizier, the aged Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Arnawūd K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], fighting Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Imperial army near Belgrade. He seems not to have become member of the faction of the sultan's favourite, Damād News̲h̲ehirli İbrahīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. Ṣarî Meḥmed openly vented his disappointed ambition and lost the confidence of the sultan. In 1129/1717 he was recalled to the Porte, and his new appointment as military governor of Salonica meant his disgrace. He received the order to organise a force of 3,000 to be recruited from the *Ewlād-i Fātiḥān* (originally Anatolian Turks settled in Rumelia) at his own expense and to join the main army at Nis̲h̲ to take up the guarding of the "Iron Gate" of the Danube. He failed to comply, and openly criticised the sultan's policy. His behaviour led to his downfall; he was accused of incitement to revolt and of previous misconduct in the field before Temesvár in 1716, where his force of 1000 *dalḳîlîč-serdengečti* volunteers withdrew without fighting. A *ḳapîd̲j̲îbas̲h̲î* sent from the Porte had him executed in the castle of Ḳawāla [*q.v.*]. His possessions in Istanbul, Salonica, Bender and Sīwās were confiscated. At least one son survived him, Meḥmed Emīn, *alaybeyi* at Sīwās in 1179/1767 (see above, vol. I, at 295a).

Bibliography: *Naṣāʾiḥ ul-wüzerāʾ we'l-ümerāʾ weyā Kitāb ül-Güldeste*, ed. and tr. W.L. Wright, *Ottoman statecraft. The book of counsel for vezirs and governors*, Princeton 1935; ed. in mod. Tkish, with an introd. by H.R. Uğural, *Defterdar Sarı Mehmet Paşa, devlet adamlarına öğütler*, Ankara 1987; a chronicle of Ottoman history 1656-1704, pop. ed. in mod. Tkish. A. Özcan, *Zübde-i vekayiat* (*olayların özü*), Istanbul 1977-9, 3 vols. (vol. 4 still to come?), a critical ed. by idem, announced in 1990; idem, *Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa'nın mali bazı görüş ve faaliyetleri*, in *GDAAD*, x-xi (1981-2 [publ. 1983]), 239-48; İ. Parmaksızoğlu (ed.), *Silâhdar Mehmet Ağa. Nusretnâme*, Istanbul 1962-9, 3 vols., in 5, ii, index, s.v. *Mehmed*

Efendi, Bakkaloğlu; A. Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme dönemine girerken osmanlı maliyesi*, Istanbul 1985, 132, 230, 266; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 597-602. (A.H. de Groot)

ṢARĪ ṢALṬŪḲ DEDE, Turkish warrior-saint of the 7th/13th century.

The sources on his life are extremely meagre. The earliest surviving work in which he is mentioned is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla*. The author states that when he passed through the town of "Bābā Salṭūḳ" in the Dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (probably near the lower Dnieper in the Ukraine) in 732/1332, he learned that its namesake was "an ecstatic devotee, although things are told of him which are reproved by Divine Law" (tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Cambridge 1958-71, ii, 499-500). About the same time, legendary stories related to Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ had entered the Bektāshī *wilāyet-nāmes*. By the 9th/15th century, he was considered to be a Bektāshī saint (F.M. Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, tr. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City 1992, 81 n. 82). Next, he appears briefly in the *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, written by the Ottoman historian Yazīdjī-oghlu (or Yazīdjī-zāde) ʿAlī during the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51). According to this work, which is virtually the only historical source on his life, Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ "of blessed memory" went to Constantinople to join the deposed Saldjūḳ sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II and his army after they had taken refuge in Byzantine territory from Kaykāwūs's brother and his Mongol protectors. These Turks found favour with the Byzantine emperor, who subsequently gave them Dobrudja [*q.v.*] as an abode. Later, the emperor imprisoned Kaykāwūs, but he was freed by Berke Khān of the Golden Horde, who gave him and his followers hospitality in the Crimea. Berke Khān then transferred the Turks of Dobrudja, among them Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ, into the steppe (*dasht*). When Kaykāwūs died in the Crimea in 679/1280, one of his sons claimed the throne and asked for permission to return to Rūm. At that point, Berke Khān ordered Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ to lead the remaining Turks back to Dobrudja. Meanwhile, another of Kaykāwūs's sons had been held in Constantinople, where he was baptised by the Patriarch. Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ successfully asked for him to be freed. He returned to Islam and became a dervish. Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ then transferred to him the supernatural power that he had received as a shepherd from the holy man Maḥmūd Khayrānī (d. 667/1269) of Akshehir and sent him to Ṣulṭāniyya. Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ later died in Dobrudja (P. Wittek, *Yazïdjïoghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv [1952], 639-68). While describing Süleymān's Mohács campaign (932/1526), Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] (or Ibn Kamāl, d. 940/1534), *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, mentions Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ in passing as a wonder-working saint in Dobrudja. Sayyid Luḳmān (d. *ca.* 1010/1601-2 [*q.v.*]), *Idjmāl-i aḥwāl-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, essentially repeats Yazīdjī-oghlu's information, but adds that Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ went to Rumelia in 662/1263-4 (relevant passages from these writers in A. Decei, *Le problèm de la colonisation des Turcs seljoukides dans la Dobrugea au XIIIe siècle*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vi [1968], 85-111).

Yazīdjī-oghlu's report clearly reflects the incident in which Kaykāwūs II [*q.v.*] fled from the Mongols to the court of Michael VIII Palaeologus in 660/1262 and subsequently reached the Crimea. Some of the Turks who followed him later settled permanently in Dobrudja and were thus apparently the first to establish Islam in the Balkans. Nevertheless, most of these Turks eventually became Christians known as the Gagauz [*q.v.*]. We have neither a contemporary Christian (Byzantine) nor Muslim source, however, that mentions a Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ in connection with these events. It is also noteworthy that none of the aforesaid Ottoman historians links Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ with the Bektāshīs. Yet by the 9th/15th century, Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ appears in Bektāshī tradition as a shepherd whom Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh sends, via Sinope, to Georgia, where he converts the Georgians. Then he goes to Dobrudja, where he kills a dragon which had captured the daughters of a king, at the fortress of Kaliakra (Ḳilghra). Afterwards, he calls the people to Islam and builds a *tekke* (Köprülü, *The Seljuks*, 54-5).

Relying primarily on Bektāshī *wilāyet-nāmes* and other legendary or semi-legendary sources, it is generally held today that there actually was a saint named Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ and that he was a disciple of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh. Moreover, the heterodox dervish Baraḳ Baba [*q.v.*] claims, in turn, that he was a disciple of Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ (Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia*, tr. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City 1993, 22-3). Indeed, Köprülü considers Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ to be one of a series of warrior *babas* or *alp-erens* connecting the uprising of Bābā Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] in eastern Anatolia in 638/1240 with the revolt of Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā in Dobrudja in 819/1416 (*op. cit.*, 15, 22, 77 n. 55, 78 n. 57, 90 n. 111, and esp. A.Y. Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hetérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle*, Ankara 1989, 100-5 and *passim*). Still, it is unclear if this Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ and the one who accompanied the Turks to Dobrudja in the 7th/13th century were the same person.

In any case, by the mid 9th/15th century, it was the legendary Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ who, as an heroic figure in the epic *Ṣalṭuḳ-nāme*, supplanted the vague historical personage in the Turkish consciousness. In 878/1473 when Prince Djem [*q.v.*] was in Edirne guarding the Balkan borders while Meḥemmed II was on campaign against Uzun Ḥasan, he heard many stories about Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ from various places in Rumelia and commissioned one Abu 'l-Khayr al-Rūmī to compile a book about him. Abu 'l-Khayr collected material for seven years, visiting all the places associated with Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ in Anatolia and Rumelia, and then wrote his *Ṣalṭuḳ-nāme*. This work followed, but was superior to, the *Baṭṭāl-nāme* and *Dānishmend-nāme* as the last in the cycle of epic romances concerning the conquest of Anatolia and Rumelia. The first two works were centred on Anatolia, while the *Ṣalṭūḳ-nāme* focussed on Rumelia. In this epic, Ṣarī Ṣalṭūḳ was a great Ṣūfī who had close relations not only with Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, but also with Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī and even Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.vv.*]. He commanded miraculous powers and defended Muslims and converted unbelievers from China to Andalusia. He first lived in Sinope, then in the Crimea, then along the Danube, and finally in Edirne. (He was often associated, initially, with northern Anatolia. The Bolu *sāl-nāme* of 1334/1915-6, 226, for example, states that the region of Bartïn north of Bolu near the Black Sea had previously been referred to as "Ṣalṭuḳ ili", the province of Ṣalṭuḳ.) His major objective was to Islamise Rumelia, and he predicted the conquest of that region in the time of the sons of ʿOthmān. Although the *Ṣalṭūḳ-nāme* is replete with fabulous elements (including stories common to those in the Bektāshī *wilāyet-nāmes*), and blends numerous local traditions (he was often identified with such Christian personalities as St. Nicholas) with Muslim or Turkish traditions, it also reflects many historical events that occurred between 1200 and 1400, such as the struggle of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs and *beyliks* against the Mongols, Byzantines and other

Western powers; the relations of the Golden Horde with the West and Byzantium; the struggle of the Aydînid ruler Umur Bey with the Christians of the West; and the establishment of the Ottoman State.

The *Ṣaltūḳ-nāme* was written, in fact, much like the first anonymous Ottoman chronicles. It is especially important for describing the psychological state of the unbelievers created by the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans (Köprülü, *The Seljuks*, 43-52). It even sheds light on social life in Anatolia under the Ilkhāns and in the Crimea under the Golden Horde.

Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1095/1684 [*q.v.*]) reports the existence of two works, now lost, on the legendary Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ: a *risāla* by Yazîdjî-oghlu Meḥmed Čelebi (d. 855/1451) and a *Ṣaltūḳ-nāme* by Kenʿān Pasha (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]) (*Seyāhat-nāme*, Istanbul 1896-1935, iii, 366/Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat Köşkü ms. 305, fol. 127b). Ewliyā claims that his real name was Muḥammad Bukhārī, that he was girded with a wooden sword by Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] and sent to the assistance of Ḥādjdji Bektāsh, who then sent him to Dobrudja; that he lived in Arpa Čukuru, Sīwās and Tokat; and that he was the patron saint, *pīr*, of the *boza* makers (*op. cit.*, ii, 134/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 266a, and i, 659/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 212b). Ewliyā also relates the story that Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ instructed his disciples to bury him in seven coffins in remote towns in Rumelia (indeed, as far away as Sweden) "so that the ignorance of where the body really was would produce everywhere a pilgrimage of Muslims and from the pilgrimage would result the incorporation of these lands into the kingdom of Islam" (*op. cit.*, ii, 133/Bağdat ms. 304, fol. 266a ff.). This indicates, of course, that the legendary Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ was not only a major symbol of the Islamisation and Turkification of Rumelia, but that he was also probably a composite of many of the warrior dervishes who went to that region after the original Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ's death. Certainly, the fact that most of the followers of the original Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ eventually converted to Christianity is strong evidence that the legendary person was much more important and influential in this respect than the original. In addition to his burial sites in Rumelia, he had resting places as well in Anatolia. The latter are revered even today: Iznik, Bor near Niğde, and Diyarbakır (G. Smith, *Some türbes/maqāms of Sarı Saltuq, an early Anatolian Turkish ġāzī-saint*, in *Turcica*, xiv [1982], 216-25). Nevertheless, his "true" burial place is generally considered to be at Babadaghî [*q.v.*], in Dobrudja just south of the Danube delta. This site was often the centre of Türkmen, *ghāzī* and heretical dervish activity. While on campaign, Bāyezīd II visited Babadaghî in 889/1484 and built there a great mosque and *zāwiye* dedicated to Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ. According to Ewliyā, he also rebuilt the saint's *türbe*, which had become an object of pilgrimage, and endowed a *madrasa* and baths in the town. Later, in 945/1538, Süleymān also showed interest in Ṣarî Ṣalṭūḳ and spent several days visiting his tomb. In the 12th/18th century, Babadaghî began a long period of decline. But the saint's modest tomb still stands, an often-repaired and humble reminder of a thriving Ottoman past (J. Deny, *Sarı Saltıq et le nom de la ville de Babadaghı*, in *Mélanges offerts à Emile Picot*, Paris 1913, 1-15; M. Kiel, *The türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja*, in *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vi-vii [1977-8], 205-25).

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(G. Leiser)

SARIḲA (A.), theft, noun of agent Sāriḳ "thief". Islamic legal theory distinguishes between *al-sariḳa al-ṣughrā* (theft) and *al-sariḳa al-kubrā* (highway robbery or brigandage), each with different *ḥadd* punishments.

(1) Theft (*sariḳa*) is punished by cutting off the hand, according to sūra V, 42. This was an innovation of the Prophet's; but, according to the *Awāʾil* literature, this had already been introduced in the days of paganism by al-Walīd b. Mughīra (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, i, 230). This method of punishment may be of Persian origin (cf. *Lettre de Tansar*, ed. J. Darmesteter in *JA*, Series 9, iii [1894], 220-1, 525-6; *Sad Dar*, 64,5 = *Sacred books of the East*, xxiv, 327). In pre-Islamic Arabia, theft from a fellow-tribesman or from a guest was alone considered despicable, but no punishment was prescribed for it; the person had himself to see how he could regain his property (G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*², 217-18; cf. J.L. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen*, Weimar 1831, 127 ff. 261 ff.). In the beginning of the 1st/7th century, the right or left hand was cut off; there was no fixed rule. The Ḳurʾān leaves the point obscure, and one tradition says that Abū Bakr ordered the left hand to be cut off (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Sariḳa*, *bāb* 4; al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vi, 117). Cf. the variant of sūra V, 42, *aymānahumā*, transmitted by Ibn Masʿūd.

According to the teaching of the *fuḳahāʾ*, the thief's right hand is cut off (for a second crime the left foot, then the left hand, then the right foot) and at the wrist; the stump is held in hot oil or fire to stop the bleeding. The Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs, however, put the culprit into prison at his third crime, which the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs only do after his fifth. The Shīʿīs inflict imprisonment for the third offence and death for the fourth. The punishment was inflicted in public; the thief was frequently led round the town seated backwards on an ass with the limb cut off hung round his neck (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 22; O. Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Isl.* [1919], ix, 68 ff.). Punishment could not be inflicted in cases of pregnancy, severe illness or when the weather was very cold or very hot. It is a *ḥadd* punishment, as a right of God (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*) is violated by theft. But as the rights of the owner are also injured (*ḥaḳḳ ādamī*) the thief is bound to make reparation. If the article stolen has disappeared, he is kept under arrest (not so, according to Abū Ḥanīfa). The caliph ʿUmar is said always to have condemned the thief to return double the value (cf. Roman Law: Justinian, *Instit.*, 4, 1, 5).

The jurists define theft for which the *ḥadd* punishment is prescribed as the clandestine removal of legally recognised property (*māl*) in the safe keeping (*ḥirz*) of another of a definite minimum value (*niṣāb*; among the Ḥanafīs and Zaydīs 10 dirhams, among the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Shīʿīs ¼ dīnār or 3 dirhams) to which the thief has no right of ownership; it is so distinguished from usurpation (*ghaṣb*) and embezzlement (*khiyāna*). By *ḥirz* is meant guarding by a watchman or by the nature of the place (e.g. a private house). Thus theft from a building accessible to the public (e.g. shops of the market, in the open air, baths) is not

liable to the *ḥadd* punishment. This is further only applied to one who (1) has attained his majority (*bāligh* [*q.v.*]), (2) is *compos mentis* (*ʿāḳil*) and (3) has the intention (*niyya*) of stealing, i.e. is not acting under compulsion but freely (*mukhtār*). No distinction is made between freeman or slave, male or female. The punishment is not applied in case of thefts between husband and wife and near relatives nor in the case of a slave robbing his master or a guest his host. Views are divided on the question of the punishment of the *dhimmī* and the protected alien (*mustaʾmin*) with the *ḥadd*, and on the punishment of accomplices and accessories; in any case, the total divided among the latter must reach the *niṣāb* for each of the thieves. It is not theft to take articles of trifling value (wood, water, wild game) and things which quickly go to waste (fresh fruit, meat and milk), or articles in which the *Sharīʿa* does not recognise private ownership or things which are not legitimate articles of commerce (*māl*), like freeborn children, wine, pigs, dogs, chess-sets, musical instruments, golden crosses (the theft of a full-grown slave is considered *ghaṣb*) or articles in which the thief already has a share (booty, state treasure, *waḳf*, something from the common good to the value of the share), also copies of the Ḳurʾān and books (except account books), as it is assumed the thief only desires to obtain the contents. The conception of literary theft is unknown to *fiḳh*.

The charge can be made by the owner and legitimate possessor (or depository) but not by a second thief. The legal inquiry has to be conducted in the presence of the person robbed. For proof two male witnesses are necessary or a confession (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*], which can, however, be withdrawn. It is recommended to plead not guilty if at all possible [see ʿADHĀB]. If the thief, however, has given back the article stolen before the charge is made, he is immune from punishment (sūra V, 43).

(2) Highway robbery or robbery with violence (*muḥāraba, ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*) occurs when anyone who can be dangerous to travellers falls upon them and robs them when they are distant from any possible help or when someone enters a house, armed, with the intention of robbing (cf. Roman Law; Justinian, *Novellae*, 134, ch. 13). The Shīʿīs consider any armed attack, even in inhabited places, as highway robbery. The same regulations hold regarding the person and the object as above, especially the *niṣāb*. On the authority of sūra V, 37-8, the culprit is liable to the following *ḥadd* punishments. If a man has committed a robbery which is practically a theft to be punished with *ḥadd*, his right hand and left foot are cut off (the next time, the left hand and the right foot). If, however, he has robbed and killed, he is put to death in keeping with right of reprisal (*ḳiṣāṣ*) and his body publicly exposed for three days on a gibbet or in some other way. The punishment of death is here considered a *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*; the payment of blood-money (*diya*) is therefore out of the question. If the criminal repents, however, before he is taken, the *ḥadd* punishment is omitted; but the claim of the person robbed of the article for compensation and the talio remain. All accomplices are punished in the same way; if one of them cannot be held responsible for his actions, the *ḥadd* punishment cannot be inflicted on any.

All these laws hold only for the *ḥadd* punishment which the judge can only inflict when all conditions are fulfilled. In all other cases the thief is punished with *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*] and condemned to restore the article or to make reparation. It is the same with the thief who comes secretly but goes away openly (*mukhtalis*) or the robber who falls upon someone and robs him at a place where help is available (*muntahib*). Special laws were therefore frequently passed in Islamic states to supplement the *Sharīʿa*, in Turkey, for example, by the Ottoman sultans Meḥemmed II (*Mitteilungen zur Osm. Gesch.*, i [1921], 21, 35), Süleymān II (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 147-8). Meḥemmed IV and ʿAbd al-Medjīd. These laws endeavoured more and more to replace the *ḥadd* punishment by fines and corporal punishment. The Turkish criminal code of 1858 still only recognised fines and imprisonment for theft, although the *Sharīʿa* was not officially abolished thereby [see MEDJELLE].

The punitive prescriptions of the *Sharīʿa* regarding *sariḳa*, which have been either abolished or largely mitigated during the course of the 20th century, except in such countries as Saudi Arabia and the Sudan, seem likely to regain ground at the dawning of the third millennium in several parts of the Islamic world with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

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SĀRIYA [see SĀRĪ].

SARKĀR ĀḲĀ (P.), a term used for a number of heterodox religious leaders within the broad Shīʿī tradition. It appears to have originated in the 19th century, possibly in recognition of links between the title's bearers and the Ḳādjār court. The title (meaning something like "lord and chief") was used for the first Āḳā Khān (Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh, 1804-81 [*q.v.*] and several of his successors, as heads of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs (sometimes as Sarkār Āḳā Khān); it is, however, not in current use. Leaders of the Shaykhī branch of the Twelver Shīʿa [see SHAYKHIYYA] have been termed "Sarkār Āḳā" since the time of Ḥādjdj Mīrzā Muḥammad Karīm Kirmānī (1809-70 [*q.v.*], as referred to as "Sarkār-i Khān"), a great-nephew of Fatḥ-ʿAlī Shāh and a son-in-law of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The title passed to his Kirmān-based lineal successors within the Ibrāhīmī family until quite recently, and was particularly used of the late Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān (d. 1979). Within the Bahāʾī movement [see BAHĀʾĪS] the title is reserved for ʿAbbās Effendi ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (1844-1921), the son of Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*], whose

family had a variety of marital links to the Ḳād̲j̲ārs. In English usage, Bahāʾīs refer to him as "the Master", which is both a partial translation of Sarkār Āḳā and an echo of Christian terminology. (D. MacEoin)

SARK̲H̲AD [see salk̲h̲ad].

SARK̲H̲ĒD̲J̲, a site 10 km/6 miles to the southeast of Ahmadābād [*q.v.*] in western India, capital of the sultans of Gud̲j̲arāt [*q.v.*] in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

Its fame arises from the complex of buildings built round an artificial lake, all of them still standing and excellent specimens of 9th/15th century Gud̲j̲arāt architecture. They include the tomb of the saint S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad K̲h̲attū "Gand̲j̲ Bak̲h̲sh" (d. 850/1446) and a mosque of sultan Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (846-55/1442-51). It became a favourite retreat of Sultan Fatḥ K̲h̲ān Mahmūd S̲h̲āh Begṛā (862-917/1458-1511), who built the large tank, palace buildings and two mausolea for himself and his family.

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ṢĀRLIYYA, the name of a group of Kākāʾīs or Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] living in northern ʿIrāḳ, in a group of six villages, four on the right bank of the Great Zab and two on its left one, not far from its confluence with the Tigris and 45 km/28 miles to the south-southeast of Mawṣil. The principal village, where the chief lives, is called Wardak, and lies on the right bank; the largest village on the left bank is Sufayya.

The Ṣārlīs, like the other sects found in northern ʿIrāḳ (Yazīdīs, S̲h̲abaks, Bād̲j̲ūrān), are very uncommunicative with regard to their belief and religious practices, so that the other inhabitants of the country have in the past attributed abominable rites to them and alleged that they have a kind of secret language of their own. In 1902, Père Anastase gave some notes on the Sarlīs (and also on the sects of Bād̲j̲ūrān and the S̲h̲abaks) which he obtained from an individual in Mawṣil. According to him, their language was a mixture of Kurdish, Persian and Turkish. As to religion, they were monotheists, believing in certain prophets, in paradise and hell. They neither fasted nor prayed. They believed that their chief had the power to sell territory in paradise. For this purpose he visited all the villages at harvest time, and every Ṣārlī was allowed to purchase as many *d̲h̲irāʿ*s as he could pay for; the price of a *d̲h̲irāʿ* was never less than a quarter of a *med̲j̲īdiyye*. Credit was not granted. The chief gave a receipt which show how many *d̲h̲irāʿ*s an individual had acquired. This receipt was put in the pocket of the dead man so that he could present it to Riḍwān, the guardian of Paradise. The Ṣārlīs had also a feast-day once in every lunar year, which consisted in the consumption of a repast at which the chief presided, and to which every one contributed a cock boiled with rice or wheat. After this meal, called *aklat al-maḥabba*, the lights are said to have been extinguished and orgies of promiscuity to have taken place. The head of the community was succeeded at his death by his unmarried son; he was forbidden to shave his beard or his moustache. The Ṣārlīs were polygamous. They were said to have a sacred book written in Persian.

These statements should be taken with considerable reserve. The Ṣārlīs themselves said that they were simply Kurds and belonged originally to the Kāke Kurds who have some villages near Kirkūk. But the Kāke Kurds also had a mysterious reputation. A characteristic feature noticed in one of the Ṣārlī villages (Sufayya) was an ornament with triangular holes in the walls of the principal buildings of the village. Like the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*], the Ṣārlīs used Muslim names, and their chief in the early part of this century was one Ṭāhā Koča or Mullā Ṭāhā.

The present (1994) status, or even the continued existence, of these Ṣārlīs, is unknown, given the present impossibility of western scholars undertaking ethnological field work in the Kurdish areas of northern ʿIrāḳ.

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SARMAD [see muḥammad saʿīd sarmad].

SARPUL-I D̲H̲UHĀB ("bridgehead of Zohāb"), a place on the way to the Zagros Mountains on the great Bag̲h̲dād-Kirmāns̲h̲āh road, taking its name from the stone bridge of two arches over the river Alwand, a tributary on the left bank of the Diyāla. Sarpul in the early 20th century consisted simply of a little fort (*ḳūr-k̲h̲āna* = "arsenal") in which the governor of Zohāb lived (the post was regularly filled by the chief of the tribe of Gūrān), a caravanserai, a garden of cypress and about 40 houses. The old town of Zohāb, about 4 hours to the north, is now in ruins. To the east, behind the cliffs of Hazār-D̲j̲arīb, lies the little canton of Bes̲h̲īwe (Kurdish = "below") in a corridor running round the foot of the Zagros giving access to the famous col of Pā-Ṭāḳ, on the slope of which is the Sāsānid edifice called Ṭāḳ-i Girrā. In the west, the heights of Mēl-i Yaʿḳūb separate the verdant plain of Sarpul from that of Ḳaṣr-i S̲h̲īrīn [*q.v.*]. Sarpul is the natural halting place for thousands of Persian pilgrims going to the *ʿatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Karbalāʾ and other S̲h̲īʿī sanctuaries). When the pilgrimage season is at its height (in autumn and winter), a hundred tents may be seen near the bridge. They belong to the Kurdish gipsy tribe of Sūzmānī (Fiyūd̲j̲), the women of which are professional dancers and singers noted for their light morals.

Sarpul corresponds to the site of the ancient K̲h̲almanu of the Assyrians, Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] of the Arabs. The earlier name survived as the Kurdish name of the Alwand, i.e. Ḥalawān. Traces of the old town are found mainly on the left bank (Pāypul) where the land is level and beautiful.

Sarpul is noted for its antiquities: (1) the bas-relief and Pahlavi inscription on the cliff on the right bank of the Alwand; (2) three steles on the cliffs of Hazār-D̲j̲arīb (on the left bank) of which two are Sāsānid (Parthian?) and the third represents Anu-Banini, king of the Lulubi; (3) two miles away, to the south of Hazār-D̲j̲arīb, is an Achaemenid tomb cut out of the rock and venerated at the present day under the name of Dukkān-i Dāwūd (David's workshop) by the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], who have a cemetery at the foot of the rock.

Modern Sarpul-i D̲h̲uhāb is the chef-lieu of a *bak̲h̲sh* of the same name in the *s̲h̲ahrastān* of Ḳaṣr-i S̲h̲īrīn in Kirmāns̲h̲āh province (*ustān*) (lat. 33° 27′N., long. 45° 25′ E., alt. 534 m/1,750 feet). In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of around 2,000, comprising S̲h̲īʿīs, Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ and Sunnīs, a number swollen in winter how-

ever by the influx of transhumants from their *yaylaks* or summer pastures in the mountains.

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(V. MINORSKY*)

SARRĀDJ [see SARDJ].

SARRĀDJ, BANŪ 'L [see IBN AL-SARRĀDJ, in Suppl.].

AL-**SARRĀDJ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD DJAʿFAR B. AḤMAD b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḳāriʾ (d. 500/1106), known as Djaʿfar al-Sarrādj, or al-Sarrādj al-Baghdādī, a Ḥanbalī traditionist from Baghdād, noted for his poetry and author of the famous *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, was born in Baghdād at the turn of the year 417/February 1027.

He took up the study of Islamic Tradition at a very early age and received an education in the *ḳirāʾāt* [*q.v.*]. He actually taught this for several years, not without cultivating at the same time his good taste in *belles lettres* and his poetic skills. Thus al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 473/1071) edited a collection of his enunciations (*fawāʾid*), and specimens of his poetry are given by all of his biographers. Al-Sarrādj is said to have been proud of the many authorised transmissions (*riwāya* [*q.v.*]) he had gathered, and he continually collected—and transmitted—traditions of various kinds. He travelled to Mecca, Egypt and, a number of times, the coastal towns of Syria, especially Tyre, and to Damascus where, according to Ibn ʿAsākir, his (late) transmission from the famous Ibn Shādhān (d. 426/1034) was appreciated. Among his students figures the well-known Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (576/1180).

Titles of two kinds of his writings are mentioned in the sources, one being the versifications of works on *fiḳh* and religous matters, as e.g. the *K. al-Tanbīh* by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083), a certain *Manāsik al-ḥadjdj* and a *K. al-Mubtadāʾ*. The *al-Urdjūza fī naẓāʾir al-Ḳurʾān*, mentioned by Brockelmann, seems to belong to this group. Other titles apparently concern works of a moralising *adab* type, such as his *Ḥukm al-ṣibyān* and *Manāḳib al-ḥabash* (*al-sūdān*).

His *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, "The places (or: times, occasions) of slaughter of passionate lovers" (or, if *maṣāriʿ* is taken as the exceptional plural form of *ṣarīʿ*, "Lovers who were slain [by love]"), agrees in character with this second type of writings. It is a collection of short narrations, often accompanied by verses, about the calamity of love, which is depicted as a chaste and, mostly, a fatal experience. The author only contributes some verses at the end of each section (*djuzʾ*), and meticulously quotes *isnāds*. They show that these materials circulated among scholars of Islamic Tradition, and that they were taken, to a large extent attributed to the founders of *adab* literature, from earlier collections and, to a lesser degree, from Ṣūfī teachings. His book, which served as a basic source for later works on this topic, was classified even by mediaeval authors as *ʿadjīb* "remarkable", and, in modern studies, has raised questions as to the underlying teaching on love and its connection with the Ḥanbalī school of thought. Neither the origin of the texts, nor their presentation, which is void of any moralising commentary, demonstrates a Ḥanbalī character of the work (Bell), but the edifying effect of memorisation (*dhikr*) and the impersonal perspective prevalent in most of the narrations (Vadet) denote a moralistic attitude. In this vein, the work is comparable to earlier collections of edifying narrations or "reports", which were composed by representatives of the *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djamāʿa*, such as Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and others.

Bibliography: There is no critical edition of the *Maṣāriʿ*; most versions are reprints of the Beirut 1958 ed.—Entries on al-Sarrādj are found in most of the biographical literature of the period concerned: Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 18 vols., Beirut 1412/1992, xvii, 102-4; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii, Leiden 1909, 401-5; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, vi, Damascus 1404/1984, 52; Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *al-Mustafād min dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād, intiḳaʾ* Ibn al-Dimyāṭī, Beirut n.d., 93-5; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ed. M. Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, i, Cairo 1952, 100-3.

For studies of his work, see Brockelmann, I², 431, S I 594; J.-Cl. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 379-430; J.N. Bell, *The Hanbalite teaching on love*, diss. Princeton University 1971 (University Microfilms), 245-58; S. Leder, *Ibn al-Ǧauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1984, 98-101; German tr. of excerpts from the *Maṣāriʿ*, by R. Paret, in *Früharabische Liebesgeschichten. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Sprache und Dichtung 40, Bern 1927.

(S. LEDER)

AL-**SARRĀDJ**, ABŪ NAṢR ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿALĪ, Ṣūfī author originally from Ṭūs in Khurāsān, who lived towards the middle of the 4th/10th century and died in his home town in 378/988.

The bio-bibliographical and hagiographic literature (ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, ed. Nicholson, ii, 182-3; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, cited by Nicholson in *The Kitáb al-Lumaʿ*, p. III; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iv, 152; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, no. 353; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 91) gives hardly any precise information about his life and upbringing. We do, however, know the names of some of his teachers and sources of information e.g. amongst others, Djaʿfar al-Khuldī (d. in Baghdād 348/960) and Aḥmad b. Muḥamad b. Sālim of Baṣra (d. 356/967), the leading light of the Sālimiyya school. The fact that he frequented the company of this last and that he cites him does not, nevertheless, allow us to count him amongst the partisans of the Sālimiyya [*q.v.*] (see Nicholson, *op. cit.*, pp. XI-XII); the lively discussion which he had with Ibn Sālim on the validity of the *shaṭaḥāt* attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (*Lumaʿ*, ch. *Tafsīr al-shaṭḥiyyāt*) testifies all the same to his independence of mind. From the text of the *K. al-Lumaʿ* it appears that al-Sarrādj travelled widely, since he cites, on occasion, conversations which he apparently had not only in Persia but also in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and even Egypt. Above all, our sources mention the remarkable consequences of his spiritual elevation. Thus, invited during Ramaḍān to direct the education of the dervishes in the Shūnīziyya mosque at Baghdād, he is said not to have touched for a month the food which was brought to his cell (*Tadhkira*, ii, 182; *Nafaḥāt*, no. 353; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, ed. Zhukovski, 417). ʿAṭṭār, and Djāmī following him, further report that

al-Sarrādj, carried off by a moment of ecstasy, plunged his face into a flaming brazier without suffering any pain or leaving any trace on his face; on the contrary, it was completely radiant. But in fact, we know hardly anything further on his life and, in particular, have no information at all on his possible successors on the mystical path. As for his disciples, we know only one name, that of Abu 'l-Faḍl of Sarakhs, the future master of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*] (Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. Dh. Ṣafā, 27; *Nafaḥat*, no. 354). This is a remarkable dearth of information about one who was called "the peacock of the poor" (*ṭāwūs al-fuḳarāʾ*) and whose authority and competence were widely recognised.

In fact, the personality of al-Sarrādj is completely hidden behind the *K. al-Lumaʿ* "Book of shafts of light", his main and probably only work, since, despite an affirmation of existence by Djāmī, no other title attributed to him is known to us. This work involves a treatise of considerable value, both from the richness of its documentary information on the Ṣūfism of the first Islamic centuries and also from the quality of the religious thought which informs it. Al-Sarrādj presents there the bases of knowledge understood in a mystical sense, contrasted with the Islamic religious sciences known at the time. He details in it the main stages and states of the mystical path; underlines the importance of the revealed sacred text and the prophetic example by highlighting the ways of interpretation followed by the Ṣūfīs; describes the customs (*ādāb*) of Ṣūfīs and cites the particularly significant texts of the great masters. The precision of his definitions in the technical lexicon of Ṣūfism is most valuable. He also deals with the tangible and controversial aspects of the Ṣūfī life, such as the status of miracles (*karāmāt*), the nature of ecstasy, the lawfulness of listening to music (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]), the orthodoxy of the paradoxical utterances (*shaṭaḥāt*) attributed to certain *mashāyikh*; and the doctrinal errors of several currents of thought claiming a connection with Ṣūfism. Each chapter forms a little, autonomous treatise, in which the author cites abundantly *ḥadīths* and, especially, the dicta of the great masters of Ṣūfism. His own points of view are not concealed at all but are fitted in fairly discreetly behind the teachings of the great figures in the tradition.

The importance of the *Lumaʿ* was appreciated as soon as it appeared. Subsequent authors, like al-Ḳushayrī in his *Risāla*, found in it substantial bases of documentation, as did even Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, who drew upon it for several elements in his writings on the behaviour of Ṣūfīs (see esp. the *Iḥyāʾ*, Book ii, *K. Ādāb al-samāʿ wa 'l-wadjd*). The *Lumaʿ* also contributed to the legitimisation of Ṣūfism as an Islamic science in its own right. Al-Sarrādj showed himself quite firm about the essential point: true Ṣūfīs are not merely in complete conformity with Islamic orthodoxy but they themselves make up its spiritual élite. It is not, then, a question of an apologia, in the strict sense of the term, or of a purely defensive justification of Ṣūfism, but it goes beyond that to an argued and assured statement of the harmonious integration of mysticism within the bosom of Muslim religious life. Being moderate and aiming at a consensus of opinion, al-Sarrādj's language in the *Lumaʿ* thus forms a particularly clear and vivid example of the conception which the Ṣūfīs had of themselves towards the middle of the 4th/10th century.

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(P. LORY)

ṢARRŪF, YAʿḲŪB, a personage of the revival of Arabic culture and literature or *naḥda* [*q.v.*] (b. al-Ḥadath, 18 July 1852, d. Cairo, 9 July 1927).

Of Maronite origin, he was part of the first wave of graduates from the Syrian Protestant College in 1870 and taught for two years in American missionary schools. Little is known about his conversion to Protestantism. From 1876 onwards, together with Fāris Nimr [*q.v.*], his name was, for half a century, attached to the journal *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, which published 121 volumes over its life-span of 75 years. In order to avoid official displeasure, he emigrated on March 1885 to Egypt, with his journal. Unceasingly remaining as close as possible to contemporary issues, he translated and popularised the latest scientific discoveries, defended freemasonry, and clashed with the Jesuits of the journal *al-Mashriḳ* and the reformists of the journal *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], since he was only interested in religion (as a Christian within an Islamic society) or politics (thus he did not take up a position against the British occupation of Egypt) from the scientific viewpoint. He championed Darwinian evolution, even though his lack of a specialist scientific training did not allow him fully to understand the philosophical bases of that doctrine. As well as numerous translations, he published three novels as separate volumes, *Fatāt Miṣr, Amīr Lubnān* and *Fatāt al-Fayyūm*), as well as biographical collections and works on natural history (*Fuṣūl fī 'l-taʾrīkh al-tabīʿī min mamlakatay al-ḥayawān wa 'l-nabāt*) and astronomy (*Basāʾiṭ ʿilm al-falak wa-ṣuwar al-samāʾ*). As a journalist pre-occupied with science, he not only invented words to translate new English and French concepts into Arabic but also endeavoured to express himself in his own writings in a clear language. He proposed a theory of his own practice in this regard. His work shows the limitations of a person who acted as a channel of transmission for a modern field of knowledge without taking part in its elaboration.

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(J. FONTAINE)

SĀRT, a term found in the history and ethnography of the Persian and Central Asian worlds. Originally an old Turkic word for "merchant", it occurs with this meaning in the 11th-century sources, such as Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's encyclopaedic dictionary *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* (*Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, 3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1982-5, i, 269), and the

Ḳarak͟hānid mirror for princes, *Ḳutadgu bilig* by Yūsuf K͟hāṣṣ Ḥād͟jib (ed. R.R. Arat, Istanbul 1947, i, 571). For references to other editions of both works, see *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969, 490).

Evidently a loan-word from the Sanskrit for "caravan leader" (*sārthavāha*), it is attested in the Uighur translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* as *sartbav*, which is explained as "head of the merchants" (*satīg͟hd͟jīlar ulug͟hī*) (*Kuanṣi im pusar*, ed. and tr. Ş. Tekin, 1960, repr. Ankara 1993, 11), and in the Manichaean and Buddhist Uighur texts from Turfan (W. Bang and A. von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte II* and *Türkische Turfan-Texte V*, in *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung*, 3 vols., repr. Leipzig 1972-85, ii, 34 and n. 16, 120 and n. B57, the latter in the form *sartavag͟hī*, which was also a designation for the Bodhisattva. See also Bartol'd, ii/1, 162, 196-7, 253). It may have come into Uighur through Sogdian (G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 846), since it was the (eastern Iranian) Sogdians who took over the trade with the Turkic peoples from the Indians (Bartol'd, ii/1, 460).

When the western Iranians secured control of the trade with the nomadic peoples, the Turks and Mongols applied the term *sārt* to them in the same sense as *tād͟jīk* [*q.v.*] (Bartol'd, ii/2, 304). Because Iranians were a sedentary Muslim people, the term also designated all sedentary Muslims, irrespective of language or ethnicity (Fragner, 21). Thus, the Mongols referred to Arslan K͟hān, the prince of the Muslim Turkic Ḳarluḳs, as *sartāḳtāi* (*tāi* being the masculine ending), which Ras͟hīd al-Dīn explained as meaning Tād͟jīk (*D͟jāmiʿ al-tawārīk͟h*, i/1, ed. A.A. Romaskevič *et alii*, Moscow 1965, 351). The *sartāḳtāi* were therefore viewed by the Mongols not just as merchants, but as bearers of Perso-Islamic civilisation. This is confirmed by the fact that the word *sartāul*, which is obviously derived from the same root (e.g. *ibid.*, ii, ed. E. Blochet, Leiden 1911, 541), occurs in Ibn Muhannā's late 14th-century polyglot glossary with the meaning *al-muslimūn* (P. Melioranskiy, *Arab filolog o mongol'skom yazïke*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xv [1904], 75 and 136). It was this term that was applied by the Mongols to the K͟hʷārazms͟hāhs and their subjects (Bartol'd ii/1, 461, ii/2, 310-11).

In the post-Mongol period in Central Asia, the term *sārt* was used synonymously with *tād͟jīk* to designate the Persian-speaking sedentary/urban population in contrast to *türk*, which was used for the Turkic-speaking nomadic or semi-nomadic population. The 15th-century Čag͟hatay Turkish author Mīr ʿAlī-S͟hīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] regularly referred to the Iranian people as *sart ulusī* and to their language as *sart tili*, the latter as a synonym for *fārsī* (Persian). He also stated that in K͟hurāsān the Sārts did not speak Turkish and if they did, it was clearly recognisable that they were Sārts (*Muḥākamat al-lug͟hatayn*, ed. and tr. R. Devereux, Leiden 1966, 6. See also *Abuṣka lûgatı veya Čağatay sözlüğü*, ed. B. Atalay, Ankara 1970, 264-5, for other instances of its use by Nawāʾī in the *Mad͟jālis al-nafāʾis*, etc.; also Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turc-oriental*, Paris 1870, 334). In his description of Farg͟hāna, Bābur referred to the population of Andīd͟jān as *türk*, while he said that the inhabitants of Marg͟hīnān and Asfara were *sārts*, adding that the latter were Persian-speaking (*fārsī-gūy*) (*The Bábar-náma*, facs. ed. A.S. Beveridge, 1905, repr. London 1971, fols. 2b, 3b; *Bâburnâma, Chaghatay Turkish text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian translation*, Turkish transcription, Persian edition and English translation by W.M. Thackston Jr., Pt. 1, [Cambridge, Mass.] 1993, 6-7 (note that K͟hānk͟hānān renders *sārt* as *tād͟jīk*)). Elsewhere, he pointed out that the urban inhabitants of Kābul were *sārts* (fols. 131 a-b; ed. and tr. Thackston, Pt. 2, [Cambridge, Mass.] 1993, 270).

Following their conquest of Central Asia in the 16th century, the nomadic Uzbeks clearly distinguished between themselves and their sedentary subjects whom they called *sārts*, irrespective of linguistic or ethnic considerations. The distinction between Uzbek and Sārt (or Tād͟jīk) was now felt more keenly than the older distinction between Türk and Sārt, probably because some of the pre-Uzbek Turkic (Čag͟hatay) tribes had already made the transition to sedentarism. Abu 'l-G͟hāzī, the 17th-century Čag͟hatay Turkish author of the *S͟had͟jara-yi Turk*, frequently employed the expression "Uzbeks and Sārts" when referring to the entire population of K͟hʷārazm (*Histoire des mongols et des tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân*, ed. and tr. P.I. Desmaisons, 1871-4, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 231, 256). The same usage survived to the 19th century, as attested in the works of historians of K͟hīwa, such as Muʾnis, Āgahī and T͟hanāʾī, although it also took on political significance (Bregel, 123-5; Bartol'd, v, 223), as well as of K͟hoḳand (see T.K. Beisembiev, "*Taʾrik͟h-i shak͟hruk͟hi*" *kak istoričeskiy istočnik*, Alma-Ata 1987, 93).

The introduction of a critical mass of Turkic and Turkicised Mongolian nomads into Transoxiana as a consequence of the Uzbek invasions strengthened the general trend toward Turkicisation of the indigenous Iranian population. The degree to which Turkicisation and Uzbek sedentarisation had progressed by the 19th century is vividly indicated by the fact that the name Sārt, which had first been applied to sedentary Iranians and then to both Persian and Turkic-speaking urban dwellers, began to be used chiefly for Turkic-speaking or bilingual town-dwellers, while the term Tād͟jīk, which had earlier been synonymous with Sārt, was reserved for Persian-speakers only (Subtelny, 49-50; Fragner, 22). Moreover, it was now Ḳazaḳs (or Turkmens in the case of K͟hʷārazm) who as nomads were contrasted with the Sārts as urban dwellers and agriculturalists in Buk͟hārā and K͟hoḳand (Bartol'd, ii/1, 462, v, 223; Bregel, 123).

Although 19th- and early 20th-century European and Russian scholars adopted the use of the term Sārt for urban Turkic-speakers, who were regarded as the "native inhabitants" of Central Asia (Subtelny, 50; Bartol'd, ii/1, 462, ii/2, 303-5; L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'niy slovar' turetsko-tatarskik͟h narečiy*, St. Petersburg 1869, i, 612), Bartol'd himself remained sceptical about this use, since he found no direct proof for it in the historical sources (ii/1, 462). No serious attempt was ever made to determine the dialectal differences between Sārts and Uzbeks either in Buk͟hārā or in K͟hīwa, although they certainly existed and probably warranted the treatment of Sārts as a separate ethnic group (Bregel, 148; Bartol'd, ii/2, 303 ff.). However, the close symbiotic relationship that had existed for centuries between the (nomadic) Turkic and (sedentary) Iranian peoples in Central Asia, resulting in mutual linguistic and ethnogenetic influences, made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to sort out the differences between the two (Subtelny, 44 ff.).

During the 1920s, in keeping with Soviet nationalities policies in Central Asia, which aimed at creating separate national republics based primarily on ethnolinguistic criteria, the name Sārt was banished from use and the ethnic designation Uzbek substituted for it on the grounds that Sārt had never been an ethnic term and that it was insulting to the indigenous population on account of its pejorative

popular etymology "yellow dog" (*sarî it*), which reflected the traditionally contemptuous attitude of the nomads toward sedentary peoples (Subtelny, 48, 51; Bartol'd, ii/2, 303; for other popular etymologies see Budagov, 612), although Bartol'd argued that there was nothing pejorative about the term and it had in fact been used by the Sārts as a self-designation (ii/1, 462, ii/2, 314; B. Kh. Karmîsheva, *Očerki étničeskoy istorii yužnîkh rayonov Tadžikistana i Uzbekistana*, Moscow 1976, 147). Soviet historiography never dealt adequately with the term or with the Sārts as an ethnico-linguistic group (for an overview, see Bregel, 121-2), although rich ethnographic material exists for its study (see e.g. the bibliography in E.A. Voznesenskaya and A.B. Piotrovskiy, *Materialî dlya bibliografii po antropologii i étnografii Kazakstana i sredneaziatskikh respublik. Trudî Komissii po izučeniyu plemennogo sostava naseleniya SSSR i sopredel'nîkh stran*, xiv, Leningrad 1927, 181-99).

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(W. Barthold-[M.E. Subtelny])

ṢART, the form of the name in Ottoman Turkish of the small village in Lydia in Asia Minor, the ancient Sardes (αἱ Σάρδεις of the classical authors, which makes Sāmī Bey write Sārd), capital of the Lydian kingdom, situated on the eastern bank of the Sart Çay (Paktōlos) a little southward to the spot where this river joins the Gediz Çay (Hermos). Although in the later Byzantine period Sardes had lost much of its former importance (as a metropolitan see) and been outflanked by Magnesia (Turkish Maghnīsa [*q.v.*]) and Philadelphia (Ala Shehir [*q.v.*]), it still was one of the larger towns, when the Saldjūḳ Turks, in the 5th/11th century, made incursions into the Hermus valley. At the time, they were expelled by the Byzantine general Philocales (1118). At the end of the 7th/13th century, Sardes had been for some time under a combined Greek and Turkish domination, until the Greeks were able to drive away the Turks a second time (Pachymeres, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn 1835, ii, 403). In the beginning of the 8th/14th century the citadel was surrendered to one of the Saldjūḳ *amīrs*, and the town probably belonged during the remainder of that century to the territory of the Ṣarūkhān [*q.v.*] dynasty, whose capital was Maghnīsa. So when in 792/1390 the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I, after the conquest of the then Greek town Philadelphia, took possession of the Ṣarūkhān country, Sardes was equally incorporated in his empire (Anonymus Giese, Breslau 1922, 28; ʿĀshîḳ-pasha-zāde, Istanbul 1333, 65). After the battle of Ankara, when Tīmūr marched against Izmir (805/1402), Sardes and its citadel were probably destroyed and never recovered again.

The modern settlement of Sart (lat. 38° 28′ N., long. 28° 03′ E., alt. 102 m/335 ft.) lies between the Sart Çay and the citadel hill. This hill is a long, narrow counterfort, 200 m/656 ft. in height, belonging to Mount Tmolus (now Mahmud Dağ in the south (a topographical sketch of the site in Curtius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* [1872], Plate V[2]). East of the ridge is a small mill brook called Tabak Çay; north of the town it joins the Sart Çay, which is united with the Gediz Çay about 6 km/9½ miles to the north of the acropolis hill. At the other side of the Gediz Çay is situated the big necropolis of Sardes, a large plain of mounds called *Bin Bir Tepe*. North of this plain is the Mermere Lake, the ancient Lake of Gyges. The railway from Izmir to Alaşehir runs along the southern Gediz Çay bank and has a station at Sart. Administratively, Sart now comes within the *nahiye* of Salıhlı in the *il* or province of Manisa.

Excavations at the classical, Roman and Byzantine site of Sardis have been undertaken, especially by American archaeologists since the early part of the 20th century. In recent decades, these have been associated with G.M.A. Hanfmann. See, in particular, his *Sardis und Lydien*, in *Abh. Ak. Wiss. zu Mainz, geistes- un sozial wiss. Kl.*, Jhg. 1960, 499-536; idem (ed.), *Archaeological exploration of Sardis (1958-1975). Sardis from prehistoric to Roman times*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983. See also *PW*, 1.A.2, cols. 2475-8 s.v. Sardeis, and *Der kleine Pauly*, iv, cols. 1551-2.

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(J.H. Kramers*)

SARŪDJ, a town in Diyār Muḍar [*q.v.*] on the most southerly of the three roads from Bīredjik [*q.v.*] to Urfa [see al-ruhā] in 36° 58′ N. lat. and 38° 27′ E. long. As the name of the town is also that of the district, its relation to the ancient names Anthemusia and Batnae is disputed; see *Bibl.* On account of the fertility of the district in which the town is situated, and its central position between the Euphrates on the one side, and Urfa and Ḥarrān [*q.v.*], from each of which it is about a day's journey distant, on the other, the traffic through it brought it a certain degree of prosperity, especially as it was also important as a post-station between al-Raḳḳa and Sumaysāṭ. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, it was 20 *farsakh*s from the former town and 13 from the latter. The principal occupation was settled by the natural suitability of the soil or growing fruit and the vine, as all the geographers tell us. Within the town itself Ibn Djubayr (late 6th/12th century) found orchards and running water.

Sarūdj—an ancient centre of Syriac Christianity, and the birthplace of Jacob of Sarūdj (d. 521)—was captured, with the rest of al-Djazīra, by the Arab commander ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm in 18/639. Three centuries later it came within the possessions of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil and Aleppo, and then of the resurgent Byzantines. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, Diyār Muḍar was controlled by the Turkmen family of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*], protégés of the Saldjūḳs, and Suḳmān b. Artuḳ made Sarūdj the centre of his lands there until the Crusaders under Baldwin of Bouillon appeared at nearby Urfa or Edessa in 1098. For nearly fifty years, the town—at this time known as the seat of a Jacobite bishopric—formed part of the Frankish County of Edessa. The Franks held Sarūdj, in the face of attacks by the Artuḳid Il-Ghāzī and the Turkish governor of Mawṣil, Mawdūd, until in Radjab 539/January 1145 it fell to ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī [*q.v.*] and reverted to Muslim control. It was as a native of the town, expelled thence by the Christians, that al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*] made the hero of his *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*], Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī; the *maḳāmāt* contain some details on the town.

By the time of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (8th/14th century),

Sarūdj was already in ruins. Nineteenth-century travellers described it much as did the mediaeval geographers, except that it appeared smaller to them. Sachau (see *Bibl.*) actually spoke of the village of Sarūdj; in late Ottoman times it was the residence of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*.

In modern times, the town was occupied by British and then French troops in 1920 after the First World War, but with the delimitation of the frontier, came within Turkey, so that Sürüc is now just north of the Syrian frontier. Administratively, it lies within the province or *il* of Diyarbakır and is the chef-lieu of a county or *ilce* also called Sürüc; in 1960 it had a population of 6,800.

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(M. PLESSNER-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

ṢARŪKHĀN, the name of a Turkish amirate, which appeared after the collapse of the Saldjūḳ state of Rūm [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 5].

It was probably named after its founder, Ṣarūkhān the son of Alpagī, and it was situated in the region roughly coinciding with the ancient Lydia, a territory yielding a rich agricultural production (grapes, figs and especially cereals). Its capital was the ancient city of Magnesia on the Sipylos, called by the Turks Maghnisa [*q.v.*] or Manisa, which, after having acquired special importance under the emperors of Nicaea, was conquered by Ṣarūkhan Beg *ca.* 1313. In the beginning, the Turks of Ṣarūkhan extended their territory by fighting against the Byzantines and, according to the Ottoman chronicler Enwerī, they joined the Turks of Aydīn [*q.v.*] in naval raids directed against the Christian territories of the Aegean regions. As a result of these military activities, an important slave market was created in Maghnisa. Nevertheless, the dangerous Genoese presence in their vicinity, i.e. in the alum-producing town of Phocaea as well as on the island of Chios [see SAḲĪZ], brought them into a rapprochement with the Byzantines. When the Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus expelled the Genoese from Chios and compelled those of Phocaea to recognise his suzerainty, he concluded a treaty with Ṣarūkhān (1329). Later, the amīr, deeply vexed by the Genoese of Phocaea since his son Süleymān and twenty-four sons of Turkish notables were being held as hostages by them, offered military aid to the emperor against the Genoese governor of Phocaea, who rebelled and tried to conquer Lesbos; a new treaty was concluded (1335). During the Byzantine civil war (1341-7), Süleymān Ṣarūkhān-oghlu followed Umur Aydīn-oghlu, the notorious ally of the pretender John Cantacuzenus, and fought on his side in Thrace, where he died after an illness (1345). In the light of a Genoese document, Ṣarūkhān also died after 1348 and was succeeded by his son Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās. Around the same time, the amirate acquired a common frontier with the Ottomans, who annexed the amirate of Ḳarasi [*q.v.*].

An important part of the fleet of Ṣarūkhān was destroyed by the Crusaders near Imbros during one of the usual raids organised in collaboration with Umur Aydīn-oghlu and directed against the Christian territories (1347). The exact year of Ilyās' death is not known. In 1357 the amirate was governed by his son Isḥāḳ Čelebi, who was closely connected with the dervish order of the Mewlesīs or Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*]. It was probably Isḥāḳ Čelebi who established relations with the Byzantine emperor John V Palaeologus when the latter sailed to Phocaea in 1358 in order to liberate the son of the Ottoman sultan Orkhan, Khalīl, who was being held as prisoner by the Genoese. The emperor concluded a new treaty with the Ṣarūkhān-oghlu and, furthermore, he took the amīr's children as hostages to Constantinople. Isḥāḳ Čelebi probably died in 1388 and was succeeded by his son Khiḍīr Shāh, in whose days the amirate was annexed by Bayezid I [*q.v.*] (1390). Khiḍīr Shāh was sent to Bursa where he died.

Immediately after the battle of Ankara between Tīmūr and the Ottomans (804/1402), the amirate was restored by Tīmūr to Orkhan Ṣarūkhān-oghlu, who had followed him in his Anatolian campaign. It was taken by the Ottomans again in 1410 to become one of the important *sandjaḳs* of their state, while Maghnisa became the residence of one of the heirs to the throne. Nomads of Ṣarūkhān were transported by the Ottomans to Rumelia, and several soldiers were granted there *tīmārs* (the Ṣarūkhānlu).

In the territory of Ṣarūkhān and, especially, in Maghnisa, besides the important monuments erected by the Ṣarūkhān-oghullarī, new ones were added by the Ottomans to honour the residence of the Ottoman princes there; among them is the Murādiyye mosque (after Murād III), which was built by the great architect Sinān [*q.v.*].

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(ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU)

SARWISTĀN, a small town in the Persian province of Fārs (lat. 29° 16′ N., long 53° 13′ E., alt.

1,597 m/5,238 ft.), some 80 km/50 miles to the southeast of Shīrāz on the road to Nayrīz [*q.v.*]. It seems to be identical with the Khawristān of the early Arab geographers, but first appears under the name Sarwistān ("place of cypresses") in al-Mukaddasī at the end of the 4th/10th century.

It is notable for the tomb and shrine of a local saint, Shaykh Yūsuf Sarwistānī, dated by its inscription to 682/1283, and for a nearby mysterious building situated on the Shīrāz-Fasā road 12 km/7 miles south of Sarwistān, first noted in 1810 by the English traveller Wm. Ouseley and described some 30 years later by Flandin and Coste. This has traditionally been taken by western scholarship as a Sāsānid palace, building on its vague resemblance to the Emperor Ardashīr's palace at Fīrūzābād [*q.v.*] and on the fact that al-Ṭabarī, i, 870-1, tr. Nöldeke, *Geschichter der Perser und Araber*, 111-12, says that Bahrām V Gūr's minister Mihr Narsē laid out gardens near Fīrūzābād, including one with 12,000 cypresses (*sarw*). Recently, however, a detailed architectural study by Lionel Bier has shown that it is more likely to be post-Islamic and is probably a Zoroastrian fire-temple erected in the last flowering of that faith in Fārs *ca.* A.D. 750-950, though an origin in the Būyid period is not excluded.

The modern town of Sarwistān is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *shahrastān* of Shīrāz. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of around 4,000, but this has risen considerably in recent decades.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SĀSĀN, Banū, the blanket designation in mediaeval Islamic literature for the practitioners of begging, swindling, confidence tricks, the displaying of disfiguring diseases, mutilated limbs, etc., so that *sāsānī* has often become a general term in both Arabic and Persian for "beggar, trickster". Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa uses *sāsānī* in the sense of "pertaining to magic or slight-of-hand", with the *ʿilm al-ḥiyal al-sāsāniyya* denoting "the science of artifices and trickery".

In his treatise warning the general public against trickery in all forms, *al-Mukhtār min kashf al-asrār*, the early 7th/13th Syrian author ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Djawbarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] enumerates the whole gamut of the members of the Banū Sāsān: mountebanks, dervishes, gypsies (Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*]), those exhibiting bodily afflictions and feigning disease, those who teach tricks to animals and birds, and popular tellers of edifying tales and preachers (*wuʿʿāẓ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]), regarded as the highest class amongst the Sāsānīs; to these last, those who prey upon the populace's religious fears and scruples, al-Djawbarī devotes a whole chapter (see Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, i, 24).

Other material on the Banū Sāsān can be culled from the rather exiguous sources in Arabic literature which deal with low life, including various *adab* works of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaḳī's *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* and al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, as well as those of the *maḳāma* genre [*q.v.*] and of the shadow plays [see IBN DĀNIYĀL and KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL]. The present writer has studied in detail this material and also two long poems written substantially in the beggars' jargon (*munāghāt, lughat Banī Sāsān*) composed by the 4th/10th century traveller and littérateur Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī and by the 8th/14th century poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.vv.*], in which many of their tricks and scabrous practices are delineated (*The mediaeval Islamic underworld.* i. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore*, ii. *The Arabic jargon texts. The* qaṣīda sāsāniyyas *of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī d-Dīn*, Leiden 1976).

The origin of the name Banū Sāsān is shrouded in mystery. The sources give several explanations, some of them implausible. A mythical Shaykh Sāsān is often mentioned as the founder of the fraternity of crooks and beggars. One oft-repeated story found in the sources, from the time of the Persian author and translator from Pahlavi into Arabic, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], is that Sāsān was the son of the legendary Persian emperor of the Kayānid line, Bahman b. Isfandiyār, but was displaced from the succession to his father, hence took to a wandering live amongst, as some sources state, the nomadic Kurds (a people notorious in mediaeval Islamic times for banditry and violent ways of behaviour). Other stories hold that the Persians as a nation took to mendicancy after the Arab conquest of the 1st/7th century, and aroused pity and commiseration by claiming to be scions of the dispossessed Sāsānid royal house. The process whereby the name of a fallen dynasty is applied ironically or satirically to a later group seems psychologically possible; but some modern authors have further suggested etymologies for *sāsān* from Sanskrit or Persian (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, i, 22-3).

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see also that to AL-DJAWBARĪ; it should be noted that the critical text of the *Kashf al-asrār* promised by the author of that article has regrettably not yet appeared.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SĀSĀNIDS, a pre-Islamic Persian dynasty that ruled a large part of western Asia from A.D. 224 until 651. In Arabic and modern usage, the dynastic name is derived from Sāsān, who is mentioned as a "lord" in the inscription of Shāpūr I [*q.v.*] on the Kaʿba of Zoroaster (SKZ). The inscription of Narseh at Paikuli also refers to the royal clan of Sāsānagān. Theophoric names in the Parthian period suggest that Sāsān may have been a minor deity or perhaps a deified ancestor. According to the late Sāsānid *Kārnāmag*, Sāsān was the son-in-law of Pāpak, who gave him his daughter in marriage because Sāsān was descended from Dārā, the last Achaemenid king. Ardashīr I [*q.v.*] was their child, although he is afterwards regarded as the son of Pāpak. In the account of al-Ṭabarī (i, 814), derived from the late Sāsānid *Xwadāy-nāmag*, Sāsān was custodian of the fire temple of Anāhitā at Iṣṭakhr [*q.v.*], married to a member of the Bazrangid ruling family in Fārs [*q.v.*], and the father of Pāpak.

The rise of this family to power was aided by Parthian (Arsacid) preoccupation with their own civil war and conflict with the Romans. In about 205-6 Pāpak overthrew the last Bazrangid ruler of Fārs and ruled at Iṣṭakhr; he was succeeded by his son, Shāpūr, in about 209. Shāpūr's younger brother, Ardashīr I, succeeded him in about 216, expanded his rule over the rest of Fārs, Khūzistān [*q.v.*] and Kirmān [*q.v.*], and, allied with the rulers of Adiabene and Garmakan, defeated and killed the Arsacid Artabanus V in battle on the plain of Hormizdagān, probably in western Media, in about 224. He commemorated his victory in a rock relief near Gūr (Fīrūzabād [*q.v.*]), where he also built the city of Ardashīr-Xwarrah (the fortune of Ardashīr). In the west, he conquered Maysān [*q.v.*], took Ctesiphon, where he was crowned

in 226, but failed to take Hatra (al-Ḥaḍr [q.v.]), conquered Media, and was turned back from Armenia (Armīniya [q.v.]) by the sons of Artabanus in about 227. In the east, he occupied the rest of the Parthian empire by force and intimidation, extinguishing the royal fires of local rulers. He also occupied coastal al-Baḥrayn [q.v.] and ʿUmān [q.v.] in Arabia. In 230 he invaded Roman Mesopotamia, claiming everything as far as Ionia and Caria by ancestral right from Cyrus to Darius, the last Persian king, whose kingdom Alexander had destroyed. Hatra went over to the Romans, whose counter-invasion of Armenia and Media by the generals of Alexander Severus was beaten back by Ardas͟hīr with heavy losses on both sides. After the death of Alexander Severus in 235, Ardas͟hīr was able to take Nisibis and Carrhae (Ḥarrān [q.v.]) in 238. In 240 his son, S͟hāpūr, was crowned as co-ruler, possibly to secure the succession. Hatra fell to them in 240, and they appear to have been victorious in Armenia before Ardas͟hīr died early in 242.

Ardas͟hīr I was the real founder of the Sāsānid monarchy. This was initially based on a cult of divine kingship that continued from the Arsacids, who had been called *theos theopator* ("god, of divine descent") and represented as receiving a diadem from Tyche on their coins, and had a royal, dynastic fire dedicated to them as to the other gods. On his coins Ardas͟hīr's earliest crown resembled that of Mithradates II, he was called "the Mazda-worshipping god, Ardas͟hīr, who is descended from the gods", and the reverse bore the image of a throne mounted on a column with the inscription "the fire of Ardas͟hīr". His royal fire was kindled at the beginning of his reign in 224-5. In rock reliefs, he was shown receiving a ring-like object from Ohrmazd, who was also portrayed as a king, probably to show the divine nature of royal authority, and/or that Ardas͟hīr ruled the world on behalf of Ohrmazd. Later tradition credits Ardas͟hīr with having the Avestan teachings collected and adding the five Gatha days to the Zoroastrian calendar.

The Achaemenid legacy was also important for the early Sāsānid monarchy, beginning with the irredentist claims of Ardas͟hīr (also made by the late Arsacids) reported by the Greek and Latin writers (who called him Artaxerxes). This legacy may be seen in the Sāsānid dynastic roots at Iṣṭak͟hr, the use of architectural motifs from Persepolis in Ardas͟hīr's palace at Fīrūzabād, the choice of the major Achaemenid site of Naḳs͟h-i Rustām for reliefs, inscriptions, and fire temples, and the later claim of their descent from Dārā. Under S͟hāpūr I this is seen in his use of an Achaemenid building at Naḳs͟h-i Rustam for his inscription and in the interest of some of his officials in viewing the paintings of Esther and Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes) in the synagogue at Dura.

The structure of the Sāsānid state under Ardas͟hīr was outwardly similar to that of the late Arsacids with sub-kings for Abrēnak͟h (probably K͟hurāsān [q.v.]), Marw [q.v.], Kirmān, and the Sakas (Sīstān [q.v.]). Greater royal centralisation was reflected in his establishment of an elaborate royal court attended by the sub-kings and the heads of Parthian noble families, and his foundation of royal cities in crown territories *(dast(a)gird)* as centres for royal administration.

S͟hāpūr I continued the work of his father, possibly conquering Gīlān [q.v.] and K͟hʷārazm [q.v.] before being drawn west by a Roman attack in 243 under Gordian III, who took Carrhae and Nisibis, annexed Osrhoene with Edessa (Urfa [q.v.]), garrisoned Singara (Sind͟jār [q.v.]), creating the province of Mesopotamia, and attacked Babylonia (Asōrestān). S͟hāpūr defeated and killed Gordian at Massice on the middle Euphrates, which he renamed Pērōz-S͟hāpūr ("victorious is S͟hāpūr", also called al-Anbār [q.v.]). Philip the Arab made peace with S͟hāpūr for 500,000 *denarii* and possibly a free hand in Armenia, which stabilised the frontier for about ten years.

In 252 S͟hāpūr had the Arsacid king of Armenia, K͟husraw, assassinated. The latter's son, Tiridates, fled to the Romans, while the sons of Tiridates joined S͟hāpūr. One of them, Artavazdes, ruled Armenia from 252 until 262. Claiming Roman harm to Armenia, in 256 S͟hāpūr attacked the Romans on the Euphrates, destroying a Roman army at Barbalissos, taking Dura, occupying Mesopotamia, and invading Syria, where he took Antioch (Anṭākiya [q.v.]) with the help of a local senator called Cyriades, who took the imperial title with Persian backing. S͟hāpūr campaigned up the Orontes valley as far as Emesa (Ḥimṣ [q.v.]) and returned to Mesopotamia. The Persian garrison in Syria was massacred in 257, Cyriades was murdered by the people of Antioch, and Dura was reoccupied by Roman-Palmyrene forces between 256 and 260, when S͟hāpūr retook it. S͟hāpūr settled his Syrian captives in K͟hūzistān at a new city called Weh Antiok S͟hāpūr ("the Better Antioch of S͟hāpūr"), which became D͟jundays͟hābūr (Gondēs͟hāpūr [q.v.]).

Between 258 and 260 S͟hāpūr besieged Edessa and Carrhae and defeated a Roman relief army near Edessa, taking Valerian captive. According to Kirdīr, who was with the army, S͟hāpūr then pillaged, burned, and destroyed Antioch and Syria, Tarsus and Cilicia, Caesarea and Cappadocia, as far as Greece, Armenia, Georgia (al-Kurd͟j [q.v.]), Albania, and Balasagan up to the Gates of the Alans. Except for Magians (Mad͟jūs [q.v.]), who were not harmed, S͟hāpūr deported tens of thousands of captives to Fārs, Parthia, K͟hūzistān, and Babylonia. He was harrassed on his return by Odainath of Palmyra, who retook Carrhae and Nisibis, besieged Ctesiphon, recovered the booty (although Kirdīr claims the booty was returned), captured S͟hāpūr's concubines, and restored the Roman frontier between 262 and 267. S͟hāpūr's settlement of his captives was part of the economic development of his state through the use of captive labour, and a denial of those labour resources to the Romans in the provinces from which they came. They were used to build dams, bridges, and irrigation works in K͟hūzistān, and to build S͟hāpūr's palace at Bīs͟hāpūr in Fārs. They also introduced eastern Mediterranean cultural influences where they settled.

S͟hāpūr commemorated his achievements in at least seven rock reliefs, and left a major inscription (SKZ) on the eastern wall of the Kaʿba of Zoroaster at Naḳs͟h-i Rustām in Parthian, Middle Persian, and Greek sometime after 262, when he replaced Artavazdes with his own son, Hormizd-Ardas͟hīr, as great-king of Armenia (262-72). In his inscriptions S͟hāpūr was called "the Mazda-worshipping god, S͟hāpūr, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, of divine descent." There was a royal fire at Bīs͟hāpūr; S͟hāpūr's coins were the first to have the fire altar flanked by two attendants (in the 3rd century sometimes the king and queen) on the reverse; he founded many Bahrām fires, of the god of victory, in every land; he gave benefices to many Magians; he established name-fires for his own soul and for members of his immediate family and daily sacrifices of sheep, bread, and wine for twenty-nine members of the royal family, living and dead. Several of his sons had the names of deities. Such royal patronage of the Magian cult, with fires possibly beginning to replace cult

images, should be balanced by Shāpūr's reputation for tolerance, his patronage of both Kirdīr and Mānī (who converted some members of the royal family), and his toleration of Christian and Jews. The latter were left under their exilarch in return for respecting Persian law and paying taxes. According to Elisaeus Vardapet, in the 5th century, Shāpūr issued an edict that people of every religion should be left undisturbed in their belief. According to the *Dēnkard* (DKM, 412-13) he collected Magian literature which had been dispersed in India, the Byzantine Empire and other lands, that dealt with medicine, astronomy, and philosophical subjects, added them to the Avesta, had a copy put in the royal treasury, and considered bringing all systems into line with the Mazdayasnian religion. There has been modern speculation that Shāpūr favoured a universalising religious syncretism corresponding to his imperial ambition.

In his inscription (SKZ) Shāpūr described his empire as consisting of Fārs, Parthava, Khūzistān, Maysān, Asōrestān (Babylonia), Adiabene, Arabia (Bēth ʿArbāyē), Ādharbaydjān, Armenia, Iberia, Maxelonia (Lazica), Albania, Balāsagān up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of the Alans, the Elburz mountains, Media, Gurgān [*q.v.*], Marw, Harāt [*q.v.*], Abarshahr, Kirmān, Sīstān, Tugrān, Makrān [*q.v.*], Pardān, Hind and the land of the Kushāns up to Pashkābūr (Peshawar ?), to the borders of Kish, Sogdia and the mountain of Shash (Tashkent [*q.v.*]), and Mazon (ʿUmān) on the other side of the sea. The only definition of the difference between Iran and non-Iran is given by Kirdīr, according to whom Iran included Maysān, Ādharbaydjān, Iṣfahān [*q.v.*], Rayy [*q.v.*], Kirmān, Sīstān, Gurgān, Marw, and as far as Pashkābūr in the east. Non-Iran was the territory in the northwest including Armenia, Iberia, Maxelonia and Balāsagān up to the Gates of the Alans.

Centralising tendencies under Shāpūr were expressed in three ways. Members of the royal family participated in rule from the beginning of the dynasty and their appointment as sub-kings began the process of converting client kingdoms into provinces. By the end of Shāpūr's reign five of his sons, who did not start local dynasties, ruled Sīstān, Gīlān, Kirmān, Maysān and Armenia as kings. Second, he continued Ardashīr's policy by founding at least eleven cities out of the expanding royal domain (*dast(a)gird*), and appointed governors (*shahrābs*), with a staff of scribes, a treasurer, and a judge, for at least eight to ten new and existing cities. None of these cities were in the territory of sub-kings and thus constituted the core of directly administered territory in Asōrestān, Khūzistān, Fārs, Media and Abarshahr (Khurāsān). Third, administration was centralised at an increasingly hierarchic and elaborate royal court, attended by members of the Varāz, Sūren and Kāren families, who had Sāsānid dynastic names but no administrative positions. (Two princes called Sāsān were also raised by the Farrīgān and Kidugān families.) Court officials included the *bidaxš* (or *pitiaxš*, viceroy, regent?), *hazārabed* (commander of the royal guard), *framādār* (steward of royal property), chief scribe, chief judge, treasurer, and market inspector (*wāzārbed, agoranomos*). From the third century the Sāsānid ruling classes were organized into a hierarchy in descending order of kings and queens (*shahrdārān*), princes (*waspuhragān*), grandees (*wuzurgān*), including powerful families from the Arsacid period and court officials, and the minor nobility (*azadān*).

When Hormizd-Ardashīr (Hurmuz [*q.v.*], 272-73) succeeded his father, his brother, Narseh, the Sakānshāh, became king of Armenia (272-93). Hormizd-Ardashīr was the first to be called "king of kings of Iran and non-Iran" on his coins. He allowed Mānī to preach, but he promoted Kirdīr to Ohrmazd-*mowbed* (*mōbadh*, [*q.v.*]), and put him in charge of ritual and sealing contracts. The third century was a transition period between the Hellenistic tradition of expressing political allegiance through the cults of deified rulers and the emergence of confessional religions with mass memberships that became identified with states. By the mid-third century Manichaeism, Christianity, and an early form of Mazdaean Zoroastrianism were all spreading in Sāsānid territory. The success of the Mazdaean priests in the late 3rd century was related to the career of Kirdīr, the proliferation of Bahrām fires, and the need of the family of Bahrām I [*q.v.*] (273-76) to legitimise their succession against the claims of his brother Narseh. Bahrām I had been king of Gīlān under Shāpūr; he was shown being invested by Ohrmazd in a rock relief at Bīshāpūr; he wore the solar crown of Mithra on his coins; and enjoyed fighting, hunting, and feasting. When Mānī heard of his accession, he set out for Kushān territory, but was forbidden to go and told to present himself to Bahrām I at Djundayshābūr, where Kirdīr accused him to the king of being opposed to hunting and war. Mānī's answer that he had healed many people and driven out demons was fruitless; he was imprisoned at Djundayshābūr, where he died in 276. His successor, Sisinnios, organised the Manichaean ecclesiastical structure.

Bahrām I was succeeded by his son, Bahrām II (276-93), who was married to Shāpūrduxtak, the daughter of Shāpūr, king of Maysān. The legitimacy of this branch of the royal family was emphasised by showing Bahrām II with his wife and son, Bahrām, on the coins, some of which showed the king and queen attending the fire altar on the reverse. A close association with the god/*yazad* Varethraghna (Bahrām) was shown on the coins by the introduction of the wings of Varagn (the eagle), the bird form or symbol of Varethraghna and of victory, on Bahrām's crown, and by his queen and heir wearing animal forms of Varethraghna and other *yazads* on their heads, according to Lukonin. Bahrām II was depicted in at least ten rock reliefs engaged in combat, with his family, holding court, receiving the submission of Arabs, killing two lions and attending a fire altar. Bahrām II, his queen, and his heir were also represented on the earliest attested such Sāsānid silver cup.

Kirdīr reached the height of his career under Bahrām II, when he left four inscriptions with similar texts, located strategically near rock reliefs of Ardashīr I, Shāpūr I and Bahrām II. In them he recounted his earlier career and his promotion to *mowbed* and judge of the entire state under Bahrām II, who also made him master of ritual and put him in charge of the fires of Anāhitā-Ardashīr and of Lady Anāhitā at Iṣṭakhr, marking the first time the latter position was separated from the person of the monarch. In his time, the Mazdaean religion (*dēn Mazdēsn*) and Magians were in great honour in the state, and there was great service to the *yazads*, water, fire and cattle. He claimed to have destroyed idols and established the place of the *yazads*, increased religious rituals, founded many Bahrām fires, sealed many contracts for the fires and the Magians as well as testaments and documents, and arranged many close-kin marriages. Many of the unfaithful became faithful and abandoned the doctrines of the demons for that of the *yazads*. He also claimed to have suppressed Jews, Buddhists, two kinds of Christians, "baptists", and Zan-

dīks (probably Manichaeans). Manichaeans were persecuted under Bahrām II, their leader, Sisinnios, was killed, but they were protected and patronised by ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, the *amīr* of the Lakhm (Lakhmids [*q.v.*]) at al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. Kirdīr's claims may have been exaggerated, but they mark the first recorded attempt to create a mass constituency for Magianism and an affirmation of the Mazdaean identity by opposition to other religions in the late 3rd century.

These developments also contribute to the thesis that the Sāsānids persecuted non-Mazdaeans when the monarchy was weak and needed support from the Mazdaean priests. In addition to the Bahrāms' problem with legitimacy, Bahrām II had to fight on two fronts. In 283 a Roman army under the emperor Carus reached Ctesiphon, but Carus died and the army withdrew. However in 287 Bahrām II made peace with Diocletian in order to deal with the revolt of his brother Ohrmazd in the east. According to the terms, the Sāsānids ceded their claims to upper Mesopotamia and western Armenia, and an Arsacid prince was enthroned in western Armenia as Tiridates IV, leaving Narses with eastern Armenia. By the end of his reign Bahrām II had defeated Ohrmazd, conquered Sīstān and made his heir Sakānshāh.

The death of Bahrām II in 293 set off a dynastic civil war. One noble faction, led by Wahnām and joined by the king of Maysān, Ādurfarnbāg, supported the succession of the Sakānshāh as Bahrām III. Other nobles rebelled, gathered in Asōrestān, and sent for Narseh, the last son of Shāpūr, who came from Armenia to Iran and met them at Paikuli north of Khāniķīn [*q.v.*]. There Narseh was proclaimed king by an assembly of nobles that included Shāpūr the tax collector (*hargubed*), Pāpak the *bidaxš*, Ardashīr the *hazārabed*, Rakhsh the *spāhbed* and the heads of some of the great families. This event was commemorated by a stone monument bearing a major inscription in Middle Persian and Parthian, that includes events later than the meeting in 293. In this inscription Narseh proclaimed his legitimising propaganda that "Shāpūr willed that this one [Narseh] should be lord over Ērān-šahr, because he was the best, the most just, and the most vigorous after Shāpūr." He also recorded his recognition by twenty-seven rulers, who either acknowledged him as king of kings, according to Lukonin and others, or acknowledged his right to the throne, according to Frye. If the first, it would indicate an extensive, loosely-organised state; if the second, it would indicate a significant contraction of the state since the time of Shāpūr, and the revival of local rulers. Narseh then defeated the king of Maysān and rival forces in Khūzistān, captured and executed Wahnām (the fate of Bahrām III is unknown), and replaced the name of Bahrām I on the relief at Bīshāpūr with his own.

He was called "the Mazdaean, divine Narseh, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, descended from the Gods" on his coins, which had his own face in the flames of the fire-altar on the reverse. In a rock relief at Naķsh-i Rustam he was depicted receiving a ring from a female figure, usually identified as Anāhitā, and at Paikuli he claimed to have recovered Armenia for the land of Iran through Ohrmazd, all the *yazads* and the Lady Anāhitā. Beneath the common veneration of Ohrmazd one can see a shift from one *yazad* to another, from Verethraghna to Anāhitā, associated with the new branch of the dynasty. Narseh reversed the policies of the Bahrāms, neglected fire temples, perhaps in favour of his own royal fire (his eldest grandson was called Ādur-Narseh "the fire of Narseh"), and tolerated Manichaeans.

In 296 Narseh conquered Armenia, invaded Mesopotamia, and prepared to invade Syria. Diocletian sent the Caesar Galerius, whose forces were crushed by Narseh. Galerius regrouped at Antioch and invaded Armenia in 297 where he routed Narseh and captured his family, while Diocletian advanced to Nisibis. In 298 Narseh secured the return of his family by ceding several districts on the upper Tigris to the Romans and setting the frontier at the Tigris. Tiridates was restored in Armenia, which was enlarged in the east to the frontier of Media. The king of Iberia was to be invested by the Romans, and Nisibis was to be a place of commercial exchange. The treaty of Nisibis thus marked a change in the balance of power at the end of the 3rd century with the recovery of the late Roman empire under Diocletian.

Narseh was succeeded by his son Hormizd II (302-9), who continued his father's policies and was represented in combat in a rock relief at Naķsh-i Rustam. It was during his reign that Armenia became Christian under Tiridates IV, making Christianity a political issue for the Sāsānids, especially after the conversion of Constantine in 311, and dividing Armenia henceforth between pro-Roman Christians and pro-Sāsānid nobles.

Hormizd II had several sons; the eldest, Ādur-Narseh took the throne briefly when his father died in 309, but the officials and priests at court made a posthumous son, Shāpūr II (309-79), king and enthroned him as an infant. Shāpūr II's minority lasted for fifteen years; his reign lasted for seventy years, the longest of any Sāsānid king. The survival of the Sāsānid state during Shāpūr II's minority indicates the strength of ruling institutions by the 4th century and the fact that the monarchy had become more important than the monarch as a focus of loyalty for nobles, officials and priests who had a vested interest in the system. The state was held together by its administrative structure, and a glimpse of local officials going back and forth to court is provided by two inscriptions on a doorpost at Persepolis from 311 and 327. According to post-Sāsānid accounts, the main problem during Shāpūr II's minority was the incursion of Arabs from Eastern Arabia into ʿIrāķ [*q.v.*], Khūzistān and the coast of Fārs. At his majority in 324 Shāpūr II drove them out of ʿIrāķ, began to build long walls and a trench (*khandaķ Sābūr*) along the desert frontier in the south-west to keep them out, sailed from Fārs to al-Baḥrayn, defeated the Arabs there, made eastern Arabia a province with garrisons and officials and may have built the Sāsānid fort at Sīrāf [*q.v.*] as a naval base. He resettled Arabs in Khūzistān, Fārs and Kirmān.

The resumption of war with the Romans over Armenia and Mesopotamia from 337-8 to 350 coincided with the first persecution of Christians in the Sāsānid state and support for Shāpūr by anti-Christian, pro-Sāsānid Armenian nobles. In about 350 Shāpūr II had the Armenian king Tiran killed and may have made the latter's son, Arshak (*ca.* 350-67), king. At about the same time, Christians rebelled at Susa; Shāpūr II had the city razed and trampled by elephants and built the new city of Ērān-Xwarrah Shāpūr ("Iran's glory [built by] Shāpūr") nearby. The persecution lasted until the end of his reign, encouraging the thesis that henceforth Christians tended to be persecuted during wars with Rome.

At mid-century Shāpūr was drawn east by the invasion of Central Asia by Chionite Huns. Iranians mixed with Huns were driven south and attacked eastern Iran. In the 350s Shāpūr II campaigned in the east against the Chionites and Kushāns. The Kushāns

were conquered and their territory governed into the early 5th century by a series of nine Sāsānid royal princes with the title of Kushānshāh according to Lukonin and Göbl, although there are good reasons to put this in the 3rd century. Shāpūr II came to terms with the Chionites, concluding a treaty of peace and alliance with them and the people of Gīlān (Gelani) in about 358.

He then returned to the Roman front with Chionite, Gelānī, Albani and Segestānī allies. In a letter to Constantius he revived Achaemenid irredentist claims to territory as far as the river Strymon and the border of Macedonia, as well as saying that it was his duty to recover Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been taken from his grandfather, Narses, by double-dealing. He took Amid in 359 and Singara in 360, deporting the population to Persia. In 363 Julian marched down the Euphrates and invaded Babylonia, while Armenian forces marched east from Carrhae. Julian's rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem encouraged Jews at Maḥoza (Weh-Ardashīr, across the Tigris from Ctesiphon) to believe the Messiah had come to return them to Palestine; thousands of them marched out of the city and were massacred by Shāpūr's troops. Ammianus Marcellinus, who was with Julian's army has left a first-hand account of his campaign and a description of Babylonia. He described wall-paintings of hunting scenes in a palace near Ctesiphon, an annual fair at Batnae in Fārs at the beginning of September to buy goods brought by Indians and Syrians by land and sea, and cities and villages all along the coast of the Gulf where many ships sailed back and forth. He also described the battle-order of the Sāsānid army at Ctesiphon with mail-clad cavalry in front, infantry behind them and elephants in the rear. The Romans won the battle at Ctesiphon in 363, but Julian was killed, and Jovian secured the retreat by ceding Nisibis, Singara and the trans-Tigris districts that Narseh had lost, and abandoning Armenia. Between 368 and 370 Shāpūr took Armenia by a combination of diplomacy and force, won over some nobles and satraps, invited the king, Arshak, to a banquet, blinded, imprisoned, and killed him, pillaged Armenia, drove the Roman protégé out of Iberia and enthroned his own one. Roman countermeasures left Iberia divided and Armenia under a son of Arshak as a Roman protégé, whom they had killed in about 373.

The reign of Shāpūr II marked the beginning of a shift in royal legitimising ideology from being of divine nature and descent to being human and descended from the Kayānid [*q.v.*] kings mentioned in the *Avesta*. Shāpūr II was the last Sāsānid king to be called "of divine descent" on his coins. In his letter to Constantius, in 358, he called himself "king of kings, partner with the stars, brother of the sun and moon." The transition was symbolised by emphasis on the royal fortune, Hvarnah (*xwarrah, farr*), as a *yazad* the subject of a *Yasht*, represented by a ram with a bow around its neck. At the siege of Amid, in 359, Shāpūr wore a gold ram's head set with gems. The garrison of Maḥoza, in 363, extolled in song the justice and good fortune (*iustitiam felicitatemque*) of their king. He ordered the Christian, Pōsī, to venerate the "fortune (*gad*) of Shāpūr, king of kings, whose nature is from the gods." According to Lukonin, the dynastic myth of Kayānid descent through Dārā was invented in Shāpūr's time by a secretary, Khorkhbud, who wrote a chronicle telling how the Hvarnah of the Kayāns had watched over Ardashīr I in the form of a ram with a bow around its neck, ensuring his victory over the Parthians.

The 4th century also saw a shift from rock reliefs to royal silver objects with hunting scenes. The metal came from a single source and the objects were probably produced in a royal workshop beginning with Shāpūr II, such as that run by Pōsī the *karugbed* at Ērānshahr-Shāpūr (Karkhe dhā Lādhan). Shāpūr II was also associated with royal banqueting customs and court protocol.

This same century was a period of sharpening religious conflict, inter-faith polemic and the consolidation of religious identities. The polemic lines were drawn among Magians, Manichaeans, Christians, Jews and fatalists. Magians and Christians opposed Manichaeans and fatalists; Magians and Jews opposed Christians, probably indicating who felt threatened by whom. According to the Dēnkard (iv, 26-7) Shāpūr II (who may have been Zurvanite) issued an edict defining true belief and condemning false belief, but does not say what they were. Under Shāpūr II the *rad*, Mahraspand, sanctioned the confiscation of the property of Manichaeans for the royal treasury. The latter's son Ādurbed was a major figure in the formulation of Mazdaean doctrine, remembered and quoted in later tradition. He stood for judicial procedure, an ethical reduction of the sphere of life controlled by fate and the embodiment of the spiritual in the material, and he opposed Manichaeans. The spread of popular piety was reflected in the motto "reliance on the *yazdān*" on personal seals, although the meaning of *yazdān* was beginning to shift from the divine beings in general to a term for Ohrmazd.

The organisational structures of Magians, Christians and Jews underwent elaboration in this century. The earliest references to a supreme *mowbed* and to a priestly hierarchy with territorial jurisdictions corresponding to secular administrative divisions belong to the reign of Shāpūr II. As part of the ruling class, Magian priests and the attendants of fire-temples were exempt from paying the poll tax. Christians formed an ecclesiastical structure under the primacy of the bishop of Ctesiphon from the early 4th century, which made it easier for the state to deal with them. Shāpūr II required the bishop of Ctesiphon, Shemᶜōn bar Sabbāᶜe, to collect a double poll tax and land tax from Christians because they were living in peace. Jews were ruled indirectly through their exilarch in return for taxes, loyalty and defence. Subordinate officials of the exilarch administered justice, collected taxes for the government, supervised markets, preserved order and defended Jewish towns. The 4th-century exilarch, ᶜUkba bar Nehemiah, established the principle that the law of the government was to be obeyed just as the Torah. By the end of the 4th century, there was an alliance between the exilarch and the rabbis, who staffed the religious courts, where they applied religious law to the life of the community, acted as local administrators, collected the poll tax and enforced dietary laws as market inspectors. By this century world-affirming doctrines were being used by the representatives of authority in the new order: Mazdaean priests, Jewish rabbis and the Christian clergy, who used ritual and law to exercise social control.

Under the successors of Shāpūr II a three-way power struggle emerged among the monarchy, the *wuzurgān* or nobles, and the Magian priests, while the pressure from steppe peoples increased. The Sāsānids were generally successful in warfare in the east until the mid-5th century. Ardashīr II (379-83) was most probably the brother of Shāpūr II; an investiture relief at Tāḳ-i Bustān near Kirmānshāh [*q.v.*] is usually

ascribed to him, although it could be that of Shāpūr II. He is said to have been killed in a revolt by the *wuzurgān*, and was succeeded by Shāpūr III (383-8), a son of Shāpūr II, who is said to have favoured the *wuzurgān*. Shāpūr III was the first to be called Kayānid on his coins, and was represented as slaying a lion on a silver plate; he left a rock relief of himself and his father at Ṭāḳ-i Bustān. He is said to have freed Christian prisoners because it was more profitable to the state to have them engage in crafts and pay taxes, which may have led the *wuzurgān* to replace him with his brother Bahrām IV (388-99). Some of the latter's coins have the earliest mint-marks. In 389 Armenia was partitioned with the Romans, at first under two Arsacid client kings, but in the 390s the western part was integrated into the Roman empire and governed by a *comes*, while Bahrām IV made his brother Bahrām-Shāpūr/Vramshapuh king of Perse-Armenia in 394, marking the end of the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia. In 395 Huns from north of the Caucasus reached Mesopotamia and were driven back. Bahrām IV died violently, possibly at the hands of the *wuzurgān*. Frye argues that the strength of local nobles over the central government in the late 4th century was due to Shāpūr II's failure to establish central authority, although it is equally possible that Shāpūr's wars served to strengthen the landed military nobility, officials, and royal princes.

Yazdadjird I (399-420) was most likely a brother of Bahrām IV and was called "delight of the state" on his coins. The incipient outline of a dual secular and religious judicial system existed by the tenth year of his reign (408-9). There was a secular hierarchy of state judge, local *rad* and judges of first instance, while the priests, under the grand Magus, performed judicial and ritual duties. Ādur-Ohrmazd (d. 407) is said to have recited the *Avesta, Yashts* and *drōn* (ceremonial food offerings) night and day as *mowbed* of Belāshfarr. The expansion of the royal domain, or its hierarchic administration, can be seen in the earliest attestation of a grand-*framādār* in 410, who was succeeded by the famous Mihr-Narseh, from the noble clan of Spendiād, who dominated the first half of the 5th century. The latter left an inscription on a bridge he had built at Fīrūzabād, and, according to al-Ṭabarī, developed four villages with orchards nearby, founded a sacred fire for his own soul in one and "named fires" in the other three for each of his sons: Zurwāndad, the Herbed of herbeds, Kardīr, the head of soldiers and Māh-Gushnasp, the head of cultivators/herdsmen. These titles were new in the 5th century; two of them are Avestan; and all three categories are Avestan. Rather than indicating the reorganisation of late Sāsānid society according to Avestan social categories, they probably show the impact of Avestan social theory in the 5th century co-ordinated with the late Sāsānid system of three major fire temples: Ādur Farnbag, of priests in Fārs; Ādur Gushnasp, of soldiers at Shīz [*q.v.*] (Takht-i Sulaymān) in Ādharbaydjān; and Ādur Burzen Mihr, of farmers in Khurāsān, that probably existed by the 5th century.

The late 4th and early 5th centuries marked the height of the alliance between the Sāsānid state and Jewish exilarchs, who resembled client kings. The wife of Yazdadjird I is said to have been the daughter of an exilarch (*Yahūdān-Shāh*); at her request he settled Jews at Gay (Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]). He is said to have honoured the exilarch, and Rabbi Ashi regarded the Persians as protectors of Jews.

Yazdadjird I also legitimised the position of Christians. After peace with the Romans/Byzantines in 409, Christians were allowed to worship publicly and bury their dead. In 410 the first synod in Sāsānid territory was arranged by the grand-*framādār* at Seleucia/Weh-Ardashīr, where the creed of Nicaea (325) was accepted and a hierarchy of metropolitan bishoprics under the catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was established parallel to the secular administration. The acts of this council were guaranteed by the double sanction of excommunication and of punishment by the King of Kings, and Yazdadjird was called "victorious" and "illustrious". Mazdaeans called him a sinner (*athīm* in the Arabic sources) and remembered him as an oppressive, cruel tyrant, which probably reflects the opposition of priests to toleration and of the *wuzurgān* to royal authority. Toleration was tested toward the end of his reign when a Christian priest in Khūzistān destroyed a fire temple and refused to rebuild it, and another extinguished a sacred fire and performed the eucharist in its place. Both were executed after trials, but rather than amounting to a "persecution", this served to define the limits of toleration. According to legend, the *wuzurgān* prayed for relief from Yazdadjird's oppression, and God sent an angel in the form of a horse that killed him.

The *wuzurgān* tried to exclude the sons of Yazdadjird from the succession. His eldest son, Shāpūr, who had succeeded Vramshapuh in Armenia in 414, went to Ctesiphon and took the throne, but was killed by the *wuzurgān*, who enthroned a descendent of Ardashīr I called Khusraw. Shāpūr's brother Bahrām, who had been raised at al-Ḥīra by al-Mundhir of Lakhm, marched on Ctesiphon with an Arab army; Khusraw abdicated and Bahrām seized the throne as Bahrām V (420-38). He remitted taxes at festivals, and mint marks became standard on coins. Early in his reign he defeated an invasion of Hephthalites (Hayāṭila [*q.v.*]) in the east, killed their king, dedicated his crown to the Gushnasp fire at Shīz and the queen and her slaves to serve there. In the west, war was waged with the Byzantines from 421 to 422 by Mihr-Narseh over the extradition of Armenian Christian refugees, while, at the instigation of Mihr-Shāpūr, head of the Magians, for five years corpses buried in the time of Yazdadjird I were exhumed and scattered about in the sun. The treaty with the Byzantines in 422 provided for religious freedom to Christians in the Sāsānid state and to Magians in the Byzantine state, and for the Byzantines to help pay for the defence of the pass at Darband [see BĀB AL-ABWĀB] by the Sāsānids. A synod in 424 established the autonomy of the Christian Church in Sāsānid territory from the Byzantine Church.

Artashes, the son of Vramshapuh, had succeeded Shāpūr as king of Armenia, but the pro-Persian *naxarars* asked to have him removed, so Bahrām V replaced him with a Persian *marzbān* (*marzpān* [*q.v.*]), in 428. Following an experiment in the 4th century, the *marzbān* emerged during the 5th century as a new kind of military governor for a frontier region, replacing royal princes as sub-kings. By the end of the 5th century, Nisibis and Asōrestān were governed by *marzbāns*.

Against Christians, who accused Magians of being polytheists and worshipping the elements, Bahrām V answered that he recognised only one deity; the rest were only courtiers of the king. He devoted Mihr-Narseh "as a slave" to the Ardwahisht fire and that of Afson-Ardashīr for several years, and tradition associated him with the Ādur Gushnasp shrine at Shīz. When he married an Indian princess, who brought the port of Daybul [*q.v.*] as her dowry, he entrusted her to the priest of the Ādur Gushnasp shrine

to be purified and converted to Magianism, and he is said to have visited this shrine on the feasts of Sada (the midwinter fire festival) and Nawrūz [*q.v.*].

Tradition also associated Bahrām V with importing Indians (Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*]) with water buffaloes to the Gulf coast of Fārs, and 4,000 Indian musicians, who spread through the provinces as entertainers. He was remembered as Bahrām Gūr ("the onager") for his skill in hunting, and his exploits were extolled in legend and illustrated in art.

For a half-century after Bahrām V there was growing disorder in the Sāsānid state, persecution and forced conversion of Christian and Jews, a seven-year drought and famine in the 460s or 470s, the payment of costly tribute to the Hephthalites and social disorders associated with the Mazdakite movement [see MAZDAK] at the end of the century. The shift from divine to Kayānid kingship was completed by the time of the son of Bahrām V, Yazdadjird II (438-57), the last to be called "divine" on his coins, while the title "Kay" was common on his coins and those of his successors. From the time of Fīrūz (459-84), Kayānid names became popular in the royal family. The significance of this lay in the role of Kayānid kings as patrons of Zoroaster and supporters of his religion in the Avesta and in the development of the myth of the Kayānid descent of the Sāsānid kings included in the Book of Kings (*Xwadāy nāmag*) that contained material from at least the 5th century.

War with the Byzantines was ended peacefully in 442 in order to deal with the steppe people in the north-east. There were repeated campaigns to keep the Kidarite Huns out of Gurgān, and Yazdadjird II is said to have moved his court to north-east Iran for seven years to hold back the Hephthalites. His reign also saw the beginning of serious efforts to spread some form of Magianism and establish a uniform religious identity among Sāsānid subjects similar to contemporary efforts by the Byzantines to deal with the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies. The title of *mowbedān mowbed* (a calque on *Shāhān-shāh*) was first attested for Mihr-Shāpūr in 446. Yazdadjird II is said to have considered it a sin to accept tribute from Christians; in 446 Christians denounced by Manichaeans were executed at Kirkuk [*q.v.*]; and the king of Albania was forced to become a Magian. He tried to convert Armenian Christians and Jews and sent Mihr-Narseh to do it, who presented Magian doctrine to them in its Zurvanite form. These efforts provoked a revolt by Christian Armenians led by Vardan, a Mamikonian prince, which was crushed by the pro-Sāsānid *naxarars* under Vasak, prince of Siunik, at the battle of Avarair in 451. Afterwards Mihr-Narseh was removed from service to the fire temples for sinfulness and assigned to the royal domains for several years. In 455 Yazdadjird II is said to have outlawed the Jewish sabbath.

The death of Yazdadjird II was followed by a dynastic civil war between two of his sons, Hormizd III (457-9) and Fīrūz (459-84), who defeated and killed his brother. During the civil war the Albanian king rebelled and allied with the Huns north of the Caucasus. After war with the Albanians, Fīrūz made peace, permitting Albanians and Armenians to remain Christian, and the Byzantines subsidised the defence of the Caucasus passes. Upon consulting with Martbut, the *mowbedān mowbed*, and other judges, Fīrūz put Mihr-Narseh in the service of the Ohrmazd-Fīrūz fire (i.e. his own royal fire). In the 460s the Hephthalites crossed the Oxus, and in about 469 defeated and captured Fīrūz, who lost Harāt to them, agreed to pay them tribute, left his son Kubādh as a hostage to guarantee its payment and levied a general poll tax over his entire state to ransom him. The great drought and famine led him to remit taxes, but together with the beginning of persecution under Yazdadjird II, may have encouraged messianic expectations among Jews in 468, four hundred years after the destruction of the Temple. About that time, the Jews of Iṣfahān are said to have flayed two *hērbeds*, and Fīrūz ordered half the Jews of Iṣfahān killed and their children to be turned over to the Sroš Āduran fire temple as slaves. In 470 two rabbis and the son of the exilarch were imprisoned and executed, and in 474 or 477 Babylonian synagogues were closed, schools destroyed, Jews were made subject to Persian law and Jewish children were turned over to Magians to be raised.

When Fīrūz died fighting the Hephthalites in 484, the *wuzurgān* enthroned his brother Balash (484-8), who secured peace with the Hephthalites in return for tribute, gave Armenian Christians religious freedom and made Armenia a royal province. By the late 5th century, Sāsānid coins began to have dates in the regnal year of the king. The desire of Balash to build baths in the cities of his empire is said to have provoked opposition from the Magian priests, who accused him of trying to abolish their laws. In 488 he was deposed by the *wuzurgān* and priests, who enthroned Kubādh I (488-96, 499-531), the son of Fīrūz.

Sectarian fragmentation and conflict among Magians and Christians were typical of the end of Late Antiquity. The 5th century saw the emergence of the egalitarian movement of the Zarādushtagān, that captured the Sāsānid state at the end of the century and survived as a sectarian form of Magianism. Contemporary with the Monophysite movement in the Byzantine empire, this was related to political support for some particular form of the dominant faith, the enforcement of religious conformity for political reasons, the popularisation of Magianism through forced conversion and the impact of the Avesta, which sanctioned the sharing of wealth, women, and wisdom. Drought, famine and the decimation of the *wuzurgān* in the Hephthalite and civil wars may have created an agricultural and demographic crisis in the state, while the *wuzurgān* engaged in local oppression under a weak monarchy. Kubādh I allied with the Zarādushtagān and their leader Mazdak [*q.v.*] as a means of popular support against the *wuzurgān* and the priests. He tried to force the Armenians to convert, permitted or ordered the sharing of women and redistributed land. The sharing of women and property may have been intended to undermine the *wuzurgān*, break down social barriers to marriage between nobles and commoners, repopulate the state and restore agriculture, but people were allowed to help themselves, causing disorders in 494-5. In 496 the *wuzurgān* deposed Kubādh over his policy toward women and held an assembly to decide what to do with him. Procopius reports that it was not legal to enthrone a commoner unless the royal family was extinct and that the majority were unwilling to kill a member of the royal family, so they imprisoned Kubādh and enthroned his brother Djāmāsp (496-99).

Kubādh escaped to the Hephthalites, whose army restored him to the throne in 499. Djāmāsp was blinded and imprisoned because, according to Procopius, no-one with a physical deformity could be king. Kubādh's second reign began with a series of natural disasters: famine and flooding on the lower Tigris, which changed its channels below Kaskar, creating swamps and turning land into desert along its former course. Needing cash to repay the Hephthalites, the

Byzantine refusal to pay for the defence of the Caucasus passes served as a pretext for predatory warfare against them. In 503 Kubā<u>dh</u> took Āmid and carried off the survivors as slaves. The Byzantines made peace in 506 and paid an indemnity to Kubā<u>dh</u>, who returned the conquered territory and the captives from Āmid. The internal situation was stabilised with the Mazdakites in control for thirty years. After his restoration, Kubā<u>dh</u> required the Arab ruler of al-Ḥīra al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir III (*ca.* 505-54) to become a Mazdakite. When the latter refused, Kubā<u>dh</u> got the Arab ruler of the Kinda [*q.v.*], al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> b. ʿAmr, whose kingdom was at its height in the early 6th century, to impose Mazdakism on the Arabs in Nad<u>j</u>d and the Ḥid<u>j</u>āz [*q.vv.*]. In 525 al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> defeated al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir and occupied al-Ḥīra until his death in 528.

Apart from the suppression of the *wuzurgān*, who never recovered their power in the state, the Mazdakite period was less of a break with than a continuation of 5th-century developments. The interest in conversion and spreading Magian observance in this period also saw the emergence of *hērbeds* as Magian missionaries, according to Chaumont, who were encouraged to return to their villages to instruct people and establish schools, where they taught children to recite the *Ya<u>sh</u>ts*. Mazdak is said to have persuaded Kubā<u>dh</u> to extinguish all but the three original sacred fires, which were associated with Avestan ideology, and the Mazdakites may have contributed to their elevation in the late Sāsānid period. Kubā<u>dh</u>'s reputation does not seem to have suffered, and he was credited with a reform of the Magian calandar. Kubā<u>dh</u> gave his sons Kayānid names and was called "Kay" on his coins along with increasing astral symbols.

Kubā<u>dh</u> also began the reforms associated with the recovery of the Sāsānid state in the 6th century. He instituted the use of an official seal for *mowbeds* to use on documents, many examples of which are attested from the late Sāsānid period. He began the survey of agricultural land in lower ʿIrāḳ for tax purposes, and began the creation or reorganisation of administrative districts later called in Arabic *kuwar*, and subdistricts called *tasōg*, which became the basis of late Sāsānid local government.

The same period saw a schism in the Christian Church in Sāsānid territory with the introduction of "western" controversies. This is usually put in terms of the formation of a Nestorian majority and Monophysite minority, but actually involved the adoption of the diophysite christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, favoured by Bar Ṣawmā, bishop of Nisibis, who convinced Fīrūz that, if the Sāsānid Church adopted Theodore's doctrine, there would be less reason to fear Christian collusion with the Byzantines. He was excommunicated in 485 by his own catholicos, Acacius (484-96), who favoured the creed of Chalcedon (451). The doctrine of Theodore was institutionalised at the school of Nisibis, founded under Bar Ṣawmā's patronage in 496, and that year Mūsā, the Christian court astrologer of <u>D</u>jāmāsp, got royal permission (for the first time) for the election of his relative Babai as catholicos (497-515), who removed Bar Ṣawmā's excommunication at a synod in 499. By the 6th century, Nestorians controlled the Church and spread Theodore's doctrine while those opposed to them tended to become Monophysite. The Armenians rejected the Council of Chalcedon in 491, adopted a christology close to that of the Monophysites and broke completely with the Byzantine Church by 609.

The late Sāsānid state emerged in the 6th century with a centralised bureaucratic administration, hierarchic social order, commercial domination of the overland and Indian Ocean trade, and agricultural reclamation and development. The revival of a strong monarchy, military power, and growing universal claims and ambitions culminated in the wars of <u>Kh</u>usraw II in the early 7th century. This was aided by the decline of the Hephthalites, who split into eastern and western halves in about 515, and were defeated in India in about 528; they survived as small states in the east. Kubā<u>dh</u> secured the trans-Caucasus, drove the pro-Byzantine king out of Georgia and installed a *marzbān* at Mts<u>kh</u>eta in 523. War was renewed with the Byzantines in 527 with Arab forces under al-Mun<u>dh</u>ir III, who had recovered al-Ḥīra for the La<u>kh</u>mids when al-Ḥāri<u>th</u> b. ʿAmr died in 528, joining the Sāsānid army. In 531 joint Sāsānid-Arab forces defeated the Byzantines at Callinicus, but their own losses were so great that they withdrew.

The Mazdakites favoured the succession of Kāwūs, so his younger brother <u>Kh</u>usraw, allied with the Mazdaean priests, challenged Mazdak's influence over his father, assembled the Mazdakites at Ctesiphon for a religious disputation or to proclaim Kāwūs as successor in 528 or 529, convinced Kubā<u>dh</u> that Mazdak's doctrines were false and had the latter executed with 80,000 followers. When Kubā<u>dh</u> died in 531, Kāwūs claimed to succeed his father but, according to Procopius, the vote of the notables was necessary to assume royal power. They were assembled, a document was read declaring <u>Kh</u>usraw to be Kubā<u>dh</u>'s successor and they declared <u>Kh</u>usraw king. This is the first attested example of such a procedure, which was the basis for theoretical generalisations in the *Testament of Ardashir* and the *Letter of Tansar*, both 6th-century works.

<u>Kh</u>usraw I (531-79) purged his rivals among the royal family and the *wuzurgān*, suppressed the Mazdakites, and ruled fairly unopposed. There are recurring references to assemblies during his reign, where policies were approved. In 532 he made peace with the Byzantines by evacuating fortresses in Lazica, while the Byzantines resumed their subsidy to defend the Caucasus passes. <u>Kh</u>usraw I fortified the pass at Darband and built a long wall to defend the Gurgān plain. He was famous for his justice and support of Mazdaean religion, was remembered as Anū<u>sh</u>irwān [*q.v.*] ("of immortal soul") and became the subject of legend. His coins were the first to have stars between the horns of crescents, and from 535 had the slogan "may he prosper" (*abzōn*). The capital at Ctesiphon-Weh-Arda<u>sh</u>īr grew into a metropolis (al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*]) of several cities, and it was most likely <u>Kh</u>usraw I who built the great audience hall (Īwān or Ṭāḳ-i Kisrā) there.

The distinction between nobles and commoners was restored, the property of Mazdakite leaders was confiscated and given to the poor, and property taken by force was returned to its former owners. *Wuzurgān* kept their status but lost their power to a bureaucratic élite of royal officials who collected taxes directly. A new class of military landlords (*dahigān, dihḳān* [*q.v.*]) was created from the *azadān*, who were given land by the treasury in return for military service and forwarding taxes, as a basis for the army and support for the monarchy.

The state was divided into four quarters, of the South, West, North and East, each under a military governor (*spāhbed*), and divided into districts and subdistricts, with *marzbāns* in frontier districts. An elaborate central administration run by officials (*kārdārān*) was divided into departments with parallel

hierarchies reaching down into the provinces along vertical lines of authority with overlapping checks at the local level and books on the duties of officials and *mowbeds*. Confidential officers were used as internal spies and messengers, and there was a royal post for communication. The heads of departments were members of the royal court along with the grand chamberlain, grand counsellor, head steward, head of servants, royal warden, royal astrologer, head physician, chief of craftsmen and chief of cultivators; these titles were sometimes combined and may have been honorific. There were at least seven departments: the chancellery, the registry department to seal documents, the finance department to collect taxes, the department to administer the royal domain, the judiciary, the priesthood, including the office of religious works (*dīvān-i kardagān*) that registered the endowments and property of fire temples and the army. A tax reform paid for the expanded system. Khusraw I finished the cadastral survey in the Sawād [*q.v.*] of ʿIrāḳ and replaced the agricultural tax as a proportion of the harvest by a tax per unit of area under cultivation according to the type of crop, computed in cash, but paid in cash or kind. He also established a regular, annual poll tax of 4, 6, 8, or 12 dirhams, to be paid in three instalments, on the male population between the ages of 20 and 50. Members of the royal family, *wuzurgān*, soldiers, priests and royal officials were all exempt and agreed to its imposition.

A highly developed legal literature was produced in the late Sāsānid period covering legal procedures and social, economic and criminal activity. The *Dādestān nāmag* was a collection of judicial decisions; the *Mādagān* was a digest containing the opinions of jurists and royal rescripts from the 5th century until the twenty-sixth year of Khusraw II (616). Based on Magian ethical principles and religious requirements, the application of this legal system helped spread a Magian way of life.

The late Sāsānid social ethic emphasised order, stability, legality and harmony among the theoretical four estates of priests, soldiers, officials and workers, so that each would perform its specific duty toward the others. These estates were supposed to be hereditary, but in practice were overlapped by a vertical social hierarchy of the royal family, *wuzurgān*, provincial governors, small military landholders and local officials, freemen and slaves. There are scattered references to organisations of artisans and merchants. The Sāsānids monopolised the transit trade, exchanging goods with the Byzantines at markets along the western frontier at Nisibis and Dubios in Pers-armenia. Procopius describes how numerous merchants from all over Persia and some under Byzantine rule came to Dubios and traded for goods from India and Iberia.

Khusraw I was famous for his love of literature and philosophy; works were translated from Greek, Syriac and Sanskrit into Middle Persian, a set of royal astronomical tables (*Zīdj-i Shāhī*) was produced for him and there were philosophical discussions at his court. Paul the Persian, a Nestorian theologian and Aristotelian philosopher, in a Syriac introduction to logic addressed to Khusraw, argued that knowledge was better than belief based on the relativity of religious belief that resulted in a variety of opinions.

War was resumed with the Byzantines from 540 to 561 over the control of Armenia and Lazica, encouraged by Ostrogothic ambassadors, for plunder, and to divert and employ the military aristocracy. In 540 Khusraw I invaded Syria, took Antioch, burned the city and deported the survivors, and seized or extorted huge amounts of gold and silver there and from other cities on his return. He resettled the captives from Antioch in the new city of Weh Antiōk Khusraw in the south-eastern part of al-Madāʾin, which was patterned after Antioch in Syria with public baths and a hippodrome and put under the charge of a chief of artisans (*karugbad*) as a manufacturing centre. In 541 the Lazes offered Khusraw I the prospect of attacking the Byantines by sea through their land, and he invaded Lazica with Huns as allies and established direct rule there. In 542 he invaded Syria up the west bank of the Euphrates as far as Commagene. Finding nothing left to plunder or extort, he deported farmers from Callinicus on his return. He defeated the Byzantines in Armenia in 543 and invaded Mesopotamia in 544; the Byzantines agreed to a five-year truce and paid 2,000 pounds of gold. The truce was broken in its fourth year when the Lazes allied with the Byzantines to expel the Sāsānids. The fall of Petra to the Byzantines in 551 was followed by a second five-year truce, and negotiations for a peace treaty were begun in 556. Khusraw turned to the east, where the Western Turks invaded Central Asia and defeated the Hephthalites. In about 557-8 Khusraw took the Hephthalite territory south of the Oxus. A fifty-year peace was concluded with the Byzantines in 561, by which the Sāsānids evacuated Lazica in return for an annual payment of gold, religious freedom was guaranteed for Christians under the Sāsānids and Magians under the Byzantines, and Nisibis and Dara were confirmed as centres for the silk trade. Khusraw's gold coins of 564 contained universalist slogans: "he who makes the world without fear" and "may he cause the world to prosper". In 564 a member of the Sūren family was made governor of Armenia, who built a fire temple at Dvin (Dwin [*q.v.*]) and killed a leader of the Mamikonian family, provoking an Armenian revolt in 571. The Byzantines withheld their payment and indecisive warfare was renewed over Armenia and Mesopotamia from 572 to 582. There was a war with the Turks in 569-70, and between 575 and 577 a Sāsānid naval expedition conquered al-Yaman [*q.v.*] from the Ethiopians. The Armenian revolt ended with a general amnesty in 578.

The conflict between the crown and the *wuzurgān* resurfaced in the reign of Hurmizd IV (579-90), who had been designated as successor by his father Khusraw I. Hurmizd IV is said to have favoured the common people against the *wuzurgān*, possibly as a basis of support for the crown, killed some 13,000 Persian notables, executed the Jewish exilarch in 581 and closed the schools, and reduced the pay of the army. He also suppressed the priestly order of *mowbeds*; for the rest of the Sāsānid period and into early Islamic times, *hērbeds* are represented as the most important priests, although Hurmizd IV resisted their efforts to persecute Jews and Christians. In 588 Hephthalite subjects of the Western Turks invaded the east, reaching Bādghīs [*q.v.*] and Harāt. Bahrām Čubīn [see BAHRĀM], of the Mihrān family and *spāhbed* of the North, defeated the Western Turks at Harāt in 589, crossed the Oxus and defeated the Eastern Turks, and was then sent against the Byzantines in Albania, where he was defeated. Jealous of Bahrām's popularity, Hurmizd IV disgraced him on the pretext that he held back booty, provoking Bahrām to rebel in the trans-Caucasus, according to Theophylact, or in the east, according to the Syriac Khūzistān chronicle. Towards the end of 589 Bahrām marched against al-Madāʾin, where the nobles rebelled early in 590, led by Bindoe and Bisṭām, brothers-in-law of Hurmizd,

who released the nobles from prison, deposed, blinded and killed Hurmizd IV, and enthroned his son Khusraw. Bahrām defeated them in Ādharbaydjān, Khusraw fled to the Byzantines in March, Bahrām entered the capital in the summer of 590 and took the throne (Bahrām VI, 590-1) with upper-class support, including the rich Jews there. He struck coins for two years and may have associated his rule with millennial expectatations and Arsacid restoration.

Khusraw sought aid from the Byzantine emperor Maurice, who sent him money and two armies for his promise to return conquered territory and permanent peace. One army marched through Armenia, reinforced by 12,000 Armenians and awaited in Ādharbaydjān by Bindoe with 8,000 Persians. The other went through Mesopotamia and defeated Bahrām in ʿIrāķ; Bahrām headed for Ādharbaydjān, was defeated by Bindoe near Lake Urmia, and fled across the Oxus to the Turks, where he was assassinated a year later. When Khusraw returned to al-Madāʾin, his general and the Christians killed many of the Jews of Maḥoza for supporting Bahrām.

Khusraw II (591-628) returned Dāra and Mayyāfāriķīn [*q.v.*] to the Byzantines in 591, and ceded Armenia up to Lake Van and Tiflis. He remitted half the land tax, put one uncle, Bindoe, in charge of the administrative bureaux and treasuries, and the other, Bisṭām, over the north-east. Bindoe was soon executed, and Bisṭām rebelled in the north-east, striking his own coins at Rayy from about 592 to 596. In 598 an expedition annexed al-Yaman as a province. Khusraw II established his rule over the entire state by 601.

The reign of Khusraw II was the most extreme expression of late Sāsānid political absolutism and imperial ambition. In a letter to Maurice, he called himself "king of kings, master of those who have power, lord of peoples, prince of peace, saviour of men, good and eternal man among gods, most powerful god among men, most honored, victorious, ascended with the sun and companion of the stars." He was represented as the cosmocrator. His image was observed in 624 on the inside of a dome on a building at Ganzak enthroned in the heavens with the sun, moon and stars around him. He is said to have had a celestial throne with a canopy of gold and lapislazuli on which the stars, signs of the zodiac, planets and the seven climes were represented. He is also said to have been surrounded by over 360 astrologers and magicians, whose advice he sought constantly. He was called Aparwēz (Parwīz [*q.v.*] "the triumphant"), and the slogan "may he make Iran prosper" occured on some of his coins. The rock reliefs in the large grotto at Ṭāķ-i Bustān are probably his, as are the remains of a palace at Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*] near Dastagerd (Daskara [*q.v.*]). He amassed a huge royal treasure, accumulated from the time of Fīrūz, reorganised the state into 35 administrative districts and built 353 fire temples, where 12,000 *hērbeds* recited rituals.

He eliminated all rival sources of power, probably in compensation for insecurity at the beginning of his reign. The Jewish exilarchate was suppressed; after 590 there was no exilarch for the rest of the Sāsānid period, Jewish schools were closed and the rabbis became the *de facto* leaders of the community. In 596 he had his own candidate elevated as Nestorian catholicos, but being deceived by a group of physicians, astrologers and Christian courtiers over the elevation of a successor in 604, after the latter died in 609, he refused to allow the election of a catholicos for the rest of his reign. In about 602 the Lakhmids were suppressed and their last king, al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], was executed. After a Sāsānid army was defeated by the Banū Shaybān at Dhū Ķār [*q.v.*] between 604 and 611, al-Ḥīra was put under a *marzbān* and the desert frontier restored.

In 602 Maurice was deposed and killed, giving Khusraw the opportunity to regain territory ceded to the Byzantines by posing as his avenger, starting the last and greatest Sāsānid-Byzantine war. Between 604 and 610 Sāsānid armies under Shahīn, *spāhbed* of the West, and Shahrbarāz conquered Armenia and Mesopotamia, and invaded Syria and Anatolia. Byzantine weakness during this phase of the war was due to their lack of local support and the occupation of their forces putting down local disturbances and revolts, that destroyed their own manpower in Syria. The second phase started with the accession of Heraclius in 610; Khusraw now intended to conquer the entire Byzantine empire. In 611 with Shahīn's army covering in Anatolia, Shahrbarāz invaded Syria, taking Antioch, and Damascus (613). Then marching down the coast taking the towns to prevent Byzantine reinforcements by sea, he turned inland, conquered Galilee and the Jordan valley and besieged Jerusalem in May 614, joined by tens of thousands of messianic Jews. When Jerusalem fell, tens of thousands of Christians were killed, 300 monasteries and churches burned, 35,000 captives, mostly craftsmen, deported to Sāsānid territory along with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross, and a Bahrām fire established there. The Jewish alliance broke down in 617, their administration of Jerusalem was ended and they were expelled from the city. The treatment of Christians in Palestine was moderated by the influence of Christians at the Sāsānid court; some prisoners were freed, money was sent for relief, and the rebuilding of churches and monasteries was allowed. Chalcedonian bishops were expelled from Mesopotamia and Syria, and their churches turned over to Monophysites. From 616 to 620 Shahrbarāz conquered Egypt as far as Ethiopia in the south and Libya in the west, and installed a Coptic Patriarch in Alexandria. Meanwhile, an Armenian army under Sembat Bagratuni defeated Hepthalites north of Lake Helmand and looted as far as Balkh [*q.v.*]. During this phase of the war, the Sāsānids were inconsistent in responding to local support from Jews and Monophysites, and may have played them off against each other; they also failed to develop a navy, and Khusraw II was unwilling to consider peace while he was winning.

Instead of trying to reconquer lost provinces, the Byzantines took the war to the Sāsānids in its third phase. In 622 and 624 Heraclius invaded Armenia, faced by Khusraw II himself in Ādharbaydjān. Burning towns and villages, Heraclius drove Khusraw II out of Ganzak and Shīz. Khusraw II fled to al-ʿIrāķ, while Heraclius wintered in Albania. In 625 Heraclius defeated three Sāsānid armies in Ādharbaydjān and Armenia. With the war going badly, Khusraw II turned against the Christians, executed Nestorians in upper ʿIrāķ, deported Monophysites from Edessa to Sīstān, raised taxes and took treasures from churches to finance the war.

In its fourth phase, the war escalated in 626; the Sāsānids allied with the Avars in eastern Europe, while the Byzantines allied with the Khazars [*q.v.*] north of the Caucasus. The joint Sāsānid-Avar siege of Constantinople failed in 626, as did the Byzantine-Khazar siege of Tiflis. In 627 plague broke out in Palestine, and Heraclius invaded Armenia with Greek, Laz and Iberian troops, and with Khazar

cavalry. Descending to the Tigris valley, he defeated Sāsānid forces at Nineveh, marched down the east bank of the Tigris, took and destroyed the royal palace and animal preserve at Dastagerd, and took the royal treasures. Khusraw II fled to al-Madāʾin and set up a defensive line along the Nahrawān [*q.v.*] canal. Unable to find a ford due to disastrous flooding of the Tigris and Euphrates in the winter of 627-8, Heraclius returned to Ganzak, and waited for political developments in the capital. Khusraw II suspected and feared everyone, arrested all the officers who had fled from the Byzantines and ordered them to be executed, imprisoned thousands of people and executed the workmen who failed to close the Tigris breaches. Furious at his behaviour and rejection of peace proposals, in February 628 a group of generals and high officials entered the capital, opened the prisons, proclaimed his son Kubādh II king, arrested and imprisoned Khusraw II and insisted that Kubādh execute him, because there could not be two kings at once.

Kubādh II reigned for eight months (February to September 628), was called Kubādh Fīrūz ("victorious") on his coins and was popularly called Shīrūya/Shīroe. Persians called him "the unjust", and he was identified as the Antichrist in apocalyptic literature. He was remembered as a parricide and fratricide; he killed all of his adult brothers, leaving only sisters and children, creating the subsequent dynastic problems. During his reign, one-third to one-half of the population of ʿIrāḳ perished from plague, probably brought back from Syria by Sāsānid armies. He also began peace negotiations with the Byzantines based on mutual evacuation and the freeing of prisoners of war and deportees. He reduced taxes and allowed the election of a Nestorian catholicos.

Kubādh II was succeeded by his seven-year-old son, Ardashīr III (September 628 to April 630), with Mah-Ādur-Gushnasp as regent. Shahrbarāz seems to have broken with Khusraw II by the end of 626, and had refused to recognise Kubādh II or evacuate his provinces. In the summer of 629 he negotiated with Heraclius on his own, evacuated Egypt and Syria, returned to al-Madāʾin, purged his enemies and those responsible for the death of Khusraw II, and made himself regent. He returned the True Cross to Heraclius, but was defeated by the Khazars. On 27 April 630, he killed Ardashīr III, made himself king and reigned for 42 days until he was killed by his own guard on June 9.

This was followed by an extreme dynastic crisis, with eleven rulers in two years. Būrān (630-1), daughter of Khusraw II and wife of Kubādh II, struck coins, built bridges, and completed the peace negotiations with the Byzantines before being deposed and killed in the fall of 631. In the latter part of 632, a grandson of Khusraw II, Yazdadjird III [*q.v.*] (632-51), was proclaimed king at Iṣṭakhr at the age of sixteen or twenty-one and brought to al-Madāʾin.

Yazdadjird III was the last Sāsānid monarch. The Sāsānid position in the Arabian peninsula had already been lost; their system of military colonies and tribal alliances in al-Yaman, ʿUmān, and al-Baḥrayn collapsed when defeat by the Byzantines followed by a four-year dynastic crisis (628-32) made them unable to support their garrisons and Arab protégés. The treaty of Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] in 628 enabled the Muslims to form their own alliances, and Sāsānid governors at Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] and Hadjar acknowledged the Prophet Muḥammad and converted to Islam, while Magians in al-Baḥrayn and coastal ʿUmān were allowed to pay tribute. The raid of Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] in 633 destroyed most of the Sāsānid system of fortresses along the desert frontier of ʿIrāḳ, crippled their Arab allies there and provoked a major Sāsānid effort to restore the border. But they were unable to follow up their victory over the Muslims at the Battle of the Bridge in 634 because of factional conflict at al-Madāʾin. The Muslim victory at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] in 636 resulted in the loss of ʿIrāḳ to the Sāsānids; Yazdadjird fled to Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] and then to Rayy. The fall of ʿIrāḳ affected the subsequent conflict because the Sāsānids had lost the heart of their state: the administrative centre at al-Madāʾin, the tax base, that amounted to one-third of the total revenue, the royal treasure, substantial military forces and the leadership of many nobles. The Muslims now held these resources, assisted by former Sāsānid soldiers and officials who defected to them. The caliph ʿUmar I [*q.v.*] had intended expansion to stop there, but attacks on lower ʿIrāḳ by Sāsānid forces in Khūzistān provoked the Muslim conquest of that province from 639 to 642. Yazdadjird III raised a major army and sent it to Nihāwand [*q.v.*] in order to block any Muslim advance and possibly to retake ʿIrāḳ. The defeat of this army by combined Kūfan and Baṣran forces in 642 was a second military disaster for the Sāsānids; it secured Khuzistan and ʿIrāḳ for the Muslims, ended organised resistance in the Djibāl [*q.v.*] and opened the Iranian plateau to the Muslims. Yazdadjird III fled to Iṣfahān and then to Iṣṭakhr, where he tried to organise the defence of Fārs. But the Baṣran army conquered Fārs in 649-50; Yazdadjird III fled to Kirmān and Sīstān, pursued by Muslim forces, and arrived at Marw. Resenting Yazdadjird III's financial demands, the *marzbān* of Marw allied with Nīzak Ṭarkhān [*q.v.*], the Hephthalite ruler of Bādghīs, to defeat Yazdadjird's followers. Yazdadjird III fled from Marw, and was killed by a miller nearby in 451. His son Fīrūz took refuge in T'ang China, but he and his son Narseh were unsuccessful in getting Chinese help to restore their dynasty. The fall of the Sāsānids did not mean the Muslim conquest of Persia, which took several more decades [see īrān. v. History]. The Sāsānid Book of Kings (*Xwadāy nāmag*) achieved its final form in the reign of Yazdadjird III, and, because he had no successor, his regnal years continued from 632 as the era of Yazdadjird. Magians took that year as the end of the millennium of Zoroaster and the beginning of the millennium of Oshēdar..

The significance of Sāsānid history lies in providing an example of a late antique state and society that broadens the understanding of that period, in the development of monarchic and religious institutions, and the formation of religious communities, that created precedents for religious groups as political minorities. The Sāsānids left a legacy of royal absolutism and bureaucratic administration, and Sāsānid motifs continued in the art and architecture of the Islamic period and spread to the east and west. Branches of the dynasty survived long afterward as local rulers. The Bāwandids (Bāwand [*q.v.*]) of Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*] claimed descent from Kāwūs, the son of Kubādh I, and ruled until 750/1349. The Dābawayhids (Dābūya [*q.v.*]) claimed descent from Djāmāsp, the son of Fīrūz, and ruled in Ṭabaristān and Gīlān in the 7th and 8th centuries. The Bādusbānids [*q.v.*] claimed descent from them, and branches of this dynasty lasted until 975/1567 and 984/1574.

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(M. MORONY)

SASARĀM [see SAHSARĀM].

SATALIA [see ANTALYA].

SĀTGĀ'ON, Saptagrāma in Sanskrit, a famous medieval port city and administrative centre in southwestern Bengal. Located at the junction of the rivers Bhagirathi and Saraswati and adjacent to both Triveni—a holy place to the Hindus—and Čhōṭa Pāndu'ā [see PANḌU'Ā], the city existed long before its conquest by a famous Muslim army commander Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī during the reign of Sultan Kaykāwūs Shāh (689-700/1290-1301). A thriving port city and commercial place during the Sultanate period, Sātgā'on also became an important Muslim cultural and educational centre where large number of mosques and *madrasas* (such as the Madrasa Dār al-Khayrāt dated 713/1313) were built. Epigraphic sources provide us with a few names of its celebrated governors such as Tarbiyat Khān in 861/1457, Malik Bārbak Shāh (later Sultan Bārbak Shāh) in 860/1455 and Iḳrār Khān in 860/1455.

Among its Muslim architectural remains is a mosque from the reign of Sultan Nuṣrat Shāh dated

936/1529 built by a saint Sayyid D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn, an immigrant from the Caspian coast town of Āmul (see Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, v, Rajshahi 1960, 24-7, 28-9, 56-7, 68-70). Sātgāʾon was an important mint town since the beginning of 8th/14th century. The earliest coin discovered so far is dated 729/1328, while the latest is 957/1550.

The first European contacts with Sātgāʾon date from the 1530s when Portuguese ships started using its port. Unfortunately, due to the violence often practised by the Portuguese in the area, the population of this grand city—once called Porto Piqueño or the little Heaven by the early Europeans—started dwindling. The final ruin of Sātgāʾon seems to have been brought about by the silting of the river Saraswati, as the port almost lost its navigability towards the end of the 10th/16th century.

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(Muhammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SAṬĪḤ b. RABĪʿA, a legendary diviner (*kāhin*) of pre-Islamic Arabia, whom tradition connects with the beginnings of Islam; in reality, we are dealing here with a quite mythical personage like the other *kāhin* in whose company he appears in most stories, S̲h̲iḳḳ al-Ṣaʿbī, who is simply the humanisation of a demoniacal monster in appearance like a man cut in two (*s̲h̲iḳḳ al-insān*: cf. van Vloten, in *WZKM*, vii [1893], 180-1, and s̲h̲iḳḳ). Saṭīḥ, whose name means "flattened on the ground and unable to rise on account of the weakness of his limbs" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*[1], iii, 312), is described as a monster without bones or muscles; he had no head but a human face in the centre of his chest; he lay on the ground, on a bed of leaves and palm branches, and when he had to change his position "they rolled him up like a carpet"; only when he was irritated or inspired did he inflate himself and stand up. His close resemblance to S̲h̲iḳḳ is accentuated by legend which makes them both be born without the intervention of a father in the night before the death of the *kāhina* Ṭurayfa (the wife of ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, ancestor of the tribe of this name, who is said to have foretold the catastrophe of the breaking of the dam of Maʾrib in the Yemen). She is said before dying to have made the two newborn monsters come to her and, after spitting in their months (the classic method of transmitting magic power), declared them her successors in the art of *kihāna*.

In spite of these characteristically mythical features, Arab genealogical tradition has not refused to give Saṭīḥ a place in its system, but gives him a name and a paternity (Rabīʿ b. Rabīʿa b. Masʿūd b. Māzin b. D̲h̲iʾb), which connect him with the G̲h̲assānid branch of the tribe of Azd (just as it connects S̲h̲iḳḳ with the Banū Ṣaʿb, a branch of the Banū Bad̲j̲īla) and more precisely with the Banū D̲h̲iʾb (Ibn Durayd, *Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, 286; Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, 11, 16; according to others, the Banū D̲h̲iʾb belonged to the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, a tribe belonging to the Rabīʿa group); there even seems to have been in historic times an Azd clan claiming descent from Saṭīḥ (Abū Ḥātim al-Sid̲j̲istānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 3, in Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, Leiden 1896-9, ii).

Among the legends associated with the name of Saṭīḥ some are connected with the pre-history of the Arabs and represent Saṭīḥ as acting as a diviner and judge (*ḥakam*) without any regard for history or chronology, being totally fictitious; sometimes we find him dividing among the sons of Nizār (Muḍar, Rabīʿa, Iyād and Anmār) their father's estate (*ʿIḳd*, ii, 46, 4th ed., ii, 39); sometimes we find him consulted with S̲h̲iḳḳ by al-Ẓarib al-ʿAdwānī (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, D, 13) regarding the real position of Ḳasī, the ancestor of the T̲h̲aḳīf, to whom al-Ẓarib had been forced to promise his daughter in marriage (*Ag̲h̲ānī*,[1] ii, 75). In al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, i, 288-90), it is he who decides the difference that arose between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather, and the two Ḳaysī tribes al-Kilāb and al-Ribāb, regarding the ownership of the well of D̲h̲u 'l-Harm discovered by the former in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif; but the parallel versions of the same story either do not mention the name of the arbitrator or give him that of another *kāhin*, Salama b. Abī Ḥayya al-Ḳuḍāʿī (al-Maydānī, *Amt̲h̲āl*, ed. 1284, i, 36 = ed. 1310, i, 30; Yāḳūt, iv, 629; *LʿA*[1], xiii, 283).

Two other legends, on the other hand, have a completely Islamic stamp; according to the first, given by Ibn Isḥāḳ, who does not give his sources, Saṭīḥ consulted—as always, with S̲h̲iḳḳ—by the Lak̲h̲mid chief Rabīʿa b. Naṣr regarding a dream which had frightened him, reveals to him that South Arabia will be invaded by the Abyssinians and that after the expulsion of the latter and the brief dominion of the Persians it will be conquered by a Prophet (Muḥammad); as a result of the oracle, Rabīʿa b. Naṣr sends his son ʿAmr at the head of the tribe to the king of Persia who settles them at al-Ḥīra; this is the "South Arabian" version of the foundation of the Lak̲h̲mid dynasty (cf. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 39).

The second and most widely disseminated legend goes back to a certain Hāniʾ al-Mak̲h̲zūmī, who is said to have lived to the age of 150 years and about whom Muslim historiographical tradition knows nothing (see Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, vi, 279, no. 8,929). It forms part of the cycle of the *aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, that is, of the miraculous signs which confirm the truth of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. In the night when the latter was born, remarkable phenomena occurred throughout the kingdom of Persia. The king (Kisrā Anūs̲h̲irwān), not being able to get an explanation from his magicians, asked the king of al-Ḥīra, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mund̲h̲ir (an anachronism!), to send him someone who could explain it. Al-Nuʿmān sent ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Buḳayla al-G̲h̲assānī (on whom see al-Sid̲j̲istānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 38; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 935, 12 A.H., § 165, iv, 657, 21 A.H., § 328), who, not being able to explain these marvels himself, went to Saṭīḥ, his maternal uncle, who lived in the desert. He found him at the point of death, and his appeal was unanswered; only after his nephew had addressed him in verse, did the *kāhin* predict to him the coming fall of the Persian Empire and its conquest by the Arabs, etc. Having delivered this oracle, his uncle Saṭīḥ died.

Saṭīḥ claimed to receive his knowledge of the future from a familiar spirit (*raʾī*, see kāhin), who had overheard the conversation of God with Moses on Mount Sinai and had revealed part of it to him. Here we see the influence of the Ḳurʾānic passage (LXXII, 1) about the d̲j̲inn who overhear God's utterances.

The calculations of the Arab historians on the age reached by Saṭīḥ are naturally completely fanciful; those of them who place his birth at the time of the bursting of the dam at Mārib and his death at Muḥammad's birth, give him a life of 600 years. It should be observed that Abū Ḥātim al-Sid̲j̲istānī (see above), whose version is markedly different from the others (he does not speak of his monstrosity, puts his home in al-Baḥrayn, etc.), makes him die in the reign

of the Ḥimyaritic king Dhū Nuwās and therefore does not know of his prophecy to Kisrā Anūshirwān.

Bibliography (in addition to works quoted in the article): Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 9-12; Ṭabarī, i, 911-14, 981-4; (Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 254-7); *LʿA*[1], iii, 312-13 (with variants on the text of al-Ṭabarī); Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 56; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*[1], i, 133-4, 4th ed., i, 94-5; *Sharḥ al-Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīriyya*[2], i, 216-17 (commentary on the 18th *Maḳāma*); Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, i, 227-8; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 364 = § 1249; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 318-20; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 230-1, tr. de Slane, i, 487-8; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, 1st ed., i, 46-9, 2nd ed., i, 43-4; Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, i, 160; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes anciens*, i, 96-7; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i, 134-6. A new analysis of the documentation used in this article, with some additions, has been made by T. Fahd in his *La divination arabe*, [2]Paris 1987, see esp. 44, 66, 83, 101, 165, 186-9, 250.

(G. Levi Della Vida-[T. Fahd])

SATPANTHĪS, adherents of a group in India that broke away from the main Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the Subcontinent in the 10th/16th century. Also called Mōmnas or Imām Shāhīs, these followers of the *Satpanth* (the true way) gave their allegiance to Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Imām Shāh, a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* and son of one of the major *pīrs* of the tradition, Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn. They continue to preserve their own version of the *ginān*s, literary expressions of devotion and religious teaching common to the *daʿwa* tradition in India, and do not acknowledge the Imāms of the Nizārī line. Their main centres are at Pirana in Gudjārāt and Burhānpūr [*q.v.*] in Khandesh.

Bibliography: W. Ivanow, *The sect of Imām Shāh in Gujarat*, in *JBBRAS*, xii (1936), 19-70; G. Khakee, *The Dasa Avatara of the Satpanthī Ismāʿīlīs and Imām Shāhīs of Indo-Pakistan*, diss., Harvard University 1972, unpubl.; Azim Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, New York 1978. (Azim Nanji)

SATYA PĪR, literally "the true saint", the name of a cult which flourished in Bengal and claimed both Hindu and Muslim adherents. Islam's entry into Bengal gave birth to some important socio-religious trends in Hindu society which expressed themselves in cults like the Vaishnavite, the Dharma and the Satya Pīr ones. According to the *Shekh Subhodaya*, many local *sadhus*, who were mostly Tantric Gurus, embraced Islam and adopted devotion to *pīrs*, to whom they attributed supernatural powers. Cults like Satya Pīr, Panč Pīr, Manik Pīr, Ghora Pīr and Madari Pīr centred round *pīrs* and attracted both Hindus and Muslims to their fold.

Tradition ascribes the origin of the Satya Pīr cult to a Brahmin youth of Mymensingh, Kanka by name, who had accepted a Muslim saint as his spiritual preceptor. At the behest of his *pīr* he composed during the reign of the Bengal Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh in *ca.* 907/1502 an epic poem *Vidyasundara kahini* to pronounce the spiritual glories of Satya Pīr. Originating in northern and eastern Bengal, the Satya Pīr cult became popular all over the province. The first Bengali poet to compose verses on Satya Pīr was Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh, whose *Satya Pīr kavya* was composed at some time between 952-83/1545-75. Since Fayḍ Allāh was an expert in music and had written *Ragmala*, the first book on music in Bengali literature, the cult of Satya Pīr spread through music and song also. Later on, considerable literature appeared on Satya Pīr in Bengali. Vidyapati, a Hindu poet of the 18th century, composed his poem *Satya Pīr ančali*, which further popularised the cult in Bengal. In the later part of the 19th century, the cult lost its earlier popularity due to the opposition of Muslim reformist movements. The view that Sultan Ḥusayn Shāh (898-25/1493-1519) was the originator of the Satya Pīr cult lacks contemporary evidence, though the possibility of the sultan encouraging the cult, from mixed motives of superstition and policy, cannot be ruled out.

The followers of the Satya Pīr cult make special offerings on the day of the full moon. They place a wooden plank which they consider to be the seat of the Satya Pīr, and put food and comestibles on it and distribute them as tokens of blessing. The Satya Pīr *Bhita* (dwelling) stands on the site of the famous Buddhist monastery at Paharpur in Rādjshāhī district. Its custodian still enjoys rent-free lands, though, barring a few areas in Bengal, the Satya Pīr cult is non-existent now.

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SAʾUDJ-BULĀḲ [see sāwdj-bulāḳ].

SAUL [see ṭālūt].

SĀWA (older form Sāwadj, cf. the *nisba* Sāwadjī, found at the side of Sāwī), a town of northern Persia some 125 km/80 miles to the southwest of Tehran (lat. 35° 00′ N., long. 50° 22′ E., altitude 960 m/3,149 feet). It was formerly on the Ḳazwīn-Ḳumm road used in mediaeval times but now replaced by the modern paved roads-system centred on Tehran, and on the main caravan and pilgrimage route from southwestern Persia and lower ʿIrāḳ to Rayy and Khurāsān, but this too has been replaced by the modern highway from Khūzistān to Arāk and Ḳumm and then to Tehran, bypassing Sāwa, as does also the railway. The town has thus lost importance in modern times and the agriculture of the surrounding district has been affected by decreasing water supplies and the encroachment of salt desert. Sāwa itself is situated in the northwestern corner of a plain watered by the Ḳara Čay (the mediaeval Gāwmāhā river) which rises in the mountains between Hamadhān and Sāwa and peters out eastwards into the Great Desert.

1. History.

Sāwa is not known before the Muslim period. W. Tomaschek (*Zur historische Topographie von Persien*, in *SB Ak Wien*, cii [1883], 154-7) connects its name with the Avestan word *sava*, Pahlavī *savaka*, "advantage, utility" (?). The Persian dictionaries gives "pieces of gold" for *sāwa*. According to Tomaschek, Sāwa corresponds to the Sevavicina or Sevakina of the *Tabulae Peutingerianae*.

The mediaeval geographers placed Sāwa within the province of Djibāl, but they state that it was attached administratively both to Hamadhān and to Rayy at various times. It was often linked with the town of Āba or Āwa [*q.v.*] to its south on the Gāwmāhā river. The geographers describe Sāwa as prosperous because of the transit traffic, its camels and camel-drivers

being famous, and as having a Friday mosque, baths and fortifications. The people were strongly Sunnī, hence often at odds with their neighbours in Āwa who were fervent Shīʿīs (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 133, § 31.22; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 211-13, 228-9; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 539-42). Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 512, mentions an attack of Kurds on the Pilgrimage caravan near Sawa in 344/955-6. In *ca.* 420/1029 the lord of Sāwa is recored as one Kāmrū al-Daylamī, who allied with the incoming bands of Ghuzz [*q.v.*] to besiege Rayy (*ibid.*, ix, 382). It suffered badly from sacking by Čingiz Khān's Mongols in 617/1220, who burnt down a library there of what Yāḳūt calls unparalleled richness and which also contained, according to al-Ḳazwīnī, scientific and astronomical instruments. By the next century, however, it had revived, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes it as within a fertile agricultural district and as flourishing. Its walls were 8,200 ells in circumference, having been rebuilt by a local magnate, Khʷādja Ẓahīr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Malik Sharaf al-Dīn Sāwadjī. The people of Sāwa were still Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, but the surrounding villages had become largely Shīʿī; the whole district of Sāwa produced revenue of 25,000 dīnārs (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 179-80; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 258; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 62-3, tr. Le Strange, 67-8).

Among the European travellers, Marco Polo mentions Sāwa ("Saba") as the town from which the three Magi kings set out for Bethlehem and where they are buried in a square sepulchre. This Persian-Christian legend must be based on a local popular interpretation of texts like "Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent" (Psalm lxxii. 10). According to another story given by Marco Polo, the three kings are buried respectively at Sāwa, Āwa and Ḳalʿa-yi Ātashparastān, which Yule located between Sāwa and Abhar, while Tomaschek identified it with Diz-i Gabrān (one stage beyond Ḳum on the road from Kāshān).

Sāwa is mentioned by Giosafa Barbaro (1474), Figueroa (1618), etc. Chardin lamented its sterile soil and heat. In 1849 the English consul K.E. Abbot counted 300-400 houses in Sāwa with 1,000 inhabitants; he says that the soil is excellent everywhere that it is not mixed with the *kawīr*, but that the salt desert is met with at only 6 km/9 miles from the town.

At the present day the population of the district of Sāwa is wholly Shīʿī. It consists of Persians and Turks. The latter belong to the local confederation of Shāh-Sewen, which includes the remnants of the tribe of Khaladj [*q.v.*]. The district of Sāwa is frequently called Khaladjistān. There are Shāhsewen to the north-east and to the south of Sāwa. The Khaladj live more especially to the north of the Ḳum-Sulṭānābād road (Rāhgird, Tadj-Khātūn, Djahrūd, Tafrish). In several of their villages (Kundurūd, Mawdjān, Sift, Fowdjird, Kardedjan), various dialects of Turkish are spoken, making up the distinct Turkish language known as Khaladj, extensively studied by Minorsky and Doerfer; see for this, KHALADJ. 2. Language. In recent times Sāwa has formed part of various administrative combinations. Sometimes it was governed along with the districts to the south (Maḥallāt, Kazzāz), sometimes with Zarand (northeast of Sāwa) and Kharraḳān (*vulgo*: Ḳaraghān). This last mountainous district formed an enclave between the provinces of Ḳazwīn and Hamadhān. It consisted of three *bulūks*: Afshār-i Bakishlu, Afshār-i Ḳutilu and Ḳaragöz; the chief town of Kharraḳān is situated in the latter at the foot of the pass. It is called Āwa, and must not be confused with the place of the same name in the Sāwa district. About 1890 Sāwa was governed by an Austrian officer in the Persian service, von Täufenstein. At the beginning of the 20th century, it formed a kind of fief of the brigade of Persian Cossacks at Tehran. One of the higher officers of this military force acted as governor of Sāwa and controlled the Turkish natives who supplied the principal contingent to the brigade.

The modern town of Sāwa comes within the central province (*ustān*) of Persia and is the chef-lieu of the *shahrastān* of the same name. The ruins of the mediaeval town and its citadel can still be seen. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of *ca.* 18,000 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, i, 109), which had risen by 1991 to 93,920 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Among famous men born in Sāwa, Yāḳūt mentions Abū Ṭāhir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, one of the principal Shāfiʿī imāms (d. 484/1091). A colleague of the great vizier of the Mongols, Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], was Saʿd al-Dīn Sāwadjī, executed in 711/1312 after his fall from power. Mustawfī mentions the tomb of Shaykh ʿUthmān Sāwadjī near the town. On the poet Salmān-i Sāwadjī (700-78/1300-76), see E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 260-71 etc., and the article s.v.

2. Antiquities and architecture.

These include: (i) The barrage on the Ḳara-čay (about 12 miles south-south-west of the town), said to owe its origin to Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], vizier of several Il-Khānid rulers of the 7th/13th century (see Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 221). The barrage is said to have been restored under the Ṣafawids; it is known as *band-i Shāh ʿAbbās*. It occupies the passage between two hills and is about 65 feet high, 100 long and 45 thick. Beside it on the left bank, the road rises in a kind of spiral; caravans were thus able to ascend the dam, which was used as a bridge, and descend on the west side by a gradual slope on the right bank.

(ii) The fortress of Ḳīz-ḳalʿa on a rock in the centre of an amphitheatre of hills not far from the dam.

(iii) The mosques and minarets of the town itself. The Friday Mosque on the south side of the town, rebuilt in the Ṣafawid period by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, may well occupy the site, so Minorsky thought, of the Friday Mosque mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī, 392 n. *a* ("distant from the market"); it incorporates an ancient structure, and Būyid period inscriptions (so far unpublished) have recently been uncovered there. Adjacent to it, but free standing, is a brick minaret, first described by Dieulafoy, with an inscription dated 504/1110-11 in the names of the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir [*q.vv.*]. In the town centre is the Masdjid-i Maydān with an early Ṣafawid inscription and with its minaret naming as builder a local Daylamī *amīr*, Abū Dulaf Surkhāb b. ʿImād al-Dawla, and the date 503/1109-10.

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*Polo*³, London 1903, i, 78-81; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, ii, 112-23; E. Herzfeld, *Khorasan. Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 170; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, index; A. Godard, *Les anciennes mosquées de l'Iran*, in *Arts asiatiques*, iii (1956), 48-63, 83-8; G.C. Miles, *Inscriptions on the minaret of Saveh, Iran*, in *Studies in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965, 163-78; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*², London 1976, 190.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. The town's role in Muslim legend. Sāwa plays an important part in the legends of Muḥammad. According to a frequently quoted tradition (for details see A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i, 134 ff., and Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 253 ff.), a lake (*buḥayra*) in the neighbourhood of Sāwa sank into the ground in the night in which the Prophet was born. The site was still pointed out to al-Ḳazwīnī in the 7th/13th century. As the tradition quoted shows a rather accurate knowledge of Iranian matters, we may safely seek an allusion to a definite Iranian conception in this single feature of the story. Now in Zoroastrian eschatology the lake Kansava (*Kasaoya-*) plays an important part; in the later Avesta it is located in Eastern Iran and is said to correspond to Lake Hāmūn in Sidjistān. In it is preserved the seed of Zarathushtra, from which in the end will arise the saviour Saoshyant. When we find the legend of the drying-up of a lake in Iran connected with the birth of Muḥammad, we may interpret it as an allusion to this mythical lake. The legend symbolises the destruction of the hope of a Zoroastrian saviour, just as the earthquake in the royal palace at Ctesiphon recorded in the same tradition symbolises the end of the Iranian empire and the extinction of the sacred fire the end of Zoroastrian culture.

(H.H. Schaeder)

SAWĀD, a name used in early Islamic times for ʿIrāḳ [*q.v.*]. While the name ʿIrāḳ has been proved to be a Pahlavi loanword (from *Ērag*, "low land, south land", occurring in the Turfan fragments, with assimilation to the semantically connected root *ʿrḳ*; cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Arab.*, Göttingen 1919, 69; H.H. Schaeder, in *Isl.*, xiv, 8-9; J.J. Hess, in *ZS*, ii, 219-23) *sawād* "black land" is the oldest Arabic name for the alluvial land on the Euphrates and Tigris given on account of the contrast to the eye between its greenness and the dazzling white Arabian desert (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 174, 14 sqq.). The name has undergone a threefold development of application. (1) It is identified with the political notion of ʿIrāḳ and thus corresponds to the Sāsānid province of Sūristān (*Dil-i Ērānshahr*). With this meaning, the historians of the Arab conquests use the name Sawād for ʿIrāḳ (see e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 241, 1; because the Muhādjirūn acquired such extensive properties there, it became known as "the Garden of Ḳuraysh"), and, especially, the compilers of monographs on taxation or political handbooks (cf. Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, Ḳudāma and al-Māwardī; also Ibn Khaldūn). The reason for this is that in the cadastral and revenue regulations of ʿUmar I, the name Sawād was used officially. (2) It is used as the name of the cultivated area within a district, e.g. *Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ*, *Sawād Khūzistān*, *Sawād al-Urdunn*. (3) Before the name of a town, it means the systematically irrigated and intensively cultivated fields in its vicinity, e.g. the *Sawād* of al-Baṣra, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, Tustar, Bukhārā, etc.

Bibliography: The fundamental work is H. Wagner, *Die Überschätzung der Anbaufläche Babyloniens und ihr Ursprung*, in *Nachrichten v.d. Kgl. G.W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1902), 224-98. On the philological point, see Lane, i, 4, 1462b. On the technical question of taxation, A. von Kremer, *Über das Budget der Einnahmen unter der Regierung des Hârûn al-rašîd*, in *Verh. d. VII. Internat. Orient. Kongr.*, ii, 1888; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers califes* (1886); D.C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Cambridge, Mass. 1950, ch. II; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, index; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index.

(H.H. Schaeder*)

ṢAWĀFĪ [see ṢAFĪ].

SAWĀKIN, the Arabic form, in English Suakin; Beḍāwyet: u-Sok, an island and port on the west coast of the Red Sea, at 19° 07′ N. and 37° 20′ E. in the present Republic of the Sudan.

A narrow inlet from the sea, about 3 km/2 miles long, widens on the inside to form a natural harbour 11-15 m/35-50 feet deep which can easily accommodate about 20 traditional coastal vessels; growing coral reefs make it dangerous to navigate at night. In this harbour, a coral island (Djazīrat Sawākin), 360-450 m /1,200-1,500 feet in diagonal, rises *ca.* 2 m/6½ feet above high water mark. Another two small and one larger island (Djazīrat al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Djabartī, marked on British maps variously as Condenser-, Hospital-, or Quarantine Island) are connected to the mainland today by silt and salt-pans and no longer recognised as islands. Djazīrat Sawākin is the site of the old town, a typical Arab-Islamic Indian Ocean merchant settlement. Its houses, built mainly of coral, are up to four storeys high; most have tumbled down today. A causeway built in 1878 links the island to the mainland (al-Ḳayf; Beḍāwyet: u-Gēf). There, the dwellings are mostly Bedja [*q.v.*] huts built of reed, palm mats, driftwood, and more recently, scrap metal or sackcloth. Much of al-Ḳayf is surrounded by the remnants of a fortified wall erected 1887-8. Outside the wall a number of suburbs have grown, in particular around the water storage basin al-Fūla and the salty wells at al-Shāṭa. The mainland settlement has been more populous than the island town since at least the early 19th century; in 1814, the number of its inhabitants was estimated at 5,000, compared to 3,000 on the island. The population grew only slightly during the century and fell to *ca.* 5,000 during the Mahdist wars. After a brief recovery (1904: 10,500) it dwindled to around 4,000 during 1937-67, but rose again in the 1970s. The local census of 1979 gave a figure of 13,714 inhabitants (all on the mainland). Sudanese Bedja and refugees (often from Eritrea) each constituted about 40%.

Popular etymology has inspired several legends concerning the origin of Sawākin. The best-known story tells of seven virgin slave girls sent from Ethiopia to a northern king. Upon arrival they were found to be pregnant and explained that during an overnight stay on the island of Sawākin they had been visited by "seven *djinn*" (*sabʿa djinn*), and that "the *Djinn* had done it" (*sawwā djinn* [sic]), for it was "the *djinn*'s dwelling" (*sakan al-djinn*). The king sent them back to the island where their children were born, and from them descended the inhabitants of "Sawādjin" > Sawākin. The lexicographer al-Fīrūzābādī lists the island in his *Ḳāmūs* s.v. *s-k-n*. Roper argued that the name is derived from *sūḳ* "market" (Beḍāwyet *u-suk*, construct form *i-sūkib*, which may be heard as *i-sookim*; *Correspondence*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxii [1939], 293-4).

The port, one of the few sheltered anchorages with a fairly reliable supply of water on an otherwise inhospitable coast, has probably been used since Antiquity. Attempts to identify it with place names collected by Greek and Roman geographers from the heterogeneous information brought back by merchants have, however, remained inconclusive. Most likely candidates are Λιμὴν Εὐαγγελίων "port of good tidings", 'Ασπίς "round shield", and Σαχο λιμὴν (all from Ptolemy; the latter is found on Tabula XV, *Codex Urbinas Graecus* 82, fols. 87 (86)^v-88 (87)^r), and Sace/Sacae/Suche of Pliny. The name Sawākin is first mentioned in the 4th/10th century as a minor port in the country of the Bedja with trade connections to Djudda and Nubia (al-Hamdānī, 41, 133; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 55; Yāḳūt, iii, 182; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī, *Akhbār al-Nūba*, in al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Mawāʿiz*, ed. G. Wiet, Cairo 1922, iii, 257, 272). The export of grain and animal products from its hinterland to the Ḥidjāz was probably the earliest and most stable source of Sawākin's income, but its natural harbour also gave it a certain significance as an anchorage on the trade route between Egypt and the Yemen, even while ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] was still the largest port on the Sudanese coast. This significance increased in the 6th/12th century after the decline of Bāḍiʿ, and Sawākin subsequently became involved in the struggles for control of the Red Sea trade between Dahlak [*q.v.*], Egypt, and the Meccan Sharīfs. The Fāṭimids established a special fleet to protect the ships of the Kārimī [*q.v.*] merchants threatened by pirates while travelling between ʿAydhāb and Sawākin. On occasion, Sawākin and Dahlak went to war over control of the islands lying between them. Sawākin's local rulers (Muslims since at least the 7th/13th century) collected customs from the ships calling at the port; they had, however, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the rulers of Egypt and to pay them tribute. In case of insubordination they faced punitive expeditions.

By the early 8th/14th century the Sharīfs of Mecca [*q.v.*] gained control over Sawākin (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 161-2, tr. Gibb, ii, 362-3), perhaps driven by a desire to secure a trade route that reduced their dependence on grain imports from Egypt. They were only able to establish a foothold on the African coast by cooperating with the Bedja, whose rulers (the Ḥadārib) maintained direct control of the more important port of ʿAydhāb. Both sides had to acknowledge a measure of Egyptian sovereignty.

Following the decline of ʿAydhāb, Sawākin became the largest northeast African port north of Maṣawwaʿ [*q.v.*], serving as an entrepôt for the upper Nile basin and as the major point of embarkation for pilgrims from the Sudanic belt. Through the commercial networks of the Banyā (Hindu and Jain merchants from India) Sawākin partook in the lucrative (but fluctuating) Indian Ocean trade. Towards the end of the 8th/14th century the Ḥadārib moved their capital to Sawākin. Egyptian pressure continued; Sawākin was sacked in 843/1439-40 and had to submit to the authority of the Mamlūks (who used it as a place of banishment) until the end of their rule.

The 10th/16th century saw two major changes in the geopolitical situation. The Ottomans became the leading military power in the Red Sea after their conquest of Egypt and the defeat of the Portuguese, and they succeeded the Mamlūks as overlords of Sawākin. Their first landing there occurred around 1520, and in 962-4/1555-7 Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] established the Eyālet of Ḥabesh [*q.v.*], with Sawākin as its administrative headquarters. The residence of the *beylerbeyi* was transferred several times between Sawākin, Maṣawwaʿ, and Djudda until 1113/1701, when the province was finally united with the *sandjāḳ* of Djudda and the post of *shaykh al-Ḥaram* of Mecca, with Djudda as seat of the administration. The *ḳāʾimmaḳām* of the *sandjāḳ* of Sawākin was appointed by way of annual tax-farming.

Secondly, the Fundj sultanate of Sinnār [*q.vv.*], the new political centre on the Nile, tried to gain control of the port, which led to fighting with the Ottomans. Neither of these outside forces was able to maintain complete authority over Sawākin, however; they had to come to terms with the Bedja *amīr* who resided on the Ḳayf (the families monopolising this office became known as "Artēga"). In theory, the *amīr* shared the revenues of the port (customs and a poll-tax for pilgrims) with the Ottomans; in practice, he only paid if he felt they were strong enough to pose a threat.

The diversion of the trade route from India to Europe around Africa caused a depression of Sawākin's international trade in the 17th-18th centuries. But its function as a trans-shipment centre for African trade with the Arabian peninsula secured it continued importance, and when Ottoman power in the Red Sea declined at the end of the 18th century, the Sharīf of Mecca assumed control of Sawākin. During the first decade of the 19th century, the power struggles between the Sharīf, the Wahhābīs, the Ottomans and the Egyptians gave greater independence to the local leaders in Sawākin. But when Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] defeated the Wahhābīs in 1813, Sawākin became subject to Egyptian domination (though not sovereignty) even before the conquest of the Sudan. In 1830 the Ottoman Sulṭān officially recognised this situation, but when Egypt had to evacuate most of her acquisitions in 1841, the Red Sea territories were nominally returned to the Ottomans. They were unable to exert effective control, however, leaving Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ practically independent. Late in 1846, the Ottomans leased both ports to Muḥammad ʿAlī for the duration of his lifetime against payment of an annual tribute of 5,000 purses (the amount suggests that Egypt had strategic rather than economic interests). In 1849, they reverted to the Ottomans, though an actual Ottoman presence was not re-established until 1851. Egypt continued her efforts to gain control of Sawākin, which many regarded as an easier outlet for the increasing Sudan trade than the Nile route. In spite of protests by local traders, who feared Egyptian competition, Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ were transferred to Egyptian administration in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1283/May 1865 (for details, see G. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, iii/1, Cairo 1936, 268-77, 305-6).

Sawākin's importance grew with the increase in Red Sea trade brought about by the introduction of steam shipping (since 1829), the colonial exploitation of the interior as a source of gum, ivory, and slaves, and the marketing of European industrial goods. After the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), European merchants were able to outdo their Indian and Arab competitors; the latter were increasingly left with smuggling and the slave trade (formally illegal since 1855). Nevertheless, the export of ghee and grain to the Ḥidjāz remained the largest and most stable part of Sawākin's trade.

Political stability and the economic opportunities attracted a cosmopolitan population, and the building boom of the 1870s effaced much of the earlier architecture. The over-ambitious modernisation projects devised by the Egyptian administrators largely failed, however, and the exaction of forced labour, heavy taxation, and increasing "foreign" control did

not help the government's popularity. A significant part of the local population left the town during the Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], and from 1884-91 Sawākin, the only Sudanese town never conquered by the Mahdists, was the chief base for British military operations in the eastern Sudan. Trade was severely disrupted, though it never stopped. The important route to Berber was reopened in 1891, and for a brief time Sawākin flourished again as an import centre for the new Condominium authorities.

Natural deficiencies made it unfit for modern shipping, however, and after 1905 it was replaced by the newly-constructed Port Sudan which, apart from having more room for expansion, gave the British greater control over maritime commerce by limiting the role of Sawākin's indigenous urban population and of the Egyptians. By 1910, the administrative and economic centre of gravity had shifted to the new port, and after most merchants transferred there (1923-5), Sawākin fell into disrepair. In the mid-1940s, over 80% of its houses had collapsed. The customs were finally closed in 1946, and Sawākin was left with only the pilgrimage traffic which was officially restricted to the old port during 1908-52 and lingered on until 1973.

The relocation of the Sudan's official dhow harbour to Sawākin in 1968-72 gave the town a new function as a centre of boatbuilding, dhow trading, and fishing. Its social composition was radically altered by the influx of drought and war refugees during the 1970s; the island town remains deserted, and Sawākin now consists of a collection of villages on the mainland. A new impetus has been given by the large container port opened in 1991 to relieve pressure on Port Sudan.

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(A. Hofheinz)

SAWDA BT. **ZAMᶜA** B. ḲAYYIS B. ᶜABD SHAMS, Muḥammad's second wife, was one of the early converts to Islam. She was of the noble tribe of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] on her father's side, and her mother al-Shamūs bt. Ḳayyis b. ᶜAmr of the Banū ᶜAdī, was from the Medinan Anṣār [*q.v.*], supporters of the Prophet. She accompanied her first husband al-Sakrān b. ᶜAmr to Abyssiniya, along with her brother and his wife, with the second party of Muslims who emigrated there. The couple returned to Mecca before the *hidjra* [*q.v.*], and al-Sakrān, who had become a Christian in Abyssinia, died there.

Sawda's marriage to Muḥammad was arranged by Khawla bt. Ḥakīm [*q.v.*], who wished to console him for the loss of Khadīdja [*q.v.*], and took place about a month after the latter's death, in Ramaḍān 10/631. There is some disagreement among Muslim scholars whether the Prophet first married Sawda, the mature widow, or the virgin bride ᶜĀʾisha [*q.v.*]. According to one tradition, he chose Sawda because of her devotion to his mission rather than ᶜĀʾisha, daughter of his closest friend. In any case, Sawda lived alone with Muḥammad for some time since ᶜĀʾisha was too young for her marriage to be consummated and remained with her parents.

In the first year of the *hidjra*, Sawda and Muḥammad's daughters were brought to join him in Medina; her dwelling was among the first to be built adjacent to the mosque area. Despite her access to the Prophet and proximity to the centre of affairs, only one or two traditions are related from or about her compared to the numerous *ḥadīth*s ascribed to ᶜĀʾisha. On two occasions when Sawda asserted herself, Muḥammad reproved her.

The most noteworthy event in Sawda's life with Muḥammad was her success in dissuading him from divorcing her, because it resulted in the revelation of sūra IV, 127: "If a woman feareth ill-treatment from her husband, or desertion ... it is no sin for them twain if they make terms of peace between themselves." Muḥammad favoured ᶜĀʾisha and (in 8/629) apparently decided to divorce Sawda, but she stopped him in the street and implored him to take her back. She offered to yield her day to ᶜĀʾisha, as "she was old, and cared not for men; her only desire was to rise on the Day of Judgement as one of his wives". The Prophet consented, and after that the verse was revealed to him.

Sawda gained a reputation for being heavy and ungainly because during a pilgrimage, Muḥammad allowed her to reach Minā for the morning prayer before the crowd's arrival, to avoid being jostled, a privilege he denied ᶜĀʾisha. Because she was an unusually tall woman, ᶜUmar recognised her from afar at night and convinced the Prophet to seclude his wives. Sawda is sometimes confused with Zaynab bt. Djaḥsh [*q.v.*] as the "longest-handed" among the Prophet's wives, i.e. the most charitable, who would be the first to join him in Heaven. She was generous

and humorous. ᶜĀʾis̲h̲a used to say: "There is no woman in whose skin I would rather be than Sawda's, except that she is somewhat envious". Sawda as well as Zaynab bt. D̲j̲aḥs̲h̲ did not take part in the last pilgrimage, implying that God and his Prophet preferred them to remain in their home.

After Muḥammad's death, Sawda received a gift of money from ᶜUmar, which she ordered to be dispersed like her share of the spoils of K̲h̲aybar. She died in Medina, in S̲h̲awwāl 54/September-October 674, during the caliphate of Muᶜāwiya, who bought her house in the Mosque precincts, together with that of Ṣafiyya, for 180,000 dirhams.

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(V. Vacca-[Ruth Roded])

SAWDĀ, Mirzā Muḥammad Rafīᶜ (1125-1195/1713-1781), a highly esteemed Urdu poet, was born in Dihlī. His father came from a military family of Kābul, and he settled in Dihlī, where he became a wealthy merchant. The future poet was a spendthrift in his youth, and after his father's death he soon disposed of his inheritance by riotous living. After a spell of soldiering, he turned to a poetical career, adopting the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of Sawdā (Ar. "melancholy, madness"), an apt name in an age when poets concentrated on *g̲h̲azal*. Perhaps it was also a pun on Persian *sawda* ("trade"), in allusion to his father's occupation (Saksena, *op. cit.*, 61). His courtly manners, due to his upbrining, enabled him to find patrons easily, and his undoubted poetic talents soon won him recognition. As was the usual custom, he concentrated largely on Persian: but the poet K̲h̲ān-i Ārzū persuaded him to change to Urdu "a momentous decision which had a far-reaching effect on his poetic career and the development of Urdu poetry" (Sadiq, 83). Saksena (*op. cit.*, 66) describes him as the "Shakespeare of Urdu"). And few will deny that he is a pioneer of Urdu poetry, and probably one of the six greatest poets of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Though he composed many *g̲h̲azal* poems—especially in his early years—he is not generally regarded as a master in the genre. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he does not project the accepted portrait of the *g̲h̲azal-gū* as a lover let down by a cruel beloved. Nor, at the other end of the *g̲h̲azal* spectrum, can he be regarded as a mystic poet. He was a S̲h̲īᶜī and exceedingly proud of it. This emerges in his poetry in various forms, but it is not the key to his mastery as a poet. This lies in his command of many different genres, his virtuosity in the techniques, his positive approach to his métier and his apparent pride and joy in it.

The political situation in Dihlī made life there increasingly less congenial, and an exodus of poets gathered momentum. In 1754 Sawdā moved to Farruk̲h̲ābād: then in (?) 1771 to Fayḍābād (Fayẓābād), where the Nawāb S̲h̲ud̲j̲āᶜ al-Dawla became his patron. The succeeding Nawāb Āṣaf al-Dawla founded a new capital at Lucknow in 1774, and took the poet there with him, granting him a substantial salary for the rest of his life.

Though undoubtedly an architect of Urdu poetry, he retained many features of "Persian decadence", as later critics called it, but not, however, the passion for *īhām* (*double entendre*). His vocabulary is rich, but predominantly Persian-Arabic. He revelled in difficult rhymes and metres. His poetry is full of energy, and at time vitriolic. Turning to the forms for which he is famous, he is recognised as a—possibly the—leading *ḳaṣīda-gū* (writer of odes) [see madīḥ, madḥ. 6. in Urdu]. These include religious ones in praise of the Prophet and the S̲h̲īᶜī Imāms, and secular ones in praise of nobles and rulers including Nawāb G̲h̲azī al-Dīn K̲h̲ān on his birthday, and Nawābs S̲h̲ud̲j̲āᶜ al-Dawla and Āṣaf al-Dawla. There are also numerous poems of satire (*had̲j̲ō/had̲j̲w*), which ranged from the amusing to the vulgar, and are often exaggerated. He also composed a number of *mat̲h̲nawīs* and *mart̲h̲iyas*. His poems in *murabbaᶜa* and *muk̲h̲ammas* and various other forms should be mentioned. He is also credited with introducing into Urdu verse what is termed *tamt̲h̲īliyya s̲h̲āᶜirī* ("gnomic verse"), in which the thought expressed in the first hemistich of a verse is followed by an illustrative metaphor or simile in the second; this could be used in many verse forms.

Bibliography: Among a number of published collections of his poetry, *Kulliyyāt Sawdā* by Nawal Kis̲h̲ōr, Lucknow 1936, can be recommended. Of critical studies of the poet, K̲h̲āliḳ An-d̲j̲umān, *Mirzā Muḥammad Rafīᶜ Sawdā*, Aligarh 1966, deserves mention. A useful selection of his poetry is found in Ḳadrat ᶜAlī S̲h̲awḳ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲uᶜarāʾ*, ed. Nad̲h̲īr Aḥmad Fārūḳ, Lahore 1968, 119-71. Unfortunately, the earlier pages, including the biographical notes are missing from the original ms. of this section. Accounts of the poet are found in two general English sources for Urdu literature, namely Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 82-93, with many quotations in Urdu script, often with English translations: also Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Aligarh 1927, 60-80, which contains no quotations.

(J.A. Haywood)

al-**SAWDĀʾ**, more precisely, al-K̲h̲ariba al-Sawdāʾ "the black ruin", the ancient Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ān, an important archaeological site in the D̲j̲awf of Yemen, 102 km/63 miles to the north-east of Ṣanᶜāʾ, still inhabited today, and adjoining the north-east of the modern settlement of al-Maṣlūb, the main centre of the Banū Nawf. It lies on the left bank of the Wādī 'l-K̲h̲ārid (locally called al-Buḥayra), and the tell dominates the surrounding plain by a dozen metres. The ancient enceinte, *ca.* 1,200 m/3,940 feet long, encloses a rectangle 330 m/1,080 feet by 280 m/920 feet. It comprises a thick massif of unfired bricks on to which abut two walls faced with stone, one very carefully constructed facing the outside, and the other less so facing the interior; of these, there remains only a few stone foundations and a pile of sun-dried bricks. As in other sites of the D̲j̲awf, the curtain wall was reinforced at regular intervals with square-plan towers; several of these are still standing in the western part, the best preserved. There were four gates, all now in a very ruinous state, which can be discerned in the middle of each of the sides. Inside the town, the main visible traces are large footings of regularly-cut stone and pillars or architraves belonging to the gateways.

At 720 m/2,360 feet to the east of the town, a fine sanctuary, dedicated to the local god ᶜAt̲h̲tar d̲h̲ū Riṣāf (*ᶜṯtr ḏ-Rṣf*) has been almost wholly preserved by

the sand which has covered it. It was partially excavated by the French Archaeological Mission in the Yemen Arab Republic in the winter of 1988-9 (Breton, 1992), and is notable for the quality of its architecture and its decoration, incised on the supports of the lintel of the entrance porch, as well as the monolithic pillars supporting the stone covering. The main figures of this décor are young women on a podium (which the people in the Djawf call "Daughters of ʿĀd", referring to the mythical tribe of that name [see ʿĀD]), ibexes in movement, ostriches, snakes interwined in pairs, bulls' heads and geometric motifs. The very ancient inscriptions carved on the pillars of the entrance porch (SW/BA/I/1-4) and carbon-5 analysis of the wood found in the mortar of the enclosing wall allow us to date the oldest parts of the temple to the 8th century B.C.

The irrigated perimeter of the wall round the tell is now hardly discernible. The traces of a tamarisk thicket (*athl*) which struck the discoverer of the site, Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh (ed. and summary tr. Goitein, Ar. text 52/7-8; Moscati-Steindler, 1976, 86) nevertheless show that a good site for agriculture and a water supply existed there. Irrigation seems to have been practiced for many centuries, judging by the thickness of the alluvium cut through by the wadis, which exceeds a dozen metres.

The site and the temple of ʿAthtar have yielded 87 inscriptions, in the two epigraphic South Arabian languages Madhābī and Sabaean (see on these, Robin, 1992, 31 ff.; for a complete list of these, see Avanzini, 1995).

Al-Sawdāʾ is the ancient Ns²n, shown by four inscriptions at the site containing this name (al-Sawdāʾ 52 = CIH 440/4; al-Sawdāʾ 75 = RES 2902 = M 126/1; SW-BA/I/5 and 6); the vocalisation of the name was probably Nashshān, if one relies on the sole mention of this toponym in Arabic, a poem of the 12th century A.D. (Madelung, 1992, 37). This last was the capital of a small independent kingdom, equally called Nashshān, in the 8th century B.C. and at the beginning of the 7th one. Only one person with the title of king is known: Sumhuyafaʿ Yasrān, son of Lubaʾān, king of Nashshān (*S¹mhyfʿ Ys¹rn bn Lbʾn mlk Ns²n*, in SW/BA/I/5 and 6; see also RES 3945/14-17 and al-Sawdāʾ 4, where the same person is mentioned without a title). The kingdom's territory included the town of Nashshān, that of Nashkᵘᵐ (*Ns²kᵐ*, modern al-Bayḍāʾ) and a district called Aykᵘᵐ (*ʾykᵐ*), with numerous settlements. At the beginning of the 7th century B.C., the kingdom of Sabaʾ, which already dominated the basin of the Adhanat (*ʾḏnt*, modern wādī Dhana) river and the northern sector of the Djawf, undertook to impose its protection over Nashshān, probably fearing that the latter would unify the Djawf and become a threat to Sabaean supremacy in South Arabia. Led by a *mukarrib* (a sovereign superior to the kings, whose name means "unifier") Karibʾīl Watār, son of Dhamarʿalī, Sabaʾ launched two successful campaigns against Nashshān, which emerged from the struggle seriously weakened, losing territory to Sabaʾ (Nashkᵘᵐ and Aykᵘᵐ) and suffering under severe conditions (destruction of the royal palace called ʿAfraw (*ʿfrw*) and the enceinte of the capital, installation of a Sabaean garrison and the building of the temple of Almaḳah (*ʾlmḳh*), the great god of the Sabaeans, in the centre of the town (see on this war, Robin, forthcoming). Its independence was thus compromised, and it was soon annexed by the kingdom of Maʿīn (attested from *ca.* 700 B.C. to 120-100 B.C., with its capital Ḳarnaw, *Ḳrnw*, in the lower Djawf), and then some decades before the disappearance of Maʿīn, by Sabaʾ (see al-Sawdāʾ 52 = CIH 440, the oldest Sabaean language text found at the site). This was the time when the Arabs, notably the tribe of Amīr (*ʾmr* or *ʾmrⁿ*) settled in large numbers in the Djawf (Robin, 1992, 59-60, 158); a Madhābī text from Nashshān, whose ductus dates from around the 2nd century B.C. (al-Sawdāʾ 80 = RES 2917 = M 139), mentions precisely "the war of Amīr" (*ḏr ʾmr*) (l. 2).

At the time of his South Arabian expedition, the Roman Aelius Gallus, who reached Mārib [*q.v.*] in 25 B.C., seems to have taken Nashshān, for amongst the towns of the Djawf which the legions took by storm, Pliny mentions Nestum (vars. Amnestum, Hanescum) (von Wissmann 1976, 317, 401). Around A.D. 80-90, Nashshān was a Sabaean stronghold with a royal garrison when the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt invaded the Djawf during the reign of Karibʾīl Bayān, king of Sabaʾ and Dhū Raydān, son of Dhamarʿalī Dhariḥ (Ja 643/22). A 3rd-century inscription shows that one of the great Sabaean families, the Banū ʿUthkulān ʿAṣiyat, had clients (*ʾdm*) at Nashshān (Fa 76/7). Only one inscription from the site of al-Sawdāʾ goes back to this period, al-Sawdāʾ 51 = IH 604, a decree pronouncing upon, it appears, the inalienability of the crown's landed property, palm groves, vines and fields of various kinds. Nashshān passed under Ḥimyaritic control when Ḥimyar [*q.v.*] annexed Sabaʾ at the end of the 3rd century, and the last mentions of the place date from the 4th century. The site was abandoned between the end of the Ḥimyaritic period (6th century) and the 10th century, for the Yemeni scholar al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*] mentions it as a ruin (*al-khariba al-sawdāʾ bi 'l-shākiriyya*, ed. Müller, 167/12, see also tr. Faris, 1938, 64, 66, Faris, 1940, 104, 108) belonging to the Nashkiyyūn (ed. Khatīb, 12).

Our knowledge of the religion of Nashshān is confined to two lists of deities and the names of some temples. The official pantheon of independent Nashshān, given in two texts (al-Sawdāʾ 3 and 5), includes in the protocolary order ʿAthtar Shāriḳān, Wadd, Aranyadaʿ, ʿAthtar dhū Garab and ʿAthtar Nashḳ. The inscriptions further mention other gods, such as ʿAthtar Matab Khamir, ʿAthtar dhū Ḳabd and Rahs³ (al-Sawdāʾ 3 and 5). Four temples are known from the texts: Riṣāf, consecrated to ʿAthtar (this temple, whose name is attested solely in the compound ʿAthtar dhū Riṣāf, may possibly be identifiable with the one excavated by the French Mission outside the town); Saywaḍ, the temple of ʿAthtar Matab Khamir, to be located in the eastern part of the town, according to al-Sawdāʾ 3 which mentions it; Garbᵘᵐ, the temple of ʿAthtar, attested in the expression "the temple of ʿAthtar dhū Garbᵘᵐ", whose building is commemorated by al-Sawdāʾ 5 = CIH 428 but whose exact localisation is unknown; and Naṣab, the temple of Wadd, mentioned in al-Sawdāʾ 4/2, whose localisation is equally unknown. To these temples should be added that of Almaḳah, built "in the centre of the town of Nashshān", after the Sabaean victory (RES 3945/16). Finally, several dedications to ʿAthtar dhū Ḳabd from the Minaean period (al-Sawdāʾ 24-6) lead one to think that there was also a temple dedicated to this deity.

The first description of the site of al-Sawdāʾ is owed to the expedition of Joseph Halévy (a Jew from Adrianople, of Hungarian nationality, who became a naturalised French citizen after the expedition) and his Yemeni Jewish guide Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh, in the spring of 1870 (Halévy, 1872, 82-5, 200-14, who writes the name as "Es-Soud"; Ḥabshūsh, ed. and tr.

Goitein, 45-6). Finally, the site was visited by the Egyptians Muḥammad Tawfīḳ in 1944-5 (Tawfīḳ, 1951, pl. 1, marking the itinerary followed) and Aḥmad Fakhrī in 1947 (Fakhrī, 1951, i, 147), then by the Russian P.A. Griyaznevič and the Italian Paolo Costa in December 1970 (Griyaznevič, 1978, 220-1), and finally by the French Mission from September 1980 onwards (Robin, 1980, 192-3).

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2. Texts. Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, Leiden 1884-91; N.A. Faris, *The antiquities of South Arabia* (= tr. of Book VIII of the *Iklīl*), Princeton 1938; Faris (ed.), Ar. text of Book VIII, Princeton 1940; Book X, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1368/1948-9; Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh, *An account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870...*, ed. with summary tr. S.D. Goitein, Jerusalem 1941.

3. Studies. J. Halévy, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, in *JA*, 6th ser., xix (Jan.-June 1872), 5-98, 129-266, 489-547; Ahmed Fakhry, *An archaeological journey to Yemen (March-May, 1947)*, 3 parts, Cairo 1951-2; Muḥammad Tawfīḳ, *Les monuments de Maʿīn (Yémen)*, Cairo 1951 (in Arabic); Gabriella Moscati-Steindler, *Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš, immagine dello Yemen*, Naples 1976; H. von Wissmann, *Die Geschichte des Sabäerreichs und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus*, in Hildegard Temorini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. II. Principat*, ix/1, Berlin 1976, 308-544; A.F.L. Beeston, *The transliteration*, in *Corpus des inscrs. et antiquités sud-arabes*, i/1, Louvain 1977, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi; P.A. Griyaznevič, *V poyskakh zateryannikh gorodov Yemenskie reportaži*, 1978, Ger. tr. idem, *Im Reich der Königin von Saba*, Leipzig 1985; J.-F. Breton, *Le sanctuaire de ʿAthtar dhū-Riṣāf d'as-Sawdāʾ (République du Yémen)*, in *Acad. des Inscrs. et Belles-Lettres, comptes rendus* (1992), 429-53; Ch. Robin, *Les études sudarabiques en langue française: 1980*, in *Raydān*, iii (1980), 189-98; idem, *Inabbaʾ, Haram, al-Kāfir, Kamma et al-Ḥarāshif, Inventaire des inscrs. sudarabiques*, i, fasc. B, *Les planches*, Paris-Rome 1992; idem, *Sheba*, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, to appear; Allessandra Avanzini, *as-Sawdā. Inventario delle iscrizioni sudarabische*, 3, Paris 1995.

(Ch. Robin)

SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ, a Persian corruption of *soghuḳ bulaḳ* "cold spring", Kurdish Sā-blāgh, the name of a district in southwestern Ādharbāydjān, to the south of Lake Urmiya, and also the former name of its chef-lieu, the modern Mahābād [*q.v.*]. The district comprises essentially Mukrī Kurdistān, inhabited by the sedentary Mukrī and Debokhrī tribes of Kurds, speaking the Kurmāndjī form of the Kurdish language (classically described by O. Mann in his *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden. Kurdisch-persische Forschungen*, 4th ser. vol. iii/1-2, Berlin 1906-9. Cf. Minorsky's bibliography on Kurdish in *EI*[1] art. KURDS. E. Language), and confessionally being Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. There were formerly also Neo-Aramaic-speaking Jews in the town of Mahābād. For a detailed geographical and topographical description of the Sāwdj-bulāḳ district, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. s.v., on which the present article is based.

The history of the Kurdish tribes of the district is only really known from Ṣafawid times onwards. During the 19th/16th century, the Mukrī chiefs pursued an opportunistic policy between the rival powers of the Ottomans and Ṣafawids. Ṣārim b. Sayf al-Dīn challenged and defeated in battle Shāh Ismāʿīl I in 912/1506-7 and then later sought investiture of his lands and military help from Sultan Selīm I. His successors variously sought the aid of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I and Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent. Towards the end of the century, Ṣārim's great-great-nephew Amīrā Beg (II) adhered to Sultan Murād III, who added to his hereditary lands in Mukrī Kurdistān the *wilāyet* of Shahrizūr and the *sandjaḳ* of Mawṣil. But after the Ottoman conquest of Ādharbaydjān during the Perso-Turkish War of 986-98/1578-90, the Ottomans were in a stronger position, and Amīrā Pasha (as he now was) was made subordinate to the Ottoman governor in Tabrīz, reduced to authority only over his hereditary lands and compelled to pay an annual tribute of 15 *kharwārs* of gold. In the early 11th/17th century, the historian Iskandar Beg Munshī [*q.v.*] was an eye-witness of Shāh ʿAbbās I's expedition against the Mukrī and Brādōst Kurds (see his *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, tr. R.M. Savory, Boulder, Colo. 1978, ii, 1009-19, years 1018-19/1609-10), and the episode of the siege of Dumdum Ḳalʿa (south of Urmiya on the Ḳāsimlu river) became a favourite theme of later Mukrī heroic ballads.

In the early 19th century, the Turkish governor for the Ḳādjārs in Marāgha, Aḥmad Khān Muḳaddam, took strong measures against the Mukrīs by massacring several of their chiefs. In the last decades of the century there was fierce sectarian fighting between the Sunnī Kurds of Sāwdj-bulāḳ and the Shīʿīs of the Marāgha district. After 1905 the Sāwdj-bulāḳ district was gradually taken over by Ottoman forces under Meḥmed Fāḍil Pasha, until in 1914 the old frontier between Turkey and Persia was restored through its delimination by Russian and British representatives. The region was the scene of fierce Russo-Turkish fighting in the First World War, beginning with the assassination of the Russian Consul at Sāwdj-bulāḳ, Colonel A. Iyas, at nearby Miyāndōāb.

After the War, under Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*], the name of Sāwdj-bulāḳ town was changed to Mahābād. For the subsequent history of the modern town, and especially its role as capital of the short-lived Kurdish Republic of 1946, see MAHĀBĀD.

Bibliography: Sir R. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia etc.*, London 1822, iii, 453-98; Col. Monteith, *Journal of a tour through Azerbaidjan*, in *JRGS*, iii, 1833, 5-6; J.B. Fraser, *Travels in Kurdistan*, London 1834; J.Cl. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Kurdistan*, London 1836, i, 223-260; H. Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz in 1838*, in *JRGS*, x (1840), (extremely important article); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 1838, viii, 393; 1840, ix, 586, 597, 603-4, 631, 807, 822, 940, 944, 1014-36; M. Wagner, *Reise nach Persien und dem Land der Kurden*, Leipzig 1852, ii, 100-2; *Scheref-nameh*, ed. W. Veliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860, i, 279-96; tr. F.B. Charmoy, St. Petersburg 1873, ii, 135-53; Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, Berlin 1875, 321; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer*, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1880, 208-16; H. Schindler, *Reisen im nordwestlichen Persien*, in the *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xviii (1883), 341-43; Mrs. Bishop (Isabella Bird), *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, in the *Geogr. Journal*, London 1891, ii, 207-10; J. de Morgan, *Miss. scient. en Perse, Etudes géogr.*, ii, Paris 1895, 1-44 (photographs, maps); W.B. Harris, *From Batum to*

Baghdad, London 1896, 162-233; idem, *A journey in Persian Kurdistan*, in *Geogr. Journ.*, iv (1895), 453-60; S.G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, 2nd ed., London 1896, 99-122; A. Billerbeck, *Das Sandschack Suleimania*, Leipzig 1898; Ghilan, *Les Kurdes persans et l'invasion ottomane*, in *RMM* (1908), 1-22, 193-210; C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin 1910, i, 219. See also the maps and some photos in E. Herzfeld, *Pāikūlī. Monuments and inscriptions of the early history of the Sasanian empire*, Berlin 1924. (V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

SAWDJĪ, SAWDJĪ, the name of three Ottoman princes.

The name would appear to originate in the Old Turkish (especially, Eastern Turkish) word *saw* "word, piece of discourse, utterance", found as early as the Orkhon inscriptions, then in the Turfan Uyghur texts, in the late 5th/11th century *Kutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*] and up to the 8th/14th century, after which it is not attested as a separate word (Clauson, *An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 782-3). Cf. also the name of the slave commander of the Saldjūk sultan Alp Arslan, Sāwtigin. Sawdjī would accordingly be "purveyor/conveyor of a message > prophet". In the later 8th/14th century it appears in onomastic in Sawdjī Agha, head of a contingent of troops in Murād I's army against the Karamānids, and it is about this time that it is attested in the Ottoman royal house itself (see below).

(1) Sawdjī Beg, in the old Ottoman chronicles also called Ṣarî yatî or Ṣarî balî, etc. was one of the younger brothers of ʿOthmān [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and a son of Ertoghrul. He supported his brother on his campaigns and fell (684/1285-6 is the date given) in battle against the governor of Angelokome (Ayne Göl) at Egridje south of Koladja, behind Olympus at the foot of a pine tree. The tree was still called *Kandîlî čam* "pine tree of the lamps" in later times presumably from the lights lit there, the glimmer of which was afterwards given a mystic significance. (According to Neshrī, Idrīs Bidlīsī and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, i, 18,8 ff., a heavenly light, *nuzūl nūr*, illuminated the tree by night.) Sawdjī Beg was buried beside his father in his tomb (*türbe*) at Sögüd [*q.v.*] in northwestern Anatolia, destroyed by the Greeks in 1922.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 54, and following him J. Zinkeisen, *GOR*, i, 70 (from Saʿd al-Dīn, who follows Idrīs Bidlīsī, *Hesht bihisht*, and Neshrī, *Djihān-nümā*).

(2) A son of ʿOthmān was also called Sawdjī. We only know of him that he fell in battle (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 37).

(3) The eldest son of Murād I [*q.v.*] who, when governor of Rumelia, made terms with a son of John V Palaeologus of Byzantium named Andronicus, and rebelled against his father. The Ottoman chroniclers give very scanty information about this conspiracy, while the Byzantine historians Chalcocondyles, Phrantzes and Ducas give very full accounts, differing only in details; cf. Chalcoc., ed. Imm. Bekker, i, 40 ff. (Σαουζῆς); Phrantzes, ed. Bekker, i, 50, where the rebel is wrongly called Μωσῆ Τζελεπῆς, i.e. Mūsā Čelebi through confusion with Bāyezīd I's son; Ducas, ed. Bekker, 22 (Σαβούτζιος), where Sawdjī is mentioned but the rebel is called Κουντούζης, i.e. Gündüz. Murād I acted jointly with John V and took the field against the two princes. After an unsuccessful battle at a place which the Byzantine writers call Ἀπικρίδιον (Chalc., 43,4), Sawdjī fled to Didymotichon, where he was surrounded and forced to surrender to his father. He was blinded and then beheaded. The execution took place in 787/1385-6 and the body was brought to Bursa and buried there. Murād I had apparently made up his mind to get rid of Sawdjī, as he had appointed his son Bāyezīd to watch his movements, cf. Murād I's letter to Bāyezīd in Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn*, i², 107 (of the beginning of Rabīʿ I 787/1385-6), with Bāyezīd's answer, *op. cit.*, esp. 108 above, according to which the Kāḍī of Bursa must have passed a death sentence on Sawdjī. The execution of Sawdjī was the first of a long series of similar cases, in which princes dangerous to the Ottoman heir-apparent were put out of the way.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 190, 599; Zinkeisen, in *GOR*, i, 237 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Takwīm al-tawārīkh*, under the year 787; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, i, 100 (following Idrīs Bidlīsī); A.D. Alderson, *Structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index at 157; *İA* art. *Savcı* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

SAWĪK (a.) is a food preparation of some antiquity, and one widely known throughout the mediaeval Middle East. Al-Thaʿālibī attributes its first appearance to Alexander the Great, and it is cited in the physicians' works of both eastern and western Islamic lands. It was recommended for travellers and was used to feed armies in the field. For all its fame, it rarely appears described in the extant culinary manuals, although some recipes are found in the earliest (4th/10th century) work by al-Warrāk (*K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987, 37-8). Preparation was chiefly from wheat and barley, the former preferred among the urban classes which could afford it. The wheat grain was first washed and then soaked in water overnight. Discarding the water, the wheat was next fried thoroughly until browned. When cooled, it was ground, sieved and then stored for use when it could be eaten by adding sugar. An alternative, more complicated method was to husk and dry the grain before frying. This basic preparation could then be used in other types; for example, in *sawīk rummān* three portions of wheat *sawīk* to one of pomegranate (*rummān*) seeds were mixed together, cooked, sieved and sugar added. *Sawīk* was also added to the dough in making the pastry, *kaʿk*. According to al-Rāzī (*K. fī dafʿ muḍārr al-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1888, 7), pomegranate and apple *sawīk* were intended only for medicinal purposes, while wheat and barley types were for nourishment. Plain *sawīk* was considered a nourishing substitute for fresh fruit when it was unavailable. Medicinal preparations made from barley are described by Isaac Isrāʾīlī (*K. al-aghdhiya*, facs. ed., Frankfurt 1986, ii, 72-8), and clearly physicians envisaged different ways in which it could be used to achieve different effects within a regimen of health.

Bibliography: In addition to the above references, see *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*, eds. M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993. (D. Waines)

SAWM (a.), a term of Islamic law, denoting the bargaining involving both vendor and purchaser that occurs before a sale. *Sawm* is a classical term which, although pre-contractual, influences the formation of the contract and has a legal effect upon it. Sale is prohibited if a higher bid is offered by a third party during the negotiation leading to the sale agreement. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim record the prohibition of making an offer while another's offer is being considered. What is curious is that they also record the prohibition of sale (*bayʿ*). This has lead to some confusion among scholars. The difference between *sawm* and *bayʿ* is that the former is no more than an offer to

enter into the latter after the manifest approval of the vendor. The prospective purchaser can take the commodity home for examination, even if he proposed a lower price than the vendor requested. If, during this period, the commodity is damaged, then the full price requested by the vendor becomes liable. It is interesting to compare *bay*ʿ and *sawm* with *khiṭba* and *nikāḥ* [*q.v.*] since they represent parallel sequences. *Ḥadīth* often refers to the two types of contract together. This indicates the personal aspects of *bay*ʿ in Muslim society as well the formal dimension in marriage.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl*, ed. M.S. Aʿrāb, Beirut, vii, 486-7; *L*ʿ*A*, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir n.d., xii, 310; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, iv, 325-53; *T*ʿ*A*, Cairo 1306, viii, 350; Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Beirut 1403/1983, iii, 92; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. Ḥulw and Turkī, Cairo 1408/1988, vi, 305-8.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

ṢAWM (a.), with Ṣiyām, *maṣdar* from the root *ṣ-w-m*; the two terms are used indiscriminately. The original meaning of the word in Arabic is "to be at rest" (Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, Strassburg 1910, 36, n. 3; see previously, S. Fränkel, *De vocab. ... in Corano peregrinis*, Leiden 1880, 20: "*quiescere*"). The meaning "fasting" may have been taken from Judaeo-Aramaic and Syriac usage, when Muḥammad became better acquainted with the institution of fasting in Medina; this is the sense of the word in the Medinan sūras.

Origin of the rite. That fasting was an unknown practice in Mecca before Muḥammad's time cannot be *a priori* assumed. Why should not the *ḥunafā*ʾ [see ḥanīf] have also used this religious custom? In the Meccan sūras, as above mentioned, there is a reference to *ṣawm* in XIX, 27: a voice commands Mary to say "I have made a vow of *ṣawm* to the Merciful, wherefore I speak to no one this day". Observing silence as a Christian fasting practice (cf. Afrāhāṭ, ed. Parisot, in *Patrol. Syriaca*, i, 97) may have been known to Muḥammad. In the year 2/623-4, according to unanimous reliable Muslim tradition (cf. A.J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 136-7, *contra* e.g. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, iii, 53-9), the revelation of sūra II, 179-81, abolished the *ʿĀshūrā*ʾ fast as an obligation by the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān. On the question why Muḥammad chose this particular month, various opinions have been expressed. The most plausible is that of A.J. Wensinck, who has called attention to the particularly sacred character of the month of Ramaḍān even in pre-Islamic times (on account of the *laylat al-ḳadr* in his *Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabernacles*, in *Verh. Ak. W. Amst.*, N.S. [1925], xxv/2, 1-13; see also M.Th. Houtsma, *Over de Israëlitische Vastendagen*, in *Versl. en Med. Ak. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., Series 4, ii [Amsterdam 1898], 3 ff.).

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in sūra II, 179-81, which probably belong together (Nöldeke-Schwally, 178, *contra* Th.W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, 114, who considers v. 181 a later revelation; al-Bayḍāwī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in Ḳurʾān II, 192; IV, 94; V, 91, 96; LVIII, 5. *Ṣāʾim* is further used in XXXIII, 35, to describe the devout Muslim, along with other epithets, while in II, 42 and 148, *ṣabr* [*q.v.*] is explained as *ṣawm*.

The ordinances of II, 179-81, 183, form the basis of the detailed regulation by the *fuḳahā*ʾ; further details were taken from Tradition. What follows here is a résumé of the law on fasting according to the Shāfiʿī school, as contained in the treatise by Abū Shudjāʿ al-Iṣfahānī (5th/11th century), *al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiḳh*.

How the fast should be observed and who is bound to fast. Fasting in the legal sense is abstinence (*imsāk*) from things which break the fast (*mufṭirāt*), with a special *niyya* (intention). The *ṣāʾim* must be a Muslim, in full possession of his senses (*ʿāḳil*), and, if a woman, free from menstruation and the bleeding of childbed. The fast is valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) under these conditions; there is an obligation to fast on every one who is full-grown (*bāligh*) if he is able physically to sustain it (*ḳādir*).

One ought to formulate the *niyya* before dawn on each day of fasting (*tabyīt*); by *talfīḳ* [*q.v.*], however, the Shāfiʿī can follow the Mālikī *madhhab*, which allows one to formulate the *niyya* for the whole of the month of Ramaḍān.

The *mufṭirāt* are defined by the entry into the body of material substances, in so far as they are material in substance and can be prevented from entering. In order for there to be *ifṭār*, there must be deliberate action (*taʿammud*), knowledge (*ʿilm*) and free choice (*ikhtiyār*) (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 26, *Aymān, bāb* 15; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, tr. 171).

It is recommended for the *ṣāʾim* to take the *faṭūr* (meal marking the end of the fast) as soon as he is sure that the sun has set, and the *saḥūr* (meal taken after midnight) as late as possible; to abstain from indecent talk and calumnies; to avoid actions which might stimulate the passions within one or in others; to recite the Ḳurʾān for oneself or for others; and to observe retreat (*iʿtikāf* [*q.v.*]) during the month of Ramaḍān. Al-Ghazālī adds to these the duty of charity towards others.

I. Obligatory (*wādjib*) fasting.

Fasting in the month of Ramaḍān is the fourth pillar of Islam; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a *kāfir*, except for the recent convert or one who has not been in contact with the *ʿulamā*ʾ. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, may be imprisoned. The general obligation to fast (*ʿalā sabīl al-ʿumūm*) begins on 1 Ramaḍān, after 30 Shaʿbān, or after 29 if the *ḥākim* (*ḳāḍī*) has then accepted the evidence of one *ʿadl* (sc. a person worthy of credence) that he has seen the new moon. The beginning of Ramaḍān may be announced to the people in a way settled by the local custom (a cannon, the hanging of lamps on the *manāra*, in Java by beating the *bĕdug*). Days omitted in Ramaḍān have to be made good (*ḳaḍā*ʾ) as soon as possible, but not on one of the forbidden days or on one which is itself a compulsory fast day.

A distinction is made between the major and minor *kaffāra* (compensating). The first is imposed on anyone who (a) breaks the fast in Ramaḍān by sexual intercourse; (b) is guilty of illegal killing [see ḳatl]; (c) has pronounced the *ẓihār* formula but not the *ṭalāḳ* immediately after it; (d) has broken a valid oath (*yamīn*) [see ḳasam].

The minor *kaffāra* or *fidya* has to be paid when one takes advantage of one of the dispensations which are detailed below; the question of fasting does not arise.

In the case of great drought, the *Imām* may, according to the *sharīʿa*, prescribe extraordinary ceremonies which include fasting; the three days before the *ṣalāt al-istisḳā*ʾ [see istisḳāʾ, and al-Bādjūri, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-ṣalāt, faṣl fī aḥkām ṣalāt al-istisḳā*ʾ] are spent in fasting.

The law permits relaxations in the following circumstances:

(a) Such as have reached a certain age (men 40; not

exactly defined for women) and sick people for whom there is no hope of recovery, if they are unable to fast, may omit the fast without being bound to the *ḳaḍā'* should their strength or health be restored. In compensation they should give alms at the rate of one *mudd* for each day omitted.

(b) If pregnant or nursing women fear it would be dangerous for them if they should fast, *ifṭār* is *wādjib* or obligatory for them but *ḳaḍā'* is obligatory.

(c) Sick persons who are likely to recover and those who are overcome by hunger and thirst may break the fast on condition that the *ḳaḍā'* is performed. If a man is in danger of death or danger of losing a limb, *ifṭār* is *wādjib*.

(d) Travellers who set out before sunrise may, if necessary, break the fast, but not if they begin their journey during the day. In case of mortal danger, *ifṭār* is *wādjib*. Two days' journey is the minimum. *Ḳaḍā'* is obligatory on them, in this case.

(e) Those who have to perform heavy manual labour should formulate the *niyya* in the night, but may break the fast if need be.

When the justification for relaxing the rules disappears, it is *sunna* to pass the rest of the day fasting.

II. Voluntary or supererogatory fasting (*ṣawm al-taṭawwu'*).

This falls into the category of what is recommended (*mandūb ilayhi*). For a woman, it may only be done with the consent of her husband. It may be broken without any penalty. The *niyya*, which can be formulated any time up till midday, need not be explicitly made, although certain of the *fuḳahā'* consider it desirable in certain cases.

It is recommended for anyone who has to fast (as a substitution) for three days during the *ḥadjdj* and seven days afterwards, to choose as the three days the 7, 8 and 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja.

For the supererogatory fasting of six days in Shawwāl, it is preferable to choose the six consecutive days immediately after the festival, i.e. 2-7 Shawwāl (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 132).

The following days are further recommended for voluntary fasting: the day before *'āshūrā'* day and the one after; the *yawm al-mi'rādj* (27 Radjab); and the Monday and the Thursday (*sunna mu'akkada*, according to al-Bādjūrī), days when actions are offered to God, and others which are describable as "by way of routine".

III. Fasting is forbidden (*ḥarām*) on the days of the two great festivals, on the *tashrīḳ* days and for a woman during menstruation; also in definite cases when danger threatens, as already mentioned above.

IV. It is blameworthy (*makrūh*) to fast on Friday because it distracts the attention from the Friday worship, and on Sunday or Saturday, at least if one has no particular reason for fasting, because the Christians and Jews observe these as holy days.

The three other *madhāhib* diverge from the Shāfi'ī one on minor questions only which it would be tedious to enumerate (see 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *K. al-Mīzān*, Cairo 1279/1862-3, ii, 20-30).

The Shī'ī prescriptions diverge from the Sunnī ones on some points of detail, of which the following are some examples (see A. Querry, *Recueil de lois concernant les Musulmans Schyites*, Paris 1871-2, i, 182-209, ii, 75-7, 197-9, 203-5, following Nadjm al-Dīn al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Sharā'i' al-Islām fī masā'il al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*): the *niyya* is not considered as a "pillar"; smoking is not considered as one of the *mufṭirāt*; it is forbidden to blaspheme against the Shī'ī Imāms; the man and woman guilty of sexual relations during the Ramaḍān fast are to be flogged for the first offence, with the death penalty for persistent offences.

Regarding the relaxations, fasting is not required for a sick person unless authorised by the physician; dispensation is only given to pregnant women if they are in final phase of pregnancy; fasting is not generally required of travellers, but compensation must be made.

Voluntary and supererogatory fasting may begin before midday. Shī'ism adds to the days recommended by the Sunnīs the great dates of Shī'ī tradition (*ghadīr Khumm*, *mubāhala*, anniversary of al-Ḥusayn's death on 10 Muḥarram; see Querry, *op. cit.*, 37, notes).

Al-Ghazālī gives, at the beginning of his *Kitāb Asrār al-ṣawm* in the *Iḥyā'*, some considerations on the value of fasting. He points out, referring to some well-known traditions, the high esteem in which fasting stands with God. He gives as a reason for this that fasting is a passive act and no one sees men fast except God; secondly it is a means of defeating the enemy of God, because human passions, which are Satan's means of attaining his ends, are stimulated by eating and drinking. Fasting is therefore "the gateway to the service of God." After having enumerated, in the manner of a *faḳīh*, the regulations regarding fasting, he declares that these do not constitute what is essential. He distinguishes three steps in the fast. The first step is that of the *fiḳh*, the third that of the Prophets, the *ṣiddīḳūn* and those who have been brought into the proximity [of God] (*al-muḳarrabūn*), whose fast separates them from all worldly desires. But the second step suffices for the pious; it consists in keeping one's organs of sense and members free from sin and from all things that detract from God. Subjection of the passions is the real object of fasting, mot mere abstinence.

The ethical conception of the fast which al-Ghazālī gives in this second *faṣl* supplements, he says, the barren law of the *fuḳahā'*. In the *Ḥadīth* we find already various traditions with ethical tendencies and al-Ghazālī does not fail to quote them in support of his view. A mass of traditions on fasting, grouped according to the various aspects of the topic, will be found in Wensinck's *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, 71-6, s.v. *Fast, Fasting*.

It is a very widespread opinion today that fasting, especially during Ramaḍān, forms the most appropriate expiration for offences committed during the year. This is why the law on fasting is still in general strongly observed, in varying degrees of strictness.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): A sketch of the legal prescriptions according to the Shāfi'ī law school was given by Th.W. Juynboll in his *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910; see the bibl. to the 1925 ed. The main sources are the chs. on fasting in the collections of *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *ikhtilāf*, to which should be added Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, ch. on *ṣawm*. For the traditions, see Wensinck, *op. cit.*, and idem, *Concordances et indices de la Tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936 ff. See also K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, Leiden 1968; K. Lech, *Geschichte des islamischen Kultus. i. Das ramaḍān-Fasten*, Wiesbaden 1979; and, above all, the bibls. to ḤADĪTH, ḤADJDJ, MUT'A, PUASA in Suppl., RAMAḌĀN and 'UMRA.

(C.C. BERG-[Ed.])

ṢAWTIYYA (A.), the neologism used for the modern phonetic description of Arabic.

1. *Definition and background.* The sound system of Arabic is described on the basis of its phonetics, *'ilm al-aṣwāt*, which focuses on the investigation of how

sounds are produced by speakers and perceived by listeners and on its phonology, *ʿilm al-ṣawtiyyāt*. The word *ṣawtiyya* is a relative adjective derived from the verbal noun, *ṣawt* (pl. *aṣwāt*), meaning sound or speech sound. The phonological analysis renders a description of the processes that set sounds into organised and systematic patterns. These are governed by the phonological rules operating in the system that make the distinction between the sounds. The phonemic inventory of Arabic is established, not only on the basis of detailed phonetic information, but also on the patterning of the sounds.

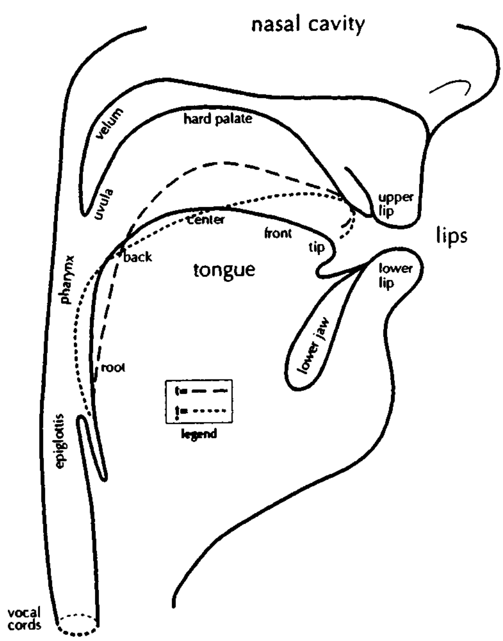
As a result of the impact of the Ḳurʾān on Arabic, the literary language has maintained continuity in its sound system and grammatical structure. The Arabs and Muslims have rendered a meticulous investigation of this system. Their original contributions, in theory and practice, result in precise phonetic descriptions and terminology. Pioneers in this field are such scholars as al-Khalīl and his disciple Sībawayh [*q.vv*]. However, most linguistic changes have occurred within the dialects. The description of *ṣawtiyya* here focuses on the modern *al-fuṣḥā* (literary Arabic) sound system.

2. *Description of the sound system*. There are 29 consonants and six vowel phonemes or distinctive sound units in Arabic. Consonants are produced with either partial or complete obstruction of the airstream in the vocal tract and are described by their manner and points of articulation. The vocal cords and their function also play a definite role in the classification of the phonemes into voiced or voiceless. Sounds produced with the vocal cords vibrating are called voiced while those produced without vibration are voiceless.

The major subgroups of consonants are: (1) *Stops*: These sounds involve a closure of the airstream at some point in the oral cavity. The stops are: /b/ voiced bilabial; /t/ voiceless dental; /ṭ/ emphatic voiceless postdental; /d/ voiced dental; /ḍ/ emphatic voiced postdental; /k/ voiceless velar; /q/ voiceless unaspirated uvular. (2) *Fricatives*: These sounds are produced with a partial closure of the oral cavity, where the airstream passes through a narrow passage, creating friction or a hissing sound. The fricatives are: /f/ voiceless labiodental; /θ/ voiceless interdental; /ð/ voiced interdental; /ð̣/ emphatic voiced interdental; /s/ voiceless dental /ṣ/ emphatic voiceless postdental; /z/ voiced dental; /ʃ/ voiceless palatal; /χ/ voiceless velar; /ɣ/ voiced postvelar. (3) *Affricate*: There is only one affricate /ʒ/. This sound, phonetically, is composed of two phones—a stop [d] immediately followed by a fricative "[ʒ] like" sound. (4) *Nasals*: In the production of the nasals, /m/ and /n/, two cavities, oral and nasal, are involved and it is this unique combination that distinguishes nasals from other sounds. The /m/ is voiced bilabial nasal and the /n/, voiced dental nasal. (5) *Trill*: The sound /r/ is a trill voiced alveolar or post-dental. (6) *Lateral*: The sound /l/ is a lateral voiced dental. The /r/ and /l/, when occurring in the vicinity of the vowels /a/ or /aa/, may be characterised as emphatics. (7) *Semivowels*: /w/ is a bilabial semivowel and /y/ a palatal semivowel. They form two diphthongs: /ay/ and /aw/ as in *bayt* (house) and *thawb* (dress). (8) *Pharyngeals*: The sound ʿayn /ʿ/ is described as a voiced fricative pharyngeal, however, it is also described as a voiceless stop as pronounced in ʿIrāḳ and the Arabian Peninsula. The sound /ḥ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal. (9) *Glottals*: The sound /h/ is a voiceless oral fricative and the hamza /ʾ/, a glottal stop.

3. *Emphatics*. The feature of emphasis is traditionally called *tafkhīm* ("thickness"). There are four emphatic consonants: /ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ð̣/. These sounds, in addition to their primary points of articulation, are characterised by a secondary articulatory feature identified as the retraction of the tongue as well as the contraction of the pharynx. This phonetic phenomenon was recognised by the earliest Arab grammarians and has always been a point of attraction and fascination for Western linguists and Arabists. Emphasis is not limited only to this particular group as there are other consonants, on a marginal basis, which demonstrate emphasis or pharyngealisation. Emphatics are found in modern Arabic dialects, to varying degrees, depending on geographical areas and social levels of speaking. The emphatic consonants condition neighbouring sounds, and often dominate the whole syllable. This conditioning is referred to as "spreading", which can be either progressive or regressive and may even cover a syllable or more. The acoustic effect of the emphatics is to lower the frequency of neighbouring sounds. The dotted line of the shape of the tongue on the diagram below shows the postion of the tongue for the emphatic /ṭ/ as in the syllable /ṭi/ that contrasts with the broken line that represents the non-emphatic /t/ as in /ti/.

The sound /ð̣/ exhibits some changes in its pronunciation. It is predominantly pronounced as /ð̣/ , an interdental emphatic fricative, in ʿIrāḳ and Arabia. However, in the sedentary Levant regions, it is pronounced as /ẓ/. Likewise, the sound /ḍ/ is pronounced either as /ð̣/ in ʿIrāḳ and Arabia, or as /ḍ/ in sedentary regions (see further on this, ḌĀD).



This diagram is a tracing of a frame from an Xray sound film of the author's vocal tract. It is superimposed over a diagram of the vocal tract made by the phonetician Peter Ladefoged.

4. *Vowels*. Vowels are produced with the airstream passing fairly freely through the oral cavity. There are two types of vowels, long and short. The short are: *kasra* /i/, short high front unrounded vowel; *ḍamma* /u/, short high back rounded vowel; and *fatḥa* /a/, low short central unrounded vowel. The long vowels are: /ii/ *kasra* + *yāʾ*, long high front unrounded; /uu/ *ḍam-*

ma + *wāw*, long high back rounded and /aa/ *fatḥa* + *alif*, low long central unrounded. Length is phonemic or functional and may be indicated by writing the vowels twice as in the following minimal pairs: *kataba* ("he wrote") and *kaataba* ("he corresponded with"). The difference between long and short vowels is primarily one of quantity.

5. *The syllable and its structure*. The structure of the syllable is based on the main components of its formation. Every syllable begins with the onset, a single consonant, and may end with a coda, which can be either one or two consonants or none. The nucleus or centre of the syllable is the most prominent element and is always a vowel, short or long. There are six possible syllable types. By postulating a "C" to represent consonants and a "V" to represent vowels the syllable types are: CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, CVCC and CVVCC. These are divided into short CV; long CVC, CVV; CVVC and heavy CVCC and CVVCC. With respect to the frequency of occurrence the first four syllable types, CV, CVC, CVV and CVVC, are considered the dynamic force behind the formation of all the grammatical phonological patterns of non-pause utterances. The last two types, CVCC and especially CVVCC, have very limited distribution. They occur only in words, phrases and sentences in final pause forms, as does CVVC.

Consonant clusters occur medially and finally. All syllables and words start with a single consonant. In the Arabic writing system whenever a word starts with an *alif*, the *alif*, which is used as a *kursī* ("chair" for the *hamza*), has no phonetic value. Consonants that are produced in the front section of the oral cavity, form bilabial to palato-alveolar, form clusters with the remaining back consonants. Restrictions exist on the formation of consonant clusters, primarily among consonants that have the same manner or adjacent points of articulation. Gemination involves the clustering of identical consonants. Lengthening of the vowels does not create vowel clusters, as it is only a quantity difference that results in phonemic length for the long vowels.

6. *Stress*. Stress placement rules are determined by the loudness or prominence of a specific syllable relative to other syllables within the utterance. Loudness is not the sole feature responsible for stress; length and pitch also contribute. Syllable structure, types and their distribution play a definite role in the placement of stress. The word-stress rule patterns that operate in Arabic are as: (1) when a word consists of a string of CV types the first syllable is stressed as in *dá-ra-sa*, CV́-CV-CV, "he studied", (2) when a word contains only one long syllable that syllable (but not the final one) is stressed as in *mu-dár-ri-su-hu*, CV-CV́C-CV-CV-CV, "his teacher"; (3) when a word contains two or more long syllables the long syllable nearest to the end (but not the final one) receives the stress as in *mu-dar-ri-sáa-tu-kum*, CV-CVC-CV-CV́V-CV-CVC, "your teachers" (fem.); and (4) final heavy syllables are stressed as in *ki-táab*, CV-CV́VC, "book". These stress rules encounter some variation depending on the geographical region that an Arabic-speaking person comes from.

Bibliography: For a description of the Arabic sounds of the classical period, see the *Bibl.* to MAKHĀRIDJ AL-ḤURŪF. P: Ladefoged, *A course in phonetics*, [3]Fort Worth 1993; Salman al-Ani, *Arabic phonology: an acoustical and physiological investigation*, The Hague-Paris 1970; idem (ed.), *Readings in Arabic linguistics*, [2]Bloomington, Ind. 1992; Ibrāhīm Anīs, *al-Aṣwāt al-lughawiyya*, [3]Cairo 1961; Tamām Ḥassān, *al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya maʿnāhā wa-mabnāhā*, Cairo 1973 (esp. chs. 2-3); S. Davis, *On the phonological emphasis in two modern Arabic dialects*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Islamic and Arabic Studies*, viii/2 (1991), 1-20. (SALMAN H. AL-ANI)

SAʿY (A.), from the root *s-ʿ-y*, used 30 times in the Ḳurʾān in such senses as "to work, apply oneself to, denounce, seek to earn one's living, run after s. th." etc., but in the sense concerning here denoting the pilgrim's running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. These are two hills to the south and north-west of the Kaʿba respectively, linked by a *masʿā*, course, which the pilgrim follows after having made the sevenfold circuit of the Kaʿba, at his or her arrival and his or her departure. This following of the course, the *saʿy*, is likewise sevenfold; it starts in al-Ṣafā, and goes to al-Marwa, *ca*. 300 m away. In the first part of the course is a smaller course of about 80 m, marked out by four green columns, which the men—but not the women—have to make whilst running, the remainder of the course being made at a normal walking pace. From al-Ṣafā four trips are made to al-Marwa, and from this last three trips back are made, the seventh trip ending at al-Marwa, the whole amounting to a little more than two km (see M. Hamidullah, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, in *Sources orientales*, iii, Paris 1960, 109).

Saʿy is the term reserved for this travelling along the course, the other ones (the *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba and those between ʿArafa-Muzdalifa-Minā) being termed *fayḍ* or *ifāḍa* (course made in an enthusiastic manner). It is obligatory at arrival and superogatory at departure for the pilgrims who perform both the Greater (*ḥadjdj*) and Lesser (*ʿumra*) Pilgrimages [see ḤADJDJ].

The first Muslims, and especially the Anṣār, hesitated to make this sacred course, because of its pagan character. On the two hills were the idols Isāf and Nāʾila [*q.v.*], two sacred stones, on which the victims' blood was poured. They must have had a vaguely human form which, under Syrian influences and because of their proximity to each other, were assimilated to a divine pair, as with a Baʿl and a Baʿla. But an edifying legend developed round them, that they were a man and woman who had fornicated in the Kaʿba and had therefore been transformed into stone (see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 103-9).

The question of this obligation of the *saʿy* was put to the Prophet, and the reply was revealed that "al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are part of the rituals (*sharāʾiʿ*) of pilgrimage to the House of God. Whoever accomplishes it (*ḥadjdja*) or visits it (*iʿtamara*) will never commit a sin, if he makes the course between the two hills" (Ḳurʾān, II, 158). Some recent constructions have been made to facilitate the *saʿy*, involving two superimposed tracks, one for the outward journey and one for the return (see the monthly journal *al-ʿArabī*, Kuwait, no. 1971).

Bibliography: For further details on the rite, see M.M.I. ʿAbduh, *al-ʿIbādāt fī 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1954, 420-4; Hamidullah, *op. cit.*, 111. For the rites of the Pilgrimage in general, see Fahd, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, in *Etudes d'Histoire des Religions*, i, Paris 1974, 65-94; idem, *Panthéon*, esp. 241-7, but the most complete work is M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923. (T. FAHD)

SAYĀBIDJA, for Sayābiga, the name given in early Islamic historical sources to a group of non-Arab emigrants, proximately from Sind in India but, most probably, ultimately from South-East Asia and established on the Arab shores of the Persian Gulf and at Baṣra in the first two centuries or so of Islam.

Arabic authors often link them with the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] or Jhāts [see DJĀṬ] from northwestern India (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1961, 3125, 3134, 3181), although two distinct ethnic groups are in fact involved here.

De Goeje was the first to discuss the Sayābidja at length, in his *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, Leiden 1903, 18-19, 86-91, in the latter place giving a résumé of an earlier article of his devoted to them. He noted that, already in pre-Islamic times, there are mentioned Sayābidja settled on the Gulf coastlands and Zuṭṭ in lower ʿIrāḳ (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 373), and that in Abū Bakr's time there was a garrison of Sayābidja and Zuṭṭ at al-Khaṭṭ [*q.v.*] along the coasts of al-Ḳaṭīf and Hadjar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1961). Both these peoples must have been planted there, or induced to settle there, as guards and frontier auxiliaries, by the Sāsānid emperors. At the opening of Islam, both groups followed the example of the Asāwira or cavalrymen of the Sāsānid army (see C.E. Bosworth, *EIr*, art. *Asāwera*) and became Muslims on various favourable conditions; the Zuṭṭ and Sayābidja attached themselves as *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] to the Arab tribe of Ḥanẓala of Tamīm, and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] then settled them at Baṣra (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 373-5; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2562 ff.). Other Sayābidja elements seem to have found their way to Kūfa and possibly elsewhere, since the Kūfan forces which joined ʿAlī at Dhū Ḳār in 36/656-7 included a detachment of Zuṭṭ and Sayābidja (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3180-1).

Sayābidja troops fought in Khurāsān under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] against the remnants of Persian resistance there and, in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], some of them were to be found in the ranks of Ibn al-Ashʿath's [*q.v.*] rebel forces (al-Balādhurī, 374). The caliph Muʿāwiya had further transplanted Zuṭṭ and Sayābidja in the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] of northern Syria and at Antioch (*loc. cit.*). Within the *miṣr* of Baṣra, a corps of 40 or 400 Sayābidja under one Abū Sālima al-Zuṭṭī is mentioned as guarding the state treasury there in 36/656-7 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 375-6; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 307 = § 1629, and cf. Pellat's *Index généraux*, vi, 403), and a verse in a poem of the Baṣran poet Ibn al-Mufarrigh (d. 69/689 [*q.v.*]) mentions "the uncouthly-speaking Sayābidj barbarians who loaded me with fetters in the morning" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 212). It would accordingly appear that the Sayābidja were a rough and tough element who were employed on police and custodial duties. The Sayābidja of Baṣra are mentioned at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr's anti-caliphate, in 64/683-4 (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ivB, 106). In 159/775-6, during al-Mahdī's caliphate, 4,000 of the Asāwira and Sayābidja, together with volunteer troops (*muṭṭawwiʿa* [*q.v.*] from Baṣra, were brought together for a naval expedition against the coasts of northwestern India; in the following year, 760-766-7, this expedition reached Gudjarāt and the "town of [the river] Nārbada", probably Broach near the mouth of this river [see BHAROČ] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 461). After this time, however, the Sayābidja fade from mention and were no doubt assimilated into the general mixture of population in the high ʿAbbāsid period.

The etymology of the term *Sayābidja*, and the ultimate origin of this group, were discussed in detail by de Goeje, *loc. cit.*, and G. Ferrand in his *EI*¹ art. s.v., and the validity of their conclusions has not subsequently been challenged. Arabic lexicographical and other sources describe the Sayābidja as mercenaries recruited from Sind, and give as the term's singular the form *Saybadjī*. De Goeje and Ferrand therefore connected this with Zābadj/Zābag, going back to a Sanskritised form Djāvaka and a South Indian/Dravidian one Shāvaka, a term used to designate the Indonesian islands of Java and Sumatra [see ZĀBADJ]. The early Islamic Sayābidja would thus be in origin Indonesians who had emigrated to western India and who then, in the late Sāsānid period, found their way to the Persian Gulf shores in company with the Zuṭṭ. The famed seafaring expertise of the Malay-Indonesian peoples would have ensured their usefulness to the Middle Eastern powers in such matters as the policing of the Gulf and the protection of its trade against piracy, etc.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): *EI*¹ art. s.v. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 40-1, 194, 296; M.J. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 271-2; A. Wink, *Al-Hind, the making of the Indo-Islamic world*, i, *Early medieval India and the expansion of Islam 7th-13th centuries*, Leiden 1990, 156-7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SAYD (A.), a masc. noun and noun of action from the root *ṣ-y-d* which, as in Hebrew, evokes both the idea of the pursuit and capture of wild animals, by earth or sea, which can be eaten as game, and also these animals themselves, i.e. all game, whether caught by hunting or fishing. In all its acceptations, the root *ḳ-n-ṣ* is its exact equivalent.

The ineluctable need for daily sustenance has led mankind, like all other living beings, from the time of appearance on earth, to practise both hunting and fishing together with the gathering of wild fruits and grain, and mankind has accordingly ceaselessly exercised its ingenuity in finding the best methods here for achieving the maximum return for effort. Thus there has been a constant striving towards perfection in methods of hunting and fishing.

For hunting game by land, the methods of capture (*maṣīda, miṣyada, maṣyada*, pl. *maṣāyid*) are numerous. A passive mode costing the least effort is the setting of nets (*shabak*) and snares with draw-nets (*ḥibāla, uḥbūla*, pl. *ḥabāyil*); and there is also the covered-over pit-trap (*ḥukna, ughwiyya, mughawwāt, wadjra, dafīna*). Then comes the method of hunting with a bow (*ramy, rimāya*) or, otherwise, with a cross-bow or blow-pipe and, at present, with firearms. But out of the various methods, in the Islamic world and during mediaeval times, one of the most favoured by princes and nobles was the chase (*ṭard, muṭārada, ṭirād*), on foot or on horse-back, with the aid of domesticated or tamed carnivore animals (*ḍārī*, pl. *ḍawārī, ṣayūd*, pl. *ṣuyud*), such as the gazelle-hound or *salūḳī* [*q.v.*], the cheetah [see FAHD] and the caracal lynx (*ʿanāḳ al-arḍ*). These precious hunting auxiliaries were launched against the gazelle [see GHAZĀL], antelope [see MAHĀT], wild ass (*ḥimār al-wahsh*), ibex (*waʿl*) and ostrich [see NAʿĀM]. According to the region, they sometimes served for tracking down wild beasts with furs, such as the panther, leopard [see NAMIR] and even the fennec fox [see FANAK]. Parallel with hunting by the chase, hunting by the air, i.e. with raptors [see BAYZARA], was always a favoured pastime for all social classes in the Muslim lands, whether high-flying with falcons or low-flying with hawks for the capture of small, furry game, such as the hare [see ARNAB] and of that with feathers, such as the partridge (*ḥadjal*), sand-grouse [see ḲAṬĀ], bustard (*ḥubāra*), wild geese (*iwazz*), duck (*baṭṭ*) and teal (*ḥadhaf*). Certain falcons were also trained to tie down and blind antelopes and wild assess, thus facilitating their capture by the hunting hounds. The smallest-sized birds like blackbirds and thrushes were taken by means of snares and nooses (*sharak*, pl. *ashrāk*) placed in line on a taut cord.

For fishing and fish, both in sweet waters and in the seas, see SAMAK.

According to Islamic law, the hunter and fisher

(*ṣayyād, ḳannāṣ*) were subject to rules regarding the ritual slaughter of captured game in order to preserve the lawfulness of their consumption; all these rules are set forth in detail by al-Damīrī in his *K. al-Ḥayawānāt al-kubrā* (ed. Cairo 1356/1937, ii, 70-5, s.v. *ṣayd*). From it, there results that, in order for it to be lawful, game should not be killed on the spot and picked up dead, so that its throat can be ritually cut.

Out of all the Arabic authors, lexicographers and writers on natural history, there is almost only Kushādjim (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]) who has exhaustively treated all the methods of hunting and fishing, in his remarkable *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* "Trapping and hunting down" (ed. A. Talas, Cairo 1954). Four centuries later, Ibn Manglī took up again and completed the topic in his substantial *K. Uns al-malā᾽ bi waḥsh al-falā* "Relations of the leading men of this world with the wild beasts of the endless deserts" (tr. F. Viré, Paris 1984).

Hunting and fishing have inspired most of the great poets, such as Abū Nuwās, ʿAntara, al-Buḥturī, Dhu 'l-Rumma, al-Ghassānī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ibn al-Rūmī, Imru᾽ al-Ḳays, Labīd, al-Nāshi᾽, Ru᾽ba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj, al-Ṣanawbarī, al-Shammākh and Zuhayr. Kushādjim cited the most noteworthy of these compositions, adding his own ones which had been well-received.

Bibliography: See the bibls. to the articles cited within the text. (F. Viré)

ṢAYDĀ, the Arabic name of Sidon, the ancient commercial city of the Phoenicians. It was captured by the Arabs *ca.* 6/637 by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. The Arab geographers mention the fact that, when fortified, it was the military port of Damascus. But it was not until the period of the Crusades that the city achieved any kind of prominence. The Crusaders corrupted the Arabic name into the form of Sagitta (Sagette, Sayette); besieged in 501/1107, it was relieved either through the payment of a ransom, or, as the Arab authors maintain, as a result of the intervention of reinforcements from Damascus. But the city was occupied by the Franks in 504/1110 or 505/1111, after a siege lasting 47 days.

After the departure of the Franks, in 583/1187, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) took possession of the city, and had the greater part of its fortifications destroyed. They were rebuilt by the Franks, who returned in 625/1228. Recaptured in 647/1249 by the Muslims, then in 651/1253 by St. Louis, king of France, who fortified it afresh, the city was sacked in 658/1260 by the Mongols. The same year, it passed until 691/1291 into the hands of the Knights Templar. It was then occupied definitively by the Muslims. The Druze *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn (1003-43/1595-1634) did much that was beneficial for the city; the market which he caused to be constructed for European traders, the Khān Fransāwī, still exists today. In 1791, the governor Djazzār Pasha expelled the French merchants. Then, in 1840, Ṣaydā was bombarded by British and Austrian warships.

The city was incorporated into Greater Lebanon under French mandate in 1920, but it was to suffer during this period as a result of the monopoly which the French accorded to Beirut in respect of maritime and commercial traffic. The population, with its Sunnī Muslim majority, vociferously demanded affiliation with Syria, until the negotiations of March 1936 between France and its mandated territories; given renewed confidence by the arrangements then set in place, it participated more actively in national life, under the aegis in particular of Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ, the Prime Minister after Independence, who was to be assassinated in 1951. It was at the same time responsive to the calls of Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir advocating Arab unity, and it took part in May 1958 in the revolt against President Shamʿūn.

The population, which had reached a total of 5,000 inhabitants in the 18th century but was little more than 15,000 in 1946, the same number as in 1914, was to experience a veritable explosion in 1948, with the influx of Palestinian refugees. It quadrupled in 15 years, reaching a total of 117,000 in 1980, half of these being Palestinians. With this reinforcement the share of the Sunnī Muslims in the population of the city exceeded 80%.

From 1970 onward, Ṣaydā and its camps were to become a nucleus of Palestinian resistance to Israel. The civilian population paid a very high price, enduring aerial and naval bombardments, even before the Israeli invasion of June 1982, which had the object of destroying the camps and driving the Palestinians towards the north. In February 1985, Israel was obliged to withdraw, but its role was taken over by the Lebanese forces, the militia of the Christian Right, which pounded the camp of ʿAyn al-Ḥalwa for a whole month. The Christians of Ṣaydā were then forced to abandon the city.

Palestinian organisations administered the camps, and it was not until June 1991 that the Lebanese Army took over control of their access points. But while the Palestinians have lost their capacity for political and military intervention, the Sunnī community of Ṣaydā has found itself in a position of strength on the Lebanese chess-board, with the choice of one of its own, the multi-millionaire Rafīḳ Ḥarīrī, as Prime Minister in 1993.

The current conurbation is composed of numerous very distinct areas:

The old town occupies the site of ancient Sidon, sheltered by a peninsula which encloses the port. Near the entry a small island, linked to land by a stone bridge, bears the castle of St. Louis. To the south of the town, on an artificial hill, stands the Citadel, Ḳalʿat al-Muʿizza. Overcrowded and insalubrious, the old town has been in an advanced state of delapidation since the earthquake of 1956; it accommodates 20% of the population, the poorest, Lebanese or Palestinian, and immigrant workers from Syria and Egypt.

A new town, with modern concrete buildings, containing 46% of the population of Ṣaydā, extends beyond the ramparts: the al-Dekerman quarter, where public services are concentrated and which is the centre of cultural life, and the al-Wasṭānī residential quarter, to the north, interspersed with green spaces.

The Palestinian camp of ʿAyn al-Ḥalwa, opened in 1949 by the Red Cross 3 km to the south of the city, accounts for 34% of the population of the conurbation: more than 40,000 people are crammed in there.

The city has expanded alongside arterial routes, particularly towards the east, and it has obliterated the orange groves which used to surround it. In fact, it has benefited from the fate which dogged Beirut between 1975 and 1990, establishing itself as regional centre of the south.

Ṣaydā's influence extends over the entire region between the rivers of Damūr and of Līṭānī. Its 362,000 inhabitants (in 1980), are divided, besides Ṣaydā, between three small towns and 140 villages.

The coastal plain has been devoted since the 1950s to market gardening and citrus production, irrigated by the al-Ḳasmiyya canal, which serves 3,700 ha from its starting-point at the mouth of the Līṭānī, and by

hundreds of individual wells and bore-holes. Since the 1980s plastic greenhouses have proliferated, as a result of the capital funds invested by citizens of Ṣaydā and of Beirut and by emigrés.

The mountain suffers, however, from lack of water, especially to the south. Various irrigation projects have been examined, such as that of the Awālī, in abeyance since 1987, or that of the Dj̲ūn tunnel, which uses a diversion of the Līṭānī for hydro-electric production. A pilot project has already succeeded in irrigating 1,000 ha in the region of Lebaa, above the small Palestinian camp of Miyé wa-Miyé.

Cereals and olives are cultivated everywhere, on the plains and on the mountain. But this agricultural activity has not obviated the need for daily work journeys to Ṣaydā or Beirut, nor has it prevented large-scale emigration. During the 1970s, many inhabitants left for Arabia and the Gulf, following the example of the Palestinians from the camps.

The wholesale market of Ṣaydā takes a third of this agricultural production, but currently it is industry which is the motive force behind the regional economy. Its development has been aided since 1978 by the influx of Palestinian manpower expelled from the south, by the closure of the port of Beirut, which led to the diversion of some traffic to the illegal port of Ṣaydā, and by the investments of emigrés.

The principal units are the oil refinery, which treats Saudi crude, 9 km/5 miles to the south, the power-station of Dj̲iye, 10 km/6 miles to the north, the match factory of Dj̲iye, the cement-works of Siblīn, and the textile factories of ʿAdlūn and of Kfar Dj̲arra.

The construction sector is active, and light industry very diversified: plastics, nylon, cardboard boxes, lavatory paper, oils, soap and leather. The local sculpted marble, worked by Egyptian craftsmen, is renowned.

This economic development depends on a young population, at a rapid rate of growth, and Ṣaydā contained in 1980 some thirty educational establishments, public and private. As a result of the policy of partition which was powerfully advocated during the war, four centres of higher education have been opened in Ṣaydā : a branch of the Lebanese University in 1977, of the University of Saint-Joseph in 1978, a Maḳassad Centre of Advanced Studies in 1979 and the University of Kfar Falūs in 1980. There was a total of 3,400 students in 1981-2.

The city, although no more than 40 km/25 miles from Beirut, is thus well equipped to play the role of a regional centre. But the potential instability resulting from the presence of more than 100,000 Palestinian refugees continues to cast a dark shadow over the future.

Bibliography: Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 126; de Goeje, *BGA*, index, s.v.; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Kāmil*, index; Yāḳūt, v, 439 ff.; Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii, 23 ff.; Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien;* Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui* (1884), 94 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, index; Abou Saleh Salaheddine, *La région géographiques de Saïda*, diss. Paris 1987; D. Chevallier, *La société du Mont-Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe*, Paris 1971; Hasan Hammoud, *L'aménagement régional au Liban. Etude d'un cas type: le caza de Saïda*, diss. Paris 1992; Elizabeth Picard, *Liban, état de discorde*, Paris 1988; Nadine Picaudou, *La déchirure libanaise*, Paris 1989; Rosemary Sayigh, *Too many enemies. The Palestinian experience in Lebanon*, London 1994.

(M. Lavergne)

AL-**ṢAYDANA** (al-Ṣaydala) (a.) is pharmacology, in the meaning of pharmacognosy. The druggist is called *al-ṣaydalānī* or *al-ṣaydanānī*. Al-Bīrūnī defines him as follows: "He is someone who occupies himself with gathering medicaments according to their most commendable sorts and with selecting their best kinds, both simple ones and those which have been prepared according to the most excellent compositions, which have definitely been determined for that purpose by medical authors". Elsewhere he says "*al-ṣaydana* therefore is the knowledge of simple drugs according to their selected sorts, kinds and forms, as well as the knowledge of the mixture of medicaments composed in conformity with their written prescriptions or on the basis of what the trustworthy and righteous researcher strives for. The highest rank, however, is held by the knowledge of the effects of the simple medicaments and their specific qualities" [see adwiya]. Besides, *ṣaydana* indicates the druggist's actual store of drugs, and also (with or without a preceding *kitāb*) the handbook of drugs, the pharmacopeia. *Al-ṣaydalānī* is practically synonymous with *al-ʿaṭṭār* [*q.v.*; almost everything said there is also valid for *al-ṣaydalānī*]. Since healing powers are ascribed to many perfumes, both terms indicate also the merchant of spices and aromas [see afāwīh, in Suppl.].

The classical definition of pharmacology is found in al-Bīrūnī's [*q.v.*] highly important Preface to his unfinished *K. al-Ṣaydana* [*fi 'l-ṭibb*], written in his old age. He classifies *al-ṣaydana* as a sub-discipline in the field of medicine. According to him, it is the first of the stages of the medical art and for many it counts only as the latter's preliminary stage because it is a tool for practising medicine, not a part of it. As far as the word *ṣaydana* is concerned, al-Bīrūnī first refers to the well-known fact that the Arabic *ṣād* corresponds with Indo-Iranian *čīm*. He approvingly quotes Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], who is said to have explained *ṣaydanānī* as an Arabisation of *čandanānī* "merchant of sandalwood". Sandalwood is not a medicinal plant *par excellence*, but one may assume—al-Bīrūnī continues—that the Persians, when looking for sandalwood, came in contact with the Indians and called their merchant of perfume *čandanānī*; the Arabs would then have taken over this term, and Arabised it because they did not know a name for it. And since sandalwood was not counted among their perfumes, and since they were hardly able to distinguish between a perfume merchant and a drug merchant, they identified the two words. For the peculiar scent of sandalwood, see ṣandal. There exist, therefore, in this case the same transitions of meaning as those found in the case of *ʿaṭṭār*. The second consonant of *č/ṣandanānī*, the *nūn*, would then have been miswritten or misread into *yāʾ*. The fact that the word *ṣaydala/ṣaydalānī*, as far as is known to the writer of these lines, is completely unknown in the western Muslim world, may be explained from its Indian origin; in the West, the corresponding terms are [*ʿilm*] *al-adwiya al-mufrada* or *al-murakkaba*, in quotations often abbreviated to *al-adwiya* [see adwiya] or [*ʿilm*] *al-ʿuṭūr/al-ʿaṭṭār* (see above).

As an oriental synonym of *al-ṣaydalānī*, al-Bīrūnī also mentions *al-dārī*, with which the Arabs in the old days indicated the perfume merchant, because the ships from India brought their goods to the port of Dārīn, lying in the area of al-Baḥrayn. Al-Bīrūnī substantiates the meaning of the word with examples taken from ancient Arab poetry.

A general theory of pharmacology is given by al-Mad̲j̲ūsī [see ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Mad̲j̲ūsī] in his *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, Būlāḳ 1294/1877, ii, 84-100. The section is comprehensively analysed by M. Ullmann, *Islamic medicine*, Edinburgh 1978, 104-6.

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AL-**ṢAYDĀWĪ**, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashkī, outstanding musician and writer on music in Syria in the second half of the 9th/15th century. Born in Ṣaydā at an unknown date, he later lived in Damascus where he died on 16 Dhu ʾl-Kaʿda 911/10 April 1506.

Al-Ṣaydāwī composed an extensive didactic *urdjūza* of nearly 250 verses on the musical modes (*anghām*) of the Syrian tradition, entitled *K. al-Inʿām* (or *Anʿām*) *fī maʿrifat al-anghām*. In addition to the twelve main modes (four labelled *aṣl* and eight *farʿ*) and the six so-called *āwāz* modes he describes another seven secondary modes called *buḥūr* (sing. *baḥr*). To illustrate their melodic development, al-Ṣaydāwī uses stave systems of seven coloured lines representing the degrees of one octave. Within the stave he marks the principal notes, the direction of melodic motion and some other details of performance by using coloured symbols and abbreviations derived from musical terms such as *maʾkhadh* and *rakz* (initial and final note), *ṣuʿūd* and *hubūṭ* (ascending and descending motion), slow motion (*bi ʾl-tartīb*; "step by step"), quick motion (*surʿatan*), sustaining of notes (*madd*), and places of "jumping" towards higher notes (*maṭāfira*, sing. *maṭfara*). The whole range of three octaves is represented by *abdjad* letters in the colours of the basic octave. As far as we know at present, al-Ṣaydāwī's musical notation is unique in Arabic (and also Persian and Turkish) music literature. It has, however, cognates in the stave systems of the Graeco-Latin *Musica enchiriades* (9th century) and in those given by Vincenzo Galilei (1581) and Athanasius Kircher (1650). The "little Arabic book on music" aroused considerable excitement when it reached Paris in 1634. It figures in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (*Planches*, vii, 3-4) and in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (ii, 758), and it was partly translated, around 1780, by Pigeon de Saint-Paterne on behalf of de La Borde.

Besides the *K. al-Inʿām*, al-Ṣaydāwī left some religious poetry, mostly *muwashshaḥāt*, including a so-called *nāṭik*, a didactic poem in which each verse is sung to another mode. The *nāṭik* was popular in the 16th and 17th centuries and still appears in the song text collection (ms. Berlin, or.oct. 1027) of the Syrian littérateur Ibn al-Khāl (d. 1117/1705).

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SAYF IBN DHĪ YAZAN, SĪRAT, an Arabic popular romance of an epico-fantastical nature, inspired in a very remote fashion by the life of the eponymous individual [*q.v.*]

Known in numerous manuscript versions, of which the earliest dates from the 11th/17th century, the story was probably composed in Mamlūk Egypt between the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries; the identity of the hero's principal antagonist, Sayf (Sayfa) Arʿad, emperor of Ethiopia from 1344 to 1372, rules out an earlier date. As for the attribution of the story to Abu ʾl-Maʿālī (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāķī, d. 991/1583-4), mentioned in numerous versions, this should be treated with caution, even though this author may have played a role in the composition of the work. The narrative material seems very composite; contrary to what might be expected, the old Yemenite historico-legendary tradition is in fact not much in evidence. On the other hand, a number of themes are perceptible which belong to the Midrashic tradition centred especially on the figure of Moses (A. Chraibi, *Dialectique de la surdétermination dans le* Sirat Sayf ibn Ḏī Yazan, in *Arabica*, forthcoming), also themes and motifs relating to international folklore, as well as foundation legends which seem typically Egyptian; also to be observed are convergences with shorter stories belonging to the genre of the *Thousand and One Nights*, in particular the *Tale of Adjīb and Gharīb*. It should be stressed that, until the present time, a meticulous narratological study of the novel in its entirety has yet to be undertaken; the same applies to a systematic comparison of the different manuscript versions, which might give a clearer impression of the process of composition of the story. The present article will be based essentially on the analysis of the printed version, which is characterised by the abundance of fantastic and marvellous themes, often with a parodic intention.

Unlike other major Arabic popular romances, such as the *Sīrat ʿAntara*, the *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma*, the *Sīrat Baybars*, even up to a point the chronicle of the *Banū Hilāl*, which are all located in a definite and recognisable historical framework in spite of numerous anachronisms, the *Sīrat Sayf* is situated from the outset in the mythical primordial universe, where men and *djinns* associate together on familiar terms, where sorcerers, wizards and enchanters engage in dogged combat, competing for power or for the mastery of natural forces. This universe is steeped in impiety and the worship of false gods; only a few sages and a few anchorites observe and cherish the "Law of Abraham", which it will be the hero's task to propagate among the *djinn* of Mount Ķāf. From the point of view of structure, the romance consists of two major parts, a "Yemenite cycle" and an "Egyptian cycle", between which are interspersed various advantures following the classical pattern of the "quest". The Yemenite cycle, after a prologue evoking the conquests of Dhū Yazan, the father of the protagonist, and the foundation by his vizier Yathrib of what is to become Medina, destined to be the refuge of the future Prophet, follows a familiar theme. Sayf, abandoned in the desert on the orders of his mother, the sorceress Ķamariyya, who intends to take power into her own hands, is rescued by the king Afrāḥ. Falling in love with the latter's daughter, the beautiful princess Shāma, he is obliged to undergo various tests, in the course of which he establishes himself as the greatest warrior of his time, discovers the secret of

his birth, converts to monotheism and regains the throne of his fathers, having obtained the hand of his beloved (this marriage being only the first of a long series, the "Law of Abraham" being considered to allow unlimited polygamy). As well as to the courage of the hero, his success is owed to the help which he receives from a small group of loyal companions, among whom there appear numerous female characters, in particular the *d̲j̲inniyya* ʿĀḳiṣa, daughter of the White King and foster-sister of the protagonist, as well as the sage and magician ʿĀḳila. Among the enemies of Sayf, besides Ḳamariyya, who is executed after committing innumerable treacheries, figure the powerful Abyssinian emperor Sayf Arʿad and the two wizards Saḳardīs and Saḳardiyūn. The latter recognise in Sayf the hero whose destiny it is to implement the curse laid by Noah upon Ham and his descendents, dooming them to fall under the domination of the sons of Shem; however, the conflict seems to be primarily religious, with the Yemenite "Muslims according to the religion of Abraham" opposing the Abyssinian "worshippers of stars" and, more generally, pagans of all allegiances.

The first of the two "quests" serving as a link to the second cycle takes up the familiar folkloric theme of the search for a supernatural spouse who has disappeared (J.E. Bencheikh, Cl. Bremond and A. Miquel, *Mille et un contes de la nuit*, Paris 1991, 193-233). The second is constituted by an amalgam of various adventures, linked by a somewhat tenuous theme: to fulfil a promise made to the *d̲j̲inn* ʿAyrūḍ, who has fallen in love with ʿĀḳiṣa, Sayf sets out in search of the wedding jewellery of the Queen of Sheba, preserved among Solomon's treasure. A secondary "mini-cycle", possibly of Syrian origin and evoking the adventures of Dummar, elder son of Sayf, leads into the second section of the novel: returning from his quest, Sayf finds that his capital has been destroyed by Sayf Arʿad during his absence. On the advice of ʿĀḳila, he decides to lead his people into Egypt, which is still a desert and inhospitable land: the Nile, halted by a powerful spell, is blocked at the level of the Cataracts. Thanks to numerous supernatural helpers, Sayf succeeds in "liberating" the waters of the river. The remainder of the story recounts the foundation and the organisation of the new kingdom (numerous foundation legends), then the hero's final revenge on Sayf Arʿad as well as on Saḳardīs and Saḳardyūn; in the printed version, this is pursued through various episodes which are clearly later additions.

Despite some tedious passages and occasional clumsiness of style, the romance, which is of great interest for the study of Arabic narrative traditions, is not without appeal on account of its unrestrained exploitation, not devoid of irony, of marvellous and fantastic themes, which form the basis of a genuine literary work.

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SAYF B. ʿUMAR, a compiler of historical narrations on early Islamic history. Virtually nothing is known about Sayf or his life, except that he lived in Kufa and probably belonged to the Usayyid clan, part of the ʿAmr branch of the tribe of Tamīm. Various sources, however, attach him—probably erroneously—to other tribal groups; accounts stating that he was of the Asad tribe stem from misreading his *nisba* "al-Usayyidī" as "al-Asadī", but he is also said to have belonged to the tribes of Ḍabba and Ḍubayʿa, or to the Barād̲j̲im, a group of five Tamīm clans (not, however, including Usayyid). According to the 8th/14th-century scholar al-D̲h̲ahabī, Sayf died in the time of al-Ras̲h̲īd (r. 170-193/786-809), but this may be merely al-D̲h̲ahabī's guess, deduced from Sayf's position in various *isnāds*.

Sayf's importance rests on the fact that his *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa 'l-ridda* was chosen by the famous historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) as his main source for the *ridda* and the early Islamic conquests. Sayf is also one of the few sources of information about the structure of the early Muslim armies, early Muslim government, and settlement in the garrison towns. The reliability of Sayf's narrations has long been contested, however, beginning already with the mediaeval *ḥadīt̲h̲* specialists and their biographers, who noted the suspect character of his *ḥadīt̲h̲*s; some accused him of *zandaḳa*, others simply noted that he put fabricated accounts (*mawḍūʿāt*) in the mouths of trustworthy transmitters. Many modern scholars, after examination of both the content and the *isnāds* of Sayf's accounts, have expressed similar doubts. Already de Goeje and Wellhausen pointed out the implausible chronology of Sayf's accounts when compared to those of Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Wāḳidī, etc. The fanciful quality of many of Sayf's narrations, which are frequently fitted out with gratifying but suspect detail, and the tribal chauvinism of many accounts, in which leaders of his tribe of Tamīm engage with suspicious frequency in battlefield heroics, have also provoked critical comment. Sayf's *isnāds* have also been seen as problematic; his informants frequently cannot be traced in the available literature on traditionists. This has led at least one modern scholar, Murtaḍā al-ʿAskarī, to condemn Sayf as a subversive who invented his accounts and the names of his informants with the intent of spreading confusion and doubt in the bosom of the Muslim community.

On the other hand, Landau-Tasseron has pointed out that Sayf's accounts frequently do not contradict other accounts, but merely provide different information, and has argued that we cannot expect many of Sayf's informants to appear in the traditionist literature since most were not specialists in *ḥadīt̲h̲*. Furthermore, Sayf retails not only pro-Tamīm traditions, but also accounts that highlight other tribes, suggesting that he may have collected various tribal traditions from Kūfa. Many of his accounts display syntactic and lexical peculiarities that may be reflections of archaic tribal dialects. Close inspection of Sayf's accounts conveyed from Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān Yazīd b. Asīd al-G̲h̲assānī, an informant identifiable in no other source, suggests that they are not fabricated wholesale by Sayf, but represent selections from two different written sources, one compiled by Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān himself, the other by an intermediary informant who drew on Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān, each work having a different topical focus.

Comparison of the accounts from Sayf found in al-Ṭabarī with those found in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīk̲h̲ madīnat Dimas̲h̲ḳ* suggests that Sayf's original compilation on the *ridda* and conquests may have consisted of a long, sustained narrative with occasional *isnāds*

(rather than the short pieces, each prefaced by an *isnād*, that are found in al-Ṭabarī's and Ibn ʿAsākir's selections). Comparison also reveals that the original work of Sayf featured frequent poems, most of which have been edited out of al-Ṭabarī's extracts.

Sayf's information on institutional matters has been virtually indispensable to historians. Yet uncertainty persists about the reliability of his narrations of the *ridda* and conquests, which raises the question why al-Ṭabarī, who is generally praised for his sober historical judgment, favoured Sayf's narrations of these events over others that seem less dubious. Humphreys attributes al-Ṭabarī's choice to the eirenic and moralising qualities of Sayf's interpretation of Islamic history, which smoothed over the conflicts that historically divided the Companions of the Prophet. A definitive study of the historiographical complexities of all Sayf's traditions remains an important desideratum.

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SAYF AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. Abi 'l-Haydjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥārith Sayf al-Dawla al-Taghlibī (17 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 303-24 Ṣafar 356/22 June 916-9 February 967), *amīr* of Aleppo and of northern Syria, also of Mayyāfāriḳīn and of western Djazīra (Diyār Bakr and Diyār Muḍar), from 333/945 until his death. From his time until the present day, he has personified the Arab chivalrous ideal in its most tragic aspect. A peerless warrior, magnanimous vanquisher of rebellious Syrian tribes, he led with audacity, and for a long time with success, the *djihād* against the Byzantine enemy. A prince of great wealth, he spent large sums of money on the ransom of Muslim prisoners. An enlightened poet and philologist, he maintained a literary court more brilliant than that of any other Islamic sovereign. A man of Shīʿī leanings, he suffered terrible ordeals towards the end of his life, defeat at the hands of the Byzantines, the brutal killing of members of his family, debilitating illness and the treachery of his most trusted lieutenants. This individual has inspired an abundant literature, mythical as well as historical, of which a full account cannot be given here. Al-Dhahabī appends to his name the following qualificatives: *maḳṣad al-wufūd, kaʿbat al-djūd, fāris al-islām, ḥāmil liwāʾ al-djihād* (*Sīrat aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Arnaʾūṭ and al-Būshī, Beirut 1983, xvi, 187, henceforward abbreviated to *Sīra;* Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh*, Arabic tr., Cairo 1956, 408, a long eulogy by al-Thaʿālibī; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iii, 401).

The poetic circle

Among the men of letters, the majority of them from ʿIrāḳ or from Djazīra, whom he invited to his court or who praised him in order to benefit from his generosity, certain names are worth mentioning: the *khaṭīb* of the *djihād* Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriḳī, the philosopher Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Tarkhān al-Fārābī, the poets Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (various accounts of his captivity, A.-M. Eddé, *Description de la Syrie du nord d'Ibn Shaddād*, Damascus 1984, 288, henceforward abbreviated to *Description*), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutannabī (on the last-named, see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭālib*, ed. Zakkār, henceforward abbreviated to *Bughya*, 639-86), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr b. Khālid al-Shayzamī, the *amīr*'s foil, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nāmī al-Miṣṣīṣī, Abu 'l-Faradj ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Babbaghāʾ, Abu 'l-Faradj Muḥammad al-Waʾwaʾ, Abū Bakr al-Ṣanawbarī, Abu 'l-Nadjīb Sadād b. Ibrāhīm al-Djazarī al-Ẓāhir, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sarī b. Aḥmad b. al-Sarī al-Kindī al-Raffāʾ al-Mawṣilī, the two brothers al-Khālidī Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd, sons of Hāshim b. Waʿula al-ʿAbdī al-Mawṣilī, al-Ṭarsūsī al-Nadjrānī, Abū Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghamr b. Abi 'l-Ghamr al-Khalīʿal-Shāmī, Ibn Baṭṭa, al-Waṣṣāf, the Kilābī poet al-Aʿsar b. Muhārish, the *Sharīf* poet Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Afṭasī al-Sakrān, the composer of despatches and poet Abu 'l-Fadl b. Sālim al-ʿUṭāridī al-Manbidjī, the *kātib* Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Bāziyār, the astrologer Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Abū Muḥammad al-Tinnīsī, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAli b. Muḥammad al-Shimshāṭī, Ibn Ṣadaka al-Mawṣilī al-Naḥwī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Fasawī al-Fārisī al-Naḥwī al-Lughawī, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī al-Lughawī, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Lughawī al-Ḥātimī, the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Marzubān al-Ṣayrafī al-Naḥwī, the *ʿāmil* of Antioch Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣaḳr al-Maʿlathāwī al-Mawṣilī, the *kātib* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī and his son ʿAlī, the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥumaydān al-Rummānī, Ibn al-Khashshab and the Muʿtazilī *mutakallim* Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Bint Ḥāmid, who conducted a theological controversy regarding the Ḳurʾān with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Khālawayh, tutor to the sons of Sayf al-Dawla, in the latter's presence. The accounts concerning them demonstrate that all topics were apparently dealt with, religious—*ḥadīth, kalām*, the Ḳurʾānic readings—as well as linguistic, historical, philosophical, astronomical, astrological or purely literary. Poetical contests were particularly frequent. The index of *Bughya*, 5212, under ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh Sayf al-Dawla, makes it possible to trace the biography of the majority of the individuals who adorned the literary soirées of the *amīr* at Aleppo or at Mayyāfāriḳīn (see also M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hʾamdanides*, henceforward abbr. to *Hʾamd.*, 18, 33; Brockelmann; Sez-

gin; and *EI*[2], under the writers mentioned). The accounts concerning al-Sarī, *Bughya*, 4202-10, 4403, describe in a number of instances the assemblage of poets waiting in the vestibule, *al-dihlīz*, to be received at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, in the hope of being awarded a few hundred dirhams. The influence of this court extended far afield. The poet Sarī, having been obliged to leave Sayf al-Dawla on account of the jealousy of the al-Khalīdī brothers, lived miserably in Baghdād, hounded by their hatred; hence his jubilation, recounted by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, when he received much later from a *wazīr* a gift of 3,000 dirhams. He felt able to show himself in the street, wearing fine clothing and a turban five cubits in length, followed by magnificent slaves, then he died of happiness. In all the Islamic capitals of the time, the parasitism of the courtier-intellectuals was justified by the propaganda which their works disseminated to the advantage of the local prince. The poets, in particular, competed fiercely for the attainment of glory and wealth, bearing witness to the glory and the wealth of the prince. At Aleppo, the major official poets such as al-Mutanabbī maintained in their turn a court of secondary poets around them (*Bughya*, 4514-15), which did not prevent the latter from abandoning Sayf al-Dawla for Kāfūr in 346/957, the year of the great conspiracy.

On the other members of the family, see ḤAMDĀNIDS. The *nisba* al-Taghlibī links this family to an Arab tribe, living in Djazīra in the ʿAbbāsid period. Ibn Ḥazm is the only one who describes the Banū Ḥamdān as *mawālī* of the Banū Asad. The family always maintained very close ties with the Kurdish tribes, and was possibly itself of Kurdish origin (*H*ʾ*amd.*, 287-8, 305-6).

Early military career of the young Ḥamdānid

While in Baghdād, the political authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph was subordinated to that of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, in Diyār Rabīʿa and at Mawṣil the governor was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdan, later renowned under the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla. In 324/936, the latter promised his brother, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh, the future Sayf al-Dawla, aged 21 lunar years, the gift of Diyār Bakr in exchange for his aid in confronting the Daylamī ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, governor of Mayyāfāriḳīn, who was in revolt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh succeeded in preventing ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar from receiving the assistance of the feudal chiefs of Armenia and obtained from his brother the *amān* appointing him governor (*H*ʾ*amd.* 478). Then he intervened at Diyār Muḍar, in the region of Sarūdj, against the Ḳaysī tribes of Numayr and Ḳushayr which were creating disorder, and in 325/937 he took official possession of this province. In 328/939-40, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh summoned the princes of the region, Armenians and Georgians, Christian or Muslim Arabs, to a meeting on the shore of Lake Van. He obtained their submission and their assistance in assuring the security of the Djazīra by means of a network of fortresses, along the routes linking Persia, ʿIrāḳ and Syria with Byzantine Anatolia, the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian.

In 330/942, on behalf of his brother who had acceded in his turn to the post of *amīr al-umarāʾ* and had received the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh victoriously confronted Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Barīdī near al-Madāʾin, and received on this occasion the *laḳab* of Sayf al-Dawla. For the first time, *laḳabs* in the form of *-dawla* were awarded to persons who did not occupy the post of *wazīr*, head of the caliphal civil administration, but were soldiers, one of whom exercised no supreme authority (*H*ʾ*amd.*, 426, Hilāl al-Sābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. Mikhāʾīl ʿAwwād, 127-8).

Sayf al-Dawla was then apparently appointed to the post of *walī al-ḥarb wa ʾl-ṣalāt* at Wāsiṭ, which led to his confrontation with Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Kūfī, formerly the *wazīr* in practice of Ibn Rāʾiḳ and fiscal administrator of the same province, in regard to the duty to be levied on a barge. The attitude of the two protagonists reveals the depth of the corruption which was then rife in ʿIrāḳ, involving financiers, private sector traders and the holders of civil or military power. In 331/943, Sayf al-Dawla encountered opposition on the part of Turkish officers and soldiers under his command over the issue of pay; this opposition was led by Tūzūn. Nāṣir al-Dawla was powerless to rescue him, being himself in difficulties in Baghdād, the Sāmānid *amīr* of Transoxiana and the Ikhshīd of Egypt, who coveted Mawṣil (*H*ʾ*amd.*, 445), having refused to help him. Sayf al-Dawla reached Baghdād and then joined his brother, who had taken refuge at Mawṣil after the nomination of Tūzūn as *amīr al-umarāʾ*.

The seizure of Syria

In 328/939-40, Ibn Rāʾiḳ had detached northern Syria from the control which the Ikhshīd of Egypt had exercised there since 324/935-6, but in 329/941 he left Damascus with the aim of regaining supreme power in Baghdād and in Radjab 330/April 942, he was assassinated at Mawṣil. Nāṣir al-Dawla wanted to return to northern Syria, which the Ikhshīd was intent on re-occupying, to the direct control of the ʿIrāḳī caliphate. His troops easily took possession of the valley of the Balīkh, from Ḥarrān to Raḳḳa, but certain of his officers sided with the Ikhshīd, and the Ḥamānids who had remained loyal were confronted, in the region of Khābūr, by the governor of Raḥba, ʿAdl al-Bakdjamī, and by the Banū Numayr. With the surreptitious support of the Ikhshīd, and supplied with Turkish and Daylamī contingents, ʿAdl marched on Naṣībīn, where he took possession of the treasure of Sayf al-Dawla. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān, the brother of the poet Abū Firās, captured ʿAdl, who was executed in Baghdād in Shaʿbān 331/May 943. Nāṣir al-Dawla then entrusted this cousin, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd, with the task of taking control of northern Syria, of Diyār Muḍar and of the frontier posts. Having been obliged to take Raḳḳa by assault, Abū ʿAbd Allāh occupied Aleppo without difficulty in Radjab 332/943-4.

Sayf al-Dawla was quite prepared at this time to take control of Syria himself; it was an idea born of resentment when, having returned to Naṣībīn, he found himself under-employed and badly paid. He campaigned against the Banū Numayr in the region of al-Dāliya but, betrayed by his Arab troops, he was defeated in the winter of 332/943-4 on a number of occasions by Tūzūn, and he joined the caliph al-Muttaḳī at Raḳḳa, hoping to have himself recognised in his turn as *amīr al-umarāʾ*; but he encountered the caliph's hostility in this matter and had his rival, Muḥammad b. Īnāl al-Turdjumān, assassinated (various accounts concerning this topic, *H*ʾ*amd.*, 497). Having agreed to recognise Tūzūn's sovereignty over ʿIrāḳ, from Sinn to Baṣra, his brother Nāṣir al-Dawla had officially renounced his claim to the title *amīr al-umarāʾ* in exchange for recognition of his authority over Djazīra and northern Syria, from Mawṣil to the limits of Syrian territory.

During the summer of 332/944, the Ikhshīd arrived at Aleppo, which was hastily abandoned by al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd. In Muḥarram 333/September 944, the Ikhshīd presented himself in his turn at Raḳḳa before the caliph al-Muttaḳī, to whom he offered his services; obtaining no definite response, he returned to Egypt.

Nāṣir al-Dawla was alleged then to have said to Sayf al-Dawla, with whom he was reconciled: "Syria lies before you, there is no one in this land who can prevent you taking it." His cousin Ḥusayn b. al-Saʿīd having renounced his Syrian ambitions in his favour, Sayf al-Dawla decided to take control of Aleppo and Damascus.

Sayf al-Dawla made his entrance into Aleppo in Rabīʿ I 333/October 944, in the company of Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd al-Kilābī, a tribal chieftain whose brother Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad was then governor of the city and who had himself previously held the post on behalf of the Ikhshīd. Having regained the capital of northern Syria, the Ḥamdānid and the Kilābī toured the region from the crossing of the Euphrates riding in the same *ʿammāriyya*, with the aim of observing at first-hand the condition of the villages.

The Ikhshīd was not readily prepared to accept the loss of northern Syria and of the frontier towns facing the Byzantines. He opposed Sayf al-Dawla when the latter revealed his aspiration to bring Ḥimṣ into his domain. The Ḥamdānid routed an Ikhshīdid army commanded by Kāfūr at Rastan and occupied Ḥimṣ. From ʿAyn al-Djarr, last stage in the Biḳāʿ before the crossing of the Anti-Lebanon, he sent to the inhabitants of Damascus a letter which was read on the *minbar* of the Great Mosque (Th. Bianquis, *Les derniers gouverneurs ikhshidides à Damas*, in *BEO*, xiii [1970], 186). The Ikhshīd left Egypt at the head of an army in Ramaḍān 333/April 945. He proposed to accept Sayf al-Dawla's authority over northern Syria, the *djunds* of Ḥimṣ and of Ḳinnasrīn, and over the frontier sites. Sayf refused, but was obliged to leave Damascus as a result of the hostility of the populace, and joined battle with the Ikhshīd in Shawwāl 333/May-June 945. Defeated by means of a strategic ruse, Sayf al-Dawla withdrew to Raḳḳa. The Ikhshīd army ravaged the neighbourhood of Aleppo and maltreated the population. In Rabīʿ I 334/October 946, a treaty on the basis of the Ikhshīd's former proposals was negotiated by the intermediary of the Ḥusaynid *sharīf* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir b. Yaḥyā al-Nassāba (*Hʾamd.*, 584, details of the negotiations in *Bughyā*, 2408-12, and Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, Cairo 1953, 194). A partition of Syria was agreed: to the south of the new frontier, Ṭarābulus, Baʿlabakk, Labwa (*Bughya*, 371) and Damascus remained attached to Ikhshīdid Syria; to the north of this line, ʿArḳa, Djūsiya and Ḥimṣ formed part of the principality of Aleppo. The Egyptian leader also committed himself to paying an annual tribute to compensate for the renunciation of claims to Damascus on the part of Sayf al-Dawla, who was obliged to marry the daughter of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughdj, the Ikhshīd's brother. The signing of the ceremony gave the caliph al-Muṭīʿ the opportunity to ratify the amirate of northern Syria and the *laḳab* of Sayf al-Dawla by means of the sending of ceremonial attire which arrived in Aleppo in the spring of 335/946 (al-ʿAẓīmī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Zaʿrūr, 291, henceforward abbr. to al-ʿAẓīmī).

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 335/July 947, the Ikhshīd died in Damascus. Sayf al-Dawla immediately marched on this city where he tried in vain to confiscate the minor estates of the Ghūṭa (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Sāmī Dahhān, IFEAD, Damascus 1951, i, 116-17, henceforward abbr. to *Zubda*). He left for Palestine, but defeated by Kāfūr, the black eunuch leading the armies of Unūdjūr b. al-Ikhshīd, in Djumādā I 335/December 946, the Ḥamdānid withdrew to the region of Damascus, where he was unobtusively reunited with his mother, then retreated towards Ḥimṣ, following the eastern route by way of Ḳarā, a difficult route in winter. In the spring of 335/947, having rallied troups among the Arab tribes of ʿUḳayl, Numayr, Kalb and Kilāb, Sayf al-Dawla advanced on Damascus and was once more defeated by the Ikhshīd army which entered Aleppo in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 335/July 947. In the autumn of 336/947, Sayf al-Dawla re-occupied Aleppo, this time definitively.

Pursuing the Ikhshīd's policy of appeasement, Kāfūr negotiated with Sayf al-Dawla. The previous treaty was ratified but the Egyptians retained Damascus definitively and no longer paid tribute to the Hamdānids (topographical details of the Ḥamdānid possessions in northern Syria, *Zubda*, i, 164-5, on the occasion of the signing of the armistice between Ḳarghūya and the Byzantines in 359/968). This frontier between northern Syria, inclined towards ʿIrāḳ, the Djazīra and Anatolia, and southern Syria, closely linked to Egypt and Arabia, was to function in an almost continuous manner until the Mamlūk seizure of the province in 658/1260.

During the remainder of his life, Sayf al-Dawla had no further confrontations with the Ikhshīds. The Egyptian power, threatened at this time by the Fāṭimids installed in Ifrīḳiya, gave up its claims to northern Syria, according to the judicious principle whereby abandoning a peripheral province was less costly than maintaining an army on a war-footing and less dangerous for the authority of the *amīr*. Master of a large territory, the traditional glacis of Egypt, comprising the Mediterranean coast from Ṭarābulus al-Gharb to Ṭarābulus al-Shām, and the Red Sea as far as Yemen, the son of the Ikhshīd retained the greater part of his father's former power and wealth, leaving to the Ḥamdānid the costly defence of the frontier facing resurgent Byzantium.

Sayf al-Dawla was henceforward the master of northern Syria, of the western and eastern frontier posts of the Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr. Mayyāfāriḳīn, at the junction between these two western provinces of the Djazīra, was his second capital. The embellishment of the city and the reinforcement of its defences were to be continued under the Kurdish Marwānid dynasty [*q.v.*] which made it its capital, in the 5th/11th century. Sayf al-Dawla built at Mayyāfāriḳīn municipal and defensive constructions, on a considerably larger scale than his earlier buildings in Aleppo (on the Palace of Ḥalba constructed by Sayf al-Dawla outside Aleppo and traversed by the Ḳuwayḳ, *Bughya*, 349-50, 4489, Canard, *Sayf al Daula, recueil de textes*, henceforward abbr. to *Recueil*, 204-5, *Hʾamd.*, 642-4).

For Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr, Sayf al-Dawla remained theoretically the delegate of his brother, the prince of Djazīra, resident at Mawṣil. For northern Syria and the frontier regions, a less clearly defined chain of vassality existed since the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, despite the sending of an envoy to Sayf al-Dawla in 335/946, seems from 332/943-4 onward to have recognised only one provincial authority, Nāṣir al-Dawla, receiving "in appanage" all the territories to the north and north-west of ʿIrāḳ as far as the Mediterranean and the Byzantine frontier. On the other hand, functioning in a Kurdish and Daylamī environment, the Ḥamdānid family had embraced the rule of primogeniture, and Sayf al-Dawla always showed great respect towards his elder brother, although the latter's real power was much inferior to his own (well known "unbooting" episode, *Zubda*, i, 128-9, *Bughya*, 2433-7, *Hʾamd.*, 621-2). Furthermore, he appointed numerous Ḥamdānids, including sons of

Nāṣir al-Dawla, to posts of authority in his states (*H'amd.*, 595-7, supplies the list).

After 336/947 he visited Djazīra on several occasions. The first time, in 338/950 he travelled by way of Rakka to Mayyāfārikīn, where in turn his mother, Nuᶜm and his son, Abu 'l-Haydjā' ᶜAbd Allāh had recently died, and returned to Aleppo via Āmid. This expedition, at the head of 7,000 troops, was an opportunity to display his wealth and the power of his army.

Since 332/943, the Kurd Daysam had resided in Aleppo as a guest of Sayf al-Dawla. In 344/955 he left for Adharbāydjān, where he established the *khuṭba* on behalf of the Ḥamdānid but, defeated by Marzūbān and handed over to the latter by the Armenian prince of Vaspurakan, Derenik/Ibn al-Dirānī, he was put to death. Sayf al-Dawla lost his influence in Armenia until 354/965 when, following the revolt of his *ghulām* Nadjā, he inherited the Armenian places which the latter had appropriated from Abu 'l-Ward/Apelbart II b. Abī Sālim, in the region of Lake Van. The fate of these places when Abū Taghlib, the nephew of Sayf al-Dawla, took possession of Diyār Bakr, is unknown.

Suppression of the tribes

Sayf al-Dawla was obliged to assert his authority in northern Syria by confronting the Arab tribes, whose aggressiveness had been increased by a very positive demographic situation. At the time of his arrival, the region of Ḥimṣ had been controlled since the Umayyad period by the Yemeni tribes of Ṭayyi' and Kalb, semi-sedentarised. To the north, the Ḳaysī tribes, ᶜUḳayl, Numayr, Kilāb, Kaᶜb and Ḳushayr, still nomadic, held the plain between the Orontes and the Euphrates and beyond the river, in Diyār Muḍar, threatening longer-established Arab communities. Taghlib had been repulsed to the north and east of the Djazīra (attempt at devising a map of the tribes in Bianquis, *Raḥba et le Diyar Muḍar*, ... in *BEO*, xli-xlii [1989-90, publ. 1993], 23-53). The region of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān was the fief of the Yemeni Tanūkh, formerly converted to Christianity and entirely sedentary. The coastal positions between Ṭarābulus and al-Lādhiḳiyya were inhabited by the Yemeni Bahrā' and by Kurdish groups.

In 336-7/947-8, after a difficult siege, Sayf al-Dawla took possession of the fortress of Barzūya, held by a Kurdish brigand who controlled the lower valley of the Orontes and the route joining Aleppo to al-Lādhiḳiyya. He campaigned throughout the littoral range and on the coast, as well as on the slopes of the valley of the Orontes where his primary objectives were to defend the interests of the Bahrā' and to protect the Kalb, who were his allies against the Kilāb. At the end of the winter of 337/949, a Ḳarmaṭī agitator by the name of Ibn Hirrat al-Ramād al-Khāridjī, who had claimed the titles of *al-Hādī* and of *Ṣāḥib al-khāl al-Mubarka'*, incited the Kalb and the Ṭayyi' of central Syria to revolt, and imprisoned Abū Wā'il, the governor of Ḥimṣ (*H'amd.*, 603). Sayf al-Dawla crushed the rebels, killed the Ḳarmaṭī and freed Abū Wā'il. The following year, another revolt associated with the Ḳarmaṭīs took place in the region of Damascus; this time, the rebels were ᶜUḳaylids, i.e. Ḳaysīs.

The Ḳaysī tribes regularly caused instability in northern Syria between 338/950 and 343/954, provoking limited campaigns of repression on the part of the Ḥamdānids (*H'amd.*, 602-18). The Bedouin refused to return to the arrangement whereby they were kept away from the cultivated zones, where they wanted to pasture their cattle and extort ransoms from the villagers. The revolt of winter and of spring 344/955 erupted to the south-east of Aleppo, in the region of the lake of Djabbūl and of Ḳinnasrīn. This was not a tribal movement but a protest against social conditions since it united Bedouin, Yemenis, Kalb and Ṭayyi', and Ḳaysīs, ᶜĀmir b. Ṣaᶜṣaᶜa, Kaᶜb b. Rabīᶜa, ᶜAdjlān b. ᶜAbd Allāh, Kilāb, Numayr and Ḳushayr, thus prefiguring the great uprisings against the Fāṭimids of the following century. The repression imposed by Sayf al-Dawla in the course of June of the same year is known to the smallest detail, as a result of the analysis by Canard of the poems of al-Mutanabbī and of Abū Firās, as well as of commentaries on their work. This was a desert policing operation perfectly planned and rigorously executed. It could have ended with the total extermination, through warfare and thirst, of all the tribes, women and children included, between Salāmiyya, Tadmur and the Euphrates, if Sayf al-Dawla had not been influenced by his feelings of solidarity and his sense of Arab honour. Later, the heavy armies of the Fāṭimids, composed of Berber horsemen and Turkish *ghulāms*, had neither the same ability to win battles with minimal loss of life nor the same sensitivity in avoiding unnecessary civilian casualties.

Sayf al-Dawla never again had to face Bedouin revolts. The Numayr had been expelled to the north of the Euphrates, to the Diyār Muḍar around Ḥarrān, where they were to form a principality in the following century, the Kalb migrated towards Tadmur and into the plain between Ḥimṣ and Dimashḳ, the Ṭayyi' took refuge in the Djawlān and on the plateaux of Transjordania. The small Ḳaysī tribes having been either eliminated or banished to the north of the Euphrates, the Banū Kilāb were left as the only powerful formation of northern Syria. Wisely, they became reconciled to the Ḥamdānid and sent armed contingents to serve under him. They pursued a policy of assistance to the official power and of peaceful penetration of the urban milieu which was to assure the success in the following century of the principality of the Banū Mirdās [*q.v.*]. Once security had been restored, Sayf al-Dawla entrusted to relatives or to close associates the delegation of local powers based on fortified sites (al-ᶜAẓīmī, 192). The central administration at Aleppo and at Mayyāfāriḳīn was limited, being confined to fiscal issues and the conduct of war.

The war against Byzantium

Sayf al-Dawla was motivated throughout his life by the desire to be a *ghāzī*, a knight of the *djihād*, who confronted the Byzantines in more than forty battles. Numerous texts, prose or poetry (*Bughya*, 4682; *Recueil, passim*) reveal the extent to which the period was marked by a well-founded fear of a Byzantine offensive against the Muslim lands of Cilicia and of Djazīra and by a militaro-religious brand of piety which induced professional soldiers and young civilians, from all over the Muslim East, to risk their lives on the frontier facing Byzantine troops. The significant role of Tarsus in the ideology of religious asceticism and of the military efficacy of the frontier *djihād* against the Byzantines, is developed in *Bughya*, 180-1, which mentions Sayf al-Dawla (see also C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ᶜAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 268-86).

A detailed description of the frontier military operations of Sayf al-Dawla having no place here, mention of the most important dates will suffice. In fact, Canard has compiled a complete account of combats between Ḥamdānids and Byzantines, based on the detailed analysis of a very large corpus of Arabic, Greek, Syriac and Armenian texts, as well as on his vast erudition regarding historical geography (*H'amd.*,

715-862, including for the period of Sayf al-Dawla, 741-828). Few new texts have been published since then, although recent works dealing with the strategy, tactics, arms and military training of the Byzantines deserve mention (G. Dagron, *Guérilla, places-fortes et villages ouverts à la frontière orientale de Byzance vers 950*, in *Castrum*, iii [Madrid-Rome 1984]. In the Arab domain, no comparable recent study exists to this writer's knowledge.

Unlike the Byzantine *basileis* who, supported by the substantial resources of an extensive empire were equipped to pursue, after 314/926, a project of reconquest of eastern Anatolia, of Cilicia and of northern Syria, Sayf al-Dawla, *amīr* of a reduced principality, had no strategy other than a policy of defence of the frontier, reinforcement of the towns which were threatened, and reconstruction and repopulation of the latter after their destruction by the Byzantines. This defensive activity was interspersed with raiding expeditions into the interior of Byzantine territory: "they threw themselves against al-Ṣafṣāf and Wādī Sābūr, they burned the towns, took the children into captivity, they slaughtered the parents, they took fortresses by assault; this was a terrible and glorious expedition" (*Bug̲h̲ya*, 4293; *Recueil*, 87). Such attacks provided booty and facilitated the exchange of prisoners, but no mention is made of a predetermined plan for the methodical conquest of new towns and new territories. However, studies ought to be made concerning tactics, preparation for battle, placing of ambushes, the use of a variegated army made up of diverse ethnic groups, Daylamīs, no doubt the most numerous, Turks, Kurds, Arabs, negroes, and their respective weapons, as well as the cost of recruitment, maintenance and operations of the army, the cost of the damage caused by occupations and revolts, and the relationship between this cost and the various fiscal measures which financed the war. The corpus of sources should make it possible to go even further than Canard went in this domain.

The Byzantines continued with their effort at breaking through on the Armenian front. Even before becoming *amīr* of Aleppo, in 324/936 the future Sayf al-Dawla had led an expedition against the Byzantines and in support of Sumaysāṭ [*q.v.*], which was to fall soon afterwards. His first victory dates from the autumn of 326/938, confronting the Domesticus John Corcuas, who commanded a large army. In 328/939-40, he conducted operations in Armenia in order to secure the allegiance of the Armeno-Arab *amīrs*, and he acquired on this occasion renown as a champion of the *d̲j̲ihād* in the Muslim world. Once installed in Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla engaged in limited operations against the Byzantines in the winter of 333/945, followed in autumn 335/946 by an exchange of prisoners, but real hostilities did not begin until 336/947, when the treaty with Kāfūr acknowledged Sayf al-Dawla's domination of northern Syria and responsibility for the frontier with Byzantium.

The triumphant years

In the thirty years which followed, Sayf al-Dawla was frequently at war, and the theatre of operations was situated at this time in the southern sector of the frontier, between Diyār Bakr and the Mediterranean, principally in Cilicia; although master of the coastal region of northern Syria, he never engaged in naval warfare. It was the Egyptian fleet which scored naval victories against the Byzantines at this time (al-ʿAẓīmī, 298-9). The wars conducted after his installation at Aleppo and Mayyāfāriḳīn may be divided into two periods. From 336/947 to 346/957, Sayf al-Dawla enjoyed overall success, then, from 350/961 to his death in 356/967, he faced with fortitude a series of grave defeats and saw even Aleppo briefly occupied by the Byzantines, then threatened again. He had to deal first with the Domesticus Bardas Phocas, already an old man, then with his three sons Nicephorus, Leo and Constantine, formidable strategists.

In 336-8/947-50 the Byzantines had taken Marʿas̲h̲, then Ḳālīḳalā, threatening Tarsus. Sayf al-Dawla organised the response. After some success, his campaign ended in the autumn of 339/950, near Buḥayrat al-Ḥadat̲h̲, with total defeat, the *g̲h̲azwat al-muṣība*, the calamitous expedition, from which he personally escaped by a miracle. To strengthen his base of operations, in 341/952 Sayf al-Dawla rebuilt numerous Cilician strongholds, including Marʿas̲h̲, and was thus able to repulse a Byzantine offensive. Constantine Porphyogenitus sent a delegation to Aleppo with the offer of a treaty, but in vain. During the summer of 342/953, near Ḥadat̲h̲, commanding a reduced cavalry force, Sayf al-Dawla crushed the army of the Domesticus, who was wounded and one of whose sons died in captivity at Aleppo. With the same eloquence with which they had bemoaned his defeat, the poets immortalised the victory of Sayf al-Dawla, who once again refused to negotiate a treaty (on the complex relationship between Byzantium and Aleppo, see *Hʾamd.*, 778-9). Another victory over the ponderous army of the Domesticus in the autumn of 343/954 allowed Sayf al-Dawla to complete the reconstruction of Ḥadat̲h̲, which successfully withstood a Byzantine expedition during the summer of 344/955. The old Domesticus Bardas Phocas, a miser and a poor tactician, was then replaced by his son, the future *basileus* Nicephorus II Phocas, *Patricius* and *Strategus* of the Anatolica, Domesticus of the Schola, assisted by his younger brother Leo and by the Armenian John Tzimisces. In the spring of 345/956, when Tzimisces tried to intercept him on his return, laden with spoils, from an expedition towards Ḥiṣn Ziyād and Tall Biṭrīḳ, Sayf al-Dawla won another victory, having crossed a stream on material furnished by the engineer corps of the army. In the autumn, he made his way to Cilicia to support Tarsus, threatened by the advancing fleet of the Theme of Cibyrrheotes.

The successful Byzantine response under Nicephorus Phocas

However, his fortunes changed, and Sayf al-Dawla was unable to avenge the capture and destruction by the Domesticus of the fortress of Ḥadat̲h̲ during the summer of 346/957 because he discovered a conspiracy of his senior officers in Aleppo to deliver him to the Byzantines in the course of a campaign; he ordered the execution of 180 *g̲h̲ulāms* and more than 200 others had hands, feet and tongues amputated and torn out (*Zubda*, i, 127-8). The summer and autumn of 347/958 saw near Āmid a victory of Tzimisces over Nad̲j̲ā, the Circassian *g̲h̲ulām* who was a favourite of Sayf al-Dawla, and the fall of Sumaysāṭ and of Raʿbān, places defended by Sayf al-Dawla in person. With the reorganisation of the Byzantine army, the Muslim front was entrusted to Leo Phocas, who in the winter of 348/959 inflicted a bloody defeat on Sayf al-Dawla and occupied numerous fortresses between Cilicia and Diyār Bakr. Nicephorus Phocas having commited himself from the summer of 960 to the spring of 961 to the occupation of Crete, Sayf al-Dawla seized the opportunity to launch a raid in company with the inhabitants of Tarsus. On his return, Leo Phocas inflicted on him a terrible defeat in Ramaḍān 349/November 960. The Arab *amīrs* of the frontier regions sided with Byzantium, and Ibn Zayyāt made the *k̲h̲uṭba* at Tarsus in the name of the caliph, not mentioning Sayf al-Dawla, whose power

was challenged even at Aleppo. From the autumn of 350/961 to the spring of 963, Nicephorus Phocas, returning victorious from Crete, led the offensive into Muslim territory. ʿAyn Zarba and some fifty villages were taken in the winter of 350-1/961-2. Nicephorus massacred part of the civilian population and destroyed the fruit trees, inaugurating the policy of terror which he conducted against the Arabs until his death. During the summer of 351/962, Sayf al-Dawla managed partially to reconstruct ʿAyn Zarba. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 351/962, Nicephorus Phocas marched on Aleppo; Sayf al-Dawla did not become aware of the Byzantine advance until they were approaching ʿAzāz. He had few troops with him, his army being far away under the command of Nadjā, hence was defeated under the walls of Aleppo. Nicephorus forced his way into the city, which was pillaged and devastated. He did not succeed in taking the citadel (or rather the height defended by a Daylamī garrison on which the citadel was later to be built), since towards the end of the year 351/962 he was obliged to leave the city and return hastily to Constantinople, where he was proclaimed emperor. He had taken away with him 10,000 young captives, and Sayf al-Dawla, in order to repopulate and rebuild his capital, installed there the inhabitants who had fled Ḳinnasrīn and used the subsidies sent to him by his sister. After a few minor successes during the summer of 352/963, at the end of the same year the Muslims suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the new Domesticus, Tzimisces, at the Hill of Blood near Adana. The year 353/964 saw little military activity. Sayf al-Dawla, a sick man, was confined to his own territory by revolts, and famine raged in Cilicia, making the land unsuitable for large-scale operations. The Byzantine offensive was resumed during the winter of 353-4/964-5 and, again on account of the famine, did not end until the following summer with the fall of Miṣṣīṣa/Mopsuesta and of Tarsus. Despite a rescue attempt by the Egyptian fleet which arrived too late, the latter city experienced in Shaʿbān 354/August 965 an honourable capitulation; the inhabitants were allowed to leave for Muslim territory with their property. Cilicia was henceforward methodically re-Christianised. An exchange of prisoners was negotiated in 355/966; the Muslims were obliged to ransom a further 3,000 men at a cost of 200,000 gold pieces. Byzantine operations were now directed against Syria, and Nicephorus Phocas marched on Manbidj, and then on Aleppo and on Antioch before returning to Byzantine territory at the end of 355/966. Two months later, Sayf al-Dawla died in Aleppo.

Military reverses, domestic revolts and physical weakness

Since 346/957, Sayf al-Dawla had not had to contend with internal revolt. In 350/961, the rebellion of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Zayyāt, *amīr* of Tarsus, in favour of the Ikhshīdid Unūdjūr, was quickly suppressed (*Bughya*, 1490, 3419-21). In 351/962, the brief occupation of Aleppo by the Byzantines cost him his military prestige, at a time when he had recently been stricken by hemiplegia. From this time onwards, handicapped by the after-effects of this attack, aggravated by increasingly serious intestinal and urinary disorders, Sayf al-Dawla remained bedridden. He was transported on a litter, but he retained his reason and continued to direct the policies of the principality and, when necessary, to conduct warfare. However, his political position was fragile. The leading *ghulāms* were impregnated with the notion dominant in the Muslim East, according to which political power was legitimised solely by success in battle. In 352/963, Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir al-Dawla, governor of Ḥarrān, whence he had been expelled by a populace resentful of his fiscal greed, killed at Aleppo Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Danḥā, a Christian secretary of Sayf al-Dawla who had the latter's absolute trust, then attempted to incite his administrative charge to rebel in favour of Nāṣir al-Dawla (Miskawayh and Ibn al-Athīr, cited in *Recueil*, 247-52). At the approach of Nadjā, whom Sayf al-Dawla had sent to oppose him, Hibat Allāh sought refuge with his father. On his own account, Nadjā extorted compensation of a million dirhams from the inhabitants of Ḥarrān and set out, in his turn, to attack Mayyāfāriḳīn with the intention of placing Diyār Bakr under the control of Muʿizz al-Dawla, the Būyid *amīr* of Baghdād. The wife of Sayf al-Dawla defended the city successfully, Nadjā took possession of towns in Armenia, around Lake Van, and in the autumn of 353/964 he was obliged to abandon a second siege of Mayyāfāriḳīn, a revolt having broken out in his Armenian dominions. Having returned to Mayyāfāriḳīn, Sayf al-Dawla set out for Armenia, where personally and without fighting he obtained the spectacular submission of his favourite lieutenant (moving scene in *Zubda*, i, 145); Nadjā was killed at the end of winter 354/965 in Mayyāfāriḳīn, no doubt at the orders of Sayf al-Dawla's wife whom he had publicly insulted. He was buried in the Ḥamdānid mausoleum.

Sayf al-Dawla had suffered a personal blow in 352/953 with the death of his sister, Khawla Sitt al-Nās, a woman of considerable political skill. She bequeathed to him 500,000 dīnārs which he is said to have devoted to the ransom of prisoners (*Sīra*, 16, 188). In 354/965 his sons Abu 'l-Makārim and Abu 'l-Barakāt died. He was affected then by depression but continued to defend his power. During the last phase of his life, he resided mainly in Mayyāfāriḳīn, entrusting the defence of the western frontier to his senior *ghulāms*. Ḳinnasrīn was abandoned by its inhabitants, and commerce, the principal source of revenue of this cross-roads region, was hampered. The civilian populations of the region of Aleppo accepted their fiscal burdens with increasing reluctance, while the armies of the *amīr* proved themselves incapable of protecting them from the Byzantine enemy. In 354/964, to prevent the acquisition of iron by the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Aḥsāʾ, who intended to re-arm themselves in preparation for eventual action in Syria and Egypt, he did not hesitate to dismantle the gates of the town of Raḳḳa, which were constructed of armour-plated wood. An alliance with the Ḳarmaṭīs, opposed to the Būyid of Baghdād, contributed at the same time to the maintenance of stability on the Syrian plain among the Arab tribes, Yemeni or Ḳaysī, over whom they had retained strong influence. The Ḳarmaṭīs were furthermore hostile to Kāfūr. The latter, based on Fusṭāṭ, continued to take an interest in Syria, intent on protecting Damascus from any Ḥamdānid interference.

In 354/965 there erupted the far more dangerous revolt of the former prefect of the littoral, the Ḳarmaṭī Marwān al-ʿUḳaylī, who took possession of Ḥimṣ, defeated a Ḥamdānid army commanded by the *ghulām* Badr and reached Aleppo but was wounded and died shortly afterwards (different versions, *Hʾamd.*, 649, and *Zubda*, i, 148). In the autumn of 354/965 (dated incorrectly in *Hʾamd.*, 651), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Rashīḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nasīmī, former governor of Tarsus, a town henceforward in the possession of Nicephorus Phocas, impelled by a tax-farmer, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ahwāzī, took possession of Antioch and assembled an army which enabled him for three months to besiege Aleppo, defended by Ḳarghūya and Bishāra. (On this

revolt, see *Bughya*, 3656-8, 4592-3; *Descr.*, 240-1.) After partially occupying the lower town, Rashīḳ was killed in battle. He was replaced as leader of the rebellion by a Daylamī, Dizbar, who defeated Ḳarghūya and entered Aleppo but then abandoned the town with the intention of taking control of all northern Syria. Sayf al-Dawla was then carrying out an exchange of prisoners with the Byzantines at Sumaysāṭ, and he saw the Muslims, ransomed by him, joining the ranks of the Daylamī rebel. At the beginning of the summer of 355/966, Sayf al-Dawla had himself carried in a litter to Aleppo, where he spent the night and then set out to crush the troops of Dizbar, in which he was helped by the defection to his side of the Banū Kilāb. Reprisals were severe, although the new governor appointed to Antioch by Sayf al-Dawla, Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā, joined the ranks of the Byzantines with the public funds of the city. The attack by Nicephorus Phocas on northern Syria forced Sayf al-Dawla to take refuge at Shayzar, until Ṣafar 356/February 967, the date of his death in Aleppo to which he had just returned (according to al-ʿAẓīmī, 303, he died at Mayyāfāriḳīn). The *sharīf* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Aḳsāsī prayed over his body, pronouncing five *takbīrs* in the Shīʿī fashion (*Bughya*, 4517).

The Shīʿī sympathies of Sayf al-Dawla are demonstrated by the al-Dakka *mashhad* which he had built on the Djabal Djushān alongside the Christian monastery of Māra Marūthā (*Bughya*, 412, 2726). After the murderous invasion of Aleppo by the Byzantines in 351/962, he invited *sharīfs* from Ḥarrān or from Ḳum to take up residence in Aleppo. The replacement of Sunnism by Twelver Shīʿism as the official and popular religion of Aleppo may thus be dated from the mid-4th/10th century. Some of their descendants, notably the Banū Ibn Abi 'l-Djinn (*Bughya*, 2415-16; Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, IFEAD, Damascus, index, henceforward abbr. to *Damas et la Syrie*) played an important role in the Fāṭimid period. The delimitation of the judicial *madhhab* applied at Aleppo in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries whether Ḥanafism or Imāmism, seems difficult to identify precisely (oral indication of Anne-Marie Eddé). On the relationship between Sayf al-Dawla and Ismāʿīlism and the diffusion of Nuṣayrism in Syria in the 4th/10th century, the role of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān al-Khaṣībī, of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Djillī and of Surūr al-Ṭabarānī, see Canard, *H'amd.*, 634, Halm, art. NUṢAYRĪ, and Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie*, 375-6.

His embalmed body was transported to Mayyāfāriḳīn to be laid to rest in a mausoleum, beside his mother and his sister. A brick containing the dust removed from his cuirass on his return from operations against the Byzantines was placed under his cheek; this was almost the interment of a *shahīd*. He left only two living offspring: a daughter, Sitt al-Nās, and a son, Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf, to whom he had had the *bayʿa* made before his death (*Sīra*, 16, 188) and who as prince of Aleppo bore the *laḳab* of Saʿd al-Dawla.

Sayf al-Dawla was served in the office of *wazīr* by Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Karārīṭī, formerly in the service of the chief *amīr* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, then of the caliph al-Muttaḳī; subsequently, he dismissed him, appointing in his place Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Fahd. Finally, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ] was an efficient and loyal *wazīr*, no doubt working with his father, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. At the time of Sayf al-Dawla's installation at Aleppo, the *ḳāḍī* was Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Māthil. Finding him insufficiently obsequious, Sayf al-Dawla replaced him with a friend of the poet Abū Firās, Abū Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh (or b. ʿAbd al-Malik) al-Raḳḳī, whom Sayf al-Dawla later accused of having induced him to commit iniquitous acts. He was killed by the Byzantines in 349/960, and his son Abu 'l-Haytham was to be *wazīr* of a descendant of Sayf al-Dawla. The same year, Sayf al-Dawla awarded the charge to Ibn Māthil. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḥanafī was to succeed the latter, and was exercising this function at the time of the death of the *amīr* of Aleppo (*Zubda*, i, 112, 113, 131, 152).

Confiscation of land by the Ḥamdānids

On the basis of the information given by the chroniclers as well as by the geographers, it should be possible to reconsider the balance-sheet of the Ḥamdānid dynasty. The wars between Sayf al-Dawla and the Ikhshīd had led to the destruction of the olive-groves and orchards surrounding Aleppo. The agricultural landscape was permanently altered (*Bughya*, i, 415-16, Bianquis, *Le pouvoir politique à Alep au V^e/XI^e siècle*, in *REMMM* [1992], no. 62, 49-59). Furthermore, this prince as well as his brother, Nāṣir al-Dawla and later, his nephew al-Ghaḍanfar, princes of Mawṣil, had a policy of monopolising fertile agricultural lands and appropriating extensive domains, with the aim of devoting them to monoculture, in particular the growing of cereals, a decidedly profitable enterprise in view of the demographic growth of Baghdād. Combining these territorial confiscations with oppressive fiscal policies, they became the wealthiest *amīrs* of the Islamic world (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 111/12, 177-89/174-86, 200-24/207-30, in particular 211-14/205-8; *Bughya*, 1, 59, 10, 4237, 4593). They thus acquired lasting glory by showering with precious gifts their kinsmen and the poets who eulogised them, but they seriously destabilised agriculture and crafts, commercial exchanges and the equilibrium between towns and countryside, on the plains and plateaux of Djazīra and of northern Syria. Ibn Ḥawḳal, followed by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, dates from the confiscations of Sayf al-Dawla the ruin of the city and the commerce of Bālis. By destroying orchards and peri-urban market gardens, by enfeebling the once vibrant polyculture and by depopulating the sedentarised steppe terrain of the frontiers, the Ḥamdānids contributed to the erosion of the deforested land and to the seizure by semi-nomadic tribes of the agricultural lands of these regions in the 5th/11th century (*H'amd.*, 397, 436).

Bibliography: Given in the text; for Arab as well as Christian sources, see M. Canard, *Sayf al-dawla, recueil de textes*, Algiers 1934; *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdānides de Djazīra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1951, index; *Arabica*, xviii (1971), 279-319; to be supplemented by the bibliography at the end of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa l-Djazīra, Description de la Syrie du Nord*, tr. Anne-Marie Eddé, IFEAD, Damascus 1984; edited text, in *BEO*, xxxii-xxxiii (1980-1), 265-402. The principal texts which have appeared since 1951 had been used in manuscript form by M. Canard; these are al-ʿAẓīmī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Ibrāhīm Zaʿrūr (unreliable), Damascus 1984, and especially Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, i, ed. Sāmī Dahhān, IFEAD, Damascus 1951, and *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tāʾrīkh Ḥalab*, i-x and index, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1408/1988. For source material regarding Sayf al-Dawla in the *Bughya*, Ibn al-ʿAdīm used a great many works, including a *Sīrat Sayf al-Dawla*, or *Akhbār Sayf al-Dawla*, a work of Abu 'l-

Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Daylamī, see *Bughya*, 2531. The sources used by Ibn al-ʿAdīm for the 4th/10th century have not been listed to this writer's knowledge, see Eddé, *Sources arabes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles d'après le dictionnaire biographique d'Ibn al-ʿAdîm*, in *Itinéraires d'Orient. Hommages à Claude Cahen*, Bures-sur-Yvette 1994, 293-307. A few volumes of Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, have also appeared, but the rate of publication by the Arabic Academy of Damascus remains regrettably slow. See also Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Ṭaḥḥān, Cairo. The editions of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, for the years 350-450 and of Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, for the 4th/10th century, have not been available for consultation.

Of modern references, very numerous, see Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord a l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Paris 1940; J. Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1941; Ulla S. Linder Welin, *Sayf al-dawlah's reign in Syria and Diyârbekr in the light of the numismatic evidence*, in *Sueca Repertis*, i, Lund 1961; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Wiesbaden 1968; and esp. Canard, *Miscellanea orientalia*, Variorum Reprints, London 1973, *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions*, *ibid.*, London 1974, and art. ḤAMDĀNIDS. These may be supplemented by J. Bacharach, *The career of Muhammad b. Tughj al-Ikhshîd...*, in *Speculum* (1975); P. de Smoor, *Kings and Bedouins in the Palace of Aleppo as reflected in Maʿarrī's works*, Manchester 1985; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London and New York 1986; Th. Bianquis, *Le pouvoir politique à Alep au Ve/XIe siècle*, in *REMMM* (1992), no. 62, 49-59; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, esp. 320.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

SAYF AL-DĪN, the honorific title of two members of the Shansabānid or Ghūrid [*q.v.*] dynasty which ruled in Afghānistān and adjoining lands during the 6th-early 7th/12th-early 13th centuries:

1. Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, succeeded his father as ruler in Ghūr 540-3/1145-8, killed in battle with the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh [see GHŪRIDS. 1. at II, 1100].

2. Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn, ruler in the Ghūrid capital of Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*] 556-8/1161-3 [see *ibid.*, at II, 1101].

SAYF AL-DĪN BĀKHARZĪ, ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ SAʿĪD b. Muṭahhar b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī (586-659/1190-1261), known honorifically as Shaykh-i ʿĀlam and, more familiarly, as Khwādja-yi Fatḥābādī, in reference to the Bukhāran suburb of Fatḥābād where he established a *khānakāh*, a leading disciple of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221), eponym of the Kubrawī order [*q.v.*].

After elementary education in his birthplace of Bākharz, a town in the Ḳuhistān region of Khurāsān, Sayf al-Dīn studied jurisprudence and the recitation and exegesis of the Ḳurʾān in Harāt and Nīshāpūr before proceeding to Khwārazm, the seat of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā. According to Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (cited in Amīr Ḥasan Sidjzī, *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, Bulandshahr 1275/1855, 268-9), Bākharzī was initially hostile to Kubrā, and even to Ṣūfism as such, but this is not confirmed by any early source. Even before going to Khwārazm, Bākharzī had received at least one Ṣūfī cloak of initiation, from a certain Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Harāt, and there can be no doubt that he went to Khwārazm expressly to join Kubrā's circle. Thanks to an exemplary degree of devotion, he advanced swiftly in the esteem of the master. In celebration of his bedding a newly-acquired concubine, Kubrā once instructed his disciples to dispense with their usual austerities and select some pleasurable activity instead; the indulgence chosen by Bākharzī was to stand all night outside Kubrā's chamber with a pitcher of water ready for his master's post-connubial ablutions. By way of reward, Kubrā prophesied that one day rulers would run respectfully alongside Bākharzī's horse, a prediction that is said to have come true. Not long after, Kubrā interrupted Bākharzī's second quadragesimal retreat to tell him that his training was complete, and he dispatched him to Bukhārā in order to propagate the Kubrawī path (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿĀbidī, Tehran 1370 *Sh*./1991, 433-4).

Bākharzī was to spend the rest of his life, amounting to some forty years, in Bukhārā; his only absences were annual visits to Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Baṣīr in Samarḳand, timed to coincide with the ripening of the highly esteemed *khalīlī* grapes of the region (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl Samarḳandī, *Ḳandiyya*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1367 *Sh*./1988, 98-9). He soon gained considerable prestige and influence, and his eminence was acknowledged by Ṣūfīs of other lineages, such as Khwādja Gharīb and Ḥasan Bulgharī of the Khwādjagān (Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, ed. ʿAlī Asghar Muʿīnīyān, Tehran 2536 imperial/1977, i, 54-5). When Sorḳaḳtani, mother of Möngke, the Mongol Great Khān, donated 100 silver *bālish* for the construction of a *madrasa* in Bukhārā, despite her own allegiance to Christianity, it was to Bākharzī that she entrusted its supervision, as well as the administration of the endowments she settled on it (ʿAṭā Malik Djuwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, iii, 8-9). Sorḳaḳtani further provided for the establishment of Bākharzī's *khānaḳāh* at Fatḥābād; the statement of Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1344/1926) that the *khānaḳāh* was built by Tīmūr in 788/1386 must be taken to refer to a restoration or expansion (*Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Djaʿfar Maḥdjūb, Tehran n.d., ii, 242-3). Bākharzī evidently regarded himself as obliged, by virtue of his prominence, to influence the Mongol rulers in favour of Islam; this is suggested by the versified letter he addressed to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥabash ʿAmīd, vizier to Čaghatay Khān, one line of which reads, "You are entrusted, in this government, with promoting the truth (*nuṣrat-i ḥakk*); should you fail to do so, what will be your excuse on the Day of Gathering?" (cited in V.V. Bartol'd, *Turkestan v épokhu mongol'skogo nashestviya*, in *Sočineniya*, i, Moscow 1963, 541). Bākharzī was visited in Bukhārā by Berke, the future ruler of the Golden Horde, and either converted him to Islam or strengthened him in the affirmation of the faith (J. Richard, *La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or*, in *REI*, xxxv [1967], 173-84). For all his prestige, Bākharzī's zeal for Islam sometimes led him into conflict with the Mongols; thus he was once abducted while praying to the Mongol camp outside Bukhārā and detained for a while (Abū 'l-Mafākhir Yaḥyā Bākharzī, *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa-fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1358 *Sh*./1979, 270). Similarly, one of his disciples, Burhān al-Dīn Bukhārī, sent to Ḳubilay's capital of Khān-Bālīḳ to propagate Islam, found himself expelled to Māčīn, i.e. the realm of the southern Sung, where he soon perished (Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, Tehran 1333 *Sh*./1954, ii, 64).

Bākharzī's influence extended beyond Bukhārā to Kirmān. Ḳutlugh Turkān Khātūn, the Ḳutlugh-

Khānid ruler of Kirmān (r. 658-81/1258-82) requested him to send her one of his sons, and he accordingly dispatched Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 696/1297), his middle son, bearing with him the gift of a tooth allegedly from the Prophet. The *khānaḳāh* she established for him in Kirmān became a centre for the temporary expansion of Bākharzī's branch of the Kubrawī order in southern and south-eastern Persia. The prestige Bākharzī thus acquired in Kirmān is reflected in the panegyric *ḳaṣīda* addressed to him by Khwādjū Kirmānī (*Dīwān*, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1336 *Sh*./1957, 598-600). Bākharzī sent his youngest son, Maẓhar al-Dīn Muṭahhar, to Konya, not, however, to spread the Kubrawī path, but to pay homage to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, samples of whose verse had reached Bākharzī from a follower in Shīrāz (Aḥmad Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959, i, 143-5).

Bākharzī's *khānaḳāh* at Fatḥābād flourished for at least a century after his death and burial there in 659/1261. His eldest son, Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad—the only son to have remained in Bukhārā—cannot have played a significant role in this regard, for he was killed a mere two years after the death of his father, in the course of factional strife among the Mongols. It was rather Abu 'l-Mafākhir Yaḥyā (d. 736/1335-6), the son of Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad, who, coming to Bukhārā from Kirmān in 712/1312-3, succeeded in consolidating the affairs of the *khānaḳāh* (Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Muʿīn al-Fuḳarāʾ, *Tārīkh-i Mullā-zāda dar dhikr-i mazārāt-i Bukhārā*, ed. Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1339 *Sh*./1960, 43). Still-extant documents from 726/1326 and 734/1333 record an augmentation of the endowments settled on the *khānaḳāh*; of particular interest is the earmarking of funds for the purchase and manumission of slaves who, converted to Islam, were to work on the lands belonging to the *waḳf* (O.D. Čekhovič, *Bukharskie dokumentî XIV veka*, Tashkent 1965). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the *khānaḳāh* during Abū 'l-Mafākhir's tenure; he remarks on the lavish hospitality which he received and on the singing of poems in Persia and Turkish by the assembled dervishes (*Riḥla*, iii, 27-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 554). The esteem in which rulers continued to hold Bākharzī is illustrated by the burial in his proximity of the Čaghatayid Buyan (or Bayan) Ḳulī Khān in 760/1359 (E. Knobloch, *Turkestan*, Munich 1973, 212). Indeed, gifts by rulers continued to enrich the *waḳf* as late as the 12th/18th century, but by the time the Persian dervish Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh visited Fatḥābād in 1316/1898-9, the shrine was in an advanced state of dilapidation, many of its tiles having been stolen for sale in the markets of Bukhārā (*Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ii, 242).

Long before this architectural decay set in, the Bākharzī line of the Kubrawiyya had vanished from Bukhārā, supplanted—like all other Central Asian branches of the order—by the Naḳshbandiyya. The tomb of Bākharzī came to function simply as a site for popular pilgrimage (as happened also with the shrine of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā in Kuhna Ūrgandj). Genealogical descendants of Bākharzī can be traced in Bukhārā as late as the 13th/19th century, and in 1255/1839 one of them, ʿAbd al-Ḳayyūm Khōdja, wrote a biography of his great forebear (*Manāḳib-i Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, mss. Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Republic, 6965, 10,802); none of them, however, were practitioners of the Kubrawī path. A similar development took place in Kirmān. Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad's *khānaḳāh* fell into disuse after Abu 'l-Mafākhir's departure for Bukhārā, and although other members of the family remained in Kirmān, being honorifically known as *shāhān-i Bukhārā* and occupying positions of importance, none of them perpetuated the Bākharzī initiatic lineage.

The only extended prolongation of the Bākharzī branch of the Kubrawiyya took place in India. From Badr al-Dīn Samarḳandī (d. 716/1316) went forth a line that crystallised after two generations as the Firdawsiyya of Bihār, a sub-order, of which the most eminent representative was Sharaf al-Dīn Manērī (d. 782/138 [see MAKHDŪM AL-MULK SHARAF AL-DĪN]) (S.A.A. Rizvi, *A history of Sufism in India*, Delhi 1978, i, 226-40; B.B. Lawrence, *Notes from a distant flute: Sufi literature in pre-Mughal India*, Tehran 1978, 72-8).

Bākharzī's surviving literary corpus is quite meagre. It consists of *Waḳāʾiʿ al-khalwa*, an Arabic account of visions experienced while in Khwārazm, only a fragment of which is extant (Brockelmann, S I, 810); a Persian treatise on love (*Risāla-yi ʿIshḳ*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, viii/4 (1340 *Sh*./1961), 11-24); and a number of quatrains, including some of uncertain attribution (S. Khuda Bakhsh, *Saifuddīn Bākharzī*, in *ZDMG*, lix (1905), 345-54; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Bākharzī*, in *MDADT*, ii/4 (1334 *Sh*./1955), 3-15; Dhabīḥullāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1339 *Sh*./1951, ii, 856-8). Bākharzī also kept a journal (*rūz-nāma*) in which he recorded such matters as the gifts that were brought to him and the prayers he made on behalf of the donors; the adversaries in Bukhārā for whose redemption and guidance he prayed; and the menstrual cycles of his wives and concubines. The journal is lost but portions of it were included by Abu 'l-Mafākhir Yaḥyā in his *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa-fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, an account of the litanies and practices of the Bākharzī branch of the Kubrawī order.

Bibliography: Īradj Afshār, *Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, in *MDADT*, ix (1341 *Sh*./1962), 28-74; idem, *Saif-al-din Bākharzi*, in W.B. Henning and E. Yarshater (eds.), *A locust's leg: studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 21-7; D. DeWeese, *The eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxi/1-2 (1988), 47-50; F. Meier, *Die Fawāʾiḥ al-Ǧamāl wa-Fawātiḥ al-Ǧalāl des Naǧm ad-Dīn Kubrā*, Wiesbaden 1957, 42-3; J. Paul, *Scheiche und Herrscher im Khanat Čaǧatay*, in *Isl.*, lxvii (1990), 282-3.

(HAMID ALGAR)

SAYFĪ ʿARŪḌĪ BUKHĀRĪ, a Persian prosodist and minor poet at the Tīmūrid court in Harāt during the second half of the 9th/15th century. He is remembered for his text-book of Persian prosody *ʿArūḍ-i Sayfī*, which he completed in 896/1491; this has been published several times in India, notably with an English translation and extensive commentary in H. Blochmann's *The prosody of the Persians according to Saifi, Jami, and other writers*, Calcutta 1872, a work which played an important role in making Persian poetical theory accessible to European students. But now that older and more detailed works on the same subject are available (especially the early 7th/13th-century *Muʿdjam* of Shams-i Ḳays) Sayfī's largely derivative work is only of limited interest.

"Sayfī" was the pen-name of several other Persian poets, the earliest being ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sayfī al-Naysābūrī, whose poems are quoted by ʿAwfī, Shams-i Ḳays and Djādjarmī and of whom Dawlatshāh says that he flourished under the Khwārazm-shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish (568-96/1172-1200).

Bibliography: Sayfī ʿArūḍī is mentioned in Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, Bābur's autobiography, Dawlatshāh and later authorities.

See also Rieu, *Persian cat.*, 525-6; Khayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i sukhanwārān*, 284; Storey, iii/1, 185-7 and (for Sayfī Naysābūrī) Storey-de Blois, v/2, 516-17.

(F.C. de Blois)

SAYFĪ HARAWĪ (Sayf b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb), poet and historian of Harāt in the Mongol period. Born in *ca.* 681/1282, he gained access to the court of Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 706/1307), the third *malik* of the Kart [*q.v.*] dynasty of Harāt, in whose honour he claims to have written 80 *ḳaṣīdas* and 150 *ḳiṭʿas*. In 706/1306, when Harāt was besieged by the Mongol army of the Īl-Khān Öldjeytü, led by Dānishmand Bahādur, Sayfī composed a *mathnawī*, the *Sām-nāma*, in praise of Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, who conducted a vigorous defence on behalf of the absent *malik*. On the city's fall, Sayfī narrowly escaped execution by Dānishmand Bahādur's son Bödjey, whose father had been treacherously killed by Sām; and for a time his fortunes underwent an eclipse. It was some years before he gained the favour of the new *malik*, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 729/1328-9), to whom he had presented a work on ethics, the *Madjmūʿa-yi Ghiyāthī*, and who commissioned him to write a chronicle of Harāt. Sayfī's *Taʾrīkh-i Harāt* (or *Taʾrīkh-i mulūk-i Kart*), his only surviving work, covers the period from the city's capture by Chinggis Khan in 618/1221 down to 722/1322, in all probability the date of composition. It was originally intended to comprise two *daftars* totalling 400 discourses (*dhikrs*); but only the first *daftar*, of 138 *dhikrs*, has come down to us. Although Sayfī's chronology for the first half-century or so must be treated with caution, the *Taʾrīkh*, as the earliest extant history of Harāt, is extremely valuable: Sayfī cites lost sources, notably the *Kart-nāma* of Rabīʿī-yi Būshandjī (*ca.* 702/1302-3), and utilises documents in the Kartid chancery. Both Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, in his historical works and in his geography, and Isfizārī (d. 903/1498), the later chronicler of Harāt, made extensive use of Sayfī's *Taʾrīkh*.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 354-5; Storey-Bregel', ii, 1042-4; Abdul Muktadir, *Notes on a unique history of Herat*, in *JASB*, N.S., xii (1916), 165-84; I.P. Petrushevskiy, *Trud Seyfi, kak istočnik po istorii vostočnogo Khorasana*, in *Trudī Yužno-Turkmenistanskoy arkheologičeskoy kompleksnoy ekspeditsii*, v, Ashkhabad 1955, 130-62; edn. of Sayfī, *The Taʾrīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, by M.Z. aṣ-Ṣiddíqí, Calcutta 1944, repr. Tehran 1352/1973.

(P. Jackson)

SAYḤĀN, the ancient Saros, the western twin river of the Djayḥān [*q.v.*] in the Çukurova (Cilician plain) in eastern Turkey; both were identified with two of the Ḳurʾānic rivers from Paradise (Ḳurʾān XLVII, 15, etc.) by the early Muslim border warriors. Its total length is 560 km/348 miles with the two spring rivers, the western Zamantı Irmağı (325 km/200 miles), originating in the Uzun Yayla, and the eastern Göksu (200 km/125 miles) coming from Binboğa and the Tahtalı mountains. The Zamantı flows through the meadows and gorges of the Taurus, and below Faraşa Köyü (Ariarameia) it unites with the Göksu. The latter, in its upper part preserves the ancient name as Sarız Suyu near the town of Sarız. The main right-bank tributaries of the Sayḥān are the Görgün Suyu and the Çakıt Suyu (Hafız Suyu, flowing down from Ulukışla through the famous Pozantı Deresi) just above Adana [*q.v.*], the original mouths of which are now immersed in the artificial lake of the Seyhan Toprak Barajı (begun in 1956). The riverbed had meandered through the Çukurova, causing enormous inundations and often enough mixing with the Djayḥān. It now flows westwards into a delta, one arm of which is the Tarsus Çayı, and into the sea at Deli Burnu. Avoiding the bad climate of the flood plain, the main harbour of the region, Mersin [*q.v.*], lies 25 km/15 miles to the north. Health and agriculture have been greatly improved by the construction of the dam, though cotton production was known in the Cilician plain from the Middle Ages and, together with orchards, had already been organised on industrial lines under Mīṣīrlī Ibrāhīm Pasha (*mutaṣarrif* in Adana on behalf of Meḥemmed ʿAlī 1833-40) and during the 1860s. The first railway connection of Adana with Mersin was built in 1886.

The only antique monument preserved along the river is the old bridge in Adana with 14 of its originally 21 arches still in use (length 319 m/1,046 feet), erected under Hadrian, with restorations, according to inscriptions and literary sources, in the 4th century, under Justinian (Procopius, *De aedif.*, 5 § 5); under al-Mahdī in 165/781-2; in 225/840; by Meḥemmed IV in 1072/1661-2 (Ewliyā Čelebi, ix, 338); by Aḥmed III; twice in the 19th century; and in 1949. It is wrongly described as having only one arch by Yāḳūt (i, 179). It should probably not be identified with the Djisr al-Walīd [II], constructed between al-Maṣṣīṣa (on the Djayḥān) and Adana in 125/743 (al-Balādhurī, 165), though the latter was situated on the western bank. But the region to the west of the Djayḥān remained a no-man's-land between Arabs and Byzantines until the early ʿAbbāsid period, when under al-Manṣūr in 141 or 142/758-9 Adana was "founded" (rebuilt) and populated by Khurāsānians, and in 165/781-2 a fort was begun next to the bridge by Hārūn al-Rashīd as governor of the *thughūr*; according to another tradition the city was [re]erected only in 194/809-10 (al-Balādhurī, 166-7). The early history is retailed by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262, *Bughya*, i, 169-71, also quoting several *ḥadīths* for identifying the Sayḥān with that river of Paradise having water (against three others with honey, wine and milk), 381-8, 389-92; cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 145 § 289, ii, 66 § 775; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 209, tr. 201-2, explicitly states that these rivers were intended, and not the parallel Sayḥūn and Djayḥūn of Transoxania). He adds valuable geographical and historical information on this region (Byzantine occupation, from the end of the 9th century until around 1172, with the intrusion of the Lesser Armenian Kingdom of Sis 1080-1375 and the Crusaders), and mentions that the river flowed in Byzantine territory until Ḳalʿat Samandū (recalled in the modern Zamantı, see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 65-6), then in Armenian territory (*bilād al-Arman*) until Adana (i, 379-80).

From Saldjūḳ times onwards Turkish tribes occasionally pushed into the Taurus region, occupying the *yaylas* or summer pastures and valleys; the Ramaḍān-oghullarī [*q.v.*] were later prominent here. Remnants of nomadic life have survived down to the recent past, and the *ʿāshiḳs* and popular poets (*ozan*) of the 19th century in this region were famous, including Dadaloghlu and Ḳaradjaoghlan, singing of social tensions and of the natural beauties of the mountains and riverside.

The region and the geography of the river were forgotten in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, in spite of the continuing use of routes via the Cilician pass (Gülek Boğazı) and along parts of the Zamantı and Sayḥān, so that Ewliyā Čelebi confuses the rivers (Adana on the Djayḥān, but not consistently, ix, 333, 336-40, already like the Byzantine sources, see al-Maṣṣīṣa). Foreign travellers like Marco Polo in 1270, Bertrandon de la Broquière 1432, Kātib Čelebi, Paul

Lucas 1706, Kinneir 1813 and Texier 1835, rarely mention more than the route stages and towns.

Bibliography: For Arabic sources, travellers and the main secondary works, see ḎJAYḤĀN. Also Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1408/1988; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ, Syrie du Nord*, ed. A.M. Eddé, in *BEO*, xxxii/3 (1980-1), 369, tr. Damascus 1984, 91-2; Map: Türkiye 1:800,000, *Harita Umum Müdürlüğü*, 1933; L. Rother, *Gedanken zur Stadtentwicklung in der Çukurova*, Wiesbaden 1972 (= TAVO, Reihe B, 3); *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, Istanbul 1981, s.v. *Adana ili*, 10-57; Murat Yüksel, *Çukurova'da Türk-İslam eserleri ve kitabeler*, Ankara 1994.

(C.P. HAASE)

ṢĀYIGH, FATḤ ALLĀH (1790-?, still alive in 1847), son of Anthony, a Christian of the Latin rite who was a native of Aleppo and was the clerk, dragoman and biographer of Lascaris de Vintemille, Napoleon Bonaparte's agent. In Lascaris's company, he made a "commercial" tour through different regions of Syria and ʿIrāḳ. This trip concealed what was in reality a plan involving high politics, which Ṣāyigh was unaware of at the beginning of the travels. It was a question of getting to know the desert, its itineraries, resources and watering places, of unifying its tribes, of placing them under a single chief, of organising their rebellion against both the Turkish occupying power and also the Wahhābīs, and of preparing the way for a French military expedition which would block the route to India for British commerce.

Ṣāyigh and Lascaris left Aleppo on 18 February 1810. They succeeded in reaching Palmyra and in placing themselves under the protection of Muhannā Fāḍil, the *shaykh* of the Ḥisana. But the policy of Muhannā's elder brother, Nāṣir, was contrary to Lascaris's aims. The latter therefore set his sights on the *amīr* Durayʿ b. Shaʿlān, the *shaykh* of the Ruwāla [*q.v.*]. It was at that point that he revealed to his companion the journey's real aim, and Ṣāyigh henceforth threw all his energy into realising Lascaris's projects. The exploration of the deserts of the Arab East occupied the two of them for several years. Ṣāyigh made by himself a journey to Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in 1813, and the Odyssey only came to an end after Napoleon's fall.

After Lascaris's death at Cairo in 1817, the result of being poisoned, the survivor Ṣāyigh went back to his mother at Lattakia, where he found a minor job with a merchant. He spoke with his friends about his numerous adventures and told them of a collection of notes which he had put together, at Lascaris's request, during his life as a Bedouin. At the time of his travels in Syria, Alphonse de Lamartine became interested in Ṣāyigh's memoirs (written in a semi-dialectal Arabic), negotiated their purchase, had them translated into French and published them in vol. iv of his *Voyage en Orient* (1835 ed.). Ṣāyigh made a trip to Paris in 1847, where he was the guest of Lamartine, and thanks to the latter, he was nominated consular agent of France in Aleppo.

Studded with errors as it was, Lamartine's version of Ṣāyigh's memoirs was condemned to oblivion by the Arabists of the 19th century, who accused the Syrian traveller of having put together a romance out of assorted pieces. It is probably true that one can find in Ṣāyigh's account numerous historical and geographical errors. But the *Journal Asiatique*'s severe judgement, which claims to have reduced the historicity of this account to nothingness, is only true in regard to the written parts deformed in translation or completely foreign to the original text, as is shown on the evidence of the new French version.

Bibliography: Arabic ms. of Fatḥ Allāh Ṣāyigh's memoirs, B.N. fonds arabe 2298, ed. as *Riḥlat Fatḥ Allāh Ṣāyigh al-Ḥalabī*, ed. Yūsuf Shulhud, Damascus 1991; Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient. Récit du sejour de Fatalla Sayeghir chez les Arabes errants du grand désert*, new tr. J. Chelhod, *Le désert et la gloire*, Paris 1991; *Lettre de Fresnel à Jules Mohl*, in *JA*, 6th ser., xvii (1871), 165-83; *JA, Rapport annuel*, 6th ser., xx (1872), 36; Auriant, *La vie extraordinaire de Théodore Lascaris*, Paris 1940; J. Chelhod, *Lascaris et Sâyigh, agents de Napoléon, chez les Bédouins*, in *Rev. d'histoire diplomatique*, 102e année (1988), 5-35.

(J. CHELHOD)

ṢĀYIGH, TAWFĪḲ (1923-1971), Christian Palestinian Arab poet, born at Khirbā (southern Syria) as the son of a Presbyterian minister. In 1925, his family moved to Palestine, then, in 1948, to Beirut. Ṣāyigh was educated at the Arab College in Jerusalem and the American University in Beirut (B.A. in English literature in 1945), and studied literature at Harvard, Oxford and Cambridge. He taught Arabic language and literature in Cambridge and London. He was the editor in chief of the new Beirut cultural magazine *Ḥiwār* from 1962 through 1967. From 1968 until his death from a heart attack on 3 January 1971, Ṣāyigh lectured at the University of California at Berkeley.

Ṣāyigh's poetry, which is devoid of rhyme and metre, comprises the following volumes: *Thalāthūn ḳaṣīda* (1954), *al-Ḳaṣīda kāf* (1960) and *Muʿallaḳat Tawfīḳ Ṣāyigh* (1963) (all of them republished in *al-Madjmūʿāt al-shiʿriyya*, London 1990). His poetry, much of which was originally published in the Beirut literary magazines *Shiʿr* and *Ḥiwār*, has been called "a supreme example of an early modernity achieved because of the poet's particular qualities of vision and technique." (Salma Jayyusi, in M.M. Badawi (ed.), *Modern Arabic literature* (= *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*), Cambridge 1992, 152).

His other writings include essays on Arabic and English literature and translations of English verse (e.g. *50 ḳaṣīda min al-shiʿr al-amīrikī al-muʿāṣir*, and T.S. Eliot, *Rubāʿiyyāt arbaʿ* (= *Four Quartets*), both ²London 1990).

Bibliography: Issa J. Boullata, *The beleaguered unicorn: a study of Tawfīq Ṣāyigh*, in *JAL*, iv (1973), 69-93; idem, *The concept of modernity in the poetry of Jabra and Sayigh*, in Boullata (ed.), *Critical perspectives on modern Arabic literature 1945-1980*, Washington D.C. 1980, 263-79, repr. from *Edebiyât*, ii (1978), 173-89; Djabrā Ibrāhīm Djabrā, *Fī djubb al-usūd*, in *Shiʿr*, xv (1960), 105-17, repr. in idem, *al-Ḥurriyya wa 'l-ṭūfān*³, Beirut 1982, 28-42; idem, *Tawfīḳ Ṣāyigh, dughūṭ al-nār wa 'l-djawhar al-ṣulb*, in *al-Nār wa 'l-djawhar*, Beirut 1975; Maḥmūd Shurayḥ, *Tawfīḳ Ṣāyigh, sīrat shāʿir wa-manfā*, London 1989.

(W. STOETZER)

ṢAYMARA, a town of mediaeval Persia, in what later became known as Luristān [*q.v.*], and the chef-lieu of the district of Mihradjānkadhaḳ. A tributary of the Karkhā, which flows into the Kārūn river [*q.v.*], is still today known as the Saymareh.

The district passed peacefully into the hands of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī's Arab troops (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 307), and in mediaeval times prospered as a meeting-place of Arab, Persian and Lur ethnic elements, apart from the devastations of a severe earthquake in 258/872 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1872-3). The valley which comprised the district was fertile and could even produce dates, but by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's time (8th/14th century), Ṣaymara was falling into ruins (which can still be seen today). A notable scholar and

humorist from the town was Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī, d. 275/888 [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 202; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 470-3.

(C.E. Bosworth)

al-**ṢAYMARĪ**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Yaʿḳūb b. Aḥmad, scholar and writer, probably a Shīʿī, of whom we unfortunately know very little.

The Shīʿī authors of the 5th/11th century, in particular, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, compiler of the *Nahdj al-balāgha* [*q.v.*] (d. 405/1015 [*q.v.*]), and biographers like Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 438/1046), al-Nadjāshī (d. 450/1058) and al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), do not have a single word about al-Ṣaymarī or his work. Moreover, there were occasions for this. As far as is known, the sole piece of information about him which we possess is owed to Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, commentator on the *Nahdj* (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.*]). This leads us to conclude that he lived after al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and al-Ṭūsī but before Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, if indeed he was not the latter's contemporary. If this is the case, he must have lived in the period of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries.

Thanks to Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, we also know of the existence of one of his works, the *Kalām ʿAlī wa-khuṭabuhu* ("Words and speeches of ʿAlī"). But this work is completely unknown to the older Arab biographers. Its title, however, enables one easily to deduce its nature, and it was probably a collection of ʿAlī's discourses and letters. Following other writers who came after al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (cf. Kh. al-Ḥusaynī, *Maṣādir Nahdj al-balāgha*, Baghdād 1966-8, i, 68-92, at 70), al-Ṣaymarī probably wished in his own book to fill in some of the gaps left by the compiler of the *Nahdj*. But the extract from his text given by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd—a correspondence between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, apparently at the outset of their quarrel, in which the latter invites his opponent to prepare for war (*Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1965-7, xv, 82)—does not appear in the *Nahdj*; in the present state of our knowledge, no more can be said.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(Moktar Djebli)

al-**ṢAYMARĪ**, Abu 'l-ʿAnbas [see abu 'l-ʿanbas al-ṣaymarī, in Suppl.].

al-**ṢAYRAFĪ**, Muḥammad b. Badr, a prominent judge in Ikhshīdid Egypt. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh (or ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) al-Ṣayrafī was born in Egypt in 264/877-8. His father was a client of Yaḥyā b. Ḥakīm al-Kinānī and was a prosperous money changer (*ṣarrāf*) for whom Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī composed his *Kitāb al-Mawālī*. A Ḥanafī by *madhhab* and a reporter of traditions, al-Ṣayrafī studied under Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī as a Ḥanafī jurist and heard traditions from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī in Mecca and from other Meccan and Egyptian teachers. Ibn ʿAsākir briefly refers to al-Ṣayrafī in his *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, stating that he stayed in Damascus for a while and transmitted *ḥadīth* there, as well as in Egypt, on the authority of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī.

Al-Ṣayrafī held different judicial posts before succeeding to the judgeship of Egypt (*ḳaḍāʾ Miṣr*) under the Ikhshīdids. For a while he was a deputy to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Shawārib, who had been designated as the chief judge of Egypt by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Rāḍī. According to Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, al-Ṣayrafī himself held the judgeship of Egypt on three occasions, from Shawwāl 322/October 934 to Shaʿbān 324/July 936, and secondly from Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 327/October 939 to Ṣafar 329/December 940. Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd appointed al-Ṣayrafī for the third and last time to that office in Shawwāl 329/July 941, a post he held until his death in Shaʿbān 330/May 942. Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī reports, on the authority of Ibn Zūlāḳ, that Muḥammad b. Badr al-Ṣayrafī wore fine clothes and had a sumptuous house in Fusṭāṭ.

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(F. Daftary)

SAYRĀM (also Ṣayram, etc.), the name of a town in present-day Kazakhstan, some 7-8 miles east of Čimkent, on the Arïs river, a tributary of the Syr Darya. Kāshgharī (ed. and tr. Dankoff, ii, 241; repeated in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Ross, 171), in the earliest reference to it under this name, identifies it as the "White City which is called Isbīdjāb" [see isfīdjāb, in Suppl.]. In Kāshgharī's day (i, 84) its inhabitants spoke "both Soghdian and Turkic." It is to be distinguished from a city of the same name in Eastern Turkistan (located between Kuča and Aḳsu) which, according to local tradition, was founded by captives brought thither by the Kalmyks (Barthold, rev. of *Taʾrīkh-i Amniyya*, in *Sočineniya*, viii, 213); the great Turkish Ṣūfī, Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166-7 [*q.v.*]) was claimed as a native of this town (Barthold, *Hist. des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 111). Ch'ang Ch'un, who visited "Sai-lan" in the early 1220s, noted that its ruler was a Muslim. Subsequent Chinese travellers of the Yüan and Ming eras describe it as a well-populated Muslim town with extensive agriculture (see Bretschneider, *Researches*, for references). The agricultural productivity, based on irrigation canals, is remarked on by later Muslim authors as well (see Pishčulina, *Pis'mennie*, 167-72). Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ*, ed. Romaskevič, i/1, 72-3) places it in a listing of Eurasian toponyms between "Talās" and "Ibīr and Sībīr" and cites it (i/1, 101) as one of the regions conquered by the legendary Oghuz Khān. He also mentions (i/1, 91) it as "Ḳārī Ṣayram" (Turk. "Old Sayram") as an "old and great city", one day's journey in length, with 40 gates, inhabited by Muslim Turks. It is frequently noted in Tīmūrid (Tīmūr gave it to his grandson, Ulugh Beg, see Yazdī, ii, 449) and Shaybānid sources, with often-shifting overlordship according to the fortunes of war (Barthold, *Hist. of the Semirechyé*).

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viii, 213-19; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; idem, *History of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1962; K.A. Pis͟hčulina, *Pis'mennïe vostočnïe istočniki o prisïrdar'inskikh gorodakh Kazakhstana xiv-xvii vv.* ("Eastern written sources on the Syr Darya towns of Kazakhstan of the XIV-XVII centuries"), in B.A. Tulupbaev (ed.), *Srednevekovaya gorodskaya kul'tura Kazakhstana i Sredney Azii* ("The medieval urban culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia"), Alma-Ata 1983, 165-77; Č.Č. Valikhanov, *Sobranie sočineniy v pyati tomakh* (= coll. works in 5 volumes), Alma-Ata 1984-5. (P.B. Golden)

SAYʾŪN, a town in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], situated about 16 km/10 miles east of S͟hibām [*q.v.*] and 24 km/15 miles west of Tarīm [*q.v.*] and approximately 480 km/300 miles north of the port of Ḥaḍramawt, al-Mukallā [*q.v.*] (see H. von Wissmann and R.B. Serjeant, map of Southern Arabia, Royal Geographical Society, 1958). The town was within the boundaries of the Fifth Governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and now in the unified Republic of Yemen. Landberg (*Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, iii, *Daṯînah*, Leiden 1913, 1820) discusses the spelling of the name, Sayʾūn and Saywūn, etc., concluding that the former is the more ancient spelling and that the *-ūn* ending is Mahri (cf. names like K͟hudūn, Dammūn, Ḳaydūn etc.).

The area is famed for its fertility and, in particular, for its date growing. Although it has nothing like the renown of Tarīm in this regard, some accounts of Sayʾūn mention the town as a centre of Islamic scholarship (*hid͟jrat ʿilm*) (Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Maḳḥafī, *Muʿd͟jam al-buldān wa 'l-ḳabāʾil al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1988, 335). Landberg, at the turn of the century (*Etudes*, i, *Ḥadramoût*, Leiden 1901, 451), writes of the temporary decline of Tarīm as a centre of scholarship and religion with the closure of its school (*ribāṭ*) and the resultant rise of the discipline in Sayʾūn. Here a rich benefactor of the school, *al-Ḥabīb* (the usual Ḥaḍramī title of a *sayyid*) ʿAlī al-Ḥabs͟hī Bā ʿAlawī, was its rector, providing for all the needs of poor students entirely free.

Sayʾūn, it should be said, is not of great antiquity. The name of the town appears along with the Kat͟hīrī sultans from about the 9th/15th century. They conquered Ḥaḍramawt from the east, from Ẓafār [*q.v.*] from where they originally hailed. The town continued in their hands and was the capital of the Kat͟hīrī sultanate in 1967 when the British left the Aden Protectorates and independence was granted.

Bibliography: All references are given in the text except the historical ones, the main one of which is Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Ḥamīd al-Kindī, *Tārīk͟h Ḥaḍramawt, al-ʿUdda al-mufīda al-d͟jāmiʿa li-tawārīk͟h ḳadīma wa-ḥadīt͟ha*, ed. ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabs͟hī, Ṣanʿāʾ 1991, *passim*. See also Government of Bombay, *An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Bombay 1909, 123 ff.; R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, Oxford 1963, 25 ff. and *passim*; idem, *Omani naval activities off the Southern Arabian coast in the late 11th/17th century from Yemeni chronicles*, in *Jnal. of Oman Studies*, vi (1983), 77-89. (G.R. Smith)

SAYYID, Sāʾid (a., pls. *asyād, sāda, sādāt*, abstract nouns *siyāda, suʾdad*, etc.), originally, chief, e.g. of an Arabian tribe, and then, in Islamic times, a title of honour for descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad, being in this respect in many ways coterminous with the term *s͟harīf*.

Sayyid was used in ancient South Arabian, where it appears as *s¹wd* "chieftain" (A.F.L. Beeston, etc., *Sabaic dictionary*, Louvain-Beirut 1982, 129), but the root seems to be largely absent from North-Western Semitic, being only dubiously attested in Elephantine Aramaic (J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic inscriptions*, Leiden 1995, ii, 779-80). In early Arabic usage, it could be applied to animals, with the wild ass called the *sayyid* of his female, and to the leaders of the Jinn (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1462-3).

1. In early Arabic tribal usage.

Though *sayyid* is the most common and the most general term, there are many other designations for the tribal chief: *ʿamīd, ʿimād* "pillar, support"; *rābiʿ* or *sayyid al-mirbāʿ* (from the chief's entitlement to a quarter of captured booty); *raʾīs, ḳāʾid* (referring to the chief's leadership in war); *k͟haṭīb* and *zaʿīm* (referring to his oratorical powers); and *s͟hayk͟h* and *kabīr* (designating chiefs who were veterans, with long and glorious careers). Less common in ancient times, *s͟hayk͟h* has become in recent centuries the standard title for the Bedouin tribal chief, since both *sayyid* and *s͟harīf* (referring to the chief's nobility of lineage) have tended to acquire specialised Islamic religious senses (see below, 2.).

The chief's authority in his tribe was based in the first place on his *nasab* or ancestry, from inheritance (*irt͟h^an*) and from a chain of noble (*s͟harīf*) and free (*ḥurr, ṣarīḥ*) predecessors (*kabīr^an ʿan kabīr^in*) (see Bichr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 52; and ʿirḍ). He had to possess such qualities and practice such skills as *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], magnanimity; *dahāʾ*, shrewdness and diplomatic finesse; and liberality and hospitality (a chief might be described as *ʿaẓīm al-ḳudūr* "having large cooking pots" or *kat͟hīr al-rimād* "having a large pile of ashes [outside his tent]"). He had to act as spokesman and orator for the tribe, so that many chiefs were famed also as poets, such as Imruʾ al-Ḳays of Kinda and Mālik b. Nuwayra of Yarbūʿ of Tamīm [*q.vv.*, and see for other such poet-chiefs, s͟hāʿir. 1. a]. Such abilities as being able to read and write and being able to swim are recorded as being amongst those possessed by the chief of the K͟hazrad͟j in Medina, Saʿd b. Ubāda [*q.v.*]. Because of an emphasis on seniority within the leading family, chiefs tended to be men of mature age and experience rather than youths; they might be bald, but could not be beardless. Certain of the chief's functions might on occasion be exercised by others of his kinsmen or by tribal notables, and in early modern times, Jaussen noted the existence at the side of the chief of a specific leader of raids, *ʿaḳīd al-g͟hazw*, amongst the Jordanian tribes (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 132).

A chief might succeed to the headship by an act of bequest (*waṣiyya*) of his predecessor. Imruʾ al-Ḳays succeeded his father Ḥud͟jr; Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī's [*q.v.*] son succeeded him; and Durayd b. al-Ṣimma [*q.v.*] succeeded his brother. Although chiefs usually came from what would later be called a shaykhly house, this lineage had to be allied to proven competence if the tribe were to flourish and survive in a harsh and lawless environment. Hence because of the overriding necessity for continuing success, the chief's authority was fragile and could be impaired in times of adversity. That of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] was challenged within his tribe of D͟jaʿfar b. Kilāb of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa after setbacks in battle, but later restored. Unless the chief was one of the minority of outstandingly forceful figures regarded as uncontested in their authority (*muṭāʿ, g͟hayr mudāfaʿ*), such as Muḥammad's contemporary ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn of Fazāra, his authority rested to a considerable extent on the tacit consent of

his peers within the tribe, underpinned by his unflagging ability to preserve his people's fighting reputation and to secure pasture for its herds. Hence chieftainship could often be more a burden than a source of exploitation, reflected in the popular saying *sayyid al-kawm khādimuhum* "the chief is the tribe's servant".

Whether, as Chelhod surmised, the chief originally had a sacral role, one effaced by the advent of Islam, is uncertain, but in his function as tribal orator and spokesman one might conjecture an attribution of magical powers similar to those attributed to the ancient poets [see SHĀʿIR. 1. A].

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2. In Islamic socio-religious usage.

See for this, SHARĪF, especially section 3.

SAYYID ḤASAN GHAZNAWĪ, Abu 'l Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ashraf, Persian poet who died presumably in 556/1161. He spent the greater part of his life in Ghazna as a panegyrist of the Ghaznawid Sultan Bahrām Shāh (512-47/1118-52), to whose campaigns into India he dedicated several *kaṣīdas*. During the latter's reign he made the *Ḥadjdj*, in all probability prompted by problems with this *mamdūḥ* and intended as a search for a new one. Our oldest source on Ḥasan, the Persian polymath Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], mentions in his (Arabic) *Lubāb al-ansāb* (written in 555/1160) that he met the poet, who was on his way to Mecca, in Nīshāpūr in 544/1149 (Mudarris-i Raḍawī, introd. to the *Dīwān*, 357). During his journey he associated with members of the Saldjūḳ dynasty: he mourned sultan Masʿūd's death in a *tardjīʿ-band* (in 546/1151) and dedicated a *ḳaṣīda* to the accession to the throne of Malik Shāh III (in 547/1152). After this journey he seems to have resided in Khurāsān at the court of Sandjar. Following Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz in 548/1153, he attached himself to the latter's protégé and nephew, the Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd Khān, who had become ruler of Khurāsān. It is not completely certain whether *ḳaṣīdas* dedicated to the Khwārazm Shāh Atsïz (d. 551/1156) and to the Saldjūḳ Sulaymān Shāh on the occasion of his enthronement in 555/1160 were only sent to, respectively, Khwārazm and Hamadhān or refer to an actual stay at those places. The *ḳaṣīda* for Sulaymān Shāh gives the last date of his life, which came to an end before 557/1162, the date of the deposition of Maḥmūd Khān (see below). A tomb of the poet can be seen in Āzādwār near Djuwayn.

The only work which has survived is a Persian *dīwān* of about 5,000 *bayts*. This *Dīwān* is preceded by an introduction written by a companion who asserts that, in accordance with the author's wish in his testament, he collected it to dedicate it to the Ḳarakhānid Maḥmūd Khān. Although no ms. of the *Dīwān* older than the late 10th/16th century survives, several of Ḥasan Ghaznawī's poems have come down to us in a ms. from 636/1238 from another text, namely, Rāwandī's [*q.v.*] history of the Saldjūḳs *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (completed in 603/1206-7). In this text he is, after Mudjīr al-Dīn Baylaḳānī [*q.v.*], the *dīwān* author most cited; it contains seven complete poems (*ḳaṣīdas* and *tarkīb-bands*), which, in accordance with the nature of the text, are all intended for Saldjūḳ *mamdūḥs*, and some odd verses as well. Moreover, Rāwandī cites an anecdote wherein Ḥasan advises another poet to learn by heart "modern" poets like Anwarī [*q.v.*] and himself and leave aside the great classics like Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] whose talent would inhibit a poet (57-8).

The *Dīwān* consists of *ḳaṣīdas*, strophic poems, *ghazaliyyāt, ḳiṭaʿāt* and *rubāʿiyyāt*. The *ḳaṣīdas* are mostly panegyric, and more than half of them lack a *nasīb* and begin directly with the *madḥ*. A large part of the remaining *ḳaṣīdas* have a *nasīb* devoted to a description of spring and *taghazzul*. Some *ḳaṣīdas*, however, stand out both by subject matter and quality. Memorable are no. 57, a complaint *ḳaṣīda* with the title *ṣafīr al-ḍamīr*; no. 59, which echoes a *ḳaṣīda* by Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*] combining complaint with *fakhr*, and no. 60, an ascetic *ḳaṣīda*. In no. 72, a *sawgand-nāma* ("oath-poem"), the poet tries to repudiate an accusation. Some *ḳaṣīdas* have long passages devoted to *waṣf*. A case in point is the original no. 46, which has a description of fourteen lines of the eyes, which leads to a *gurīzgāh* where the gaze is oriented towards the *mamdūḥ*. Other examples are the description of the night in nos. 62 (as well as of the horse) and 67 (with separate attention to each of the planets).

Already in 1958 Braginski paid attention to the *ghazaliyyāt* of Ḥasan. More than a third of them end with a panegyrical dedication; in this he follows Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān and Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] and prefigures his later contemporary Sanāʾī and ultimately Ḥāfiẓ.

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AL-**SAYYID** AL-**ḤIMYARĪ**, ABŪ HĀSHIM ISMĀʿĪL b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mufarrigh, a Shīʿī poet and a grandson of the poet Ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*]. He was born to Ibāḍī parents about 105/723, grew up in Baṣra, and died in Baghdād or Wāsiṭ between 173/789 and 179/795. At a young age, he adopted with great fervour the doctrine of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] Shīʿa, believing in the imāmate and occultation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and his return as the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. Twelver Shīʿī authorities, both mediaeval and modern, claim that he later converted to Imāmism (*tadjaʿfara*), but the proof-stories they cite are anachronistic, contradictory, or legendary, and his *tadjaʿfur* poems have been judged of old as forgeries. Despite his well-known Kaysānī Shīʿī beliefs, though, he maintained good relations with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ, al-

Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, whose praises he sang and whose gifts he accepted.

Al-Sayyid is considered a leading and prolific *muḥdath* poet of the class of Bashshār b. Burd and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.vv.*]. Although several known people (including four daughters) transmitted his poems, no one could collect them all, due to their large number—allegedly over 2,300. Of these, only 221 poems and fragments have survived; and, of the many books written about his *akhbār*, only one is extant also. Clearly, his poetry was shunned very early, since it contained vehement invectives against the Companions, the Prophet's wives, and the enemies of the Shīʿīs, notably the Umayyads. Most of his poetry praises the Banū Hāshim and recounts ʿAlī's virtues and extraordinary exploits. Though this poetry is generally lyrical, melodious, easy-flowing, and idiosyncratically narrative in style, al-Sayyid's most tender are perhaps his Kaysānī poems, depicting Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's state and his long-awaited return to earth. These latter poems have been a major source for the heresiographers on the Kaysāniyya and have often been attributed to the earlier Kaysānī poet, Kuthayyir ʿAzza [*q.v.*].

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SAYYID ḲUṬB, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Shādhilī, Egyptian writer, prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood and main ideologue of modern Muslim Sunnī fundamentalism, born 9 October 1906 in Mūsha near Asyūṭ, executed 29 August 1966 in Cairo.

Life. In 1920 Sayyid Ḳuṭb moved from his native village to Cairo for his secondary education. From 1929 till 1933 he studied at *Dār al-ʿUlūm*. He worked as a teacher for approximately six years, became a functionary in the Ministry of Education (*Wizārat al-Maʿārif*), and was sent on an educational mission to the United States where he spent two years. He returned to Egypt in August 1950.

Sayyid Ḳuṭb joined the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] probably only after his return from the United States. The exact date on which he joined is still disputed. It is usually assumed that he became a Brotherhood member in 1951.

In October 1952 he left the Ministry of Education after nineteen years of service. When the July 1952 revolution took place, he was in close contact with the Free Officers. He served, so we are told by several sources, as the cultural adviser to the leaders of the revolution. Nevertheless Sayyid Ḳuṭb parted with the new leaders because of ideological differences, for he believed that Islam should serve as the basis for the new Egyptian régime.

He became the editor of the newspaper of the Muslim Brotherhood just before he was arrested for the first time, together with the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood, in early 1954, and remained behind bars for three months.

His second arrest took place on 26 October 1954 in the wake of the Manshiyya incident, supposedly an attempt to assassinate the then President, Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], in Alexandria's Manshiyya Square. In 1955 he was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

Thanks to mediation by the ʿIrāḳī president ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif, Sayyid Ḳuṭb was released from prison in 1964. In November 1964 he published his *Maʿālim fi 'l-ṭarīḳ* "Landmarks". In this book he accuses present Muslim societies of being not Islamic but *djāhilī*. This word originally simply means "pre-Islamic", but in this new context it has no limitations to a period but means first of all "pagan", "barbaric", "anti-Islamic", "vicious" and "wicked". The accusation of being *djāhilī* implies apostasy from Islam, which is punishable by death.

On 9 August 1965, Sayyid Ḳuṭb was arrested again. He was accused of attempting to assassinate Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, of treason, and of planning a coup d'état. His trial was presided over by the notorious military judge Fuʾād al-Didjwī who, in the words of Gilles Kepel, "offered the accused all the guarantees of fairness characteristic of a military court in a dictatorial state trying defendants broken by torture." Sayyid Ḳuṭb was sentenced to death on 21 August 1966 and executed one week later.

Autobiographical writings. Two of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's novels are generally believed to be largely autobiographical: *Ṭifl min al-ḳarya* "A child from the village", 1946, and *Ashwāk* "Thorns", 1947, a moving work which explains why its hero never married.

At the end of the year 1965, in prison, Sayyid Ḳuṭb wrote a detailed statement on his activities within the Muslim Brotherhood. This statement was published under the title *Li-mādhā aʿdamūnī?* "Why did they execute me?". Moreover, several letters, autobiographical articles, and court or police proceedings have been preserved.

Literary works and literary criticism. The first book Sayyid Ḳuṭb published was his *Mahammat al-shāʿir fi 'l-ḥayāt wa-shiʿr al-djīl al-ḥāḍir*, "The task of the poet in life and the poetry of the present generation", 1933.

Sayyid Ḳuṭb's first and last volume of poetry appeared in 1935. It is entitled *al-Shāṭiʾ al-madjhūl*, "The unknown shore". The articles of literary criticism which he published in the periodicals *al-Risāla, al-Muḳtaṭaf, al-Kitāb* and *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* between 1942 and 1946 have been collected in his *Kutub wa-shakhṣiyyāt*, 1946. In the same year his novel *al-Madīna al-masḥūra* "The enchanted city", appeared.

Writings on Islam. Ideas. Sayyid Ḳuṭb's most important work is without doubt his commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān*, literally "In the shadows of the Ḳurʾān", in 30 volumes. When Sayyid Ḳuṭb was arrested in 1954, 16 volumes had appeared. The remaining volumes were written from prison, with Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazālī acting as government-appointed censor.

In 1960, a revised edition of this commentary

started to appear. Volume xiii of the revised edition (up to sūra XIV) appeared in 1964. Arrest and execution prevented the revised edition from being completed. It is this revised edition which is often characterised as *tafsīr ḥarakī* "activist exegesis".

In the general introduction to this commentary, the layman Sayyid Ḳuṭb carefully explains that he "had heard God speaking to [him] in this Ḳurʾān", even though his training had been literary, non-theological, and even though he had never been a recognised Azhar-trained "man of religion".

His *al-ʿAdāla al-idjtimāʿiyya fi 'l-Islām*, "Social justice in Islam", April 1949, revised ed. 1964, was originally written as an answer to the leftist ideas with which Egypt was permeated in the late nineteen-forties. It contains much that would come back in more rigidly-argued forms later on. It appears to be the first work in Arabic that employed the phrase "social justice" instead of "socialism".

The *djāhiliyya* theory developed in *Maʿālim fi 'l-ṭarīḳ*, 1964, became the ideological nucleus of modern Sunnī fundamentalism. It has the grim consequence of *takfīr*, the act of identifying someone as a *kāfir*, unbeliever, or, even, when born a Muslim, as an apostate who deserves the death penalty.

Sayyid Ḳuṭb's *djāhiliyya* theory has roots in traditional Islam and in traditional Islamic law. It appeals to the traditional dislike which the inhabitants of the Middle East feel for their rulers. It reflects the feeling, common in the Middle East, of being overwhelmed by a modernity that penetrated the Muslim world from the West.

There is, however, more to fundamentalism than a mere rejection of modernity. The non-fundamentalist Ṣūfīs, as well as other groups, equally reject modernity, but they do not accept the grave political consequences which the fundamentalists attach to this rejection.

Amongst the collections of articles that appeared as separate books under the name of Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *Maʿrakatunā maʿa 'l-Yahūd*, "Our struggle with the Jews", deserves individual mention. The essay which gave this volume its title was probably written in 1950-1. In its present form, it contains footnotes referring to the spurious document known as *The Protocols of the elders of Zion* that were added in 1970 by a Saudi editor, one Zayn al-Dīn al-Rakkābī. There is an English translation of the essay by Ronald L. Nettler, including an elaborate introduction and commentary, see *Bibl.* below.

A complete list of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's writings can be found in Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Khālidī, 1991, 517-80. This valuable list supplies ample information on the origins, first date of appearance, reprints etc. of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's articles and books.

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(J.J.G. Jansen)

SAYYIDS, a dynasty of Indo-Muslim kings in Dihlī which followed the Tughluḳs and preceded the Lodīs [*q.vv.*] and ruled over Dihlī for about 37 years (817-55/1414-51). Four rulers, Khiḍr Khān (817-24/1414-21), Mubārak Shāh (824-37/1421-34), Muḥammad b. Farīd (837-47/1434-43) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh (847-55/1443-51), belonged to this dynasty. Their claim of Sayyid descent seems to have been shrewdly fabricated in order to buttress their position in the absence of any racial or oligarchic support. The contemporary author of *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, 182, gives two reasons for this claim: firstly, because Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, an eminent Suhrawardī saint of Multān, had once referred to Khiḍr's father, Malik Sulaymān, as a Sayyid; and secondly, because Khiḍr possessed the moral qualities of a Sayyid. Both are flimsy arguments. Significantly enough, the author of *Taʾrīkh-i-Muḥammadī* is silent on this point.

Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of Malik Sulaymān, an adopted son of Malik Naṣīr al-Mulk Mardān Dawlat, an influential *amīr* of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. Under the later Tughluḳs, Khiḍr became the *muḳṭaʿ* of Multān, but was removed in 798/1395-6 when he quarrelled with Sarang Khān, brother of Mallū Iḳbāl Khān [*q.v.*]. Fortune smiled upon him when Tīmūr occupied Dihlī and conferred its government on him. On the eve of his departure, Tīmūr entrusted to him the government of Multān and Dipalpūr also. This gave Khiḍr an initial leverage over other Tughluḳ *maliks* who were struggling for supremacy in the state, but he had to struggle hard to reach the throne. After a number of battles and skirmishes at Adjodhan, Sirhind, Rōhtāk, Mēwāt and Dihlī and in the Doʾāb, Khiḍr entered Sirī on 17 Rabīʿ I 817/6 June 1414 and ascended the throne. His seven years of rule were spent mostly in quelling rebellions and dealing with recalcitrant groups of the nobility. He made determined efforts, though without any lasting success, to reunite under the Sultanate the whole tract of the country from Multān in the west to Ḳannawdj in the east and from the foot of the Himalayas in the north to the borders of Mālwā. He was, however, reluctant to assume sovereignty and was content with the title of *Rāyat-i aʿlā*, pretending to rule on behalf of Tīmūr. Abu 'l-Faḍl remarks: "Khiḍr Khān in gratitude (to Tīmūr) did not assume the regal title but styled his court 'the Sublime Standards', and adorned the *khuṭba* with the name of that illustrious monarch and afterwards with that of Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, but it concluded with a prayer for himself" (ii, 312). The text of the *khuṭba* is given in the *Madjmaʿ al-inshāʾ* and *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī*. Khiḍr Khān died on 17 Djumādā I 824/20 May 1421 and, according to Firishta, people mourned him by wearing black garments.

Mubārak Shāh, who succeeded his father, dealt with the rebellions of Djasrath Khōkar and Tughan Raʾīs, garrisoned Lahore and undertook campaigns against Katehr and Kampil. Developments in Etāwa, Multān, Bayana, Gwāliyār and Mēwāt disturbed him throughout his reign. He also had to deal with Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], undertake cam-

paigns against the Khōkars and face the revolt of the sons of Sayyid Salīm (Shawwal 833/June-July 1430). In Djumādā II 834/February-March 1431, he had to deal with the incursion of Shaykh ʿAlī of Kābul.

On 9 Radjab 837/19 February 1434, Sultan Mubārak Shāh was assassinated when he was preparing to go for his Friday prayers. During the 17 years of his reign, he had to undertake ceaseless military operations in Katehr, Mēwāt and the north-eastern region, and had to deal with rebellious *maliks* in and around the capital. Corrupt and treacherous officers added to his problems and pervaded the entire administrative machinery. His administrative shortcomings apart, he was (as Firishta says) a "cultured prince".

Immediately on his father's death, Muḥammad Shāh (son of Farīd b. Khiḍr) ascended the throne "with the assent of the *amīrs*, *maliks*, *imāms*, Sayyids, grandees, people, *ʿulamāʾ* and the *ḳāḍīs*" (*T.-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, 236). The next day he called the high *amirs* and slaves of Mubārak, who enjoyed the privilege of the *mahī marātib* (fish banner), on the pretext of giving *bayʿat* (allegiance), and had some of them killed and put others in confinement; he thus brought many of the regicides to book. At a time when anarchical tendencies were getting out of control, some *ʿulamāʾ* and *amīrs* invited Maḥmūd I Khaldjī [*q.v.*] from Mālwā. In utter distress, Muḥammad Shāh sent for Bahlūl Lodī and his troops from Sāmāna. The stern battle of the first day convinced Maḥmūd that the conquest of Dihlī would not be an easy task. He therefore readily accepted Muḥammad Shāh's proposal for peace and turned back. When he was on his return journey, Bahlūl Lodī plundered some of his equipage. Pleased at this, Muḥammad Shāh addressed Bahlūl officially as his son.

In 845/1441 Muḥammad Shāh handed over Dipalpūr and Lahore to Bahlūl and commissioned him to chastise Djasrath Khōkar. But Bahlūl turned hostile and marched against Dihlī. This undermined the position of Muḥammad Shāh, whose nobles "even within twenty *karohs* of Dihlī" turned against him. On Muḥammad Shāh's death in 847/1443, his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh was raised to the throne. According to Abu 'l Faḍl, he "possessed no share of rectitude and abandoned himself to licentious gratifications" (ii, 313). Reports of Sharḳī attacks and the disloyal attitude of the nobles created a difficult situation for him. In 1448 he abandoned Dihlī and settled in Badāʾūn, where earlier he had lived as governor. Bahlūl Lodī took possession of Dihlī but allowed him to rule over Badāʾūn till his death (883/1478). Subsequently, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Sharḳī integrated Badāʾūn into his kingdom of Djawnpūr. Families which traced their origin to him were known in Badāʾūn as *Khiḍr-Khānī Sayyids* (Faḍl Akram Ṣiddīḳī, *Āthār-i Badāʾūn*, Badāʾūn 1915, 70).

Emerging as the principality of Multān, the Sayyid dynasty ended as the principality of Badāʾūn. Looked at in the context of the Dihlī Sultanate, the Sayyid dynasty forms a watershed in the history of mediaeval India, indicating a stage in the dismemberment of centralised monarchy. Its rulers were devoid of any ideal of establishing an empire; their political vision was confined to a radius of some 200 miles round Dihlī. Their writ worked only from "Dihlī to Pālam" (*az Dihlī tā Pālam*), as the saying went. They undertook innumerable punitive campaigns but these were mainly directed against their own *maliks*. There was neither administrative coordination nor uniformity in the areas under their control. Even in the agrarian sphere there was "diversity of practice in assessment and collection" (Moreland, 67). Group assessment seems to have gained ground at the expense of Sharing or Measurement. In reality, the Sayyid kings of Dihlī—with their nebulous title of *rāyat-i aʿlā*—were nothing more than glorified *iḳṭāʿ-dārs* and, as Tripathi has remarked, "were never seriously considered as Sovereign rulers". Their political outlook, their theory of kingship, and even their ethnic origin, was born of the exigencies of the situation. The numismatic evidence on which E. Thomas and Nelson Wright based their conclusions about inscriptions on the Sayyid currency is not borne out by information recorded by Bihāmid Khānī and other Persian chroniclers. According to Bihāmid Khānī, the orders of Shāh Rukh were enforced here for about 40 years. Robes of honour and standards were received from Harāt, while the *sikka* (currency) was issued and the *khuṭba* was recited in the name of Tīmūr and his son. It appears from the *Tāʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī* and the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn* that the Sayyid rulers regularly paid tribute to them. Mubārak Shāh's claim to be *Nāʾib-i Amīr al-Muʾminīn* should be interpreted in the context of Shāh Rukh's "ambition of being recognised as *Khalifa* and overlord of other Muslim princes" (Arnold, *The Caliphate*, 12).

Despite all the political turmoil and unstable conditions that prevailed in their shrunken kingdom, the Sayyid rulers displayed a keen interest in the founding of new cities. Khiḍr Khān founded Khiḍrābād and Mubārak Shāh Mubārakābād on the banks of the Djumnā (Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-sanādīd*, ed. Khalīḳ Andjum, Delhi 1990, i, 102). No archaeological remains of these cities have survived. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn is said to have populated Aʿlāpūr in the Badāʾūn district (Raḍī al-Dīn Bismil, *Kamz al-taʾrīkh*, Badāʾūn 1907, 232). He laid out a pleasure garden also (Manzoor Badaoni, *Āthār awliyā-i shahr-i Badāʾūn*, Āgra 1338/1920, 25). The architecture of the Sayyid period is, however, expressive of dissolution. Only the tombs of the period have survived; it has been rightly designated as the *Maḳbara* architecture. According to Percy Brown, 26, "in the course of time the country around the capital was converted into a vast necropolis". More than fifty tombs of considerable size and importance belonged to nobles. No large congregational mosques were built during this period.

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(K.A. Nizami)

SAZ, Ottoman form *sāz*, the Turkish lute. *Sāz*, with various meanings in Persian, including "musical instrument" in general, may be applied to stringed instruments (the *çöğür* in Adharbaydjān, the viol, *sorud*, in Balūčistān), to wind instruments (the *zurna* in Persia) or to the musical band itself; in effect, in Balūčistān (where the local language often reflects the ancient stages of Persian), this word also means the tuning of instruments.

If in Turkey *saz* still denotes, in a rural environment, any musical instrument, the term is generally applied to the lute with a long neck and a semi-pyriform belly, with three groups of strings comprising two or three strings, and this has become over the course of the 20th century a real symbol of national unity.

1. *History and structure of the instrument.*

There are representations of lutes with long necks on Akkadian cylinder seals of the third millennium B.C. The same type of instrument was spread, in the second millennium B.C., all over western Asia and Egypt. Later, there are Byzantine pictures of long-necked lutes (*pandoura*), attesting the presence of such instruments in Anatolia before the Turkish conquest. The question of the origin of these lutes can be discussed at length, but it is clear that, although such stringed instruments may have existed in Western Asia before the Turks' arrival, it nevertheless seems that the Oghuz brought into Asia Minor their own lute, the ancestor of the present *saz*, with the name of *kopuz*. In descriptions of the 14th-15th centuries A.D. (in Yūnus Emre and the Dede Korkut epic), it seems to have been a lute with three strings, with a long neck and a sound-board of hide. The present form of the *saz* could thus be the result of a synthesis between the autochthonous, Anatolian instrument and the Turkish *kopuz*.

In our time, the *saz* has several names, corresponding to different sizes respectively; thus, in increasing order, *cura* (between 50 and 70 cm), *cura-bağlama* or *tambura* (*ca.* 95 cm), *bağlama* (*ca.* 110 cm), *bozuk* (115-20 cm), *divan sazı* (130 cm) and *meydan sazı* (140 cm or more). The length of the neck compared with the sound-board is such that one can play an octave and a fourth. One should mention a final variant, originally from eastern Turkey and Ādharbaydjān, characterised by a shorter neck (an octave + a tone) and with a total length of about 100 cm; this is called *çöğür*, or *kısa saplı* (*bağlama*). It is not impossible that the most archaic *saz* may be the little *cura* with three strings, called in the western parts *üçtelli bağlama* or *kopuz*, and by the nomads of the Taurus, *bulgarı*.

Each fret is a nylon thread (in former times a piece of gut or a copper thread), wrapped three times round the neck and tied at the back; this may be the origin of another name currently used for the *saz*, sc. *bağlama* (from *bağlamak* "to attach").

The strings, of metal since the 18th century, are in origin two (*ikitelli*, corresponding to the Persian *dotār*) or three (*üçtelli, setār*). On the biggest *saz*, the cords are doubled or tripled in unison, in order to increase the dynamic or to create sympathetic resonances (*dörttelli, altıtelli*, etc.). At the present time there is added a deep-toned threaded string, tuned to an octave. The strings at the top and at the base are of a similar trim (.18 or .20 mm), and that or those of the middle is/are lower (.30 mm). In our context, we shall speak about the lower, middle or top string in the singular, even though a group of strings may be involved.

2. *Evolution and playing techniques.*

It is important to distinguish instruments of rural origin from those of musical instrument workshops of the towns. The latter, meant for playing in all styles, have 24 frets and can sometimes claim the same perfection as the classical lutes. A *saz* made by a peasant or nomad, with 10 to 18 frets, will be adapted to a particular regional or tribal style.

In the countryside, the *saz* is still played with the fingers, with trimmed finger nails; with one finger, or with *rasgueados*; but a plectrum may also be used, now made of a piece of plastic with an equivalent flexibility.

The different sizes of instruments, the placing of the frets and the numerous strings of the three groups display the main traits of the Anatolian musical system. At the outset, the longer the instrument, the more the left hand is forced to make long movements, played on the first string, with the other strings acting as a drone. The *saz* is in this case essentially a monodic instrument, subordinated to the voice which it accompanies. If it is of small or medium size, it will be played on the three strings; the slenderness of the neck allows in effect the thumb to block the upper string, whilst the other fingers press indifferently the lower or middle string. If the hand grips round the neck, the third finger may even press the upper string at the same time as the thumb. From this there results the possibility of varying the drones and of producing chords of three sounds, so that the art of the rural *saz* is often characterised by a tendency to polyphony, which sustains an invariably monodic melody.

As many as 14 different tunings (*düzen*) of the *saz* are enumerated. The ones most used today are:

(from top to bottom)

G-D-A (*kara düzen* or *bozuk düzen*)

E-D-A (*aşık düzeni* or *bağlama düzeni*)

The first allows all the modes of rural Anatolian music to be played, and leaves the choice between several base notes (A, G, B or D). For this reason, it is considered as the most suitable to represent the logical and systematic coherence put forward by the teachers in the conservatories of traditional music in contemporary Turkey. The second, the tuning of the minstrels (*aşık* [see ʿĀshiḳ]), is more limited since it only allows one base note (E), but is nevertheless very esteemed, and considered as more "hot" (*yanık*). Since the base note is situated on the middle string, the polyphonic tendency mentioned above is displayed there necessarily, in the shape of chords of parallel fifths very characteristic of minstrels' art.

Other tunings are meant for a more limited number of modes, and are practiced either in a special region (e.g. *misket düzeni*, F#-D-A, in the region of Ankara) or by a group (e.g. *abdal düzeni*, G-A-A, characteristic of the Abdal Turkmens).

3. *Ideology and society.*

In present-day Turkey, after the coming of modern ways of transmitting music—radio, tape recorders—

and taking into account the more frequent movements of population and migration to the big towns, several practices of the *saz* exist together.

Despite the change brought about by modern life, for marriage celebrations, *saz* musicians of the village, knowing the traditional and local repertoire, are still resorted to. They often play in small groups e.g. *saz*, viol and a wind instrument. They are gradually being replaced by youths playing the urban repertoire on an electric *saz*.

The *saz*, then, continues to accompany the singing of the *aşıks* or *ozans* [*q.v.*]. These poet-musicians come either from the mainly Sunnī regions of Kars and Erzurum, or from the Alevi-Bektaşi communities of the Sivas and Erzincan regions. In this latter case, internal emigration, to Istanbul or Ankara, or external, to Germany, has perpetuated the tradition of the *aşık*, which owes its popularity in the urban milieu to the political echoes of the texts of the songs, as expressions of a minority often persecuted in Ottoman history, and to a social ideal and art of living. Furthermore, the *saz* is the essential instrument for the ceremony of the Alevi *samāʿ* [*q.v.*]. For all these reasons, it has become the main symbol of Alevi culture, in contemporary Turkey and in the diaspora, in the form of the *çöğür* tuned according to the *bağlama* or *aşık düzeni*.

In addition to these practices, of a local or religious nature, since the first years of the Republic there has come into being a national music, whose diffusion has been assured by the Turkish radio and the state conservatoires. The repertoire is collected from all the provinces of Turkey and interpreted by orchestral groups using traditional instruments. In this framework, the *saz* embodies the national identity in more than one way: at the outset by its suitability for representing all the regional styles; then by the fixedness of its system fretting and the proportions which dertermine its making; and finally, by the inherent system and logic in learning the practice of the *saz* and often underlined by its teachers; these last give pride of place to the *kara düzen*, in fifths, assimilated to the "rational" order. From this point of view, one can say that the two tunings mentioned above are seen today as entailing two distinct ideological contents: the *bağlama düzeni* is associated with the voice of the *aşık*, to what is secret and to the heterodoxy of Bektashism [see BEKTĀSHIYYA], or even with social confrontation, in the eyes of official circles, who set up against it the "rational" *kara düzen*, the expression of the logical laws of the national music.

Bibliography: H.G. Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931; Sir Laurence Picken, *Folk instruments of Turkey*, Oxford 1975; *The new Grove dictionary of musical instruments*, London 1984, iii, 319-20; M. Stockes, *The Arabesk debate*, Oxford 1992; see also ṬUNBŪR, ʿŪD. (J. CLER)

SEBASṬIYYA [see SABASṬIYYA].

SEBKHA [see SABKHA].

SEBÜKTIGIN (Tkish. *sevük tégin* "beloved prince"), Abū Manṣūr, Turkish slave commander of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] and founder of the Ghaznawid dynasty [*q.v.*] in eastern Afghānistān.

What little is known of his early life stems mainly from his alleged *Pand-nāma* or testament of advice to his successor (preserved in a later Persian historian; see SHABĀNKĀRAʾĪ) and from Djūzdjānī's quotations from a lost part of the *Mudjalladāt* of Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] which dealt with Sebüktigin's governorship. He came from the Barskhān district of the Semirečye [see YETI SU], was enslaved and taken to Transoxania, thus beginning a career in the Sāmānid army as a slave of Alptigin [*q.v.*]. After Alptigin withdrew to the far eastern periphery of the Sāmānid dominions at Ghazna [*q.v.*], a series of his fellow-Turkish commanders succeeded him as governor there, culminating in Sebüktigin's assumption of power in 366/977, beginning a twenty years' reign, nominally as governor for the Sāmānids, in fact as an independent ruler. From his base at Ghazna, he began the policy of expansion which his son Maḥmūd was to continue, adding Bust and Ḳuṣdār [*q.vv.*] to his kingdom, launching expeditions towards north-western India against the Hindūshāhī [*q.v.*] king Djaypāl and annexing the Kābul river valley down to Peshāwar. He gave military aid to the last Sāmānid *amīrs* against their rebellious generals (384-5/994-5), but just before his death in 387/997 himself intervened in Transoxania and established his influence in the capital Bukhārā. He was succeeded in Ghazna, after a brief succession struggle, by his eldest son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*].

After his death, Sebüktigin acquired a reputation amongst the Ghaznawids as the just ruler, *amīr-i ʿādil*, but little of his real personality in fact emerges from the sources.

Bibliography: For the sources, see Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, viii (1963), and for the *Pand-nāma*, M. Nazim, *The Pand-Nāmah of Subuktigīn*, in *JRAS* (1933), 605-28. Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 261-5; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 28-33; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 36-44. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SEFĀRETNĀME [see SAFĪR].

SEGBĀN [see Suppl.].

SEGESTĀN [see SĪSTĀN].

SEGOVIA [see SHAḲUBIYYA].

SEGU or Segou, a town of the present Mali, situated on the banks of the Niger and the historic capital of the Bambara kingdom of Segu from the 18th century onwards, and then of the empire of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar.

There exist four villages with the name Segu, all on the river's right bank, at more than 200 km/124 miles to the north-east of Bamako. These are, from upstream to downstream, over a distance of a dozen kilometres, Segu-Koro ("old Segu"), Segu-Bugu (the village of agricultural cultivation), Segu-Kura ("new Segu") and Segu-Sikoro, transformed into a royal residence by Ngolo Jarra (*ca.* 1750-87).

It was around 1710 that Biton Mamari Kulibali asserted his power, as war leader and founder of a new system of authority, over the Bambara peoples, who were sedentaries, animists and users of the Mandingo language, of this part of the Niger valley. Having become the leader of a group of young men, all in the same age band (*ton*), he built up his power through the extensive acquisition of slaves from all origins, who became "slaves of the *ton*" (*ton jon*). In this way, a centralised, military state, based on Segu, developed, which spread out in all directions. Over two centuries, two dynasties succeeded each other at the head of this empire, the Kulibali and the Jarra.

The basic social institution of the Bambara empire of Segu was the *ton jon* or group of subject persons, who made up the army and a good part of the bureaucracy. Through loyal service and acts of bravery, certain *jon* could attain to positions of command. It was these *ton jons* who, in the middle of the 18th century, exterminated the Kulibali family and raised to power one of their own number, Ngolo Jarra, founder of the new dynasty.

The bases of Segu's prosperity rested on the lasting

alliance between an industrious (cotton, indigo, food production) Bambara peasantry, the military régime of the *ton jon*, who accumulated captives and booty, and the Marka, a specialist Muslim merchant group, who lived in certain towns and controlled commercial operations. The Bambara themselves were strongly attached to animist cults (the dynasty protected a whole network of temples and priests), but tolerated the practice of Islam in the quarters of the town-enclaves of the Marka.

At the approach of al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUmar, in the midst of the 19th century, the ruler of the time, Bina ᶜAli Djarra, tried in vain to ally with the Dīna of Māsina, the neighbouring Islamic Fulani power. Al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUmar entered Segu on 26-7 Shaᶜbān 1277/9-10 March 1861, and proceeded immediately to the gathering-together of all the idols and their destruction. Designated as *khalīfa* by his father, Aḥmadu (Aḥmad al-Kabīr), ᶜUmar's son, took over the succession on his father's death in 1864. It was at this time (1864-6) that the French traveller Mage lived in Segu, of which he has left a lively and well-informed description, estimating the population of Segu-Sikoro at that time at 10,000 persons. Aḥmad al-Kabīr reigned in this town for almost thirty years, at grips with the opposition of some of his brothers and with the conquered population. In this same period, the French advanced progressively from Senegal. On 6 April 1890 Colonel Archinard entered Segu, whilst Aḥmadu fled eastwards. In the course of the ensuing months, Archinard sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris—which has preserved them ever since—the rich library of al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUmar and of Aḥmadu.

Bibliography: E. Mage, *Voyage dans le Soudan occidental (Sénégambie-Niger)*, Paris 1868; C. Monteil, *Les Bambara de Ségou et du Kaarta*, Paris 1924, ²1976; L. Tauxier, *Histoire des Bambara*, Paris 1942; A. Bime, *Ségou, ville capitale*, Angoulême 1952; S. Sauvageot, *Contribution à l'histoire du royaume bambara de Ségou (XVIIIᵉ et XIXᵉ siècle)*, diss. Paris 1965; L. Kesteloot *et alii*, *Da Monzon de Ségou, épopée bambara*, Paris 1972; G. Dumestre, *La geste de Ségou - textes des griots bambara*, diss. Paris 1974; J. Bazin, *Guerre et servitude à Ségou*, in C. Meillassoux, *L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale*, Paris 1975; S.M. Mahibou and J.-L. Triaud, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé. Bayān mā waqaᶜa d'al-Hajj ᶜUmar al-Fūtī*, Paris 1983; N. Ghali *et alii*, *Inventaire de la bibliothèque ᶜumarienne de Ségou*, Paris 1985; D. Robinson, *La guerre sainte d'al-Hajj Umar, Le Soudan occidental au milieu du XIXᵉ siècle*, Paris 1988; F. Simonis, *Des Français en Afrique. Les Européens de la région de Segou*, diss. Paris 1993.

(J.-L. Triaud)

SEHĪ BEY, Ottoman poet and biographer of poets of the 10th/16th century, b. 874/1470-1 and died 955/1548-9.

1. Life.

His original name is unknown, and the historian ᶜĀlī dubbed him "ᶜAbd Allāh" and considered him as stemming from the Dewshirme [*q.v.*]. He was certainly from Edirne and a close associate of the poet Nedjātī Bey (d. 914/1508-9 [*q.v.*]), also from that town. Already when Bāyezīd's son Maḥmūd (d. 913/1507) was appointed governor of Manisa, Sehī was the companion of Nedjātī and several other poets in the Prince's entourage (see Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1314, 196, 329; ᶜĀshiḳ Čelebi, ed. Meredith Owens, London 1971, fols. 130b-131a; *İA* art. s.v. (F. Akün); Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, *Necati Bey Divani'nin tahlili*, Istanbul 1971, 11; Fāʾiḳ Reshād, *Tedhkire-yi Sehi*, ed. Mehmed Shükrī, Istanbul 1325, 76, 41; Günay Kut, *Heşt bihişt, the Tezkire by Sehī Beg. An analysis of the first biographical work on Ottoman poets, with a critical edition based on Ms. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya O. 3544*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 5, Cambridge Mass. 1978, pp. 423, at p. 1).

Through a misunderstanding of ᶜĀlī's *Künh al-akhbār*, Ewliyā Čelebi wrongly states that Sehī was Nedjātī Bey's son-in-law, and that he married Nedjātī's daughter in order to lay claims to his poems after Nedjātī's death (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 343, 347), a mistake later repeated by F. Babinger in his *EI*¹ art.; it was corrected by Reshād, in *op. cit.*, 316, see also Akün, *op. cit.*, and Kut, *op. cit.*, 2. Also, Babinger, following Leunclavius and *Sidjill-i ᶜOthmānī*, iii, 115, also wrongly states, according to Akün and Kut, that Sehī was the secretary (*kātib*) of Bāyezīd's youngest sons Meḥmed, and accompanied this last to Kaffa [*q.v.*], where he became for a time *sandjaḳ beg*; most sources, however, connect Sehī with Prince Maḥmūd and Manisa (see above). Sehī's close connection with Nedjātī continued till the latter's death, and on Sehī's own tomb is a chronogram couplet of his mourning Nedjātī's death (see Akün and Kut).

Later, Sehī served as a secretary to the prince Süleymān in Manisa and also with the latter at Edirne when Süleymān was commander there for Rumelia. After Süleymān's accession as sultan, Sehī recalled in his poems former favours no longer vouchsafed, but he seems in fact, from other poems, to have remained in favour with the royal family, and held office in the Morea [see MORA]. Finally, he served as administrator (*mütewellī*) of various ᶜ*imārets* in Edirne and Ergene, dying at the former place; it was whilst acting as administrator of a *waḳf* there he wrote his *Tedhkire* (see below).

2. Works.

Encouraged by the *Ḳāḍī ᶜAsker* Muḥiyy al-Dīn Čelebi Fenārī [see FENĀRĪ-ZĀDE], Sehī put together his poems into a *dīwān*, the unique ms. of which is in Paris, B.N. suppl. turc 360. This contains *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals* and other lesser genres of poetry, but Sehī does not seem to have been considered in his own time as a noteworthy poet. This may explain why he is hardly quoted in the anthologies of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries and why only one ms. of his *dīwān* survives. On the basis of chronograms in some poems, Akün concluded that Sehī completed the collection between 942/1535 and 944/1537. The dedicatees of his poems include the sultans from Bāyezīd II to Süleymān and a large number of Grand Viziers, and there are three poems (*naᶜt*) dedicated to ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and two to Ṣūfī *dedes*, indicating a possible connection of Sehī with a dervish order.

Sehī's real fame sprang from his *Tedhkire*, finished in 945/1538 and called *Hesht bihisht* "Eight paradises", the first literary biographical work in Ottoman literature (for detailed discussion, see Kut, *op. cit.*, 17-18). Sehī states in his preface that he followed the examples of the collections of biographies by Djāmī, Dawlat Shāh and ᶜAlī Shīr Newāʾī, and following their example, divided his own work into eight *ṭabaḳas*. These include (1) the life of Sultan Süleymān; (2) the other sultans and the princes who wrote poetry; (3) high officials like viziers, *nishāndjīs*, etc.; (4) poets from the ᶜ*ulemā*ʾ; (5) the poets who had died by the time Sehī was writing (for which he seems to have gathered his own research; he has valuable details about early poets such as Aḥmedī [see AḤMADĪ], Aḥmed-i Dāᶜī and Sheykhī [*q.v.*]); (6) poets whom Sehī knew personally in his youth, some still alive; (7) his contemporaries and the newcomers (including two poetesses); (8) young and talented poets who had just started on their careers. An epilogue eulogises Sultan Süleymān.

Following his Persian and Čaghatay Turkish

predecessors, Sehī gives concise information about his poets, with full details of names and education, but rarely giving dates of birth or death; he then ends with selections from his subject's poetry. This procedure was adopted as a model by future biographers. His work clearly fulfilled a need as pioneer of the genre, for shortly afterwards came the similar works of Laṭīfī, ʿĀs̲h̲ik̤ Čelebi and several others.

There exist 18 mss. of the *Tedhkire* scattered through the library collections of Turkey and Europe (see Kut, *op. cit.*, 16-37). Ms. Ayasofya 3544 is the basis for Kut's edition; it was probably presented to Sultan Süleymān and was subsequently owned by Prince Meḥmed. An earlier print was issued by Meḥmed S̲h̲ükrī, Istanbul 1325/1907, with the title *Āt̲h̲ār-i eslāfdan ted̲h̲kire-yi Sehī* (but his printed version contains only 218 poets, see Kut, 12-14), to which is appended a study on Sehī by Fāʾik̤ Res̲h̲ād; this print was based on ms. Millet, Ali Emiri, Tarih 768, copied by ʿAlī Emīrī himself. Finally, the *Ted̲h̲kire* was translated into German by Necati Lugal and O. Reşer as *Sehi Bey's Tezkere. Türkische Dichterbiographien aus dem 16. Jahrh.*, Tübingen 1942. Kut's critical edition is based on six mss.; see her *Heşt bihişt* and also her *Heşt Bihişt'in yeni bir nüshası ve bir düzeltme*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, vii (1984), 243-301. In recent years, Dr. Müjgân Cumbur and a group of scholars have been working on a serial edition of all Ottoman biographical works, starting with Sehī's.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For the older bibl., see F. Babinger's *EI*[1] art. (G.A. Tekin)

SELĀMLİK̤ (t.), the Ottoman Turkish term for the outer, more public rooms of a traditionally-arranged house, used e.g. for the reception of guests and non-family members; it thus contrasted with the inner rooms which constituted the *ḥaram* or harem for the womenfolk. The term *selāmlïk̤ dāʾiresi* is also found. A further use of the word *selāmlïk̤* is in the expression *selāmlïk̤ ālāyï* to denote the sultan's ceremonial procession from the palace to the mosque for Friday worship, a practice kept up by the Ottomans up to and including Meḥemmed V Res̲h̲ād [*q.v.*] in the second decade of the 20th century.

Bibliography: Pakalın, iii, 153-5. (Ed.)

SELĀNĪK, the Ottoman Turkish name for classical and early Byzantine Thessalonike, modern Greek Thessaloniki, conventional form Salonica; the largest city of Macedonia, on the gulf of the same name, to the east of the Vardar river mouth. The city has always possessed a large and secure port, and was located on the Via Egnatia connecting Durazzo (Durrës) with Byzantium. In the 5th/11th century, it is first named Salonikion, from which all variant names derive: Ṣalūnīk or Ṣalūnīk̤ in Arabic, Solun in Bulgarian, Selānīk in Turkish and Salonica in English. In the 6th/10th century, the town was an important centre of Mediterranean trade, with ties to the Islamic world; but apart from al-Idrīsī, the mediaeval Arab geographers do not mention it. An attack on the city by a naval force based upon Tripoli in Syria (289/902) supposedly netted the attackers a total of 22,000 captives. In 581/1185 Salonica was taken by the Normans; the textile artisans, for whom the town was famous, were transferred to the royal workshops in Sicily. In the early 7th/13th century, Salonica was ruled as an independent kingdom by the Marquis of Montferrat; but after the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines, the Palaeologi recovered Salonica as well. Serbian conquests in the area resulted in the isolation of the Byzantine exclave of Thessaloniki by the middle of the 8th/14th century, which was then linked to Constantinople only by sea.

Ottoman activity in the area began under Murād I, with nomads from the western Anatolian principality of Ṣaruk̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] settling in the area. Ottoman forces once conquered the city, but returned it to the Emperor Manuel. Sultan Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd reconquered it in 796/1394, but after his defeat and capture in the battle of Ankara (804/1402), his son Süleymān returned it to the Byzantines (805-6/1403). Many details of this sequence remain unclear. However, after the siege of Constantinople by Murād II in 826/1423, the governor of Thessaloniki, Andronikos Palaeologos, sold the city, which then supposedly held about 40,000 inhabitants, to the Venetians. While the sultan recognised this transfer in the capitulations granted to the Venetians in 830-1/1428, in 833/1430 he conquered the city nonetheless. In the meantime, many inhabitants had abandoned the city because of the prevailing insecurity. Johannes Anagnostes, a Byzantine chronicler, has left a detailed account of these events. He claims that 7,000 persons, including himself, were taken prisoner. Yet in some cases, the sultan himself paid the ransoms of the captives and promised that those who had fled the city would have their properties restored in case they returned. Two or three years later, Turkish settlers were brought into Selānīk from Yeñid̲j̲e-i Vardar, and the church of the Acheiropoietos and the monastery of the Prodromos were turned into mosques.

A tax register (*taḥrīr*) was also prepared at this time, but has not survived. We do, however, possess a tax register dating from 883/1478 and a fragment from the reign of Bāyezīd II (r. 886-918/1481-1512) (Başbakanlık Arşivi Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul Tapu Tahrir 7, and Bibliothèque Nationale Cyrillos and Methodios, Sofia, Oriental section, SN 16/35, publ. in Bistra Cvetkova (ed.), *Fontes turcici historiae bulgaricae*, xvi, Sofia, 1972). There exist two further *mufaṣṣal* registers covering Selānīk; one from about 967-8/1560 and another from 1022/1613 (Tapu Tahrir 403 and 723). The earliest *taḥrīr* enumerates 862 Muslim and 1,275 Christian householders. From their regular distribution among the pre-existing town quarters, it can be assumed that the Muslim inhabitants had been settled in the city by order of the sultan (*sürgün*). By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Selānīk had about doubled in size, as apart from 1,715 Muslim households, there were now 1,688 Christians and 754 Jews. A high point was reached in 925/1519, when an abbreviated register (*id̲j̲māl*) recorded 1,374 Muslim, 1,387 Christian and 3,143 Jewish households. By about 967-8/1560, a significant drop in population had occurred (773 Muslim, 1,047 Christian and 2,645 Jewish households). This decline was even more pronounced by 1022/1613, when the relevant figures were 1,090, 561, and 2,033, showing a relative increase of the Muslim and a decline of the Christian element. Thus Selānīk seems to have held about 10,000 inhabitants in 883/1487 and to have oscillated between 18,000 and 30,000 thereafter. Ewliyā Čelebi claims 33,000 houses for 11th/17th-century Selānīk, which would give a population of over 150,000. But European travellers indicate that during its years of prosperity in the second half of the 12th/18th century, Selānīk possessed a population of about 60,000 to 70,000, 28,000 to 30,000 of whom were Turks.

Among the revenue sources of Selānīk and other towns of the area which the 9th/15th-century Ottoman state attempted to exploit, were the salt pans, supplemented by a fishing weir in the vicinity of Selānīk itself. Accounts begin in 873/1468-9, but show that the enterprise was in constant difficulties. Several

tax farmers were executed for their failure to pay, while the most prominent of them, a member of the Palaeologi family, managed to escape. The early tax farmers were Christians; but a Muslim *mültezim*, recorded in 881/1476-7, equally owed a major sum. This situation indicates considerable disorganisation among sheepbreeders and fishermen, and possibly a crisis in the Macedonian village economy as a whole.

Among the Ottoman monuments of the city, the most prominent is the White Tower, built probably in 942/1535-6 upon the order of Sultan Süleymān; Miʿmār Sinān may have been responsible for its construction. Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Selānīk about 1078-9/1668, has left a detailed description of the fortifications, including the castle of Kalamarya; he was greatly impressed by their size, but felt that they had recently been neglected. Among the mosques that were built by Ḥafṣa Khāṭun, the daughter of Ḥamza Beg, was a new building (872/1467-8, enlarged in 1000-1/1592 and repaired in 1029/1620). This structure had come to be known by the late 10th/16th century as the mosque of Ḥamza Beg. It is one of the very few mosques not founded by a sultan to possess a colonnaded courtyard, albeit of irregular shape. The reconstruction around 1029/1620 is documented by a *waḳif-nāme* penned by the stylist Meḥmed Nergisī, while the donor was a *ḳapudjī* by the name of Meḥmed Beg son of Seyyid Ghāzī. The second mosque constructed at this time is known as the Aladja ʿImāret; it was built by the former Grand Vizier Inegöllü Isḥāḳ Pasha in 892/1486-7. It is of the T-shaped type, and its side chambers originally may have been meant to house dervishes. The mosque was associated with a public kitchen. Next to the building there once stood a minaret ornamented in multi-coloured stone, which gave the whole complex its name. Other major mosques were converted Christian churches; since Selānīk had been taken by assault, the transformation of churches into mosques was legally possible at any time. Many churches were taken over either around 905-6/1500, when refugees from Spain caused a wave of anti-Christian feeling, or in the tense years surrounding the millenium of 1000/1591-2. The church of St Demetrius was converted into a mosque in 898/1492-3 and thenceforth known as the Ḳāsımiyye, while in 927/1521 local conflicts resulted in the confiscation of the Hagia Sophia, at that time the metropolitan church of Selānīk. The funerary monument of Galerius, converted into a church in Byzantine times, was turned into a mosque on the initiative of the dervish *shaykh* Khortadji, with the support of the Grand Vizier Sinān Pasha (998 or 999/1589-90 or 1590-1).

In 883/1478, the Selānīk tax register had not shown any Jewish inhabitants, probably because the city's Romaniote community had been transferred to Istanbul by Sultan Meḥemmed II (r. 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81). This move probably formed a part of the latter's programme of forced settlement (*sürgün*) to repopulate his new capital. But after the Jews had been driven out of Spain in 1492, and out of Spanish possessions in Italy shortly afterwards, Bāyezīd II invited them to settle in the Ottoman Empire. Many of these refugees were established in Selānīk. A summary (*idjmāl*) register of 925/1519 records the presence of about 16,000 individuals; this figure included refugees from Germany and Italy as well.

The Jewish immigrants continued to use Spanish in vernacular communication; when the language was committed to writing, the Hebrew alphabet was employed. A small number of Judaeo-Spanish speakers exists to the present day; but centuries' long isolation from Spain has resulted in many expressions archaic in standard Spanish. A number of Hebrew, Ottoman and Greek loanwords have also been incorporated, and at one time there existed a second more "literary" version of Judaeo-Spanish, often called Ladino, which contained many expressions closely modelled on Hebrew.

The new settlers engaged in the manufacture of woollen cloth, using water-powered fulling mills located outside the city. This manufacture of medium-quality cloth (*čuḳa*) supplied the market as well as the Janissaries. According to samples sent from Istanbul, the cloth was woven, dyed and fulled. Originally this service was paid for; but after the middle of the 10th/16th century, the Salonica Jews were required to pay part of their taxes in the shape of woollen cloth. Their supply of raw wool was ensured by the privilege of purchasing whatever they needed from Balkan producers before any other customers could be supplied. A rabbinical regulation, pronounced around 946-7/1540, threatened all Jews who exported raw wool and the indigo needed for dyeing with excommuniction. However, the cloth manufacture, prosperous in the early 10th/16th century, ran into trouble thereafter. Raw wool prices increased, first because of Venetian demand, and when the Venetian woollen industry steeply declined after 1008/1600, French purchasers prevented a fall in prices. Civilian demand for the finished product also fell away as English cloth appeared on the Ottoman market in large quantities after the 990s/1580s. Due to the need to supply the Janissaries, the manufacturers were not able to change their trades. In consequence, a large number of Salonica Jews emigrated in the 11th/17th century; some went to other Rumelian towns, but the burgeoning Anatolian port of Izmir was a favourite destination.

Nevertheless, at the same time, immigrants continued to arrive, particularly from Livorno and other Italian commercial centres. Due to the contacts which these immigrants (Francos) brought with them, many of the most prosperous Jewish merchants of Selānīk down to the 13th/19th century came from this group. But even though certain traders continued to be successful, on the whole Jewish merchants and financiers were eclipsed by other groups. An increasing orientation of Balkan trade toward Europe facilitated the rise of Christian merchants, and as the Jewish traders of Selānīk found fewer business opportunities, the community in the 12th/18th century increasingly consisted of petty traders and artisans.

In the 10th/16th century, the Jewish community of Selānīk possessed a considerable scholastic activity, as local rabbis grappled with the religious and legal problems ensuing from life in a new environment. In addition, arrangements had to be devised to accommodate those people who had been converted to Christianity in Spain or Portugal but wished to return to Judaism. Responses to legal questions (*responsa*) were at times committed to print, the first printing press in Selānīk being established in 915-16/1510. Yet there were few contacts with either Muslim or Christian scholars, and isolation in the long run resulted in a certain sclerosis of intellectual life.

For the Jewish community of Selānīk, the major event of the 11th/17th century was the movement of Shabbatay Ṣebi (1036-7-1087/1626-76 [*q.v.*]), a rabbi from Izmir who claimed to be the Messiah. He found adherents in Jewish communities all over the eastern Mediterranean and even in eastern Europe, but due to the concentration of Jews and institutions of Jewish learning in Selānīk, his partisans in this city were of strategic significance. Complaints from rabbis unwill-

ing to regard Shabbatay Ṣebi as the Messiah led to the involvement of the Ottoman authorities, and Ṣebi was assigned to forced residence in Gelibolu (1076-7/1666). But after continuing effervescence among Ottoman Jewish communities, Shabbatay Ṣebi was brought to the sultan's court in Edirne and offered the choice between death and conversion to Islam. He chose the latter (1077/1666). While some of his adherents returned to the established communities, others followed his example and were converted; this process continued over a number of years and led to the formation of a group known as the *dönme* [*q.v.*] (converts). *Dönme* used Muslim names and followed Muslim ritual including the pilgrimage to Mecca; but down into the present century, they married only among themselves and had the basic features of rabbinic law taught to their children. Certain well-known rabbis of Selānīk who did not convert also retained sympathies for the movement of Shabbatay.

In the 12th/18th century, Selānīk's trade expanded after a period of relative stagnation, as the port became the centre of a lively import and export trade, particularly with France and various Italian states. Foreign consuls and vice-consuls became more numerous (at the beginning of the century, the French consul had been the only foreign representative), and an increasing number of non-Muslim merchants purchased the "protection" of foreign consuls, often acquiring more or less fictitious positions as translators. In local administration, one of the key personages was the principal customs farmer. Both the wealthy *aghas* of the area and European merchants maintained good relations with him, often lending money to a person of their confidence so that he could acquire the position. Another powerful figure was the commander of the local Janissaries, who controlled a force of about 7,000 men.

Among the goods exported, wheat occupied an important place, even though this was mostly contraband, *aghas* with *čiftliks* in the Macedonian countryside supplying the exporters. Grain speculation was widespread, landholders holding back supplies until prices had increased or else making deals with exporting merchants. Grain riots were not unknown. Raw wool often went to France, while cotton and cotton thread gained in importance with the growing mechanisation of cotton-weaving in England, and also supplied looms in Germany. Tobacco and raisins were also exported. Imports consisted of manufactured goods, particularly French woollen fabrics, but also of Venetian silks, which all but monopolised the local market until, during the last quarter of the 12th/18th century, silks from Lyons became important. With the increasing production of coffee on the Caribbean islands, *le café des îles* began to compete with Arabian coffee, and sugar brought in by European merchants with Egyptian sugar.

For distribution, the pre-existing network of Balkan fairs was available, at which even rural consumers were able to purchase the cheaper imported goods. An active internal trade existed, linking Selānīk with Izmir, Egypt, Crete and the Aegean islands. Soap, linens and citrus fruits were brought to the city from these areas, while luxury goods often came from Istanbul. Greek merchants were particularly active on the overland route linking Selānīk to Vienna and the fair of Leipzig. Greek merchants, often based in Selānīk, were so active in the Hapsburg Empire that Maria Theresa and Joseph II took measures to limit their business, forcing rich Greeks established in the Hapsburg domains to concentrate on banking. But due to the foreign "protection" which many wealthy merchants had acquired and to the resulting tax evasion, the payment of taxes and dues was often a heavy load on the "ordinary" Greeks of Salonica, and the community owed large sums of money to wealthy Ottomans.

The decline of Selānīk as an international port toward the end of the 12th/18th century was due partly to political conflict within the city, but also to international conjunctures, as the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars interrupted established trade routes. The general downturn in the Ottoman economy during the last decades of the 12th/18th century probably constituted a contributing factor. The abolition of the Janissary corps in 1241/June 1826 had political and economic repercussions on the local level; the Jewish accountant of the Janissary *odjak* was even one of the victims of anti-Janissary repression. The disappearance of the Janissaries led to the final eclipse of woollen cloth manufacture by Jewish artisans, and aggravated pauperisation.

In the course of the 13th/19th century, certain notables from the Jewish community developed an interest in the creation of new enterprises, particularly the processing of tobacco and later the manufacture of cigarettes. Due to the overall expansion of trade, the need for commercial employees with training in accounting and foreign languages also made itself felt. In the eyes of the notables it was necessary to train both a literate blue-collar workforce and specialist white-collar employees. This meant a thorough restructuring of the established Talmud-Torah schools, which down to this period had imparted basic literacy to boys only. Reform of the school system became a major bone of contention in the struggle for control of the community between the established rabbinical élite and the lay notables, a struggle not without its parallels in other Ottoman minority communities of the 13th/19th century. After 1276-7/1860, the notables were able to muster the support of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, an association based in France by which mainly francophone Jews supported French-language schooling among Jewish communities of the Mediterranean basin. The Alliance sponsored not only schools for both boys and girls, but also (no more than partially successful) efforts to apprentice children, in addition to a network of social organisations. In the early stages, the Alliance schools also organised the teaching of Turkish to their students, and in the early 20th century, when the annexation of Selānīk by Greece was increasingly viewed as a possibility, began to teach Modern Greek as well. The reports of the Alliance schoolteachers to their employers in Paris constitute a valuable source for the social history of late Ottoman Selānīk.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Selānīk was one of the centres of the Committee for Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemᶜiyyeti* [*q.v.*]). The backbone of this group were officers frustrated by the manner in which the war against Macedonian rebels was conducted—in 1903 there had been a series of attacks against public buildings in Salonica itself. Muṣṭafā Kemāl (the later Atatürk), a native of Salonica but at the time stationed in Syria, visited his home town and helped found a branch of the *ᶜOthmānlī Ḥürriyyet Djemᶜiyyeti*. This organisation, based on small cells, under the leadership of the Salonica telegraph official Ṭalᶜat Bey, expanded rapidly among officers and bureaucrats in Macedonia. Contacts were established with the *Ittiḥād we Terakkī* exile group in Paris, but the Salonica group retained its political and organisational independence and played a key role in the events which led to the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908.

Around 1900, Selānīk possessed one of the largest

concentrations of factory labour in the Ottoman Empire. Much of this labour force, particularly in the tobacco industry, was female, and consisted of teenage girls put to work by their families in order to earn their dowries. But among the male labourers, organisations midway between guilds and trade unions began to appear at this time. Particularly among the minority group of Bulgarian labourers, socialist tendencies showed themselves. A local group was recognised by the Second International. In 1909 Abraham Benaroya brought out a socialist paper in Ottoman (Ottoman Turkish title: *ʿAmele Ghazetesi*), Greek, Bulgarian and Judaeo-Spanish. While the Ottoman and Greek versions soon had to be given up due to lack of reader interest, the Bulgarian and Judaeo-Spanish versions did attract readers. Official repression followed, including Benaroya's banishment to Bulgaria (1911).

The Ottoman history of Selānīk ended with the First Balkan War, which began with an occupation of northern Albania by Montenegro, followed by an ultimatum on the part of several Balkan states against the Ottoman Empire (October 1912). While the Bulgarian army advanced as far as Çatalca on the outskirts of Istanbul, the Serbian and Greek armies entered Macedonia, with the Greeks occupying Selānīk on 8 November 1912. The Ottoman government ceded Selānīk in a peace treaty with Greece in March 1914, to the great distress of the city's Jewish population, whose spokesmen had strongly favoured the continuance of Ottoman rule. Salonica was rapidly transformed into a Greek city, particularly through emigration of the Turkish-speaking population, the reconstruction following the great fire of 1917 and the settlement of large numbers of Anatolian Greeks entering the country as a result of the Turco-Greek population exchanges of 1923.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SELĀNĪKĪ, MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI (d. *ca.* 1008?/1600?), Ottoman official and historian.

Almost nothing is known of his early life or family background, or when he was born and died, but he identified himself with Salonica [see SELĀNĪK] and called himself *Selānīklü* and apparently reached old age. What is known stems almost entirely from his *History* (see below), in which he details his official appointments, his presence at various military events during the reign of Süleymān Ḳānūnī (e.g. during the Szigetvar campaign in Hungary of 1566) and his suc-

cessors and his own views on affairs. Amongst the many official posts which he held were *muḳāṭaʿad̲j̲ī* of the Ḥaramayn (till 988/1580); he was a *dawādār*; he was secretary of the *silaḥdārs* and then of the Sipāhīs [*q.v.*] (till 996/1589); in 999/1591 the Grand Vizier Ferhād Pas̲h̲a appointed him *rūznāmed̲j̲i* [*q.v.*]; he became *muḥāsebed̲j̲i* of Anatolia (1007/1599); and shortly thereafter he disappears from recorded history.

The *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Selānīkī* begins with events of 971/1563 and closes with the escape of the Voivode Ḳāsim from custody in S̲h̲awwāl 1008/May 1600, thus touching on four reigns up to that of Meḥemmed III. It is more a diary of events which came to the writer's notice than a formal chronicle, the composition of which he might have intended to do later. It becomes progressively more detailed from the end of Murād III's reign (1003/1595). Rather than consulting other histories, Selānīkī seems to have relied on his contacts with the leading men of state and on official documents from the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* and elsewhere for his information; as well as mentioning the viziers of the time, he mentions also the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and the *S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ul-Islām* Ṣunʿ Allāh Efendi. Although the *History* is a prime source for the period, it does not seem to have been widely used or copied (yet over 25 ms. copies of it exist today) until the early 12th/18th century. The treatment of common events in e.g. Pečewī, Kātib Čelebi and Naʿīmā is quite different, but Ṣolaḳ-zāde clearly used it, without making acknowledgement. A feature of Selānīkī's work is that he not only relates events but also includes criticisms of these events and of what he perceived as the general decline of the Ottoman state; the ups-and-downs of his own official career, with its frequent appointments and dismissals, may have affected his attitude here.

The *History* was partially printed at Istanbul in 1281/1864-5, but no complete, critical edition existed till that of Mehmet İpşirli, pp. LXXXV + 1,008, Istanbul 1989.

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(Mehmet İpşirli, shortened by the Editors)

SELČUḲ [see aya solūk].

SELĪM I, in official documents Selīms̲h̲āh, nicknamed Yavuz or the Grim, ninth Ottoman sultan (reigned from 7 Ṣafar 918/24 April 1512 to 8 S̲h̲awwāl 926/21 September 1520), conqueror of eastern Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, and the first Ottoman sultan entitled K̲h̲ādim al-Ḥaramayn al-S̲h̲arīfayn or Servitor of Mecca and Medina.

The struggle for the throne, 1509-13.

To comprehend the circumstances and nature of the fierce struggle for the throne between Bāyezīd's three sons Ḳorḳud, Aḥmed and Selīm, we have to keep in mind that Turco-Mongol peoples firmly believed that sovereignty was granted exclusively by God and no human arrangement could determine who is going to be next on the throne.

In fact, when the throne became vacant, the prince who was able first to reach the capital city and take control of the treasury had the best chance to be recognised as ruler. So each of the sons of the reigning sultan tried to get the governorship nearest to Istanbul. Although respected as an intellectual versed in Islamic law and the fine arts, Ḳorḳud was thought to be less apt for an Ottoman ruler. Described as just and generous in Ottoman sources, Aḥmed was at the beginning the most popular of the princes, and the many of the great men of state, including the Grand Vizier ʿAlī and the *ʿulemāʾ*, wanted him to succeed. The youngest of the three princes, Selīm was born in 875/1470-1 in Amasya from prince Bāyezīd (Bāyezīd II) and ʿAys̲h̲e (ʿĀʾis̲h̲e), the daughter of the D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳadrid ruler ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. When the rivalry for the throne began in 1509, Aḥmed was governor of Amasya, nearest to Istanbul while Ḳorḳud was the governor of the distant *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Antalya and Selīm that of Trebizond, the farthest of all.

In 1509 Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*], an ailing old man, was believed incapable of leading the empire's armies against S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] of Persia, who had become a serious threat to the Ottomans, not only on the eastern frontiers of the empire but also within Anatolia through the activities there of his Turcoman sympathisers.

In 1507, the S̲h̲āh's invasion of the D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*] principality, during which he passed over the Ottoman lands and enrolled in his army Turcomans who were Ottoman subjects, was considered a daring violation of Ottoman sovereignty. While Bāyezīd avoided any open conflict, Selīm from Trebizond took the initiative and in retaliation raided the S̲h̲āh's territory as far as Bayburd and Erzincan. In Istanbul, this was interpreted as insubordination and caused the first rift between the sultan and his son. While, by his submissive attitude, Prince Aḥmed was favoured by the sultan and the Grand Vizier, Selīm became the symbol of an aggressive policy. Selīm, however, declared that his concern was not to secure the throne but to save the empire from the havoc in which it had fallen. Openly criticising his father's inactivity, he showed himself as a champion of the warfare against heretics as well as Christians. Already from Trebizond he had organised raids into the neighbouring Georgia. His *g̲h̲azā* activities, used as political propaganda, won him the favour of the Janissaries, the timariot Sipāhīs and Aḳīnd̲j̲is [*q.v.*] in Rumeli. It was the military campaigns that gave opportunity to these military classes to get promotion, more valuable *tīmārs* or booty. In reality, for Selīm this was a struggle for survival since his and his son Süleymān's lives would be at stake should one of his brothers become sultan. Since there was little chance for him to reach Istanbul when the throne became vacant, he insisted that his governorship be exchanged for one in Rumeli.

In this strategy, his first success was to secure the governorship of Kefe [*q.v.*] or Caffa for Süleymān (August 1509). When the news reached him that Bāyezīd was ill and was prepared to abdicate in favour of prince Aḥmed, Ḳorḳud and Selīm suddenly left their seats, the former moving from Tekke to Manisa and the latter from Trebizond to Caffa. In fact, Bāyezīd favoured Aḥmed as his successor, and openly expressed this at a meeting. From Caffa, Selīm insisted that he be appointed to a *sand̲j̲aḳ* on the Danube, ostensibly to fight against the "unbelievers". When this was denied, he crossed the Danube at the head of about 3,000 men and marched toward Adrianople (March 1511). ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a had the sultan declare Selīm a rebel, and Bāyezīd led an army of 15,000 to Adrianople, ordering at the same time all the Rumelian troops to join him there. At this juncture, one of the *k̲h̲alīfes* of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl in Tekke [*q.v.*], taking advantage of the anarchical conditions in the empire, rose up and with his fanatical Ḳïzïlbās̲h̲ [*q.v.*] followers and others, defeated the imperial troops sent against him (early March 1511). Ḳorḳud and Aḥmed were held responsible for this critical situation, which strengthened further Selīm's position. Under these conditions, Bāyezīd eventually yielded and agreed to

give Selīm the governorship of Semendere [*q.v.*] or Smederovo. The sultan also vowed that "while he was alive he would not allow any of his sons to replace him in the sultanate and said that, at his death, it will be God's decision who would succeed him." Believing that he had pacified Selīm, Bāyezīd returned to Istanbul (24 August 1511). When Aḥmed learned of the agreement between his father and Selīm, he feared that Selīm would become powerful enough to seize the throne, so he himself threatened to rebel in Anatolia. In Rumeli, Selīm, trying to muster under his banner the troops of Rumeli at Eski-Zagra, heard that Bāyezīd and ʿAlī had actually decided to invite Aḥmed to Istanbul and place him on the throne. But the Grand Vizier then had to cross in haste over to Anatolia, with 4,000 Janissaries (May 1511), in order to suppress Sh̲āh-Ḳulu, who was threatening to capture Bursa. Confident in eliminating Sh̲āh-Ḳulu, the Grand Vizier and Aḥmed deliberated how, after victory, they would go to Istanbul and proclaim Aḥmed sultan. Informed of this plan, Selīm suddenly turned and occupied Adrianople (Rabīʿ I 917/June 1511) at the head of the Rumelian army of 30,000, acting there as sultan. This was open rebellion, which could not be tolerated, and at the head of an army of 40,000 men and artillery, Bāyezīd hastened to confront his rebellious son on the battlefield near Çorlu (8 D̲j̲umādā I/3 August 1511). Selīm, defeated, joined his son Süleymān at Caffa. Almost at the same time, both ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a and Sh̲āh-Ḳulu fell in a bloody combat in central Anatolia. With the death of the Grand Vizier, Aḥmed lost his principal supporter for the sultanate. Aḥmed now threatened to occupy Bursa with the Anatolian troops and to confront Selīm. The empire was on the brink of a civil war. Aḥmed's supporters pressed the sultan to invite him as soon as possible to Istanbul. However, the new Grand Vizier Hersek-og̲h̲lu Aḥmed [*q.v.*] did not agree. Angry with Selīm, the old sultan invited Aḥmed to Istanbul, to march at the head of the army against Selīm (26 D̲j̲umādā II 917/21 September 1511). But the Janissaries rebelled in favour of Selīm, and the sultan had to yield, ordering Aḥmed to return back to his *sand̲j̲aḳ*. Now in open rebellion, Aḥmed occupied the governorship of Ḳaramān, where the anti-Ottoman Turcoman tribes were promising their support. Pro-Ṣafawid Turcomans, now under the commander Nūr-ʿAlī sent by the Sh̲āh (March 1512), rebelled in the Tokat area. Under pressure, Bāyezīd now decided to invite Selīm to Istanbul (March 1512), since he was now considered by all as the only leader to cope with the critical situation. Confident of the support of the Ḳapî Ḳulu [*q.v.*] element of the troops, and of the Rumelian army, Selīm was already on his way from Caffa to Istanbul. In the meantime, encouraged by Selīm's opponents Ḳorḳud arrived in Istanbul, hoping to ascend the throne with the support of the Janissaries, although the majority of these last were favouring Selīm (early April 1512). In Istanbul, Selīm was greeted by all dignitaries, including Ḳorḳud, on 2 Ṣafar 918/19 April 1512. The old sultan still had no intention to abdicate; but when Selīm arrived at the court with a contingent of Janissaries, Bāyezīd was compelled to relinquish power. The deposed sultan, on his way to Dimetoḳa, died at the village of Abalar near Hafsa (25 Rabīʿ I 918/10 June 1512). The cause of his death was reported as suspicious by Menavino and D̲j̲ennābī, but there is no hint confirming this in Venetian sources (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 86).

Now, having received the formal *bayʿa* of the *ʿulemāʾ* and dignitaries and in control of the treasury and the Ḳapî Ḳulu troops, Selīm became the only legitimate ruler of the empire. Aḥmed, recognising the reality of Selīm's power, requested from him the governorship of Anatolia and actually began to appoint governors in his own name, ordering the soldiery to rally under his banner, and turning to the rebellious Turcoman tribes in the Tokat-Sivas area and in the Taurus mountains. Passing over to Anatolia at the head of his army, Selīm expelled Aḥmed's son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn from Bursa (15 D̲j̲umāda 918/29 July 1512) and moved to Ankara, from where his forces expelled Aḥmed and his sons, who then fled to Sh̲āh Ismāʿīl for aid.

Now, in order to be able to confront the Sh̲āh in a major campaign in the east, Selīm had to eliminate in his rear all possible rivals for the sultanate. Hence he ordered the execution of all of the five sons of his deceased brothers between the ages of 7 and 21 who had taken refuge in Bursa. Next, at the head of 10,000 men, Selīm surprised his brother Ḳorḳud in his palace in Manisa, finally capturing and killing him. In the meantime, Aḥmed had returned to Amasya, and in the winter of 1512-13, confronted Selīm's army on the plain of Yenişehir (27 Muḥarram 919/15 April 1513). Aḥmed was defeated, captured and strangled. His son ʿOth̲mān shared the same fate, while his other son Murād was with the Sh̲āh Ismāʿīl in Persia preparing to recover his father's patrimony.

The campaign against Sh̲āh Ismāʿīl.

Before he marched against Ismāʿīl, Selīm had first to deal with the Ḳîzîlbās̲h̲ in his territory, who had already risen in the eastern provinces, while Selīm was busy against his brother Aḥmed. Aḥmed's son Murād was ready to invade the area with the Sh̲āh's support. Selīm conducted a purge of suspected Ḳîzîlbās̲h̲, and 40,000 suspects were jailed or executed.

Selīm also took unusual measures for the period to deprive the Sh̲āh of the main cash revenue from the Persian silk trade. In the spring of 1514, he ordered an extensive embargo on all silk traffic from Persia to the Ottoman lands and Europe. Later, he extended the embargo to include the Arab lands, which caused an additional friction with the Mamlūks. He declared that any Persian, Arab or Turk found with Persian silk in his possession was subject to having his cargo seized, and in 1518, the sale of raw silk was altogether banned in Ottoman territory.

On his way against the Sh̲āh, in Erzincan, the Janissaries began to mutter, but Selīm did not hesitate to send to the executioner their mouthpiece, Hemdem Pas̲h̲a, a governor. Sh̲āh Ismāʿīl was convinced that the Turcoman Ḳîzîlbās̲h̲ and the anti-Selīm governors of Anatolia would join him, hence he moved from the pasture lands of Tabriz to confront Selīm at Čāldirān [*q.v.*] in mid-August 1514. The two armies met at the plain there (2 Rad̲j̲ab 920/23 August 1514); in a furious assault with his forty thousand heavy cavalry, the Sh̲āh overpowered the *ʿazebs*, Ottoman light infantry in the first line, and routed the Rumelian divisions on the left wing of the Ottoman army, then turning, attacked the centre where Selīm was standing with his Janissaries. The stiff resistance of the Janissaries, decimating the Sh̲āh's cavalry with salvos of fire, and the war chariots tied with chains forming an impregnable stronghold, determined the outcome of the battle. Wounded by a bullet, the Sh̲āh barely escaped capture. His defeat has been attributed to a lack of firearms in his army (the earliest reference to his possession of muskets dates back to the year 1515: TKSA 6320; Tansel 88). After the victory, Selīm's plan was to pass the winter at Ḳarābag̲h̲ and to resume the campaign against the Sh̲āh next spring (for *fatḥ-nāmes*, see Ferīdūn, i, 386-9; Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii,

47-53). But the insurgent Janissaries forced the sultan to return to Istanbul (for the Shāh's embassies to Selīm after Čāldīrān and his attempts to find allies against the Ottomans, see Bacqué-Grammont, 73-145). On 15 Radjab 920/5 September 1515, Selīm entered Tabrīz. After nine days, he left the city, taking with him about one thousand citizens, artists, artisans and rich merchants for Istanbul. On his way back to Amasya, where he spent the winter, Selīm annexed the cities of Bayburd, Erzincan, Karahisar and Canik.

One important consequence of the Ottoman victory was the Turkish conquest of all of the Shāh's possessions in eastern Asia Minor, from Erzincan southwards to Diyārbakr and northern ʿIrāḳ. The Ḳīzīlbāsh fortress of Kemah [see KEMAKH], a key stronghold on the crossroads of Erzincan and the Euphrates valley was taken by Selīm on 5 Rabīʿ I 921/19 May 1515. The Shāh's Ḳīzīlbāsh Turcoman governors and garrison commanders put up a stiff resistance to the Ottomans, while most of the Sunnī Kurdish beys, who under the Ḳīzīlbāsh domination had lost their hereditary patrimonies, submitted. Through the activities of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], a former Aḳ Ḳoyunlu state secretary with close acquaintance of the Kurdish beys, Selīm followed a conciliatory policy to attach these Kurdish lords to his side, recognising with official diplomas their hereditary rights. Idrīs's list of the submitted Kurdish lords included those of Soran, ʿImādiyye and Bukthī, who now began to attack the Persians and their allies. In the same regions, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu princes expelled by Ismāʿīl also co-operated with the Ottomans. The population of Diyārbakr rose against the Shāh, offering submission to Selīm and appealing to him for aid, which he was only able to provide after the campaign against the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids (summer 1515) under the able command of Bīyīḳlī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who entered Diyārbakr in Shaʿbān 921/mid-September 1515. Following Bīyīḳlī's unsuccessful siege of Mārdīn [*q.v.*], the Persian forces came back and besieged Diyārbakr; Ottoman control over the Diyārbakr region was only achieved after Bīyīḳlī, reinforced with the army of Anatolia, had won a decisive victory over the Turcomans at Ḳargın-Dede. Thereupon, the fortresses of Ergani, Sindjār, Čermik and Birecik surrendered, whilst Mārdīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā, Ruhā, Raḳḳa and Mawṣil fell later in 1516.

The conquest of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids.

While advancing against the Shāh in 1514, Selīm's rear was threatened by the Mamlūk sultan, who mustered forces in Aleppo, and by his vassal, the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, on Sultan Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī's [*q.v.*] instructions, intercepted food supplies from his territory to the Ottoman army. ʿAlī b. Shāhsuwār, the son of the former ruler of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid principality, now in Selīm's service, began to invade his father's lands after Čāldīrān and with Selīm's support (winter 1514-15). Ḳanṣūh protested against this as an infringement of Mamlūk territory, but after the fall of Kemah, Selīm decided to annex this Turcoman principality to his empire. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was killed by ʿAlī (29 Rabīʿ II 921/12 June 1515), and Selīm sent his head to the Mamlūk sultan. This strategically important region, inhabited by Turcomans who had joined ʿAlī b. Shāhsuwār during the Ottoman invasion, was left under his control. Ottoman law was only imposed under Süleymān I, when Sipāhīs of Ḳaramān were granted *tīmār*s on the lands of the local Turcoman military élite.

The campaign against the Mamlūks.

During Selīm's campaign against the Persians, Ḳānṣūh had remained neutral, and Selīm was careful on his part not to offend him. But after Čāldīrān, the Mamlūk promised the Shāh to attack Selīm from the rear if he attacked the Shāh again. Ottoman activities against the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids made hostilities unavoidable. Before war began, Selīm took a series of measures to win over to his side the Arabs and some of the leading *amīr*s, declaring that the Mamlūks were a foreign caste of Circassians, dominating and oppressing the great mass of Arab population. In fact, the Aleppo citizens promised to welcome the Ottomans in their city. The Syrian cities had become commercially dependent on the Bursa market, whilst it had become evident that the Mamlūks were powerless to protect Arab merchants in their trade with India against the Portuguese, who now were in the Red Sea threatening to capture Mecca and Medina. In 1510 Ḳānṣūh himself had appealed to the sultan for aid to build a fleet at Suez, and Ottoman experts and mercenaries [see RŪMĪ] were already in Suez, Djidda and Yemen. Khāʾir Bey, governor of Aleppo and Djānberdī Ghazālī, governor of Damascus, both established secret relations with the Ottomans, and later, Selīm won over by promises of rewards many other Mamlūks with promises of employment in the future Ottoman administration.

The Mamlūks feared that the Ottomans were going to invade Egypt from the sea. In fact, Ottoman activities for the construction of new warships at arsenals were intensified in 1515. Always declaring that his preparations were aimed at the heretic Shāh, Selīm claimed that by allying himself with Ismāʿīl, Ḳānṣūh was attempting to impede the Ottoman sultan in his efforts to extirpate heresy in Persia. The *fatwā* sought by Selīm to legitimise his campaign against this Sunnī Muslim ruler laid emphasis on Mamlūk oppression and injustices committed against Muslims. Ḳānṣūh countered that the Ottoman sultan was using Christian soldiery in his army against Muslims. Upon Ḳānṣūh's formal demand for the evacuation of Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid territory by the Ottomans, war was declared. Selīm entered Mamlūk territory in Malatya (end of July 1516), and the two armies confronted each other at the plain of Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] 40 km north of Aleppo on 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516.

Here, too, the Ottoman *wagenburg* tactics with the 300 chained war chariots and their superiority in firearms determined the outcome of the battle. Ḳānṣūh was among the dead. Khāʾir Bey surrendered Aleppo and served the Ottomans faithfully, dying as Ottoman governor of Egypt in 1522. Selīm left Aleppo after eighteen days, and reached Damascus on 1 Ramaḍān 922/28 September 1516, where he spent the winter months. Although his viziers were not in favour of a campaign against Egypt, Selīm was urged on by Khāʾir Bey and other Arab leaders against the newly-elected Mamlūk sultan, Ṭūmānbāy, and he ordered preparations for the invasion of Egypt. An order was sent to Istanbul for the imperial fleet's departure for Egypt. The crucial problem was how to get the Ottoman army through the Sinai desert to Egypt, and to provide a water supply, 30,000 water bags carried by 15,000 camels were prepared. Declaring his decision to take all Muslim lands under his protection, Selīm invited Ṭūmānbāy to recognise him as his suzerain; this was naturally refused. On their drive to Egypt, the Ottomans won their first victory near Ghazza against the Mamlūk forces under Djānberdī (27 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 922/21 December 1516). Leading Bedouin chiefs submitted to Selīm. To confront the Ottoman army, Ṭūnānbāy had prepared a strong line of defence reinforced with artillery and ditches at al-

Raydāniyya. On 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/22 January 1517, while his main forces attacked in front, Selīm surprised the Mamlūks by circumventing Ṭūmānbāy's fortified encampment. In the first hours of the combat, the vehement attack of the heavy Mamlūk cavalry shook the Ottoman lines. But here, too, the outcome of the battle was determined by Ottoman superiority in fire-arms, foiling Mamlūk cavalry attacks. The first Ottoman forces entered Cairo on 3 Muḥarram 923/26 January 1517. Ṭūmānbāy and those Circassians who were able to escape resumed fighting in the streets of Cairo, refusing an offer of *amān* [*q.v.*] by Selīm. Ṭūmānbāy mustered his troops on the west bank of the Nile, until Selīm decided to cross the Nile and crush resistance. Ṭūmānbāy was captured and executed (15 April 1517). The Cairenes recognised Selīm as their legitimate ruler, but only when he believed it was safe did he enter the city (23 Muḥarram 923/15 February 1517). In the clashes in Cairo and outside the city, the number of Circassians killed or executed was estimated at 50,000 to 60,000 (see *fatḥ-nāmes* in Ferīdūn, i, 427-49; Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii, 44-7).

Following the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate, the dependent Arab lands, including the Sharīfs of Mecca and the Yemen, recognised Selīm.

Selīm appointed Khā'ir Bey as Ottoman governor of Egypt, who succeeded in reconciling the remaining Mamlūks and Arab *shaykhs* with the Ottoman administration. Before his departure from Cairo on 26 Shaʿbān 923/13 September 1517, Selīm sent by sea to Istanbul 800 Cairenes who were thought "to cause trouble", including the last ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil and many artisans. During long stays in Damascus and in Aleppo, he busied himself with organising Syria as a typical Ottoman province. He appointed governors and surveyors to register the population and revenues. He appointed Djānberdī governor of al-Shām (5 Ṣafar 924/16 February 1518), and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanash was given a *sandjak* along with various *iḳṭāʿ*s; his control of Lebanon had been confirmed when Selīm was on his way to fight against Ṭūmānbāy, but he later came into conflict with the Ottoman governors, leading to his elimination.

Selīm's claim to pre-eminence in the Islamic world.

The title of *khalīfa* [see KHILĀFAT] was in common use among Muslim rulers when the Ottoman dynasty first emerged. It did not then represent dominion over the *umma* [*q.v.*] of all Muslims in the world, as was the case under the ʿAbbāsids. However, the Mamlūk sultans, taking under their protection Mecca and Medina and also the ʿAbbāsid caliphs after 1258, claimed a primacy among Muslim rulers. Already after his victory at Mardj Dābiḳ, Selīm began to consider himself as the successor of the Mamlūks, and assumed their title of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*. The historian Ibn Ṭūlūn witnessed this at a Friday *khuṭba* in Damascus. Selīm's name was mentioned with the titles of *al-Imām al-ʿādil* and of *Sulṭān al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*. But no contemporary source has confirmed the alleged account that, in a ceremony, al-Mutawakkil officially transferred his caliphal rights to Selīm. In contemporary Arab sources, al-Mutawakkil is always mentioned as *al-Khalīfa, Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, and Selīm only after him as *Malik al-Rūm* (in 926/1519: Ibn Ṭūlūn, ii, 78, 91). According to the tradition and the interpretation of the *ʿulemāʾ*, the Mamlūk sultan or Selīm himself could not claim to replace al-Mutawakkil because they did not descend from the Prophet's tribe Ḳuraysh. However, as successor to the last Mamlūk sultan, Selīm claimed primacy in the Islamic world; in a letter to the Shīrwānshāh [*q.v.*] he claimed that God had charged him to fight against heresy, to bring order to the true laws of Islam and to protect the Pilgrimage routes for Muslims (Ferīdūn, i, 439-45). At a time when the Portuguese had entered the Red Sea and were threatening possibly to capture Mecca and Medina, the protection of Islam had become a crucial issue for all Muslims and the Arabs in particular. Presenting themselves as the "foremost of *ghāzī*s" Selīm, and his successor Süleymān, claimed to be the protectors of all Muslims in the world. In 1526, the latter used the title *wārith al-khilāfa al-kubrā* "inheritor of the supreme caliphate".

At the time when developments in the east kept him busy, Selīm was careful to maintain peace with Christian nations in the west, in particular with Venice and Hungary. On 17 September 1517 he renewed the Venetian capitulations in Cairo, with the additional stipulation that the Venetian tribute to the Mamlūks of 8,000 gold ducats for Cyprus was to be paid thereafter to the Ottoman sultan. Selīm's diplomacy toward Christian nations was altogether successful; but Pope Leo X's increased efforts to organise a European crusade, and the Shāh's and Ḳānṣūh's diplomatic relations with Western states against the Ottomans, did not in the end result in any hostile activity (K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, ii; Bacqué-Grammont, 135-45, 168).

The outbreak of a new Ḳizilbāsh Turcoman rebellion in the Amasya province in the spring of 1519 under a dervish called Djelāl, declaring himself Shāh Welī and a Mahdī [*q.v.*], showed that Shāh Ismāʿīl was still the principal threat to the empire. The rebellion was suppressed with difficulty (April 1519). At the time of his accession to the throne, Selīm was advised to make the conquest of the islands of Rhodes and Chios one of his most urgent tasks. In 1519 extraordinary naval preparations, the construction of one hundred galleys, were believed in Venice to be the signal of a campaign against Rhodes (von Hammer, iv, 247-9). But the following year, Selīm died on his way from Istanbul to Edirne near Çorlu on 8 Shawwāl 926/21 September 1520. His only son Süleymān [*q.v.*] succeeded him without difficulty.

Well-educated, the author of a collection of poems in Persian, an admirer of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], Selīm was at the same time an uncompromising autocrat, and a quick-tempered, merciless man.

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(HALİL İNALCIK)

SELĪM II, the eleventh Ottoman sultan (r. 974-82/1566-74), the third son and the fourth of the six children of Ḳānūnī Süleymān I and Khürrem Sulṭān [*q.vv.*]. He was born in Istanbul on 26 Radjab 930/30 May 1524, during the festivities accompanying the marriage of Süleymān's Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. Together with his elder half-brother Muṣṭafā and his elder brother Meḥmed, Selīm was one of the three princes in whose honour was held the *sünnet düğünü* (circumcision feast) of 1530, one of the major dynastic spectacles of Süleymān's reign. He remained in Istanbul until appointed in 1542, at the age of 18, to his first provincial post in Ḳonya as *sandjaḳ begi* of Ḳaramān. In 951/1544, following his brother Meḥmed's death, Selīm was transferred to the latter's more prestigious *sandjaḳ* of Ṣarukhān [*q.v.*] at Manisa, remaining there until his transfer back to Ḳonya in 1558. In 955/1548 Selīm was temporarily assigned to Edirne to guard the European front, whilst Süleymān was on campaign in the east against Ṣafawid Persia.

Following the deaths in 960/1553 of Muṣṭafā and another brother Djihāngīr, Selīm and his younger brother Bāyezīd were the only surviving sons of Süleymān. On the death of their mother Khürrem in 965/1558, rivalry between Selīm and Bāyezīd broke out into an open succession struggle. With the aid of troops sent by Süleymān and led by the third vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], Selīm defeated Bāyezīd's provincial forces at the battle of Ḳonya in 966/1559, forcing Bāyezīd to take refuge in Persia. After lengthy negotiations between Süleymān and Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], Bāyezīd and his sons were assassinated at Süleymān's bidding in 969/1562 (Ş. Turan, *Kanunî'nin oğlu şehzade Bayezid vak'ası*, Ankara 1961, *passim*). Now Süleyman's sole heir, Selīm was transferred to the *sandjaḳ* of Kütahya, where he remained until Süleymān's death at Szigetvar in 974/September 1566 whilst on campaign in Hungary.

The Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha kept Süleymān's death secret for several weeks, enabling Selīm to be safely enthroned in Istanbul after a hurried, secret journey from Kütahya. Selīm then proceeded to Belgrade to be acclaimed by the army and to escort Süleymān's bier. His reign began in confusion. Initially refusing to pay accession donatives at the level demanded by the Janissaries and household troops, Selīm was forced to do so by rioting on his return from Belgrade to Istanbul. He was also obliged to grant *tīmārs* or other awards to *ca.* 8,000 provincial troops recruited to his side in the 1559 fight against Bāyezīd. Thereafter, he took little part in government, retiring to the *ḥarem* and delegating virtually all responsibility to Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha, who remained Grand Vizier throughout his reign.

During Selīm's eight-year sultanate, naval activities took precedence over land campaigns, and ac-

tion in the extreme north and south of the empire replaced the prominence given in Süleymān's reign to east-west, Ṣafawid-Habsburg campaigns. Relations with Persia remained subdued in the wake of the assassination of Bāyezīd, whilst an eight-year treaty was signed in 1568 with the Austrian Habsburgs, stipulating an annual payment by the latter of 30,000 ducats in respect of those parts of north-west Hungary claimed by the Ottomans and still under Habsburg control.

In the eastern Mediterranean, the island of Ṣaḳīz [*q.v.*] (Chios) was captured from the Genoese by the *ḳapudan pas̲h̲a* Piyāle Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 1566 (technically while Süleymān was still sultan, but notified to Selīm at the time of his accession), and Ḳïbrïs (Cyprus) from the Venetians by Lālā Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 1570-1, thus increasing the safety of Ottoman sea routes to Egypt. Together with proximate areas on the mainland of Anatolia, Cyprus was formed into a new *beglerbegilik* (province) and received a large influx of Turkish settlers. In the ensuing naval battle off Inebak̲h̲tī (Lepanto) the Ottoman fleet was defeated (979/October 1571) by a Papal-Venetian-Spanish fleet commanded by Don Juan of Austria, but was rebuilt rapidly over the winter of 1571-2 and Ottoman naval supremacy in the area restored. In the western Mediterranean, the fortress at Tunis (K̲h̲alḳu 'l-waᶜad, or Goletta) was lost to Spain in late 1572, but recaptured by Ḳod̲j̲a Sinān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 982/1574 and Tunis and its dependencies formally established as a new *beglerbegilik*. Elsewhere, an Ottoman fleet was sent from the Red Sea in 1568 at the request of the Muslim ruler of Sumatra to aid him against the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, but this achieved little.

On land, successful military operations were conducted against Arab tribal revolts in the Baṣra region (1567), and against Zaydī threats to Ottoman control in Yemen, which culminated in the loss of Ṣanᶜāʾ (1567). During 1568-70, under the command first of Özdemir-og̲h̲lu ᶜOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and then of the governor of Egypt, Ḳod̲j̲a Sinān Pas̲h̲a, Yemen was in effect reconquered and set up as a single province, rather than two as previously.

The most ambitious project of Selīm's reign, the building of a canal between the rivers Don and Volga (attempted 1569-70), was unsuccessful. It was promoted by Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a with the three-fold object of protecting the pilgrimage route from Central Asia, of curtailing the southward advance of Muscovy (which had captured Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556), and of establishing the potential to attack Persia from the north. It would also have served to extend Ottoman control over the k̲h̲āns of the Crimea. Adverse weather conditions, unrest amongst the troops involved, and over-extended lines of communication led to the abandonment of the project with only a third of the canal excavated (cf. H. İnalcık, *The origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry and the Don-Volga canal (1569)*, in *Annales de l'Université d'Ankara*, i [1946-7], 47-110).

Selīm II died aged 50 on 28 S̲h̲aᶜbān 982/13 December 1574 in Istanbul (the first sultan to die there) following a fall in the palace *ḥammām*, and was succeeded by Murād III (982-1003/1574-95 [*q.v.*]), his eldest son by his Venetian *k̲h̲āṣṣekī* Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*]. Five younger sons were executed and buried with him in his tomb in the courtyard of the Aya Sofya mosque. Three daughters were married to prominent viziers in a triple wedding in 1562: İsmik̲h̲ān to Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Gewherk̲h̲ān to Piyāle Pas̲h̲a, and S̲h̲āh to Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a (re-married later to Ḍāl Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a). This network of *dāmād* (son-in-law) connections, and Selīm's reliance upon Nūr Bānū and his sister Mihrimāh, encouraged the growth of the much-maligned "harem politics" (cf. L.P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1993, *passim*).

Known to Ottomans as Ṣarï Selīm, "Selīm the Sallow", and to Europeans as "Selīm the Sot" because of his love of wine, Selīm was skilled in archery and particularly fond of hunting, for which he spent much time in Edirne. He was also an accomplished poet, under the *mak̲h̲laṣ* Selīmī (although no *dīwān* of his survives), and a discriminating patron of, amongst others, the historian Muṣṭafā ᶜĀlī, the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*], and the *s̲h̲āhnāmed̲j̲i* Loḳmān (see e.g. F. Çağman, *Şahname-i Selim Han ve minyatürleri*, in *Sanat tarihi yıllığı*, v [1972-3], 411-43). He was the first Ottoman sultan to honour members of the *ᶜulemāʾ* with accession donatives. Among his major architectural projects were the repair of the Mecca water supply system and the re-roofing of the great mosque, the addition of two minarets and extra buttresses to the Aya Sofya mosque, and the construction of the Selīmiyye complex by the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] in Edirne.

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(Christine Woodhead)

SELĪM III, the twenty-eighth sultan of the Ottoman empire (1203-22/1789-1807), first son of Muṣṭafā III and grandson of Aḥmed III [*q.vv.*], was born in Istanbul on 27 D̲j̲umādā I 1175/24 December 1761.

Considered one of the ablest of the 18th century sultans, Selīm III's early upbringing may account for his later perseverance in reforming the empire. His father's more liberal outlook allowed Selīm considerable freedom of action, including the observation of the training of Baron de Tott's new Ottoman rapid-fire artillery corps, which was sent to the Danube battlefield in the last year of the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish war. Selīm's childhood entourage included many individuals such as Abū Bakr Rātib Efendi and Küčük Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] who would serve him and influence his thinking upon his accession. An abortive coup to replace Sultan ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*] with Selīm, reputedly plotted by the Grand Vizier K̲h̲alīl Ḥamīd Pas̲h̲a in 1785, forced the Sultan to restrict the young prince's movements, but that did not prevent Selīm from maintaining contact with the world beyond the palace. His culpability in the events of 1785 has never been effectively demonstrated. The French ambassadors Saint-Priest and Choiseul-

Gouffier encouraged Selīm to correspond with Louis XVI, letters which demonstrate his powerful anti-Russian sentiments and wish for revenge. Choiseul-Gouffier supported the sending of Isḥāḳ Bey, one of Selīm's companions, to France, in an effort to encourage the French link with the Ottoman heir-apparent.

On 11 Radjab 1203/7 April 1789, at the age of 27, Selīm III was proclaimed Sultan, ascending the throne at one of the most difficult moments in the history of the dynasty, succeeding to an empire at war with both Russia and Austria and riven by internal rebellions. The previous autumn, the Austrians had made deep inroads into Ottoman territory, capturing Khotin [*q.v.*] on 9 September and routing the Ottoman army at Slatina later that same month. In spite of the evidence of Ottoman military exhaustion, Selīm vigorously supported the war effort, immediately confirming Khodja Yūsuf Pasha in his position as Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief of the battlefront, glorifying past Ottoman successes, reinstating the accession bonus to the Janissaries [see YEÑI-ČERI], which had lapsed with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, and generally boasting the morale of his people (Enwerī; Shaw, 32).

Khodja Yūsuf, the bellicose initiator of the war, had demonstrated some success in maintaining the Ottoman position on the southern shores of the Danube, and in winning the loyalty of his soldiers, in spite of the Ottoman losses. He was opposed by Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], sole hero of the 1770 Česhme [*q.v.*] naval disaster, reformer, critic of the war, and Grand Admiral of the Navy upon Selīm's accession. Selīm replaced the experienced admiral Ḥasan with his boyhood friend Küčük Ḥusayn Pasha, ordering Ḥasan to command the fortress of Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] in an effort to recapture Özü [see ÖZI], placating the advocates for continuing the war, consolidating his own power base, and managing to maintain the services of a valued commander. The new campaign season proved a disaster, however, culminating in the battle of Martineshti on 22 September 1789 against combined Austrian and Russian forces, a total rout for the Ottomans. Thereafter, the Austrians occupied Belgrade [*q.v.*] and Bucharest [see BÜKRESH], and the Russians Aḳ Kirmān [*q.v.*] and Bender [*q.v.*].

An Ottoman treaty with Sweden to distract Russia, which was concluded on 11 July 1789, resulted in little, but an alliance with Prussia dating from 31 January 1790, and the death of Joseph II of Austria in February, led to the conclusion of an Ottoman-Austrian treaty mediated by Prussia, England and The Netherlands, at Zistowa, on 4 August 1791, but only after Prussia and Austria had settled their differences in the Convention of Reichenbach the previous summer. By the stipulations of the Zistowa treaty, the Ottomans retained the territories in Wallachia [see EFLĀK] and Moldavia [see BOGHDĀN] which had been occupied by Austria, essentially a recapitulation of the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade, ceding only Old Orsowa as part of a new definition of the Austro-Ottoman border.

Hostilities continued with the Russians, with disastrous results for the Ottoman forces, Russia occupying many of the important Danube fortresses, notably Ismāʿīl, the Ottoman base of operations, after a long struggle on 22 December 1790. After the winter hiatus, the Russians resoundingly beat the Ottoman forces south of the Danube at Mačīn in April 1791, the fortress itself capitulating on 9 July. Selīm was ill-served by his commanders, especially after the death of the newly-reappointed Grand Vizier Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha on the battlefield in March of 1790. His successor, Sherīf Ḥasan Pasha, after allowing the Russians to overrun Budjāk [*q.v.*], was executed at Shumla in February, 1791, and replaced once again by Khodja Yūsuf Pasha, who could no longer contain the complete breakdown of Ottoman defences. A truce was arranged by mid-summer, and followed by the treaty of Jassy [see YASH], 9 January 1792, recapitulating most of the articles of the 1774 Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*] treaty, but establishing the new Ottoman-Russian border at the Dniester and the Ḳuban rivers and ending conclusively Ottoman claims to the Crimea [see ḲIRIM].

Selīm faced a demoralised, practically bankrupt and highly decentralised empire, conditions exacerbated by the costly and fruitless campaigns. Rebellions in Arabia, the Balkans and the Caucasus continued while he undertook to reform his administration, pursuing an energetic programme designed and carried through by his advisors. His intentions were clear from the early days of his succession, when he summoned a council of 200 men of state in May 1789 to discuss the condition of the empire. (Djewdet, ²vi, 6-7; Shaw, 73). During the war, Selīm pursued the re-ordering of the Ottoman military machine as best he could, but with little practical results. Immediately following the peace at Jassy, the Grand Vizier was ordered to solicit a number of written reform proposals. By far the most comprehensive was that of Abū Bakr Rātib Efendi, Ambassador to Vienna following the Zistowa peace treaty, whose analysis of Austrian institutions served as a recipe for the Ottoman reform programme, *Niẓām-i Djedīd* [*q.v.*] or "New Order," the same term used to refer to the new army corps.

Addressing military reform meant facing powerful opposition, as the Janissary privileges in the form of pay and rations (*esāme*) were deeply entrenched in all levels of Ottoman society. Significant reform was undertaken after 1793 in the artillery corps, with the introduction of new troops, new schools and training by foreign officers. Selīm's energy, however, also extended to the traditional Janissary and Sipāhī [*q.v.*] corps, instituting discipline, introducing new weaponry, and undertaking to see that they were regularly paid and comfortable in rebuilt barracks in Istanbul, but to no avail. Establishing the *Niẓām-i Djedīd* army proved more productive, an outgrowth of the irregular Lewend [*q.v.*] organisation, with separate barracks, the Lewend Čiftelik, located outside the centre of Istanbul, and training and discipline styled along western lines. Selīm felt confident enough to issue regulations concerning the new corps only in 1794, a single regiment of 1,602 officers and men, attached to the old imperial Bostāndjī corps [*q.v.*], as its riflemen branch. By 1800, as a result of the threat posed by the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, a second regiment was installed in the new Selīmiyye barracks in Üsküdār, a force drawn largely from the unemployed of the streets of Istanbul, and Turkish peasants from Anatolian villages, whose enlistment was encouraged by high salaries and tax exemptions. By 1801, the force numbered 9,263 men and 27 officers, increasing to three regiments and almost 23,000 by the end of Selīm's reign (Shaw, 131-4). During the 1798-1801 confrontations with France in Egypt and against ʿOthmān Paswan-oghlu [see PASWAN-OGHLU] of Vidin [*q.v.*], the new troops acquitted themselves with some small successes, hampered always by the refusal of the Janissaries to serve with them. Reform in the navy was more successful, under the direction of Grand Admiral Küčük Ḥuseyn Pasha, who saw to the construction of new warships and technical schools during the same period.

To finance his reorganisation of the military and

navy, Selīm established the *Īrād-i Djedīd*, a new attempt at a centralised budget, with revenues from state tax farms set aside for its use. At the same time, vacant, absentee or poorly managed military fiefs of the long disfunctional *tīmār* system were seized and added to the new treasury. While significant revenue was generated, the provincial upheaval such measures induced exacerbated the growing disaffection of local notables, one of the significant causes of Selīm's downfall.

The War of the Triple Alliance (1799-1802) pitted the Ottomans against Napoleon, and forced a reluctant Selīm into agreements with Britain and Russia to counter the French invasion of Egypt. During these confrontations, the sultan was forced to rely on the private armies of local notables such as Aḥmad Djazzār Pasha [*q.v.*] in Acre [see ʿAKKA] and Sidon [see ṢAYDĀ], ʿAlī Pasha of Yanina and ʿOthmān Paswanoghlu, which both extended their power and increased the privations of the countryside, especially in the Balkans. The Treaty of Amiens in 1801, negotiated without an Ottoman presence, so angered the sultan that he signed a separate peace with France on 25 June 1802, restoring that country to all its pre-war privileges and ignoring the question of war indemnities which both Russia and Britain were demanding.

Peace, however, meant the renewal of internal revolt, often encouraged by the empire's erstwhile allies, especially the Russians, who had made tremendous gains in the Treaty of Amiens. A serious revolt in Serbia against Janissary and the auxiliary Yamaḳ abuses broke out in 1802, developing rapidly into a revolution under the leadership of Kara George after 1804, and influencing much of the diplomatic manœuvring of the period. War between France and England broke out again in 1803, and intense diplomatic pressure by the resurrected Anglo-Russian alliance in Istanbul forced Selīm to sever relations with France in 1805. Further French victories over the European allies, however, persuaded Selīm to grant formal recognition to the emperor in 1806, and to declare war on Russia in December after the Tsar ordered the occupation of the Principalities and was continuing to support the Serbian rebellion. Britain sent warships through the Dardanelles [see ČANAḲ-ḲALʿE BOGHAZĪ] to the capital in February, demanding the expulsion of Sebastiani, French ambassador to the Porte after 1805, and compliance with Russian demands *vis-à-vis* the Principalities. Selīm's refusal to comply, and his orders to fortify the city and the Straits, let to the British withdrawal to Tenedos [see BOZDJA-ADA], a last moment of victory and accord between the sultan and his people. The British fleet occupied Alexandria in 1807, but found that Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt since 1805, had subdued the Mamlūks [*q.v.*], forcing the British to withdraw.

Selīm's failure to create a broad coalition of supporters for his reform agenda, however, finally overwhelmed him. A general call to arms for *Niẓām-i Djedīd* troops in March 1805 had precipitated an open revolt among the Yamaḳs in the Balkans, beginning the final series of confrontations between the traditional forces and Selīm's reformers. Quelled temporarily by Selīm's capitulation to the conservatives, the rebellion moved to Istanbul in May 1807, when another attempt to force new uniforms on the unruly Yamaḳs stationed on the Bosphorus incited an overt call for Selīm's removal, a conspiracy spearheaded from the palace itself by the *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* [*q.v.*] Mūsā Pasha and the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Efendi. The Janissaries joined in the revolt, forcing Selīm to abandon the *Niẓām-i Djedīd* programme and sacrifice its architects and partisans to their demands, rather than testing the mettle of the new troops, who were confined to their barracks. Selīm was deposed on 22 Rabīʿ I 1222/29 May 1807 and as he had no children, he was replaced by Muṣṭafā IV [*q.v.*], eldest son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I. Retiring into the palace, he was executed by Muṣṭafā a year later on 4 Djumādā II/28 July 1808 during the attempt by Muṣṭafā Bayraḳdār Pasha [*q.v.*] of Rusčuk and the Grand Vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] to rescue and restore him to the throne. In the confusion, Maḥmūd, brother of Muṣṭafā IV, escaped the same fate as Selīm, and was brought out of hiding by Muṣṭafā Bayraḳdār as Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], proving later to be an apt student of his cousin in the matter of reform.

While it is generally conceded that Selīm faltered in the matter of leadership and continuity, changing Grand Viziers ten times in the course of his reign, he inaugurated a process of reform which could no longer be halted if the Empire was to survive. Other initiatives include his appointment of the first permanent Ottoman ambassadors to Europe, to London in 1793 and Berlin, Vienna and Paris in 1795, an avenue for information on European affairs, although diplomacy of the period continued to be conducted largely by the influential foreign presence in Istanbul (Kuran). A notable poet and musician, many of Selīm's compositions are still performed. He was a frequent visitor to the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] *tekke* in Galata [see GHALAṬA in Suppl.], and friend and patron of Shaykh Ghālib Dede [*q.v.*], the well-known poet-mystic and partisan of the reform programme of the young sultan. Aside from the new buildings constructed for the *Niẓām-i Djedīd*, Selīm completely restored the mosque of Fātiḥ.

Bibliography: The *Taʾrīkh* of Wāṣif as well as those of Enwerī and ʿĀṣim Aḥmed [*q.v.*] form the chief historical sources on Selīm's reign. For general information on the period of Selīm III, see the work of one of his advisors, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1788-1820. The diary kept by his private secretary, Aḥmed Efendi, from 1791-1807, is a unique source by an individual who accompanied Selīm almost everywhere, *III. Selim'in Sırkâtibi Ahmed Efendi tarafından tutulan ruznâme*, Ankara 1993; Abū Bakr Rātib, *Sefāret-nāme*, ms. Esad Efendi 2235; Baron de Tott, *Memoirs of Baron de Tott*, London 1785; A. Boppe, *La France et "le militaire turc" au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, in *Feuilles d'histoire* (1912), 386-402, 490-501; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Selim III'ün Veliaht iken Fransa Kralı Lüi XVI ile muhabereleri*, in *Belleten*, ii (1938), 191-246; idem, *Sadrâzam Halil Hamit Paşa*, in *TM*, v (1935), 213-67; E.Z. Karal, *Nizam-ı Cedide dâir layihalar*, in *TV*, i (1942), 414-25, ii (1942-43), 104-11, 342-51, 424-32; S.J. Shaw, *Between old and new: the Ottoman Empire under Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge 1971 (extensive bibl.); A.I. Bağış, *Britain and the struggle for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire: Sir Robert Ainslie's embassy to Istanbul 1776-1794*, Istanbul 1984; Kemal Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı-Prusya ittifâkı: meydana gelişi, tahlili, tatbiki*, Istanbul 1981; G. Gawrych, *Şeyh Galib and Selim III: Mevlevism and the Nizam-ı Cedid*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, iv (1987), 91-114; E. Kuran, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı ikamet elçiliklerinin kuruluşu ve ilk elçilerin siyasi faâliyetleri, 1793-1821*, Ankara 1968; *İA*, art. *Selim III* (Cevat Eren).

(VIRGINIA AKSAN)

SELĪM GIRĀY I, son of Bahādur Girāy, four times Khān of the Crimea between 1671 and 1704

(1671-7, 1684-91, 1692-9, 1702-4). In his childhood he lost his father and was committed to the care of Mirzash Agha, of the Ablan family. At the same time, ʿĀdil Girāy tried to kill him, but Selīm sought refuge among the Shīrīn family and escaped being killed. In 1671 he became Khān of the Crimean Tatars. The Tatars living in Poland asked Selīm for protection and help to settle in the Budjaḳ [*q.v.*] region, i.e. southern Bessarabia. Their request was not granted by the Ottoman authorities and sultan Meḥemmed IV called upon Selīm to help in the battle for Ḳamāniča [*q.v.*] (Kamieniec), as a result of which the Polish army was defeated. Soon Selīm was again summoned to war against Poland, and after a siege, Ḳamānića and nearby fortresses were conquered by the Muslims. After the fighting, Selīm became the mediator in peace negotiations between Poland and the sultan; then he fought against Russia and Poland for possession of the fortress of Čihrin, but after his failure here, the sultan accused him of ineffectualness, and he was deprived of power and deported to the island of Rhodes. In 1684 Selīm was again raised to the throne of the Khāns of Crimea in Bāghče Sarāy because of the ineffectiveness of Ḥādjdjī Girāy II, who had reigned after him. During this time, the Russians approached the Crimean territory and surrounded fortresses situated on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. Selīm defeated superior Russian forces, preventing the Russians from entering the Crimea. In 1689 Selīm was called upon to help Turkey in the war against Austria, and the Muslim forces won a battle near Skopje. In 1691, after receiving the information that Polish and Russian forces were about to attack, and after being informed of his son's death, Selīm abdicated the throne.

He then went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca and obtained the honorific title of *Ḥādjdjī*. The sultan assigned him estates at Silivri. Due to the efforts of the nobles of the Girāy dynasty, faced with a rebellion of Tatar troops, in 1692 Selīm was appointed to the throne for the third time. At that time, the war against Russia and Austria started. In 1695 Peter I launched an expedition against the Crimea, and in 1696 the Russians conquered the fortress of Azov. Because of that Selīm could not properly help the sultan in his war against Austria. He was a signatory to the 1699 peace treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovci [see KARLOFČA]) on the Danube. By virtue of this treaty, the Crimea obtained a greater independence, and was relieved of paying tribute to the sultans. In the same year, 1699, Selīm, by now very old, abdicated in his son Dewlet Girāy's favour, and the sultan awarded Selīm a pension of 8,000 gold coins per year. Intrigues at the sultan's court and the necessity of pacifying the rebellious Tatars led to Dewlet Girāy's dethronement and Selīm was for the fourth time appointed to the throne of the Crimea in 1702, but, after a short reign, died in December 1704 aged 73. Despite his preoccupations with state affairs, he was interested in literature and the sciences, and left behind a precious library.

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SELMĀN REʾĪS (d. 923/1527), a Turkish mariner and naval commander in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

Apparently a native of Lesbos [see MIDILLI] and thus a countryman and contemporary of another famous seaman, Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], he became active as a corsair in the Central Mediterranean (J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and Anne Kroell, *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en Mer Rouge. L'affaire de Djedda en 1517*, Cairo 1988, 76). At an unspecified date (at the latest in 1514) he entered the service of the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] who was endeavouring to resist the recently-arrived Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. This may have happened in the framework of Ottoman succour to Egypt, well-documented between 1507 and 1514. This ceased, however, by July 1514, the year in which the Mamlūk sultan launched a major campaign to build up the arsenal and fleet in Suez, with Selmān Reʾīs as its director and commander of 2,000 *lewend*s or marines (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1960, iv, 466-7; Bacqué-Grammont, *op. cit.*, 5). Under what seems to have been a joint command of Selmān Reʾīs and Ḥusayn al-Kurdī, this new fleet sailed late in 921/1515 on a campaign launched partly in response to the appeals of Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], and which was thus meant to succeed where the first Mamlūk expedition of 914/1508-9 under the same Ḥusayn had failed; instead of combatting the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, however, the expedition concentrated on building a stronghold on the Red Sea island of Ḳamarān [*q.v.*] near the Bāb al-Mandab [*q.v.*] against an expected Portuguese irruption into the Red Sea and on operations in Yemen, culminating in a siege of Aden or ʿAdan [*q.v.*] held by the governor of the ruler of Zabīd (Bacqué-Grammont, 8). The siege failed, and Selmān Reʾīs withdrew to Djudda [*q.v.*] in anticipation of a Portuguese attack on that port. Meanwhile, the Ottoman sultan had conquered Egypt, and immediately after his triumph he summoned Selmān to appear before him in Cairo. In a reply dated 25 Rabīʿ I 923/17 April 1517, the Turkish captain pleaded for a delay on the grounds that he could not in good conscience leave the port just as the infidel was going to attack and while the inhabitants were beseeching him to defend them. A marginal note added one day later states that the attack has occurred, Selmān has repulsed it, but that it might be renewed and he still cannot leave under these circumstances (S. Tekindağ, *Süveyş'te Türkler ve Selman Reis'in arızası*, in *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, ix [1968], 77-80; the same document published by M. Yakub Mugul, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 [1967], 37-48).

The events of the next several months are of crucial importance not only for our understanding of Selmān's career, but also for our interpretation of the Ottoman sultan's attitude towards the struggle against the Portuguese and towards the more specific place the defence of Islam's sanctuaries received in Selim's mind. Lopo Suares, the Portuguese viceroy of India, withdrew with his fleet by the end of April 1517, but Selmān kissed the sultan's hand only on 10 Shaʿban 923/28 August 1517 (Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt*, i, 491). He seems at this point to have suffered arrest and imprisonment in Cairo and Damascus.

Eventually pardoned, Selmān Reʾīs returned from Istanbul to Suez, which now was the base of what would become the "Ottoman Indian Ocean Fleet" and of which he may have been the first commander. The fleet accomplished little in the period of his tenure. In 1525, after an undetermined cruise outside the Bāb al-Mandab strait, a second attempt was made to seize Aden, but a report that a Portuguese fleet was approaching persuaded the Turks to raise the siege and sail back.

These failures may have been due to the low priori-

ty which the Ottoman government attached to the Suez base and fleet. This policy contradicts Selmān's own efforts to alert Istanbul to the challenges from the Portugese and possibilities in the Indian Ocean; his efforts received an eloquent expression in a *lāyiḥa* or memorandum dated 10 S̲h̲aʿbān 931/2 June 1525 (Topkapı Palace archive, N.E. 6455; see M. Lesure, *Un document ottoman sur l'Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge*, in *Mare luso-indicum*, iii [1976], 137-60). Although anonymous, the report's internal evidence strongly argues for Selmān's authorship. It is an analysis of the strength of the Ottoman fleet in the Red Sea, a description of the main ports in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, and an assessment of Portuguese strength in those waters and of the chances for an Ottoman fleet to oust them from there.

In the final year of his life, Selmān Reʾīs was charged with the mission to eliminate Muṣṭafā Beg, an insubordinate governor of Yemen; he did so and assumed the administration of the province himself. Shortly afterwards, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Beg, an aide who had assisted him in the assignment, gained the local *lewends* to his side, rebelled in his turn and assassinated Selmān Reʾīs towards the end of 1527.

Selmān Reʾīs's career has received conflicting interpretation. Some historians view him as proof of Ottoman intentions to assume a leading role in the defence of thé Indian Ocean and the Muslim world whose trade and pilgrims' routes were under assault by the Portuguese (Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman seapower and Levantine diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*, Albany 1994, 115-21); others draw the opposite conclusion, based on such circumstances as the treatment he received in Cairo despite his merit of saving D̲j̲udda—and thus averting a danger to Mecca—from the infidels, and the limited encouragement and means he received after his rehabilitation (Bacqué-Grammont, 19-20).

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SELWI, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Bulgarian town of Sevlievo, now in the Gabrovo province of Danubian Bulgaria (population in 1985, 26,440). From the 16th century till 1878 it was the centre of the *nāḥiye*, later *ḳāḍīlīk*, of Hutalič/Selwi in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Nigbolu. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the town and its district were predominantly inhabited by Muslims of Turkish, as well as of Bulgarian, origin. The town is situated in a vast plain 200 m/656 feet above sea level on both sides of the little river Rositsa, a tributary of the Yantra. Most of the 33 villages of the *ḳaḍāʾ* are situated in the hills around the plain. The town is the indirect successor of the mediaeval Bulgarian castle of Hutalič, the ruins of which were discovered in the 1980s, 9 km/5 miles to the south-east of the present town at the edge of the plain, in the formerly wholly Turkish village of Hisar Beyli (later, Serbeglii, since 1934, Javorets). The Hutalič castle is mentioned in a 13th-century inscription.

The *nāḥiye* of Hutalič is first mentioned in the *Icmal Defter* from 884/1479, having 24 villages with Bulgarian names and Christian inhabitants besides two villages with Turkish names and Muslim inhabitants (Čadîrlî and ʿAlī Faḳîhler). Selwi itself is mentioned for the first time in 922/1516, as a newly-founded place "not mentioned in the previous register" and having 18 Muslim Turkish households. In the course of the 16th century, this village, due to its central location, became the centre of the district and in the course of the late 17th century developed into a town. In 922/1516 there were, next to the old villages, eight new Muslim villages with Turkish names and in 1579-80 fourteen. At this time, the number of the Muslim population rose from 214 to 838 households, whereas the Christians largely remained stagnant because an important part of the population of the old villages gradually Islamised. In 1751 Selwi was a small town of 301 households, with two mosques and a weekly market. Through further Islamisation, 71% of the district was now Muslim.

In the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the town as well as the district slowly lost its predominantly Muslim character, the Christians having markedly large families. In 1845, 52% of the district was Muslim, in 1873 46%, the town then having 2,345 Muslim inhabitants and 3,864 Christians. Selwi had in 1873 ten mosques, a few *ḥammāms* and dervish convents and a large and monumental church for the Christian community, rebuilt in 1834 on older foundations, with the support of the local Muslim notables and written permission of Sultan Maḥmūd II. After Bulgaria became independent, most of the old Turkish colonists, as well as the bulk of the Muslims of local origin, left the villages of Selwi and migrated to Anatolia. Those remaining in the town more than halved in numbers by 1887. According to the census of 1928, only 811 Muslims were still living in the town. After the Second World War, during which time the town saw a rapid development, almost all Muslims left, and their mosques and other buildings were all demolished. The church from 1834 and the Clock Tower, first erected in 1777, remain standing as officially recognised monuments of culture.

Only in the large village of Aḳînd̲j̲îlar (now Petko Slavejkov), until 1878 wholly Turkish, a majority of the population remained Turkish-speaking Muslims, having one small mosque. The same is valid for the village of mixed origin, Rahova (Rahovčite). In Malkoçlar (now Burja) and Adiller (Idilevo), some families remain, partly with ʿAlevī inclinations.

Throughout the Ottoman period, the *nāḥiye*/*ḳaḍāʾ* was known by both the names of Selwi and Hutaliç.

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SEMĀ^c KH̲ĀNE [see SAMĀ^c].

SEMEDIREK, SEMADIREK, the Ottoman Turkish name for Samothrace, modern Greek Samothraki, a mountainous island of the Thracian Sporades group in the northeastern part of the Aegean Sea, now part of the Greek Republic and at present included in the *nomos* or department of Evros. Its area is 178 km^2/69 sq. miles, and in 1981 the declining population stood at 2,871. In mediaeval times it was famous for its honey and its goats, and the Latins called it *Sanctus Mandrachi*.

As part of the Thracian and Macedonian themes, Samothrace suffered from Slavonic and Arab raids in early mediaeval times. After *ca.* 1335 it passed from Byzantine hands to the Genoese Gattilusi house of Lesbos [see MIDILLI]. The Aydîn Turkmen beg Umur had raided it in 1330, and the Ottoman onslaught on it began soon after the capture of Constantinople (see E. Malamut, *Îles de l'empire byzantin, 8^e-12^e s.*, Paris 1988, index; T. Gregory, in *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991; A. Savvides, *Notes on medieval Samothrake until the Turkish conquest*, forthcoming). The first Ottoman attack, by Meḥemmed Fātiḥ's fleet (on 4 June 1456, according to a Byzantine short chronicle), provoked a western counter-attack by a papal fleet under Cardinal Scarampo, but in 1459 the sultan recovered Samothrace, Lemnos (Limni [*q.v.*]) and Thasos (Tas̲h̲öz [*q.v.*]), and their revenues were amongst those granted by Meḥemmed to his father-in-law, the vanquished Despot of Morea Demetrius Palaeologus [see MORA]. Apart from a brief Venetian occupation, Samothrace and the neighbouring islands passed by the Turco-Venetian treaty of 1479 definitively into Ottoman hands; by 1470, the island had been left with barely 200 inhabitants because of the incessant raiding.

The Ottoman period (1479-1912) is insufficiently documented. A Venetian raid is recorded in 1502. Soon afterwards, Pīrī Re'īs [*q.v.*] called the island *welīler maḳāmi* "abode of saints", perhaps echoing earlier descriptions of it. In 1698 the Venetian admiral Dolfin forced the Ottoman fleet to retreat to the Dardanelles, so that the Italians could gather taxation from the northeastern Aegean islands. In the early stages of the Greek National Revolt (1821), the island was raided by the fleet of Ḳara ^{c}Alī, which slaughtered almost all the male Greek population and enslaved the women and children (see Finlay, *History of Greece*, i, 192), and only after 1827 did the survivors begin to resettle the island from neighbouring areas. Archaeological excavations were begun on Samothrace in the 19th century by the French and the Austrians, and in 1863 the French consul Champoiseau was allowed by the Ottoman authorities to transport the statue of the Winged Victory to the Louvre. The island was occupied by the Greek navy on 19 October 1912 in the course of the First Balkan War; during World War II it was under Bulgarian occupation from Western Thrace 1941-4.

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SENEGAL, the name of a former French colony, an independent republic since 1960. Senegal takes its name from the river which rises in Guinea and discharges into the Atlantic Ocean near Saint-Louis after describing a broad curve, a section of which constitutes the frontier with Mauritania [see MŪRITĀNIYĀ].

The origin of the word "Senegal" is disputed. According to some, the term is said to derive from the name of the Ṣanhād̲j̲a (or Zenaga), a Berber people who occupied the northern bank of the lower reaches of the river. The first forms of these names are to be found in the accounts of travellers of the 16th century. Duarte Pacheco Pereira uses the phrase "rio de Çanagua" to denote the river; Zurara, Valentim Fernandes, Ca da Mosto and Diogo Gomes call the Berber people "Azenegues", "Azanaghes" or "Cenegii". Other interpretations find in the name of Sung̲h̲āna, a town in the river valley mentioned by al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century, another possible origin. According to a popular etymology, which has no historical basis, Senegal would be derived from the Wolof *sunu gaal* ("our canoe"). Whatever the case, the name of Senegal, which had long been applied to the region of Saint-Louis alone, was not extended to the whole country until the 19th century.

1. Geography, population and languages.

Senegal is the most westerly country of the African continent. It is situated between latitudes 12° and 17° N., and between longitudes 11° and 17° W. Its surface area is 196,722 km^2. The most significant elevation, in the extreme south of the country, is less than 500 m in altitude. Anomalies exist in the drawing of frontiers, a legacy of the colonial division. The valley of the Gambia (approximately 300 km in length by 20 km in breadth), formerly colonised by the British, constitutes an enclave which impedes communications between Casamance and the rest of the country. In terms of climate, Senegal is a region of transition between the Sahel [see SĀḤIL] to the north and the tropical forests to the south, with an Atlantic littoral to the west introducing a maritime dimension. The major part of the centre and the east (Ferlo) is semi-desert.

Three principal ethnic groups share the land of contemporary Senegal: the Wolof, who constitute between 35% and 38% of the total population, and who principally inhabit the north-west of the country, the Sereer, settled to the south of the former (region of Sine-Saloum), who, with 19% of the population, represent the second largest race of Senegal, and the Fuutanke (pl. Fuutankobe) of Fuuta Tooro (called "Toucouleurs" by the French), a sedentary people inhabiting the central section of the river valley (13% of the total), the product of large-scale racial intermingling, which over the course of its history has adopted the language of the Peul or Fulbe nomads (hence their name of *hal-pulaaren*, "those who speak *pulaar*/peul"). Wolof, Sereer and Hal-Pulaaren are related through language and culture. The final third of the Senegalese population is composed of the Soninke, Maninka/Malinke and other kindred groups (8.5%), historically associated with the mediaeval empires of G̲h̲āna and of Mali [*q.vv.*], the Peul or Fulbe (8%), the Joola/Diola of Casamance (7%), the Balantes, Mandjak, Mankagne and Bassari of Casamance and the south-east of the country (2%), and the Lebu of the Cape Verde peninsula (less than 2%).

French, the official language of the Republic, is

known by approximately one-third of the population. Since 1978, the constitution has furthermore recognised six national languages: Joola, Malinke, Pular, Sereer, Soninke and Wolof. Due to its centrality, the number of its speakers, and its historical and political role, Wolof, although little used in the press and in literature, has tended to become, in fact, the principal national language of Senegal. On the other hand, the existence of a public and private network engaged in the teaching of Arabic, and the use of Arabic characters in the transcription of certain national languages, have tended to confer upon Arabic, for religious reasons, the status of a major cultural language, in spite of the relatively small number of those who use it.

The total population of Senegal was 7 million in 1988, representing a density of 35.7 inhabitants per km². The capital, Dakar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], has a population of over a million. The scale of urbanisation is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa: more than a third of the inhabitants. In 1988 the G.N.P. was $510 per head of population, and the overseas debt, in 1989, was $288.25 per head of population. The vast majority of the population is Muslim. There also exists a Catholic minority (about 5%) in the south of the country ("Little Coast").

2. Economy.

The economy of Senegal, which depends for almost half of its exports on a single agricultural product, the ground-nut, is fragile. Despite efforts towards liberalisation, the Senegalese state remains the principal employer, importer and investor, a fact which increases the risks of corruption and nepotism in the administrative apparatus. The Senegalese economy is, furthermore, deeply dependent on foreign nations for the provision of capital and of technology. For a long time France, the former colonial power, has occupied a dominant position, which is currently shared by the U.S.A.

Since independence, the value of ground-nuts on the international market has declined considerably (in competition with the oils of the soy-bean and the cole-seed). The ground-nut, which represented 80% of the value of exports until 1967, represented no more than one-half fifteen years later. This collapse is also accounted for by the development of new products for export: phosphates, fresh and preserved fish, cotton. On the other hand, the state has given priority to the extension of rice-producing land. Besides Casamance, the region traditionally associated with this crop, rice has been introduced into the valley of the Senegal river, as a result of major projects sponsored by the (inter-states) "Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Sénégal" (O.M.V.S.), which, by means of the construction of a dam at Diama (near Saint-Louis), intends to modify the hydraulic disposition of the river and to combat the salination of soils.

Although Senegal does not belong among the least prosperous nations of West Africa, its economy shows few signs of growth. The poor quality of its soil and the scarcity of natural resources, in addition to the effects of the condition of international markets in primary materials, constitute this country's principal handicap. The recent devaluation of the C.F.A. franc (January 1994) has rendered still more perceptible the problems of an economy which has yet to extricate itself from the ties of external dependence.

3. History.

(1) *Earliest historical times.*

The history of the settlement of Senegal dates back at least to the start of the current era: the presence of tumuli in the valley of the Senegal, impressive artificial mounds of sea-shells on the coast, numerous megalithic monuments, dating from the first millennium of this era, between Gambia and Ferlo (in particular the stone circles of Sine-Saloum) and metallurgical sites prove the antiquity of human occupation in these regions.

In the earliest stages of its history, Senegal was a cul-de-sac, backed by an ocean which, until the 15th century, played no part. Essentially, what constitutes its current territory was outside the zone of domination of the kingdom of G͟hāna, the first political formation of any size in the region. It was also situated at the furthest limits of the Muslim world of the time. It is precisely from this zone of contact with Arabo-Muslim trans-Saharan commerce, at the approaches to the valley of the Senegal river, that the first information filters through, beginning in the 9th century A.D.

The history as such of Senegal really begins with the description of sub-Saharan itineraries by the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī (writing in 460/1068). Proceeding along the course of the river, he describes successively the towns of Sung͟hāna (or Sang͟hāna), of Takrūr and of Sillā (or Sillī). Situated some 200 km from the estuary of the Senegal river ("six days journey between it and the land of the Godala"), Sung͟hāna is composed of two towns, located on either side of the river. Down-stream, between Sung͟hāna and the Atlantic Ocean, "the inhabited places follow on from one another". This zone corresponds to the lower valley of the river, known historically by the name of Waalo. Up-stream, at a distance which is not given precisely, are located Takrūr, then Sillā, itself situated at "twenty stages" (more than 600 km) from G͟hāna. Sillā, too, is composed of two towns, separated by the river.

The middle valley of the Senegal represents the first centre of Islamisation of the entire region. The king of Takrūr, Waar Diaabe (d. 432/1040) was converted, calling on his subjects and on the neighbouring city of Sillā to accept the new religion. His son, Labī, supported Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in 448/1056 in the first conflicts of the Almoravid movement [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN]. The king of Sillā, for his part, made war on his non-Muslim neighbours, such as those of "Ḳalanbu" (Galam), another city on the river.

From this period onward, the sources of gold, which constituted the principal magnet for Arabo-Berber merchants, were logged by travellers and geographers. The best gold was then obtained from a site known as G͟hiyārū (Gunjuru ?), situated at "eighteen days' journey" (less than 600 km) to the south of G͟hāna. This is in the major auriferous region of Bambuk, which is located on the right bank of the Faleme (a tributary of the Senegal) and is divided today between the modern states of Senegal and Mali. In the following century, according to al-Idrīsī (writing in 549/1154), Takrūr, which seems to have gained by the enfeeblement of G͟hāna, possibly by the Almoravids, exerted its authority as far as the approaches to Bambuk, thus controlling exchanges between the salt of the coast and the gold of the interior.

The kingdom of Takrūr was subsequently supplanted by other regional political formations, but the toponym survived and was to acquire great significance. In all probability it is the origin of the name "Tucurooes" (Duarte Pacheco Pereira, Valentim Fernandes, in the 16th century), then, in French writing, of "Toucouleurs". On the other hand, until the 19th century, the word Takrūr denoted in a loose fashion, throughout the Arab East, the Muslim regions of the extreme west of Western Africa, more

specifically, the lands which are currently Senegal and Mali.

(2) *A Senegalese political matrix: the Grand Jolof.*

Besides the participation of Takrūr in the Almoravid movement, the exploits of the *Murābiṭūn* had few repercussions in the region of Senegal. On the other hand, their memory has been magnified to the point of representing the birth of the Islamic history of the land. This sense of identification with the Almoravid *djihād* finds its best known expression in the genealogy of the kings of the Jolof, the first great historical Senegalese kingdom. The oral sources, which concentrate on the achievement of the founding hero, claim, in anachronistic fashion, that the first sovereign of the Jolof, Njajaan Njaay, was the son of the Almoravid Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar, or one of his descendents and successors. But this is a late genealogy, no doubt fabricated after the 12th/18th century by Muslim scholars anxious to validate the Islamic legitimacy of the dynasty, in competition with other traditions according to which the founder was, on the contrary, renowned for his animist powers.

The "Grand Jolof" was, between the 13th and 16th centuries, the crucible of new Senegalese political identities, more particular those of the Wolof language. But the reconstruction of the process remains in part conjectural. After the legendary account of the foundation of the kingdom by Njajaan Njaay, the oral sources remain virtually silent regarding the latter's successors, only providing dynastic lists without commentaries. These unclear materials make it impossible to establish a firm chronology. At the most, by means of connections and cross-checking it is legitimate to locate the origins of the kingdom at the earliest towards the end of the 13th century. In the Jolof as in the Waalo, the dynasty claimed descent from Njajaan Njaay: these were in all probability the central territories of the new hegemony. On the other hand, the other dynastic unities, Kajoor (Cayor) and Bawol (Baol) are given distinct, even earlier origins (references to the Soninke of G̲h̲āna) and therefore needed to be attached subsequently to the great totality. Similarly, the "Wolofisation" of these two countries was accomplished, after some delay, under the influence of the Grand Jolof. Later still, there took place the integration of the southern kingdoms of Sereer language, of Siin (Sine) and of Saalum (Saloum).

The process of extension of the political range of the Jolof was overshadowed by the expansion of the empire of Mali [*q.v.*]. At its zenith (first half of the 14th century), this empire gained a foothold in the valleys of the Senegal and the Gambia, defeated the sovereign of the Jolof, if the Malinke tradition, and it alone, is to be believed, and radiated, in a fashion difficult to determine, over the rest of the region. Political titulature bears numerous traces of this period of Malinke control. The titles of *fara* (chief) or of *far-ba* (great chief), which came to be widely used in Wolof hierarchies, are directly borrowed from the Malinke language. Genealogical connections with the dynasty of Mali also appear throughout the Senegambian zone. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the Jolof was at its zenith, its territory extending as far as Ferlo, to the east, and Gambia, to the south, while Takrūr continued to exert its power further to the east, from the central valley of the Senegal to Bambuk. At the same time, Mali, in a process of decline, nevertheless maintained its pressure, particularly in the Gambian valley.

But the empire of the Jolof was weakly centralised and the subsidiary kingdoms enjoyed considerable autonomy, sometimes engaging in dissidence. The sovereign (*buurba*) directly governed only the province of Jolof as such, an inland region separated from maritime traffic. As a means of surmounting this handicap the Crown Prince (*buumi*) Jelen, ousted in a war of succession, made his way, in 1488, to Lisbon, converted to Catholicism and having regained his throne, played an active part in the control of imports (horses, iron, weapons, fabrics, leather and glass objects, etc.).

The coasts of Senegambia were discovered by the Portuguese around 1445. The Wolof lands represent in this context the first "morsel" of Black Africa explored by the Portuguese. The testimonies of these navigators, superseding the somewhat limited Arab sources, provide considerable new material for the understanding of Senegalese societies in the 15th century.

By combining these elements of information with those assembled later, it is possible to trace the essential character of these societies. They are first of all marked by a very strict hierarchisation of social classes: the *geer* (free men), the *ñeeño* (considered inferior, of low "caste", consisting of members of endogamic groups specialising in the practice of certain artisanal occupations, smiths, millers, etc.) and the *jaam* (slaves and dependents). Power belonged to members of the ruling *geer* families. In the Senegambian zone, kinship is established both in the maternal and the paternal line; matrilineages are called *meen* and patrilineages *geño*. The inheritance of goods and positions exposes, in variable proportions according to dynasties and periods, this double filiation. Thus transmission in the dynasty of the Jolof, from the outset until the end, is predominantly patrilineal. On the other hand, the Waalo, the Kajoor and the Bawol practised a bilineal system from the 16th to the 19th century, and previously, in certain cases, possibly a matrilineal system. In the entourage of these Wolof kings, a lady of the Court (mother, aunt or elder sister), the *lingeer*, exercises a substantial authority which underlines the role of matrilinearity in these complex systems.

The diffusion of Islam in these kingdoms is still very uneven. The Portuguese texts speak of animist practices and evoke the propensity of the Wolof for the abuse of alcohol. They also illustrate the important role played by foreign preachers, the majority of them from neighbouring Zanaga groups (contemporary Mauritania). These are known by the name of *bisserin* or *bixerin* (in contemporary Wolof, *seriñ*, equivalent of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*). From the early 17th century onwards, the term "marabout" comes into general use and is substituted for the latter. As in the rest of western Sudan in the same period, Islam is the faith of élites and of merchants, an Islam of the court, which does not exclude, on the part of the sovereign, at his subjects' behest, recourse to instruments of legitimacy borrowed from ancestral cults (feasts, dancing, sacrifices etc.).

(3) *The turning-point of the 16th century: a new political landscape.*

The years following 1500 saw a significant turning-point in the history of the region: the accession to power of a Peul or Fulbe dynasty in neighbouring Takrūr, and the autonomy of the subordinate kingdoms, destabilised the unity of the Jolof.

The history of the interior of Senegambia is marked, during the second half of the 15th century, by a hostile campaign of great breadth instigated by Peul originating from the border regions of the Sahel, in a double movement, north-south and then south-north. Between 1460 and 1480 the Peul crossed the central

valley of the Senegal in the direction of the Gambia. Soon afterwards, a Peul state was founded by Tengela in the Fuuta Jaaloo (Fouta Djalon, currently in Guinea [see FŪTA DJALLON]), while Peul forces confronted those of Mali. From 1490 onward, Tengela and his son Koli campaigned along the current eastern frontier of Senegal. Tengela was killed in 1512 in a confrontation with troops of the Songhay empire (an empire centred on the loop of the Niger) and Koli (son of) Tengela undertook the occupation of Takrūr, where he founded a new dynasty, that of the Deniyanke (pl. Deniyankoobe). The Peul power exerted pressure on the eastern frontier of the Jolof, in particular through the occupation of the Ferlo.

The same period witnessed the increasing power of the Kajoor, annexing the peninsula of Cape Verde, a strategic commercial area, between 1482 and 1515, then, between 1530 and 1550, defeating the Jolof in battle (the victory of Danki). The Kajoor seceded, followed by all the other tributary kingdoms.

After the dislocation of the Grand Jolof, provisional equilibrium was established between the four Wolof kingdoms (Jolof, Waalo, Kajoor, Bawol) and, more broadly, between the Senegambian states (besides the afore-mentioned, the Fuuta of the Deniyankoobe—formerly Takrūr—to the north, and the Siin and the Saalum, to the south). A new disposition of forces was progressively brought into being, marked by the ambitions of the Fuuta, the power of the Kajoor and the economic growth of the Saalum.

In the second half of the 16th century, the *buurba* of the Jolof passed for some time under the protectorate of the Fuuta. The *brak* of the Waalo followed, after some delay, and in its turn paid tribute to the Fuuta. The Deniyanke dynasty reached its zenith at the beginning of the 17th century under the reign of the *satigi* Samba Lamu. In confrontation with this regional power, a new hegemony was established under the leadership of Amari Ngoone, the architect of the victory over the Jolof, who united the Bawol and the Kajoor under his authority, but this union collapsed at the end of the 16th century. Henceforward, the Wolof found themselves divided on a lasting basis between the four independent political entities, which were to continue in operation, within virtually stable frontiers, until the colonial conquest, although the memory of their lost unity was not to disappear. For all the Senegambian powers, access to the coast or to the two major rivers of the region, represented a vital asset. European commerce, dictated, in fact, to an increasing extent, not only the trade but also the political and social life of the region.

(4) *The period of the slave trade.*

The first Portuguese incursion took place, around 1445, at Arguin, on the coast of what is now Mauritania. From there, the Portuguese proceeded along the courses of the Senegal and the Gambia with the object of reaching the sources of gold, thus diverting the internal commercial routes towards the Atlantic. From this time onwards, the traffic in slaves began to flourish. Senegambia constituted in fact the primary source of slaves embarked directly for Europe by sea and it continued to be the principal exporter throughout the 16th century, until the Gulf of Guinea and Angola took over this role in the following century.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the Portuguese commercial monopoly was shattered by the successive arrival of the Dutch, the British and the French. The new powers divided the coast into rival zones of influence. The Dutch established themselves on the island of Gorea in 1621. After temporary Portuguese re-occupations (in 1629 and 1645), they were obliged to cede the territory to the British (1667), then to the French (1677). In 1659, the French built the fortress of Saint-Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal river, and organised an active network covering the whole of the river valley. For their part, the British established themselves, in 1651, at the mouth of the Gambia.

This European implantation had profound effects on political and social dispositions. The hunt for slaves led to violence and exacerbated the tensions between Senegalese kingdoms and European traders, and within the Senegalese kingdoms themselves. A social revolution was created, under the flag of Islam, as a reaction against the extortions of the ruling aristocracies. It is known in the European texts of the period as the "war of the marabouts" or "Toubenan movement" (from Arabic *tawba* "conversion, repentance").

Initially, a *djihād* born among Berbers of Mauritania, at the initiative of a religious utopian and reformer named Nāṣir al-Dīn, as a reaction against the double pressure of Arab Ḥassānī warriors moving towards the south and of the Europeans installed at the mouth of the Senegal river, erupted in the river valley, where it acquired aspects of supplementary significance. The desire to convert the populace to Islam was combined here with opposition to the European slave trade. Between 1673 and 1677, the *djihād* was victorious in the Waalo, in the Fuuta, in the Jolof and in the Kajoor. But this victory was everywhere ephemeral. In Mauritania (where this war was known by the name of *Shar Bubba*), the men of religion (*zwāya*) were forced to recognise the supremacy of the warriors. On the Senegalese side, the local dynasties re-established their authority everywhere, with the military and material aid of the French traders of Saint-Louis. This restoration was accompanied by an anti-Islamic reaction on the part of the warrior aristocracies, who delivered the defeated survivors into slavery. In these circumstances, adherence to Islam took on a different meaning: from being the distinguishing sign of an élite in mediaeval Sudanese societies, it became the symbol of an ideology of dissidence and revolt against pagan tyrannies (in particular the power of the *ceddo* warriors, "slaves of the crown" in the service of the ruling families) and the foreign occupation. "Islam which had hitherto been an Islam of the court, the monopoly of the powerful, was to an increasing extent rejected by this aristocracy, which was to be more or less hostile to it until the time of the colonial conquest" (B. Barry, 1972, 157). In these circumstances of repression, the Muslim communities became pacific and minority enclaves, which periodically attracted to themselves dispossessed and exploited peasants.

The 18th century witnessed the consolidation of these tendencies. The development of the cultivation of sugar-cane, cotton and tobacco in America led to an expansion of slave traffic and its geographical extension beyond Senegambia. European demand was henceforward extended to gum, a resin of acacia which was to be found in the Saharo-Sahelian zone of the region. In the Senegalese kingdoms, the exacerbation of competition for access to European products gave the advantage to militarised groups, in particular to the *ceddo* warlords who imposed their will on the ruling dynasties. In confrontation with the powers of the *ceddo*, Islamic teaching was seen as a possible response to the general crisis.

Within the Senegalese states, the Muslim communities consolidated themselves under the leadership

of influential religious families, who were not averse to invoking occult means to intimidate their adversaries. These Muslim enclaves, linked together by regular contacts and expressions of solidarity, organised themselves, either to snatch an ever more extensive autonomy, or to unleash Islamic revolutions. Their leaders, "graduates" trained in the same schools, in particular the religious centres of Pir and of Kokki in the Kajoor, in direct contact with the Berber *zwāya* masters, shared the same culture and exchanged information and plans.

Since the end of the 17th century, around 1690, the Bundu, a zone situated to the south of the Senegal river in the east of the country, which had attracted numerous Muslims of the Fuuta Tooro fleeing from repression, had been the epicentre of a Muslim revolution led by a Fuutanke scholar by the name of Malik Sii (Sy), who had studied at Pir and was directly inspired by the model of Nāṣir al-Dīn. The Muslim party was thus assured of control of the valley of the Faleme, doubly rich on account of agricultural resources and gold deposits (Bambuk). Like Nāṣir al-Dīn, Malik took the title of *almami* (*al-imām*) and laid the foundations of a régime which was to evolve in dynastic fashion.

The Bundu was a ladder towards the Fuuta Jaaloo, a mountain range recently colonised by the Peul, where other partisans of Nāṣir al-Dīn fleeing repression had also taken refuge. In 1725, a second Islamic revolution erupted in this region of what is now Guinea. In its turn it was to serve as the model for a movement of the same nature which was victorious in 1776 in the Fuuta Tooro and led to the fall of the Deniyanke dynasty. The religious party, known by the name of *toorodo* (from a Peul root which signifies, according to the hypotheses proposed, "to beg" or "to pray") was led by two former pupils of the schools of Pir and of Kokki, Sulaymān Bal and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, the first *almami* and *amīr al-muʾminīn* of the Fuuta. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir opposed the sale of Muslims at Saint-Louis and blocked the communications and the supply-routes of the French fortress.

The *toorodo* party attempted at the same time to extend Islamic power to the neighbouring Wolof kingdoms, but it encountered determined resistance on the part of the sovereign (*damel*) of the Kajoor, Amri Ngoone Ndeela, whose forces crushed the Fuutanke army at Bungoy in 1790. The Islamic revolution was brought to a definitive halt. In the Fuuta, the new aristocracy of the Toorodo appropriated land and dominated the country, while the régime of the *almami*, consumed by internecine rivalry and struggles over succession between families, was in dire need of stability (between 1806 and 1854, 20 candidates came to power on 45 occasions, which, taking account of interregnums, represents an average of less than a year per reign). As in the Bundu and Fuuta Jaaloo, the leaders of the victorious party, trained originally as scholars, progressively yielded power to a new warrior aristocracy which had no direct links with religious studies. However, the Islamic character of the state was reinforced by a network of schools and of *ḳāḍīs*, which had the function of diffusing and promoting the *sharīʿa*.

In the Wolof kingdoms, the Muslim groups maintained their cohesion and, sometimes, emigrated towards more hospitable regions (such as those from the province of Njambur, to the north of the Kajoor, who went into exile in huge numbers in the peninsula of Cape Verde.)

(5) *The rivalry between the three powers: the warriors, the religious, the French of Saint-Louis.*

At the Congress of Vienna (1814), Britain imposed on the European powers the suppression of the slave trade. Although "illicit commerce" continued for some time, the entire balance of Atlantic trading was comprehensively overturned. The Congress of Vienna also restored to French its warehouses in Senegal, which had been occupied by the British.

After lengthy research, the ground-nut was identified by the French as the product providing the best substitute for the slave-trade (the British opting, for their part, for palm-oil). From 1840 onwards, the ground-nut was seen as the miracle crop which could rescue French commerce in Senegal from stagnation. This choice led in its turn to a policy of intervention and more resolute territorial expansion. It was Faidherbe, governor of Senegal between 1854 and 1865, who inaugurated this process of colonial conquest: occupation of the Waalo (1855), construction of new posts in the valley of the Senegal river, political and military interference in the Kajoor, and victorious intervention in the Saalum (1859). These campaigns accentuated the fragility of the Senegalese kingdoms.

There was only one force, originating in the east, which could represent an alternative to the French hegemony. It was embodied by a *toorodo* of the Fuuta, a veteran of the Pilgrimage, endowed with the title of *k͟halīfa* of the new Tid͟jāniyya brotherhood, named al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar al-Fūtī. The latter, also inspired by the model of the caliphate of Sokoto (northern Nigeria) where he had lived for several years and taken a wife, sought to revive the *toorodo* tradition of Islamic reform. Establishing himself to the north of the Fuuta Jaaloo, he attracted to his cause thousands of "social juniors" from his native territory, in search of adventure and social advancement, and anxious to escape the crisis of power in the Fuuta Tooro. In 1846, ʿUmar undertook his first tour of preaching and recruitment in eastern Senegambia and in the Fuuta Tooro. He was faced by the opposition both of the existing hierarchies in the Fuuta and of the French, worried by this new source of instability.

ʿUmar proclaimed the *d͟jihād* in 1852. At the end of 1854 he occupied the Bambuk, invaded the Bundu and established himself in the upper valley of the Senegal. In 1857, he instigated a siege of the French fortress of Medine, situated in the upper valley, but was unable to complete it successfully and suffered heavy losses. Henceforward, al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar withdrew from Senegal and directed his efforts against the Bambara animist hegemonies which then dominated the entire western zone of what is now Mali. But he continued to draw the bulk of his forces from the human reservoir of the Fuuta Tooro, thus contributing to the phenomenon of *fergo* (emigration), which had profound effects on the riparian societies.

Taking up the legacy of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar (who died in 1864 and whose empire survived for a further generation on the territory of what is now Mali), some Senegambian leaders, influenced by the ʿUmarī *d͟jihād* or by the *toorodo* model, revived in their turn a militant and radical programme. In Senegambia, the principal figure was a disciple of al-Ḥad͟jd͟j ʿUmar by the name of Ma Bā Jaaxu, who dominated the stage in Senegal from 1861 to 1867. He took the title of *almami* and founded a state covering the land between the Saalum and the Gambia and extending, for a brief period, as far as the Senegal river. Ma Bā Jaaxu was killed in 1867 while attempting to subdue the Siin, who remained resolutely animist.

Some of his companions were to persist in the struggle for Islamic reform and against French expan-

sionism. These included Lat Joor (Lat Dyor), *damel* of the Kajoor, and al-Būrī Njay, his nephew, *buurba* of the Jolof. Other lieutenants of Ma Bā maintained positions of power along the entire length of the Gambia. But the most significant figures in the long term were to be non-combattant marabouts. The change in emphasis was embodied in particular, a little later, by Amadu Bamba, founder of Murīdism, whose father, Momar Anta Sali, had been the tutor of Ma Bā's son and an adviser to Lat Joor.

Parallel developments took place in the Fuuta. Confronted by a warlord, Abdul Bokar Kan, who, between 1860 and 1890, attempted to re-establish the unity and the independence of the Fuuta and to oppose the large-scale drain of the human resources of the region in the direction of the post-ᶜUmarī empire, other religious figures called for the restoration of *toorodo* ideals: these were Cerno Brahim, a pupil of the Moorish *Zwāya* of Trārza, in the eastern Fuuta, and Amadu Seexu, son and disciple of an influential religious personage, closely linked to the school of Kokki, who was proclaimed Mahdī in the western Fuuta in 1828 (whence the name of Madiyankoobe "followers of the Mahdī", given to the movement). Cerno Brahim, for his part, was defeated by allies of Abdul Bokar Kan, in the upper valley of the Senegal, in 1869. The same year, at the time of a devastating cholera epidemic, Amadu Seexu followed his father's example in calling for a movement of reform and of purification. The mobilisation of forces, and the tension which ensued, led to a direct confrontation with the French. Amadu Seexu allied himself temporarily with Lat Joor, the former companion of Ma Bā, and pretender to the throne of the Kajoor, and won numerous victories over the French. For his part, Abdul Bokar Kan avoided any direct confrontation with the Madiyankoobe whose leader, powerless to rally the entirety of the Fuuta and being much more respected in Wolof circles, emigrated with all his forces to the Jolof. Having become a threat to the Wolof dynasties, Amadu Seexu found himself progressively isolated. Along with hundreds of his supporters he was killed by a French expeditionary force in a bloody battle in 1875.

A final large-scale religious movement was launched, in the upper valley of the Senegal river, by Mamadu Laamin Daraame, a Soninke of the Gajaaga, from a religious family, who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca and who, having expressed criticisms with regard to the ᶜUmarī régime, was temporarily imprisoned by Amadu Seexu (S͟hayk͟hu), sovereign of Segou, son and successor of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ᶜUmar. In 1885 Mamadu Laamin launched a *d͟jihād* which united the majority of the heterogenous populations of the Upper River, especially those of the Soninke, Jaxanke, Maninka and Xasonke ethnic groups, in what is now the frontier region between Senegal and Mali. He occupied the Bundu and Upper Gambia, threatening the rearguard of the French troops engaged in the conquest of the ᶜUmarī empire. He was finally killed in 1886.

Thus Senegambia was, throughout the 19th century, the scene of complex confrontations involving protagonists of three types: the warriors and monarchs, defenders of the traditional order, the religious zealots who, since the end of the 17th century, had pursued a programme of social and political reform based on the Islamic *s͟harīᶜa*, and the French who, having started out as ordinary commercial partners paying fees to their African middlemen, were constantly gaining territory and acting like conquerors. On the confrontation between warriors and religious zealots, both groups being themselves wracked by internal divisions, there was superimposed to an ever-increasing extent that between African and French interests. This situation accounts for the instability of alliances and counter-alliances. Caught between two fires—the French of Saint-Louis and the religious reformers—the monarchs, who were also dependent on their *ceddo* entourages, made alliances, according to circumstances, with one party or the other. Following the suppression of religious initiatives, in which they collaborated in numerous cases, they hoped to find some common ground with Saint-Louis, but were in their turn eliminated at the end of the century: Lat Joor was killed in battle in 1886, al-Būrī Njaay was forced into exile in 1890, and Abdul Bokar, powerless to prevent the occupation of the Fuuta, was killed by Moors acting on behalf of the French in 1891.

The last efforts at resistance were those mounted, in the non-Islamised south, by the Joola of Lower-Casamance, to the south of the Gambia. The French administration, reduced to a few coastal warehouses, sought to take possession of maritime Casamance with the aim of developing there the production of rubber. But the Joola took advantage of the inaccessibility of their villages and of the localised nature of their power to impede French penetration. From 1885 onward, organised on a village-based structure, they resisted the French with some success, and their movement was to remain active until the First World War.

(6) *The Colony of Senegal.*

The conquest of Senegal by France responded to a double objective: strategic, providing a base of departure for the advance on the Sudan (Segou, the ᶜUmarī capital on the Niger, fell in 1890), and economic, for the development of the cultivation of the ground-nut, especially in the Kajoor. In 1885, the ground-nut represented 70% of the colony's exports and was poised to become its sole crop.

Beyond the various legal constructs, the true founder of the colony of Senegal, reduced to a few isolated trading posts at the time of the French return in 1817, was the governor Faidherbe (1854-1865, with a brief interruption in 1861). At his own initiative, and with the active support of the commercial community of Bordeaux, Faidherbe, who had been trained in the Arab Bureaux in Algeria, directed his efforts towards the interior of the country and the Senegal river. He was diverted from operations nearer the coast by the separation of Goree into a distinct entity belonging to the "Marine". Protected by the Parisian administration, Faidherbe received the necessary funds and reinforcements. He also knew how to cultivate an image of distinction in influential French circles, showing himself receptive to scholars, publicists and journalists. Like Bonaparte in Egypt, Faidherbe surrounded himself with young officers, graduates of military schools. Combining diplomacy with firmness, he encouraged the signing of treaties of protectorate with African chiefs, but he also organised the Senegalese *Tirailleurs*, an African force in the service of the colonial power, later to enjoy a great fortune. To train an African élite for the role of intermediary between the Senegalese people and the French authorities, he founded for this purpose the "Ecole des Otages" (1855-1871), which was later to become the "Ecole des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes" (1893). With the annexation of the Waalo (1856), a collection of dispersed trading posts was replaced by a single and continuous tract of occupied territory, the first of its kind for the French in West Africa. On 26 February 1859, the island of Goree and

the southern trading posts were placed under the authority of the governor of Senegal. The Kajoor, the major source of ground-nuts, all the outlets for which were controlled by French commerce, was progressively encircled. A display of force in the Kajoor and the replacement of the *damel* (January-May 1861) overcame all resistance. The retreat of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar (Treaty of Medina, August 1860), removed the threat of *djihād* and consolidated the structure. If these impressive achievements are supplemented by the organisational work conducted on the ground (administrative infrastructures, French and Franco-Muslim schools, Muslim tribunals, modernisation of Saint-Louis, foundation of the Bank of Senegal, etc.) it is evident that, without substantial means, Faidherbe had transformed—twenty-five years before the great colonial partition of Africa—a network of trading posts of mediocre importance into a colony of 50,000 km², to which should be added the zone of influence created in the interior by the various treaties of protectorate and by settlements along the river or on the southern coast. Guided by the Algerian experience, Faidherbe conducted a rather Islamophile policy, using Muslim institutions as an arm of the French domination. This period saw the beginnings of a phenomenon which was to persist for several generations, the privileged status enjoyed by representatives of Muslim élites of the region of Saint-Louis and of the river: Shaykh Sidiyya Baba (1862-1926), a Ḳādirī Moorish dignitary of Trārza, Shaykh Saʿad Būh (1850-1917), another Ḳādirī (and Fāḍilī) Moorish figure, the interpreter Būh al-Mogdad, drawn from the same circles, Amadu Mukhtār Sakho, *ḳāḍī* of Boghe (Fuuta) from 1905 to 1934, and a number of prominent citizens and merchants of Saint-Louis (Hamat Njaay/Ndiaye, etc.).

A decree of 16 June 1895 created the "Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française" (A.O.F.), whose titular head, based at Saint-Louis, combined his duties with those of governor of Senegal. A decree of 1902 separated the two functions: the Governor-General took up residence in Dakar, while the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal remained in Saint-Louis. A decree of 18 October 1904 established the definitive organisation of the A.O.F. and presented Senegal as a colony composed of "territories of direct administration" (the four communes of Saint-Louis, Goree, Rufisque and Dakar, with their suburbs, and the coastal zone traversed by the Dakar-Saint-Louis railway) and the "protectorate lands" of the interior.

The "Four Communes" represented an exceptional case in the French colonial system in Africa. A decree of 10 August 1872 had accorded to Saint-Louis and Goree-Dakar the status of fully functional communes. In 1880, this status had been extended to Rufisque, while, in 1887, Goree and Dakar had been separated into two distinct communal entities. Between 1872 and 1887, the Four Communes were endowed with an organisation copied from the French model. The decree of 4 February 1879 created an elected General Council, on the model of the practice followed in the French departments. On the other hand, since 1848 (with an interruption under the Second Empire) the inhabitants of Saint-Louis and of Goree had elected a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies. This right was extended to nationals of the Four Communes. This example of very close assimilation to the metropolitan régime was not extended further; until the Second World War, it never covered more than 5% of the Senegalese population. The other nationals of the territory were, as in the other colonies, "French subjects", subordinated, by a decree of 20 September 1887, to the local colonial régime, by which they could be regularly requisitioned for works in the public interest, while at the same time their right of movement was limited and they were subject to the discretionary power of the administrators.

The Four Communes, on account of their privileged status, witnessed the emergence of the first black élites, whose claims, throughout the early years of the century, were directed towards total assimilation. The first land-mark event took place in 1914 with the election, on a huge majority (1,900 votes against 671) of a negro customs official, Blaise Diagne, competing with a candidate of mixed parentage supported by the administration. Blaise Diagne had benefited, especially, from the support of the Murīd brotherhood. For the first time a Black African sat in the French Parliament. A law, sponsored by Blaise Diagne and promulgated in 1915, enlarged the constituency of French citizens, stipulating that all the nationals of the Four Communes and their descendants should enjoy citizen status. As a valued representative of the French government, with the title of Commissioner of the Republic and the rank of Governor-General, Blaise Diagne contributed actively to the recruitment of African troops for the battlefields of the First World War. He was convinced at this time that the shedding of blood would accelerate progress towards assimilation. After the war, he became Under-Secretary of State for the colonies, the first African to serve a French government in a ministerial capacity. On his death in 1934, Galandou Diouf was elected deputy and pursued the same programme, of populist oratory and co-operation with France, although with less skill. The founding of the Senegalese Socialist Party in 1935 and its affiliation to the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) in 1938 marked a new phase. The leader of the new party, Lamine Gueye, was defeated by Galandou Diouf in the elections of 1934 and 1936, but he dominated Senegalese political life after the Second World War.

Senegal was affected in numerous ways by the global conflict. Pierre Boisson, Governor-General of the A.O.F., remained loyal to the government of Vichy and offered military resistance to an attempted landing by General De Gaulle, supported by British naval forces, at Dakar (13-25 September 1940). After the Allied landing in North Africa, Boisson negotiated an accord with Admiral Darlan and with General Eisenhower (7 December 1942) which brought the A.O.F. back into the war, but not into alliance with Free France (this was not to be achieved until June 1943).

(7) *Progress towards Independence.*

After the war, two figures belonging to two different generations, whose rivalry was to dominate the political life of the country over the next ten years, emerged on the public scene: Lamine Gueye, a lawyer of Saint-Louis, a citizen of the Four Communes, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, a Sereer Catholic, a school-teacher, who had promulgated in 1939, with the Martiniquese Aimé Césaire, the concept of "Négritude". The two men collaborated at first within the S.F.I.O., which established itself as the dominant party in the elections of 1945. Both were elected as deputies to the French National Assembly in 1945 and 1946, Lamine Gueye as representative of the first constituency (the citizens of the Four Communes) and Senghor as representative of the second constituency (that of the "French subjects"). It was a law promoted by Lamine Gueye (7 May 1946) which conferred French

citizenship on all nationals of the overseas colonies. In 1948, Senghor resigned from the S.F.I.O., which he considered too assimilationist, and founded his own party: the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais (B.D.S.). Henceforward, the two organisations were to compete for control of the electorate, actively solliciting the religious leaders (the marabouts), who now enjoyed the status of electoral brokers and were the recipients of all kinds of favours from politicians. In spite of his Catholic allegiance and the attacks levelled at him on account of it, Senghor emerged from this confrontation the victor. Lamine Gueye, as a city-dweller from Saint-Louis, was not at all familiar with rural issues. Intellectual though he was, Senghor paid more attention to the problems of the "bush" and gained the support on this basis of numerous "marabouts" who had a direct interest in agricultural problems. He also manipulated with skill the internal conflicts within the brotherhoods. Thus he supported the head *khalīfa* of the Murīds, Falilou M'Backé, against his nephew and rival Cheikh M'Backé, a friend of Lamine Gueye. Taking equal advantage of the blunders of the militant socialists, he won over to his side one of the great historical figures of the Tidjāniyya, Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, a man of influence who, from his stronghold in the Fuuta Tooro, had served all the administrations and now put his considerable expertise at Senghor's disposal.

Senghor won the elections of 1951, and continued to consolidate his power at subsequent polls. The frame law of June 1956 (the "Defferre Law") established a régime of internal autonomy and gave rise to an autonomous executive and a "Republic of Senegal". Elections intended to put this autonomy into effect took place on 15 March 1957. The party of Senghor (which had become, through the unification of small parties, the "Bloc Populaire Sénégalais") secured 78.1% of the votes, as against 11.1% for the Socialists (limited essentially to Dakar and Saint-Louis). Senghor's principal assistant, Mamadou Dia, became Vice-President of the Council of Government (the functions of President being reserved for the French representative, the territorial chief), while Senghor continued to sit in the French National Assembly. The Council of Government was to be established in Dakar, promoted to the status of capital of Senegal, to the detriment of Saint-Louis and the old political class of that city. This victory of Senghorian political strategy was consolidated by the fusion of the Socialist Party and the B.P.S., forming the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (U.P.S.) in April 1958.

The year 1958 was dominated by the referendum on the "Communauté", which gave the African electors a choice between independence by stages, within a "Commonwealth" retaining unified defence and foreign policy ("Yes" vote) and immediate independence ("No" vote). The question of the referendum provoked deep internal dissension, within the U.P.S. as well as other organisations. At this time of indecision, the adoption of a public position by the religious establishment, constituted, since the end of 1957, as a "Committee of Islamic Organisation", under the honorary presidency of Seydou Nourou Tall, proved crucial in tipping the balance. These religious dignitaries expressed their support for the action of General De Gaulle on 5 September 1958. This mobilisation of marabouts weighed heavily in the final decision of the policy committee of the U.P.S. which, two weeks later, despite the opposition of a powerful minority, called in its turn for a "Yes" vote. In the end, the "Yes" won by a landslide victory (officially at least) when the referendum took place on 27 September 1958: 870,362 "Yes" votes (97.2% of the votes cast) against 21,904 "No" votes, out of a registered electorate of 1,110,823.

After the referendum, Senghor, who was hostile to the "Balkanisation" of Black Africa, differing in this respect from the ruler of the Ivory Coast Houphouët-Boigny, attempted to found a West African federation, the Federation of Mali, which came into existence in early January 1959, and succeeded in uniting only two countries, the formerly French territory of Sudan and Senegal. The independence of the Federation of Mali was proclaimed on 20 June 1960, but the experiment came to an end two months later when, on 20 August, the Senegalese government withdrew unilaterally and proclaimed Senegalese independence. The two countries were too different, and their political directions incompatible. On 26 August 1960, the Senegalese National Assembly adopted the Constitution of the independent Republic of Senegal, which was composed in the spirit and, often, in the letter, of the French Constitution of 1958. On 5 September 1960, the electoral college appointed by this Constitution unanimously elected Léopold Sédar Senghor as first President of the Republic of Senegal.

In 1962, there was discord between Senghor and his Prime Minister, Mamadou Dia, who favoured an economic policy of a planned and socialist tendency. The trial of strength took place on 17 December and ended with the arrest of Dia the following day, his trial in May 1963 and his sentence to a long period of detention. In the event, the majority of the religious leaders, uneasy at the direction proposed by Dia, expressed public support for Senghor. A new constitution, abolishing the bicephality of the executive and paving the way for the change to a presidential régime, was adopted by referendum on 3 March 1963 (99.4% of the votes cast). The consolidation of power was pursued with the establishment, through the integration of some and the exclusion of others, of the U.P.S. as a "unified", i.e. single party. This aggressive policy of presidentialisation, in a context of economic stagnation, provoked movements of discontent and strikes. On 22 March 1967, supporters of Mamadou Dia attempted to assassinate Senghor as he was leaving the Great Mosque, on the occasion of the feast of Tabaski (*ʿĪd al-Kabīr*). In the face of increasing pressure and tension (labour strikes, 1 May 1968; strikes in schools and universities, 27 May; and call for a general strike by the official trades union leadership, 31 May), a constitutional revision restored in 1970 the functions of Prime Minister and extended the powers of the Assembly. Four days after the referendum which confirmed the revision with 94.9% of the votes cast, on 26 February 1970, Senghor called upon one of the younger senior civil servants, Abdou Diaf, to serve as Prime Minister.

A new constitutional revision took place in 1976, restoring, on a distributive basis, the multi-party principle: three parties were authorised, on condition that one was to espouse "liberal democracy", another Marxism-Leninism, and the third "socialist democracy". The U.P.S., claiming the latter label for itself, was admitted to the Socialist International in November 1976 and adopted the name of Parti Socialiste in December. This "democratic awakening" of 1976 was accompanied by a veritable explosion of new titles in the press. This burgeoning of a press catering for political discussion in the French language, which had no equivalent in the rest of Francophone Africa, was to continue throughout the 1980s.

On 31 December 1980, President Senghor took a decision of a kind hitherto unknown in sub-Saharan Africa, resigning from his functions and withdrawing entirely of his own accord from public life. He thus illustrated once again the extent to which he differed from the leaders of other African régimes, among others President Houphouët-Boigny who, encouraged by the results of the "Ivory Coast economic miracle" of the 1970s, was eager to wrest from Senegal its former role as the leading nation of Francophone West Africa. In conformity with the Constitution, Abdou Diouf, in his capacity as Prime Minister, was elected President of the Republic on 1 January 1981. On 24 April 1981, on the recommendation of the new President, a law was introduced, abolishing the limit on the number of parties. On 27 February 1983, Abdou Diouf was elected President with more than 83% of the votes cast, while the Parti Socialiste obtained some 80% of the votes in the legislative elections. Out of fourteen officially recognised parties, eight participated in the legislative elections and five submitted candidates to the presidential elections: Abdou Diouf (P.S.): 83.5%—one percentage point higher than the vote obtained by Senghor in 1978; Abdoulaye Wade (Parti Démocratique Senegalais—right-wing liberal): 14.79%; Mamadou Dia, the former detainee (Mouvement Démocratique Populaire—internal autonomy): 1.39%; Oumar Wone (Parti Populaire Senegalais—nationalist): 0.20% and Mahjmout Diop (Parti Africain de l'Indépendance—communist): 0.17%. The results were vigorously disputed by all the defeated parties, with allegations of corruption, as had previously happened in 1978. Shortly after his retirement, Léopold Senghor was elected a member of the Académie Française (May 1983).

As regards the most recent period—which has been marked, internally, by a consolidation of socialist power (in spite of recurrent political crises, in particular with the P.D.S. of Abdoulaye Wade), an extension of freedom of opinion, but also an aggravation of economic and social problems, further accentuated by the devaluation of the C.F.A. franc—the principal events to be noted are the failure of the Senegambian confederation (Senegal + Gambia) which had been proclaimed on 1 February 1982 and was dissolved in September 1989, the gravity of the crisis which for several months pitted Senegal against Mauritania (a frontier incident degenerating into pillage and the murders of nationals of both countries, being resolved with massive mutual repatriations in September 1989), and the emergences of an independence movement in the isolated southern region of the country, the Casamance, whose indigenous populations (Joola and others) showed themselves hostile to agricultural colonisation by Wolof migrants (armed confrontations in September 1989 and September 1990, provisional cease-fire in July 1993). In the course of the 35 years which have followed independence, Senegal deserves credit for having been in the vanguard of democratic evolution in Francophone Black Africa, but the paucity of its natural resources and the circumscription of its territory, since it ceased to be the "centre" of French West Africa, render its position fragile. The laboratory of African democracy (it is one of the few countries of sub-Saharan Africa which has not experienced a coup d'état or a military régime) Senegal is also, and even more so, a laboratory for the study of contemporary Islamic trends.

4. Religious and intellectual life.

Islam is both an ancient and a recent phenomenon in Senegal. The first contacts date back to the 11th century, with the conversion of the king of Takrūr (before 1040), then the rise of the Almoravid movement in the second half of this century. But Islamisation was a long-term process which, under the triple influence of Soninke dynasties, inheritors of the empire of G̲h̲āna, pioneers of Sahelian commerce and first transmitters of the faith, of institutions originating in the empire of Mali, and of the education conveyed by learned Moorish *zwāya* hailing from the right bank of the Senegal, henceforward to be the guides of Senegalese Islam, developed very slowly from north to south,.

In the 15th century, the Portuguese noted the general presence of religious Muslims (the "*bixerins*" or "*bisserij*") in the entourages of chieftains. But the same authors also report the existence of altars and of animist sacrifices. Adherence to Islam, when it took place, was therefore superimposed upon more ancient cultural and religious traditions, still very much alive. As in the other Sudano-Sahelian formations of the period, Islam was at first a sign of social distinction, valued by the aristocracy, associated as it was with literacy and with trans-Saharan commerce. Islam was thus a superior knowledge reserved for élites. The lower classes, for their part, adhered to ancestral traditions. European observers thus had difficulty establishing a firm distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims.

This "Islam of the court", complaisant towards princes and wealthy merchants, which did not disappear entirely, was succeeded, following the "war of the Marabouts" (1673-7), by a militant Islam, more aware of itself and taking advantage of major social issues, in particular, the extension of the Atlantic slave trade, to question the legitimacy of the ruling dynasties and to call for an Islamic revolution, presented as the reign of the law and of justice. After the defeat of the "marabouts", Islam tended to be concentrated in enclaves partially exempt from the direct authority of the sovereigns and attracting pupils and students, pilgrims and travellers, as well as refugees anxious to escape from exploitations practised by those in power. The scholastic centres of Pir and Kokki, in the Kajoor, illustrated this new brand of Islam which laid emphasis on the higher education of students drawn from all the neighbouring regions. This "populist" Islam, nourished periodically by Mahdist aspirations, and committed to the triumph of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, established a firm tradition, with recurrent manifestations, in the Senegambian regions.

The success of the Islamic revolution in the Fuuta Tooro (1776) and the pioneering role then adopted by Peul and Toucouleur scholars, as a new "chosen people" bearing the divine word ("Arabs of Black Africa" as they called themselves), reinforced the hopes of the Muslims of the region, but the Wolof monarchies resisted all attempts at extension of the movement. Only the colonial conquest was to put an end to the repression exercised by the Wolof aristocracies and their *ceddo* military slaves. It was thus under colonial domination that, through reaction or through accommodation, the Islamic movement was to experience its most rapid progress.

It has been stated above to what an extent, in the wake of al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar and under the influence of various local preachers (Ma Bā, Cerno Brahim, Amadu Seexu and Mamadu Laamin Darame), the 19th century was a century of religious effervescence, with competition between different types of claimant to political power: military, religious, and foreign. The French feared, in what they called the "Tid̲j̲ānī league", a "holy alliance" of all the Muslim forces opposing their penetration. However, not all the

religious actors were necessarily Tidjānī or ʿUmarī.

This "djihādist" 19th century also saw an intensification of Muslim pressure on the southern regions of Senegal (Sereer kingdoms of Siin-Saalum/Sine-Saloum, Joola societies of Casamance), which had remained largely animist. For centuries, the Wolof had been moving towards the south, in search of better irrigated land. In these foreign regions, they willingly united around religious figures. It was in fact in a zone of Wolof colonisation situated to the north of the Gambia (the Badibu, or Rip), that the movement of Ma Bā first flourished. Saloum, caught between French and Islamic threats, fell into a state of total instability and experienced widespread conversion to Islam in the following decades. Finally, it was the other Sereer kingdom, that of Siin, politically stable and far less receptive to Islam, which brought about the downfall of Ma Bā (1867). However, the lieutenants and companions of Ma Bā subsequently continued his policy in their respective districts. Ma Bā had failed to establish a lasting empire, but he had dislocated the existing traditional societies and opened the way for a southern campaign of Islamisation which, on the basis of the occupation of land, has continued into the present day. In the following generation, further to the south, yet another Malinke "marabout" and warrior chieftain, Fode Kaba, appeared on the scene, and between 1877 and 1893 he defeated and forcibly converted the Bainuk and made war against the Joola. When he concluded a peace treaty with the French, in 1893, more than half of the population between Saalum and Casamance, had, as a result of his exploits, embraced the Muslim faith either voluntarily or under duress.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, another phenomenon, much further to the north, is observable in the border regions between Senegal and Mauritania, which, as noted above, had maintained privileged connections between France and a series of Muslim dignitaries, sc. the emergence of a whole galaxy of scholar-personalities, such as Sire Abbas Soh, Yoro Dyao (1847-1919) and shaykh Musa Kamara (1864-1945), a native of Ganguel (Fuuta), a gifted and prolific writer and historian (the author, in particular, of *Zuhūr al-basātīn fī taʾrīkh al-sawādīn*), who contributed in a very active fashion, in French, in Arabic or Peul, to the creation of a Senegalese historiography.

But the most characteristic movement of this period was the emergence of the major Senegalese dervish brotherhoods or Ṣūfī orders, which began to establish themselves at this time. By filling in a very visible fashion the political void created by the defeat of the princes and the collapse of the Senegalese states, the orders presented themselves as structures of substitution and of refuge. They were the catalyst for the promotion of a Muslim élite which had long been obstructed and frustrated by the exactions of political authorities. On the other hand, they gave the signal for a radical change of strategy: frontal attack upon the colonial occupier was superseded by an attitude of prudent restraint, where the emphasis was on the peaceful rallying of the faithful around their charismatic leaders. The formation of these new associations was at first a cause of concern to the French power, but a series of negotiations ensued, progressively transforming the brotherhoods into influential elements of the colonial, and later the post-colonial state.

The *ṭarīḳa* which best illustrates this new trend is the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*] or Murīdism. At the end of the previous century, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb Allāh, better known by the name of Amadu Bamba, whose father Momar Anta Sali, a regular frequenter of the courts of the Wolof princes, was affiliated to the Ḳādiriyya, broke with the warlike methods of the past and proposed to the faithful a different approach, based on peaceful assembly and prayer. Persecuted at first by the French authorites (deportation to Gabon in 1895-1902, house-arrest in Mauritania, then in northern Senegal, in 1902-12) Amadu made the necessary gestures of conciliation, at a time when certain French specialists in Muslim affairs in Dakar, among them Paul Marty, envisaged the emergence of a "Black Islam", in other words, an Islam impregnated with African practices and cut off from the Arab world, which they hoped would prove more malleable. The Murīd system, which became firmly established in the 1920s, with the colonisation of the new territories of the Baol, was partially to fulfil their hopes. Taking on the role of an economic motivator, the Murīd confraternity, which preached "sanctification through toil", committed its adherents on a massive scale to the cultivation of the land and the production of ground-nuts. Its sense of hierarchy and discipline and the decisive support thus given to the administration's policy of agricultural development for the purposes of export, made it an indispensable intermediary. Enjoying favours bestowed by the authorities and a broad delegation of powers, it constituted from this time on a veritable state within a state. At the same time, it gave to the Wolof Muslims, grouped in "*daaras*", a spiritual framework which protected them from the "watch of the Whites". With the independence of the country this position was reinforced, and the electoral power of the Murīds confirmed. When the exodus from the countryside towards the major cities gathered pace in the 1970s, the order was seen to adapt itself to the social changes, creating urban *dahiras* "circles" and investing on a large scale in property, in import-export, and in small business ventures. On his death, in 1927, Amadu Bamba had been buried at Touba, the site of his first divine inspirations. Henceforward, Touba became the headquarters of the brotherhood and the focus of a spectacular annual pilgrimage, the "Grand Magal". The doctrine of Murīdism is orthodox, although the eccentric manifestations of its team of stewards, the "Bay Fall", the populist nature of the movement and the emotional aspects of certain practices (singing, etc.) have contributed to its unconventional image. With its tenacious proselytism, the *ṭarīḳa* has sought, in recent years, to be accepted as the pre-eminent Senegalese order.

However, in spite of its million members, the Murīdiyya is outstripped numerically by the Tidjāniyya, which remains the predominant Senegalese confraternity, but does not represent an organism as centralised as that of Murīdism. It is appropriate in fact to distinguish between a "developed" and modernist Tidjānism in the large cities, and a rural Tidjānism, marked by the ʿUmarī heritage, which holds hegemonic positions in the Fuuta. Distinction should also be drawn between two principal "Houses", each representing a share of the body of adherents. The first of these Houses is that of Tivaouane, founded in 1904 by al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy (*ca.* 1855-1922), reformer of the brotherhood, whose intellectual energy contributed significantly to the flowering of the Tidjāniyya under French domination. Coming to terms with colonial constraints in the interests of establishing an associative and pedagogic space tolerated by the administration, al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy devoted his efforts in particular to a "grass-

roots Islamisation". He was especially committed to the struggle against what he considered the deviations of Ṣūfism and adopted the stance of a defender of a "Sunnī *taṣawwuf*" in the tradition of al-Ghazālī. After the First World War, he was joined by Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUmar, who pledged him his allegiance and proceeded to develop useful contacts with the authorities. After the death of al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy in 1922, the Sy family retained control of Tivaouane, while an annual pilgrimage (the *gamu*), gave the fraternity an opportunity to advertise the scale of its membership. The Tidjāniyya of Tivaouane has been distinguished, since the colonial period, by the level of its social recruitment: free peasants, senior bureaucrats and officials.

The second "House" is that of the Niasse family, at Kaolack. Although without the local network of the Tivaouane branch, the "Niassene" *zāwiya* of Kaolack has ramifications throughout West Africa and beyond. It was founded by a former disciple of Ma Bā Jaaxu, named Abdoulaye Niasse (*ca.* 1840-1922). Initially a refugee in the Gambia, before coming to terms with the French and establishing himself at Kaolack in 1910, Abdoulaye Niasse had performed the Pilgrimage at an early stage (1887) and he enjoyed close contacts with the "mother-houses" of the Tidjāniyya (ᶜAyn Madi in Algeria; Fez in Morocco; and the tribe of the Idāw ᶜAlī in Mauritania). In his lifetime, a kind of separation of tasks was operated with al-Ḥādjdj Malik Sy, with whom excellent relations were maintained. Al-Ḥādjdj Abdoulaye Niasse exerted the most influence in the Sine-Saloum, where he encouraged the cultivation of the ground-nut, laying more emphasis than did the Murīds on small-holding and free agricultural enterprise. On his death, his younger son Ibrahima Niasse (b. 1902) who showed himself a better religious "entrepreneur" than the elder, Muhammad, the official heir, gave a new impetus to the Kaolack branch, conferring on it an autonomy and a particularism which both distinguished and detached it from Tivaouane. On account of his close links with the North African centres of the order, the Niassene House henceforward claimed primacy: around 1930, Ibrahima Niasse declared himself *ghawth al-zamān* ("saviour of the age"), a major title which placed him directly in the line of succession of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī, the founder, and of al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUmar al-Fūtī. A spiritual vision, accompanied by an emanation of divine grace (*fayḍa*), consolidated this claim. At the end of 1936, Ibrahima Niasse performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This was the opportunity, on his part, for a new leap forward in his quest for primacy and influence. In Fez, he was recognised by the Moroccan dignitaries of the Way as the *khalīfa* of the Tidjāniyya and, in Mecca, he had his first encounter with the *amīr* of Kano, Abdullah Bayero, who was to become his most fervent supporter. Henceforward, limited in its influence over Senegal by the power of Tivaouane, the *zāwiya* of Kaolack was to find its most productive area of activity, especially after the Second World War, at Kano and in northern Nigeria, and on the axes leading to these regions. Al-Ḥādjdj Ibrahima Niasse became a prominent personality, a visitor to heads of state and to international Islamic conferences (he was for a time Vice-President of the World Islamic League), compensating for his relatively limited following in Senegal with a high "media-profile". The death of the master, in 1975, in London, deprived the movement of exceptionally charismatic leadership which has yet to be effectively replaced. The Niassene Tidjāniyya is set apart by a more esoteric doctrine, where notions of *fayḍa* (emanation of grace) and of *tarbiya* (initiation through teaching) correspond to different levels in mystical transmission. It functions in such a way as to appear more "occultic" than that of Tivaouane.

But a group exists which is still more exclusive and sectarian in nature, that founded in 1936 at Madina-Gounass, in the south-east of the country, by a Futanke marabout named Tierno Mamadou Seydou Ba. A kind of "holy enclave" living apart from the world under an austere and rigorous régime, the community of Madina-Gounass, renowned for its absolute probity, in which respect it compared favourably with the lax standards applied by some religious figures, was committed to the agricultural exploitation of the inhospitable valleys of Upper Casamance. But, since the mid-1970s, the "communal ideal" of Madina-Gounass, divided by conflicts between Toucouleur and Peul adherents, has been gradually absorbed by the surrounding Senegalese society.

Other Ṣūfī tendencies exist in Senegal, such as the Ḳādiriyya, but they are of less importance. Mention should be made of a small brotherhood, strongly ethnic in membership and, at the outset, syncretist, that of the Layennes of the Cape Verde peninsula, principally belonging to the Lebu ethnic group. Although it numbers no more than 20,000 to 30,000 adherents, its powerful presence in Dakar ensures its disproportionate visibility. The founder of this order, Limamou Laye (1843-1909) was an illiterate from a fishing village who, unlike the founders of the other groups, left no written legacy. Beginning to preach in 1883, and for a brief time suppressed by the French administration, he claimed to be a Mahdī and a black reincarnation of the Prophet Muḥammad (while his son and successor was that of ᶜĪsā/Jesus). In spite of its syncretist aspects (iconography celebrates the legend of alliance with a djinn-fish), the new order marks a departure from Lebu traditions (alcohol, dancing, cults of possession, etc.) and manifests the conversion of the majority of the group, men in particular, to Ḳurʾānic monotheism. The later evolution of the movement in an orthodox direction was to confirm this trend.

Outside the domain of the brotherhoods, the most significant movement is the Union Culturelle Musulmane, of reformist tendency, which was influential in some parts of West Africa. Founded in Dakar in 1953 by Cheikh Touré (b. 1925), on his return from the Ben Bādīs Institute of Constantine where he had been studying for a year, the U.C.M. adopted positions of the *salafī* reformist type [see SALAFIYYA], was discreetly opposed to the brotherhoods, and took a vigorously anti-colonial stance. After independence, the Senegalese branch of the U.C.M. gradually passed under the control of the state, and this resulted in the departure of Cheikh Touré and his colleagues in 1979.

The 1970s saw an acceleration of the trend towards the establishment of Islamic associations. The Fédération des Associations Islamiques du Sénégal (F.A.I.S.), founded in 1977, and the Union pour le Progrès Islamique au Sénégal, created in 1973, itself a member of the F.A.I.S., both of them closely associated with the state, united a number of them. Also to be found are the "Al-Falāḥ" movement (created in 1956), more entrenched among the commercial classes, close to Wahhābī positions, which laid stress upon Arabo-Islamic education; the "Jamaatou Ibadou Arrahman" (founded in 1978 by a companion of Cheikh Touré), composed primarily of intellectuals

and young graduates of the Francophone school; the "Cercle d'Etudes et de Recherches Islam et Développement" (C.E.R.I.D.), representing a western-trained intelligentsia; and the Organisation pour l'Action Islamique, created in 1985 by Cheikh Toure, formerly the reformist leader of the Union Culturelle Musulmane, now expressing more fundamentalist attitudes. Other associations, often called *dahiras* or "circles", unite the adherents of confraternities in terms of professions, age-groups or locality; associations of young people and students are especially active. Significant among the latter is the *dahira* of the Moustarchidines, born at the end of the 1970s in a Tidjānī ambience, which later inspired the development of a militant and activist organisation, at one stage accused of conspiring against the security of the state (1994).

These associations have played an important role in the development of the teaching of Arabic, which has proved to be quite popular over the past fifteen or so years. In 1985-6, 16,000 pupils from the public sector attended Arabic classes. During this time, the U.P.I.S. established approximately 1,000 schools, attended by more than 40,000 pupils. In Dakar, the Institut Islamique offers evening courses pursued by members of the intellectual élite, while every year scholarship holders return from the universities of the Near East and contribute to the diffusion of Arabic cultural models: thus between 1978 and 1986, the number of Senegalese teachers of Arabic grew from 32 (for all secondary education) to more than 150 (for the middle level alone). This progress has not since been interrupted.

On account of the influence of the Ṣūfī orders, which have never lost their popular base, political Islam has not made a strong impact in Senegal, despite the existence of militant associations and publications (*Etudes Islamiques*, founded in 1979; *Wal Fadjri* and *Djamra* founded in 1983). A "Ḥizbullāhī" experiment launched by Ahmed Niasse in August 1979 foundered rapidly. But broader Islamising political leanings exist, permeating the brotherhoods and expressing themselves in particular in certain national debates: against the legal reform giving women equal rights in regard to divorce in 1971; against secularism and freemasonry in the 1980s; and in the denunciation of Salman Rushdie in 1989 (with the public support of the head *khalīfa* of the Tidjāniyya al-Ḥādjdj Abdoul Aziz Sy). In this land tested by the droughts of the 1970s and the disillusionments and economic stagnation of the 1980s, Islamist utopianism has a deep appeal, and this is reflected by the brotherhoods, which sometimes take over the leadership of the movements as the best means of controlling them.

5. Conclusion.

Senegal owes its strong identity to a long past and a singular history. In contact with the French since the 17th century, "headquarters" of French West Africa for two generations, Senegal has retained from these privileged links a substantial Francophone legacy. The ancientness of Islamic culture and the power of the Ṣūfī orders represent another recognisable element, making this country a model for the study of Islamic phenomena to the south of the Sahara. Despite periodic internal crises, Senegal is remarkable both for constitutional stability and for a freedom of discussion and debate which has existed for a longer time than in any other part of Francophone Africa. The prestige and the influence of this country, which has produced numerous men and women of cultural distinction, are thus considerably greater than would be expected, on the basis of its demographic and economic resources alone.

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See also the following articles, appearing in *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara*: C. Gray, *The rise of the Niassene Tijaniyya, 1875 to the present* (ii, 1988); O. Kane, *La confrerie "Tijâniyya Ibrâhimiyya" de Kano et ses liens avec la zâwiya mère de Kaolack* (iii, 1989); C. Hamès, *Shaykh Saʿad Bûh* (iv, 1990); P. Mark, *L'islam et les masques d'initiation casamançais* (iv, 1990); M. Gomez-Perez, *Associations islamiques à Dakar*, v (1991); T. Ka, *al-Hâjj Mukhtâr Touré (1863-1918)* (vi, 1992); J. Schmitz, S. Bousbina and A. Pondopoulo, *A la découverte de Shaykh Musa Kamara* (vii, 1993); D. Robinson, *Malik Sy: un intellectuel dans l'ordre colonial au Sénégal* (vii, 1993); R. Loimeier, *Cheikh Touré. Du réformisme à l'islamisme, un musulman sénégalais dans le siècle* (viii, 1994).

(J.-L. Triaud)

SENKERE, Sankara, a village of ʿIrāḳ on the lower Euphrates, between al-Samāwa and al-Nāṣiriyya [*q.vv.*] (lat. 31° 12′ N., long. 45° 52′ E.), at present in the *liwāʾ* of al-Muthannā.

It is famous as the site of Larsa, one of the most important Sumero-Akkadian cities of ancient times. Then it would have been much closer to the waters of the Euphrates than it is now and would have had Ur (40 km/25 miles to the south) and Uruk (20 km/12 miles to the west) as its equally illustrious neighbours. The archaeological importance of the site was noted by members of the British Euphrates Expedition in the early 1830s and in 1854, on the highest points of the tell, Loftus began to excavate building bricks bearing inscriptions of several now famous New

Sumerian, Old Babylonian and New Babylonian kings. Up to the recent intervention of the United Nations into ʿIrāḳī affairs, the site has been regularly excavated.

The two largest buildings to have been identified are the "White House" which was the temple of the god Shamash, and the royal palace of Nur-Adad, an Amorite ruler of the 19th century B.C. The early chapters of the Bible refer to the site as Ellarsa, and it is clearly an example of a very important ancient city abandoned after Hellenistic control was imposed on the area and never revived.

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SENNA [see SANANDADJ].

SERʿASKER [see BĀB-I SERʿASKERI].

SERVET [see ṬĀHIR BEY].

SETH [see SHĪTH].

SEVENERS [see SABʿIYYA].

SEYCHELLES, a group of islands in the Indian Ocean to the north of Madagascar and east of Tanzania and Kenya, successively a French and British colony (1756-1976), and an independent republic since then (Republic of Seychelles, République des Seychelles, and Repiblik Sesel in its three languages, English, French and Creole). The population of over 80,000 souls is mainly of African descent (brought there by French and British colonists as slaves), the minority consisting of Indian, Chinese and European elements. The prevailing religion is Roman Catholic, while Muslims form a minute portion of other confessions. The archipelago received its name in 1756 after Moreau de Séchelles, one of Louis XV's ministers.

Unlike the Comoros [see ḲUMR] and Maldives [*q.v.*], the closest comparable archipelagos, the Seychelles had received little attention from Muslims, and were uninhabited when the Portuguese began to notice them in the first years of the 16th century. It seems, though, that the islands called Zarīn in the sailing directions by Sulaymān al-Mahrī [*q.v.*], dated 866/1462, were the Seychelles (G. Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*, Paris 1922, 141-45; see facs. of the ms., B.N. Paris, fonds arabe 2292, published by Ferrand as *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles*, Paris 1925, fols. 22b, 73b). This suggests that Muslim mariners did occasionally visit these islands situated not far from their routes between eastern Africa and western India; the etymology of the name of the westernmost island, Aldabra, is believed by some to be a distortion of the Arabic word al-Khaḍrāʾ ("The Green [Island]"), while Zarīn (Pers. *zarrīn* "golden") may go back to the legend of a gold-bearing island in the Indian Ocean ultimately identified with Sumatra (Ferrand, *L'Empire*, 145). The small Muslim cemetery at Anse Lascar on Silhouette Island reported by P. Vine (see *Bibl.*) probably dates from recent centuries, but only a closer examination of the tombstones may answer this question.

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SEYFĪ (d. probably after 998/1590), Ottoman historian.

Practically nothing is known about Seyfī aside from the fact that he compiled a unique historio-geographical work on the rulers of Asia and China contemporary with Murād III, and the possibility that he may have been a *defterdār* in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Neither he nor his work is mentioned in the standard Ottoman bio-bibliographical sources.

Seyfī's history has been published by J. Matuz, *L'ouvrage de Seyfī Čelebi: historien ottoman du XVIᵉ siècle; édition critique, traduction et commentaires*, Paris 1966. Its title, added posthumously to the earlier of only two surviving manuscripts, reads: *Kitāb-i tewārīkh-i pādishāhān-i wilāyet-i Hindū we Khitāy we Kishmīr we wilāyet-i ʿAdjem we Kashkār we Kalmak we Čīn we sāʾir pādishāhān-i pīshīn az ewlād-i Čingiz Khān we khāḳān we faghfūr we pādishāhān-i Hindūstān der zamān-i Sulṭān Murād ibn Sulṭān Selīm Khān min teʾlīfāt-i defterdār Seyfī Čelebī el-merḥūm fī sene 990 taʾrīkhinde* ("History of the kings of India, Khitay and Kashmir, of Iran, Kāshgar, the Kalmucks, and China, and of earlier kings descended from Čingiz Khān, and of the Khāḳān [of the Turks], of the Chinese emperor and the rulers of Hindūstān in the time of Sultan Murād b. Sulṭan Selīm Khān, composed by the late *defterdār* Seyfī Čelebi in [or who died in?] the year 990/1582").

This title appears misleading in two respects. First, the date 990/1582 is almost certainly a copyist's error for 998/1590, the date clearly given in the colophon for completion of the work (which contains at least two references to events after 1582), and after which Seyfī must have died (cf. Matuz, *op. cit.*, 13-15, 156-7). Second, the author identifies himself in the text simply as Seyfī, without mention of his profession. The later title gives *defterdār* Seyfī Čelebi", suggesting possible identification with Seyfullāh Seyfī Čelebi (d. after 1006/1597), *defterdār* of Anatolia in the 1580s, and author of a *Szigetvar-nāme* on Ḳānūnī Süleymān's 1566 campaign (cf. *GOW*, 69, n. 1). However, according to ʿĀshīḳ Čelebi (*Meşāʿir uṣ-ṣuʿarā*, ed. G.M. Meredith-Owen, London 1971, fols. 164b-165a) and Ḳīnalīzāde Ḥasan Čelebi (*Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*, ed. İ Kutluk, Ankara 1978, i, 498-500), Seyfullāh Seyfī Čelebi was an accomplished prose writer. By contrast, Seyfī's history is written in an unpretentious, colloquial style. It seems unlikely that the two authors were the same person, and therefore doubtful that Seyfī was a *defterdār*. There are no further clues to his profession, except that the *makhlaṣ* Seyfī would be appropriate for a writer of military origin, and that the linguistic style of the work does not suggest a highly-educated author.

Seyfī's "history" is largely a survey of contemporary rulers, arranged geographically. No major written sources are clearly identifiable. The anecdotal style suggests mainly oral informants, probably merchants and travellers; there is no evidence in the text of Seyfī himself having travelled. The work includes much social, economic and ethnographical information, as well as historical detail to corroborate other sources (Matuz, *op. cit.*, 19-37). It was not a source for later Ottoman writers and remained unknown until used by C. Schefer and W. Barthold in the late 19th century (e.g. Barthold, art. *Kučum Khān*, in *EI²*, V, 314, with reference to Schefer).

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(Christine Woodhead)

SEZĀʾĪ, Ḥasan Dede (or Efendi) (1080-1151/1669-1738), also known as Sheykh Ḥasan Efendi or Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Gülshenī, Ottoman poet and founder of the Sezāʾiyya *ṭarīḳa*, an offshoot of the Gulshaniyya [see GULSHANĪ, IBRĀHĪM], a branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*]. He was born in Morea [see MORA] where his paternal grandfather Ḳurtbey-zāde Ḥasan was a well-known figure. Tahsin Yazıcı (*İA*, art. *Sezâʾi*) disagrees with Björkman (*EI*[1], art. *Sezāʾī*) that he was of Greek origin. He was brought up in Morea, his later achievements indicating a good education. In 1097/1685, after the Venetians conquered Morea, he migrated to Istanbul, but leaving the capital he moved on to Edirne, from where Meḥemmed IV was attempting to stem Austrian and Venetian attacks on the Ottoman Empire, and entered the Sultan's service in the *muḳābele ḳalemi*.

Many details about his life and thinking, and of his opinions concerning his contemporaries, emerge from a collection of his letters published, with a six-page biography, under the title *Mektūbāt-ı Sezāʾī* (Istanbul 1289/1872). Those to whom they were written include family and followers, as well as statesmen and leading figures of the day.

Sezāʾī's interest in mysticism is shown to have developed from an encounter with a *sheykh* of the Khalwatiyya aboard the ship going to Istanbul and, in Edirne, he was to become a *murīd* first of Meḥmed Ṣirrī at the *khānḳāh* of Sheykh ʿĀshiḳ Mūsā (a follower of Ibrāhīm Gülsheni) and on Meḥmed's death, of Meḥmed Laʾlī Fenāʾī (Shemseddīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2562). The latter charged Sezāʾī with the collection of rents from the *khānḳāh*'s *waḳf* properties, gaining him the *laḳab* of Djābī (rent collector) Dede Efendi. He then became *pūst-nishīn* of the Sheykh Welī Dede Efendi *khānḳāh*, but when Meḥmed Laʾlī Fenāʾī died in 1112/1700-1 (and his successor in turn died shortly afterwards), Sezāʾī took his place. The *khānḳāh* became known as the Sezāʾī *tekke*, and on his death he was buried at his own wish close to it in a shop (later converted into a *türbe*) alongside that of his predecessors. His son Meḥmed Ṣādīḳ succeeded him at the Sheykh Welī Dede Efendi *khānḳāh*. Sezāʾī's writing, his letters and poetry in both *dīwān* and folk style (see Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke şiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1968, 400-2), show him as a man of religion first and a poet second. The main tenor of his *dīwān* is mystical, and although he has been labelled the Ottoman "Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz" (Yazıcı, 549) he is not generally considered very highly, lacking the occasional burst of poetic inspiration as regards mystical thinking or style (*loc. cit.*). Kocatürk (*Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1970, 554-5) points to a resemblance between him and both Nesīmī and Yūnus Emre [*q.vv.*] in addressing the wider folk masses rather than the upper, intellectual classes, a trait that Sezāʾī shares also with Niyāzi Miṣrī [see *İA*, art. *Niyâzî* (Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı)], by whom he is said to have been given the *makhlaṣ* Sezāʾī, and on one of whose *ghazals* Sezāʾī wrote a short commentary that was included in the edition of his *dīwān* printed at Būlāḳ in 1258/1842.

Bibliography: This article follows closely that of Tahsin Yazıcı in *İA*, where the sources are named.

(KATHLEEN BURRILL)

SEZĀʾĪ, Sāmī Pasha-zāde (modern Turkish Sami Paşazade Sezai), late Ottoman fiction writer and essayist (*ca.* 1859-1936), noted for his synthesis of "art for art's sake" and "art for society's sake" and of romanticism and realism. Son of the statesman-author Sāmī Pasha, Sezāʾī was born in Istanbul, tutored in the family mansion and encouraged by visiting prominent writers. He started publishing journalistic articles when aged 14, learned Arabic, Persian, French and German, and came under the influence of Nāmıḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*]. In 1879 he published *Shīr* ("The lion"), a prose tragedy meant more for reading than staging. From 1880 to 1884 he served as Second Secretary at the Ottoman Embassy in London and later in the Foreign Ministry in Istanbul.

Sezāʾī's principal opus *Sergüdhesht* ("The adventure"), his only novel, came out in 1889. Influenced by Victor Hugo and Alphonse Daudet, it broke new ground with its realism notwithstanding its ornate, maudlin and occasionally poetic style. The tragic story of a slave girl, it is an indictment of slavery and of injustice against women. In 1892 Sezāʾī published *Küčük sheyler* ("Little things"), a collection of eight stories notable for his mastery of the genre and for a new sophistication in psychological analysis. *Rumūz ul-edeb* ("Symbols of literature"), a compilation of his essays, critical pieces, short stories, recollections and travel notes, came out in 1898.

Sezāʾī fled the Ḥamīdian oppression in 1901 and lived in Paris, working for the Committee for Union and Progress and writing for its periodical *Shūrā-yı ümmet* ("Council of the nation") until 1908 when, with Constitutional government proclaimed, he returned to Istanbul. In 1909 he was appointed Ambassador to Madrid, serving until 1921. His last work *Idjlāl*, a threnody for his beloved niece, to which he appended a miscellany of articles, letters, short stories, discourses, etc., appeared in 1923. He died in Istanbul in 1936.

Sezāʾī's literary work is generally viewed as significant in the transition of Turkish fiction into its realist phase.

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(TALAT SAIT HALMAN)

SHAABAN ROBERT (1909-1962) was the foremost Swahili poet of his generation, if not of the past three centuries. He also had a profound influence on contemporary Swahili prose writing. He was born at Machui, a village south of Tanga on the Tanzanian coast, the son of a Yao settler from Malawi and a local Digo mother. His only formal education in the western sense was in Dar es Salaam from 1922 to 1926, which enabled him to gain employment as a government clerk. He had also attended Ḳurʾānic schools, and, as truly an autodidact, classes in traditional Swahili poetry, of which he had an encyclopaedic knowledge. A.C. Gibbe (see *Bibl.*) gives a bibliography of his collected poetry and of his prose works. His preoccupations centre round the Islamic religion and its moral teaching, in a manner that a European critic found comparable to the work of Dante. He is greatly concerned with the teaching of morally upright conduct, of a proper attitude to marriage, of the education of children, and particularly of girls. The Second World War was to him essentially a struggle between the forces of good and evil; he had little or no interest in politics.

Bibliography: A.G. Gibbe, *Shaaban Robert, Mshairi*, Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam 1980; Kitula G. Kingei, *Mwongozo wa Kusadikika-Shaaban Robert*, Nairobi 1988, with numerous references to other writers.

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SHAʿB. 1. In pre-Islamic South Arabia this term (spelt s^2*ʿb* in the *musnad* script) denotes a unit of social organisation for which there has grown up among specialists a convention of using the translation "tribe"; but this can be misleading for non-

specialists. The South Arabian $s^2{}^cb$ was antithetic on one hand to the term $^cs^2r$ (= Arabic *ᶜa<u>sh</u>āʾir*) applied by the South Arabian sedentary communities to the nomad bedouin of central Arabia; and on the other hand, within the South Arabian sedentary culture itself, to the "house" (*byt*), a family group based on kinship whether real or fictitious. The former of these dichotomies was still current in ᶜAbbāsid Arabic usage, when (as exemplified by al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ in his *R. al-Atrāk*) *<u>sh</u>uᶜūb al-ᶜA<u>dj</u>am* denoted Persian sedentary communities and contrasted with *ᶜa<u>sh</u>āʾir al-ᶜArab*, the Central Arabian nomads. The South Arabian $s^2{}^cb$ was in no way kinship based, but was an artificial functional entity engaged in some common enterprise. The term has a certain fluidity, to the extent that it had no fixed place in an ordered hierarchy of comprehensiveness: in one instance, that of Maᶜīn [*q.v.*] it was co-extensive with the kingdom, its subdivisions there being termed *ʾhl*. It seems probable too that in some cases it designated a group based on membership of a profession, or on religion (in the 4th century A.D. the Ḥimyarite Jewish community is called $s^2{}^cb$). But by far the commonest application was to a territorially-defined group of agriculturalists, whose functional unity rested on having shared responsibility for the irrigational installations of the specific area. A typical feature of these territorial groups was the possession of a "town" (*hgr*) as centre for local trade, communal business, and a communal cult. In a few cases, such as <u>Gh</u>aymān to the south-east of Ṣanᶜāʾ, town and "tribe" had the same name. Another feature of the $s^2{}^cb$ is that the *nisba* formation, with terminal *-y-n* (pl. always of the pattern *ʾfᶜl-n*, e.g. *Ṣrwḥ-y-n*/*ʾṣrḥ-n* "the Ṣirwāḥite(s)") tends to imply "tribal" membership, not membership of a *byt*. But it has been pointed out that in the 5th-6th centuries A.D. the plural *nisba* could denote the vassals of an influential family whose actual members were *a<u>dh</u>wāʾ* [*q.v.*]: thus *ʾzʾn-n* are vassals of the Yazan (*Yzʾn*) family [*q.v.*], while a family member was <u>Dh</u>ū Yazan.

(A.F.L. BEESTON)

2. In modern political parlance.

<u>Sh</u>aᶜb is one of many Arabic terms which, used in modern social and political contexts, acquired new meanings alongside or instead of the old. On the eve of the modern era, however, the term was still devoid of such novel implications, retaining the old meaning of a tribal confederacy, an ethnic group, or a people. When applied to Muslims, *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* sometimes carried a slightly negative sense, recalling separatist trends from early Islamic periods [see <u>SH</u>UᶜŪBIYYA]. Used with reference to non-Muslims, it was often tinged with the disparagement reserved for unbelievers. A pliant term, comparable to "people" in the broadest sense, *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* was applicable to groups of different scope and nature, an application it would retain even after assuming more specific connotations.

As so often, it was in references to developments in Europe that the notion of "people" first took on a new political sense. In early Arabic accounts of the French Revolution and Napoleonic era, *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* was used to denote the ruled—as opposed to the rulers—struggling to attain their deserved political rights. Evidently inspired by foreign sources, these reports referred to the *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* "rising in total revolt" against Louis XVI, and to the "French people's will" (*irādat <u>sh</u>aᶜb faransā*) which subsequently brought Napoleon down (Nikūlā al-Turk, *Mu<u>dh</u>akkirāt*, ed. Gaston Wiet, Cairo 1950, 2-5, 11-12, 195-6; Ḥaydar al-<u>Sh</u>ihābī, *Lubnān fī ᶜahd al-umarāʾ al-<u>sh</u>ihābiyyīn*, Beirut 1933, 214-15, 218-19, 320, 430, 602). Such usage became more frequent with the emergence of private Arabic newspapers which, reporting international affairs from the late 1850s on, discussed such ideas as "public opinion" (*raʾy al-<u>sh</u>aᶜb*), "people's will" (*irādat al-<u>sh</u>aᶜb*), and the relationship between the government (*hukūma*) and the *<u>sh</u>aᶜb*. The modern concept of popular sovereignty was also reflected in the compound *wukalāʾ al-<u>sh</u>aᶜb* "people's representatives" (and *ma<u>dj</u>lis wukalāʾ al-<u>sh</u>aᶜb* "assembly of people's representatives"), in texts discussing parliamentary life in the West (cf. many examples and references in A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, Oxford and New York 1987, 49 and n. 22). In the same vein, the Lebanese-Egyptian journalist Adīb Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] in 1877 defined "republic" as *ḥukūmat al-<u>sh</u>aᶜb bi ʾl-<u>sh</u>aᶜb* "government of the people by the people", echoing Abraham Lincoln's phrase (*al-Durar*, Alexandria 1886, 49).

Being largely irrelevant to Ottoman political realities for much of the 19th century, the idea of popular sovereignty was at first discussed in foreign contexts only. But as the century drew to a close, it began to appear in association with Ottoman and Egyptian politics as well. Thus in 1896 Salīm Sarkīs, owner of the Egyptian weekly *al-Mu<u>sh</u>īr*, proudly defined himself as "one of the *<u>sh</u>aᶜb*", warning the Ottoman sultan, "Woe to him who tries to withstand the *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* once it unites, makes a decision and sets out to achieve a noble goal" (*al-Mu<u>sh</u>īr*, Alexandria, 2 May 1896). Muṣṭafā Kāmil [*q.v.*], the eloquent leader of early Egyptian nationalism, stated around the turn of the century that "every *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* has sacred rights in its homeland, which no one can infringe ... the *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* is the only true power" (*Muṣṭafā Kāmil fī 34 rabīᶜan*, ed. ᶜAlī Fahmī Kāmil, Cairo 1910, 288-91). Such application of the term, recurring with increasing frequency, gradually turned the word into a battle cry in the community's rightful struggle against those seen as encroaching on it, whether the government at home or a foreign force.

By the end of World War I, *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* had become a common item in Arabic political vocabulary, particularly that of nationalism, along with (but somewhat less frequent than) *umma* and *waṭan* [*q.vv.*]. Capable of evoking strong popular emotions, it appeared in names of political parties (*ḥizb al-<u>sh</u>aᶜb*)—in Syria (1925, 1947), Iraq (1925, 1946), Egypt (1930) and Lebanon (1945)—as well as of newspapers throughout the Arab countries, implying a claim for public legitimacy by those leading the struggle for national independence and other political battles. In another part of the former Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, populism (Turkish *halkçılık*) was adopted as a central principle in the state's official ideology, signifying recognition of the people's sovereignty. Thus it was incorporated in the 1924 Turkish constitution by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [*q.v.*], who had established the "People's Party" (*<u>Kh</u>alḳ Firḳasī*) the previous year as a vehicle of popular mobilisation. The notion's growing public attraction gave birth to another phenomenon: its abuse by autocratic or aristocratic politicians seeking to benefit from alleged popular support. Egypt's rigid Prime Minister Ismāᶜīl Ṣidḳī, who in 1930 founded a party and a paper bearing the name *al-<u>Sh</u>aᶜb*, offers a conspicuous example of this cynical practice, which continued in later years there and elsewhere.

During the first half of the 20th century, reference to "the people" was also made in a different sense, by thinkers advocating socialist and communist ideas. In their teachings, *<u>sh</u>aᶜb* (and its equivalents) signified the common people, the deprived lower classes, rather than the whole community. This was its sense in the

parlance of such leftist organisations as the ʿIrāḳī Ahālī group of the early 1930s [see ḤIZB], which labelled its ideology *shaʿbiyya* (Majid Khadduri, *Independent Iraq*, London 1951, 72-4), and the Egyptian Marxist splinter groups calling themselves *taḥrīr al-shaʿb* ("people's liberation") and *al-ṭalīʿa al-shaʿbiyya li 'l-taḥarrur* ("popular vanguard for liberation"), which formed in the following decade (Rifʿat al-Saʿīd, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥaraka al-shuyūʿiyya al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1987, iii, 196-9, 203 ff.). At that stage, however, the discussion of such notions in Islamic countries was still on the sidelines of public political debate, and the application of "the people" with such meaning was marginal.

By mid-century, with the struggle for national independence in most Arab countries won, the focus of political discourse had begun to shift to other issues, primarily sociopolitical reform. New leaders—in Egypt, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria, Yemen, Sudan, Libya—having seized power, claimed to be acting on the people's behalf in their bid to transform the old, corrupt order. In the revolutionary ideologies which they preached, leftist ideas, hitherto marginal, came to play a major rôle, and "the people" were given a prominence unprecedented in their societies' tradition. The *shaʿb* was now identified as the common masses, primarily workers and peasants (equally often referred to as *djamāhīr* "masses"), those who previously had been outside the circle of power, and were now hailed as the mainstay of reform. Thus in the Egyptian National Pact (*al-mīthāḳ al-waṭanī*) of 1962, the *shaʿb* was the hero whose wit and resolve accounted for the success of the 1952 revolution and guaranteed its future. Its objectives were social justice, military might and "healthy democratic life"; its enemies were imperialism, tyranny, feudalism and monopolism (al-Djumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Muttaḥida, *Mashrūʿ al-mīthāḳ, 21 māyū 1962*, Cairo n.d., 3-6 *et passim*). Likewise, in Baʿth ideology, which the régimes in Syria and ʿIrāḳ adopted in the 1960s (if in different versions), the *shaʿb* is regarded as the leader of renaissance, combatting domestic and foreign oppression, and striving for socialism and popular democracy (Mīshāl ʿAflaḳ, *Fī sabīl al-baʿth*, Beirut 1959, 172-85; Ḥizb al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī, *al-Manhadj al-marḥalī li-thawrat al-thāmin min Ādhār fī 'l-ḳuṭr al-ʿarabī al-Sūrī*, Damascus 1965, esp. 3-9, 21-9). This is also the sense of the notion in the construct *madjlis al-shaʿb* "People's Assembly", used to designate legislative bodies in the revolutionary régimes of Egypt, Syria, South Yemen and several other places. Two states even incorporated the word, in adjectival form (*shaʿbiyya*), in their official names: "The People's Republic of South Yemen" (1967, renamed as "The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" in 1970), reflecting its leftist doctrine and pro-Soviet orientation; and "The Arab Libyan People's Socialist *Djamāhīriyya*" (1976, to which the adjective "the Great" was added in 1986), underscoring the popular nature of its political structure. Leftist ideas also inspired the foundation of many "popular fronts" of political action, fashionable in the late 1960s and the 1970s, namely, groups purporting to advocate social reform along with other, often more important objectives—e.g. "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine", "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf", etc.

Shaʿb has thus come to imply a variety of concepts. In addition to its use in the broad sense of "people" or "nation", it also means the governed people as opposed to the government and, still more narrowly, the lower classes striving to recover their deserved political rights. The distinction between these meanings is often blurred, sometimes intentionally so, as in the rhetoric of revolutionary leaders who, appealing to "the *shaʿb*", seek at once to speak for the whole nation and to voice concern for the deprived classes' grievances. In the second half of the 20th century, this last phenomenon had become a prominent aspect of the application of *shaʿb*.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(A. AYALON)

SHABA [see KATANGA].

SHAʿBADHA, SHAʿWADHA (also with final *d* for *dh*) (A.), prestidigitation, sleight of hand, and from it, *mushaʿb/widh*, magician, trickster. The word is paraphrased by the lexicographers, following al-Layth (b. al-Muẓaffar) [*q.v.*], by *khiffat al-yad* and *ukhadh* (pl. of *ukhdha*), see al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, i, 405. *Fihrist*, 312, mentions as "the first to perform *shaʿbadha* in Islam" a certain ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd al-Kayyis who also wrote a *Kitāb al-Shaʿbadha*, and another *mushaʿbidh* nicknamed "Mill Shaft" (Ḳuṭb al-raḥā), about both of whom unfortunately nothing further seems to be known.

According to al-Djawbarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], among all the fraudulent practices of the large underclass of crooks and swindlers, the activity of the *mushaʿbidh* is distinguished by its innocuousness; his tricks are performed as harmless entertainment. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 126 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 158 ff., uses the term in a more general manner and understands it scientifically as characterising one of three kinds of sorcery [see SIḤR]. He explains the underlying process as the transformation, by the power of the imagination, of something imaginary into imagined existence in the world of the senses; for the religious law, it would fall under forbidden sorcery, but since it is not real (and, therefore, presumably incapable of doing actual evil) and something irrelevant that is easily avoided, it was, certainly in the eyes of Ibn Khaldūn, not as bad as the other kinds of sorcery (and not really forbidden).

The term's etymology has interested philologists ancient and modern. The Arabic lexicographers stress that it is not true Arabic (see Lane, 1559a). The suggested derivation from Aramaic/Syriac *shaʿbedh* "to subdue" is linguistically adequate (both *b/w* and *dh/d* are not inconsistent with this assumption) and conceptually possible ("subduing [ʿ-*b*-*d*, form X] devils" is a sorcerer's task, see *Fihrist*, 309, l. 2). An Arabisation of Persian *shabbāz* seems less likely, as does a conflation with the root ʿ-*w*-*dh*; the lexicographers' derivation from a supposed meaning "quickness" and *shaʿwadhī* "express courier" if anything reverses the actual process.

Bibliography: Djawbarī, *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār*, ch. 23, tr. R. Khawam, *Le voile arraché*, Paris 1979-80, ii, 135-142; the promised scholarly edition by S. Wild has apparently not yet appeared. See further, C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, Leiden 1976, i, 128, ii, 51, 299, 333, with the older literature.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

SHABAK, a heterodox religious community living in several dozen villages east of Mawṣil, in a triangle bounded by the Tigris and the Greater Zāb. Their numbers were in 1925 estimated at around 10,000; the 1960 ʿIrāḳi census enumerated 15,000, living in 35 villages (Vinogradov 1974: 208). Recent estimates tend to be considerably higher.

The Shabak commonly consider themselves as Kurds, but have since the 1970s been subject to concerted efforts at Arabicisation, culminating in the destruction of around 20 Shabak villages in 1988. The

language of their prayers and religious ritual is Turkish. Most Shabak are multilingual, which has given rise to claims that they are really Turcomans or Kurdish speakers or even Arabs; their mother tongue, however, or at least that of most Shabak, is a dialect of the Gūrānī branch of Iranian languages. Their religion is closely related to that of the Anatolian ʿAlewīs (Ḳîzîlbāsh); one of their invocations, as given by al-Ṣarrāf, explicitly refers to Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh and the adepts of Ardabīl (*Erdebīl erenleri*, i.e. the Ṣafawids) as the founders of their spiritual path. Some of the religious poems sung in their ritual meetings are attributed to Shāh Ismāʿīl and to the Anatolian ʿAlewī saint Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl. A basic tenet, expressed in several poems and invocations, is the Shabak's belief that Allāh, Muḥammad and ʿAlī constitute a trinity, in which ʿAlī appears as the dominant manifestation of the divine.

The "sacred book" of the Shabak, known as *Kitāb al-Manāḳib* or *Buyuruḳ* (*Burukh*, in the local pronunciation) and published integrally in al-Ṣarrāf's monograph, consists of two parts. The first part is a question-and-answer dialogue between Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn and his son Ṣadr al-Dīn on the *ādāb* of the *ṭarīḳa*, in which there is no indication of extremist Shīʿī influences; the second part, the *buyuruk* proper, resembles in content the texts of the same title found among the Anatolian ʿAlewī communities. It consists of various teachings and instructions associated with the imāms ʿAlī and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ and discusses the relationship between teacher (*mürebbī*) and disciple (*ṭālib*), and the institution of ritual brotherhood (*muṣāḥiblik*).

Their Ṣafawī-Ḳîzîlbāsh affiliation distinguishes the Shabak from neighbouring heterodox communities, the Yezīdīs [*q.v.*] to their north and the Ṣārlī [see ṢĀRLIYYA] to their southeast. The latter are, like the Kākāʾī, a branch of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*]; they speak a Gūrānī dialect very similar to that of the Shabak. Another neighbouring Gūrānī-speaking community, the Bādjwān or Bādjalān, are often said to be a section of the Shabak or vice-versa. The Bādjwān, however, are tribally organised and led by tribal chieftains, whereas the Shabak are non-tribal peasants, share-cropping on land belonging to urban-based *sayyid* families who have great moral authority over them due to their descent from the Prophet and ʿAlī. The Shabak intermarry freely with Bādjwān, Ṣārlī, Kākāʾī and Shīʿī Turcomans of the region, resulting in the boundaries between these religious communities becoming fuzzy.

The Shabak community is structured by a spiritual hierarchy similar to that of the ʿAlewīs. Each adult person is affiliated with a *pīr*, his spiritual elder. This is a hereditary function, and each family tends to continue its affiliation with a particular *pīr* lineage from generation to generation. All rituals have to be led by a *pīr*. In most of them he has to be assisted by a *rehber* or guide, and in the major annual celebrations, twelve functionaries have to be present: *pīr*, *rehber*, lamp-bearer (*ḥāmil al-djirāgh*), broom-bearer (*ḥāmil al-miknasa*), cup-bearer (*ṣakkā*), butcher, four attendants (*khādim*) and two gate-keepers (*bawwāb*). The ʿAlewī communities of Anatolia also knew these twelve functionaries (*on iki hizmet*), although the names given to each vary. The Shabak *pīrs* are themselves hierarchically ordered, and there is a supreme spiritual authority known as the *bābā*.

The Shabak have regular ritual meetings in the house of the *pīr*. There are three major annual celebrations, one at New Year's Eve (celebrated in December), another in the night of *ʿāshūrā*. The third is the "night of pardon" (*ʿödhür gedjesi*), during which public confessions of guilt are made and conflicts in the community settled. It is these three nightly celebrations, in which both sexes take part, that in the early literature on the Shabak and Ṣārlīs are referred to as the *laylat al-kafsha*, with the usual accusation of unspeakable abominations (the verb *kafasha* meaning, in the local Arabic dialect "to grab"). Minorsky's suggestion to derive the name from more innocent Persian *kafsh* "footwear", has been adopted by several later authors, such as Moosa, who sees the taking off of slippers as the origin of the name. The Shabak themselves do not appear to use the name at all, however.

Pilgrimages are another important part of the ritual calender. Two important local shrines, visited at the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* and *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, are named ʿAlī Rash ("Black ʿAlī") and ʿAbbās. Shabak identify the former with the Imām ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Ḥusayn, the second with Ḥusayn's younger brother ʿAbbās, who died at Karbalā. A different type of *ziyāra* consists of the stoning of the alleged grave of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ who was responsible for the drama at Karbalā. This takes place throughout the year.

Bibliography: Père Anastase Marie al-Karmali's misleading but influential articles in *al-Mashriḳ*, ii (1899) and v (1902) have now been superseded; the only serious work on Shabak beliefs and practices is Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *al-Shabak min firaḳ al-ghulāt fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdād 1373/1954. M. Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: the ghulat sects*, Syracuse 1987, is largely based on al-Ṣarrāf and a few less important ʿIrāḳi authors. A useful anthropological study is A. Vinogradov, *Ethnicity, cultural discontinuity and power brokers in northern Iraq: the case of the Shabak*, in *Amer. Ethnologist*, i (1974), 207-18. Information on recent events, along with some language samples, is given in M. Leezenberg, *The Shabak and the Kakais: dynamics of ethnicity in Iraqi Kurdistan* (technical note, Inst. for Language, Logic and Computation, University of Amsterdam, 1994; also to appear in *Studia Kurdica*, Paris).

(M. VAN BRUINESSEN)

SHABAKHTĀN, the name given in several mediaeval Arabic sources to an area east of present-day Turkish Urfa (Arabic al-Ruhā [*q.v.*], Frankish Edessa), and north of Ḥarrān. We can perhaps identify it with the range of hills known as the Tektek Dağ. Shabakhtān apparently comprised a number of strongholds, each with its dependant fief or *ʿamal*. Fiefs (*aʿmāl*) of Shabakhtān referred to in the sources include Djumlayn, al-Ḳurādī, Tall Mawzan and al-Muwazzar. References to Shabakhtān, or to strongholds within it, begin with the Crusades. Some or all of Shabakhtān formed part of the short-lived Frankish County of Edessa, but by 538/1144 the area was in the hands of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī. With his death begins a confused story of frequent changes of overlordship, successively the Artuḳids of Āmid (Diyarbakır) and Mārdīn; several different Ayyūbid princes, including al-ʿĀdil, al-Ashraf, al-Afḍal and al-Kāmil; briefly, the Khʷārazmians and the Mongols; and then, towards the end of the 7th/13th century, the Artuḳids again, at which point references cease. Of the known *aʿmāl* of Shabakhtān, only Djumlayn, the most frequently mentioned, has so far been located, at the site of Çimdine Kalesi on the eastern side of the Tektek Dağ. It consists of a fortified outcrop ringed by a wall overlooking a rock-hewn fosse, and bears traces of several different mediaeval occupations.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-*

ẓāhir, Riyāḍ 1976, 358; Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, *Zubda*, Damascus 1968, iii, 152, 154, 259; *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, in *JRAS* (1933), 280, 288; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1966, xi, 94, xii, 83, 180, 182, 343; *al-Taʾrīkh al-bāhir*, Cairo n.d., 67; Ibn al-ᶜIbrī (Bar Hebraeus), *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1890, 393; Ibn Shaddād, *Aᶜlāḳ*, i/3, Damascus 1978, 68, i/2, Damascus 1991, 196; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, Paris 1858, 280; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, Paris 1905, iii, 216; Ibn Naẓīf, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, Damascus 1981, 18, 19, 39, 159; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, Cairo 1961, 140; D. Morray, *Qalᶜat Jumlayn: a fortress of Šabaḫtān*, in *BEO*, xlv (1993), 161-82; M. von Oppenheim, *Arabische Inschriften, bearbeitet von Max van Berchem*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, viii/1, Leipzig 1909, 62-3. (D.W. Morray)

SHAᶜBĀN, name of the eighth month of the Islamic lunar year. In classical *ḥadīth* it has already its place after Radjab Muḍar. In Indian Islam it has the name of *Shab-i barāt* (see below), the Atchehnese call it *Kandūri bu* and among the Tigrē tribes of Eritrea it is called *Maddagēn*, i.e. who follows upon Radjab.

In early Arabia, the month of Shaᶜbān (the name may mean "interval") seems to have corresponded, as to its significance, to Ramaḍān. According to the *ḥadīth*, Muhammad practised superogatory fasting by preference in Shaᶜbān (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 52; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 176; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 36). ᶜĀʾisha recovered in Shaᶜbān the fast days which were left from the foregoing Ramaḍān (al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm, bāb* 65).

In the early Arabian solar year, Shaᶜbān as well as Ramaḍān fell in summer. Probably the weeks preceding the summer-solstice and those following it, had a religious significance which gave rise to propitiatory rites such as fasting. This period had its centre in the middle of Shaᶜbān, a day which, up to the present time, has preserved feature of a New Year's day. According to popular belief, in the night preceding the 15th, the tree of life on whose leaves are written the names of the living is shaken. The names written on the leaves which fall down, indicate those who are to die in the coming year. In *ḥadīth* it is said that in this night God descends to the lowest heaven; from there he calls the mortals in order to grant them forgiveness of sins (al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, bāb* 39).

Among a number of peoples, the beginning or the end of the year is devoted to the commemoration of the dead. The connection can also be observed in the Muslim world. For this reason Shaᶜbān bears the epithet of *al-muᶜaẓẓam* "the venerated". In the Indo-Muslim world in the night of the 14th people say prayers for the dead, distribute food among the poor, eat *ḥalwa* (sweetmeats) and indulge in illuminations and firework. This night is called *laylat al-barāʾa*, which is explained by "night of quittancy", i.e. forgiveness of sins.

In Atcheh, this month is likewise devoted to the dead; the tombs are cleansed, religious meals (*kandūri* [*q.v.*]) are given and it is the dead who profit from the merits of these good works. The night of the middle of Shaᶜban bears a particularly sacred character, as is attested by the *kandūri*s and the *ṣalāt*s which are called *ṣalāt al-ḥādja* or, on account of certain eulogies, *ṣalāt al-taṣābīḥ*. During the last days of the month, a market is held in the capital.

At Mecca, Radjab, not Shaᶜban, is devoted to the dead. Here, in the night of 14th Shaᶜbān, religious exercises are held; in the mosque, circles are formed which under the direction of an *imām* recite the prayer peculiar to this night.

In Morocco, on the last day of Shaᶜbān a festival is celebrated called the Shaᶜbāna which resembles a carnival. A description of it is to be found in L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1921, 98-9.

Bibliography: E. Littman, *Die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der isl. Monate*, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 228 ff.; Herklots, *Qanoon-i Islam*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 221 ff.; idem, *Mekka*, ii, 76, 291; A.J. Wensinck, *The Arabic New Year*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, new ser. xxv, no. 2, 6-7.

(A.J. Wensinck)

SHAᶜBĀN, the name of two Mamlūk sultans.

1. al-Malik al-Kāmil, (son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]), who succeeded his full brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāᶜīl, on the latter's death on 4 Rabīᶜ II 746/4 August 1345.

His accession was brought about by a faction headed by his stepfather, Arghūn al-ᶜAlāʾī, who had been in effect regent for Ismāᶜīl. A rival faction led by the vicegerent of Egypt, Almalik, supporting his half-brother Ḥādjdjī, rapidly lost power, and Arghūn became the dominant magnate throughout the reign. His sound political advice to the sultan served as a moderating influence, but was frequently disregarded. Shaᶜbān's authority deteriorated rapidly from the beginning of 747/April 1346. Almalik and his colleague, Ḳumārī, were sent to prison in Alexandria, and their property was sequestrated. The death of Yūsuf, another son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in Rabīᶜ II/July-August, gave rise to suspicions that the sultan was implicated. The final crisis of the reign resulted from Shaᶜbān's determination to make a state visit to the Ḥidjāz, which led to heavy demands on the peasantry of Egypt for grain, and on the Arabs of Syria for camels, while it would have involved the Mamlūk military aristocracy in ruinous expenditure. A conspiracy to overthrow the sultan was hatched by the governor of Damascus, Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī. When Shaᶜbān seized two of his remaining brothers, Ḥādjdjī and Ḥusayn, and placed them under guard (29 Djumādā I/18 September), revolt broke out among the Mamlūks of Cairo. The sultan, accompanied by Arghūn al-ᶜAlāʾī, went out to confront them with a small loyal force. His offer to abdicate was rejected, and in the ensuing skirmish Arghūn was wounded and captured. Shaᶜbān fled, but was captured and put to death (3 Djumādā II/21 September), while Ḥādjdjī had been released and proclaimed sultan two days previously.

Bibliography: Notices of some leading personalities of the reign are given by their contemporary al-Ṣafadī; e.g. Shaᶜbān, Arghūn al-ᶜAlāʾī, Almalik (*Wāfī*, xvi, 153-5; viii, 355; ix, 372-3, respectively). There are detailed accounts of the reign by the 9th/15th-century chroniclers, Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii/3, 680-713; and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, x, 116-41.

2. al-Malik al-Ashraf, Mamlūk sultan (grandson of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]), who succeeded his cousin, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, when the latter was deposed on 15 Shaᶜbān 764/30 May 1363.

Owing to Shaᶜbān's youth (he was born in 754/1353-4), a series of high Mamlūk *amīrs* held power in the early years of his reign. Yalbughā al-ᶜUmarī and Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, originally Mamlūks of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan [*q.v.*], at first shared the regency, until Ṭaybughā was ousted in Djumādā II 767/March 1366, when Yalbughā assumed sole power. In the meantime, a Crusading expedition under King Peter I of Cyprus briefly occupied Alexandria (Muḥarram

767/October 1365), but withdrew as Yalbug̲h̲ā and the sultan advanced to relieve the city. The regent thereupon set on foot the construction of a war-fleet for, he asserted, a counter-offensive. An appeal from the king of Dongola [*q.v.*] for aid against his usurping nephew led to the organisation of an expeditionary force (Rabīᶜ I 767/December 1365), and action against Arab tribesmen who were ravaging the Aswān frontier-region. In Rabīᶜ II 768/December 1366 S̲h̲aᶜbān, resenting Yalbug̲h̲ā's domination, colluded with the regent's mutinous Mamlūks to overthrow him. The sultan did not, however, finally free himself from the control of the Mamlūk magnates until 769/1367-8, when the period of his autocratic rule began. There was an ineffectual attack on Tripoli by Peter I in Muḥarram 769/September 1367, but otherwise the sultanate was in no danger from any foreign power. S̲h̲aᶜbān's quiet reign was disturbed in Muḥarram 775/June 1373 by a dispute with his step-father, the *atābak* Uld̲j̲āy al-Yūsufī, over the inheritance from the sultan's mother, K̲h̲awand Baraka, who had died in the previous month. Uld̲j̲āy was defeated in a brief armed conflict, and drowned as he fled across the Nile. The end of the reign was sudden and disastrous, suggesting long-suppressed covert resentments, perhaps linked with the sultan's greed for wealth and unprecedented grants to his kinsfolk. The hostility had its focus in the Mamlūks of the sultan's household. Disregarding advice, and in spite of his recent recovery from a severe illness, he insisted on making a state pilgrimage to the Ḥid̲j̲āz. When he was encamped at the pass of Ayla [*q.v.*], his Mamlūks revolted, demanding fodder and pay. The situation got out of hand, and he fled with a few companions towards Cairo (2 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaᶜda 778/13 March 1377). While they were on their way, Mamlūk rebels gained control of the Citadel, and proclaimed S̲h̲aᶜbān's infant son, ᶜAlī, as sultan. Al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī disagree as to whether the two risings were concerted. On reaching Ḳubbat al-Naṣr outside Cairo, S̲h̲aᶜbān's companions were discovered and killed. He himself was found and strangled two days later (4 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaᶜda/15 March). His son succeeded him as al-Malik al-Manṣūr ᶜAlī (778-83/1377-81).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ᶜAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 2nd edn. Ḥaydarābād 1972-6: notices of S̲h̲aᶜbān, ii, 342-3 (no. 1936); Ṭaybug̲h̲ā al-Ṭawīl, ii, 395-6 (no. 259); Yalbug̲h̲ā al-ᶜUmarī, vi, 208-10 (no. 2565); K̲h̲awand Baraka, ii, 6 (no. 1281). Accounts of the reign in Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iii/1, 83-283; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, xi, 24-147. On Peter I's Crusading exploits, al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*, 7 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1968-76; see also O. Weintritt, *Formen spätmittelalterlicher islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung*, Beirut 1992; P.W. Edbury, *The Crusading policy of King Peter I of Cyprus, 1359-1369*, in P.M. Holt, *The eastern Mediterranean lands in the period of the Crusades*, Warminster 1977, 90-105; idem, *The kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374*, Cambridge 1991. (P.M. Holt)

S̲H̲AᶜBĀNIYYA, a mystical brotherhood arising out of the K̲h̲alwatiyya [*q.v.*] at Kastamonu in northern Anatolia towards the middle of the 10th/16th century. Its *pīr*, S̲h̲aᶜbān Welī, born at Tāshköprü in this same region, was initiated into the K̲h̲alwatiyya precepts by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Tokadī of Bolu on his return from a period of study in Istanbul, and died in 976/1568-9 at Kastamonu, where he directed a group of his disciples after spending twelve years at the side of his spiritual master. The main source on the origins of the S̲h̲aᶜbāniyya is the work of one of S̲h̲aᶜbān Welī's successors, ᶜÖmer Fuʾādī (d. 1046/1636), the *Menāḳib-i s̲h̲erīf-i Pīr-i K̲h̲alwetī ḥaḍret-i S̲h̲aᶜbān Welī*. This work on the life and miracles of the founder was printed at Kastamonu in 1294/1877 in a volume also containing the same author's *Risāle-yi türbe-nāme*, which deals with the building of S̲h̲aᶜbān Welī's tomb at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. ᶜÖmer Fuʾādī is also said to have written an enlarged version of the *Menāḳib-nāme*, unfortunately lost. S̲h̲aᶜbān Welī himself left behind no works.

For almost a century, the new order's network seems to have remained an Anatolian one. However, in the capital, one of the founder's *k̲h̲alīfas*, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ S̲h̲ud̲j̲āᶜ (d. 996/1588) exercised a great influence, much criticised by the sultan's entourage, over Murād III [*q.v.*], who had become his disciple. According to a still extant *kitābe* of 988/1580, this same S̲h̲ud̲j̲āᶜ had the mosque-*tekke* of S̲h̲aᶜbān Welī at Kastamonu renovated. We know many details about the building of the saint's tomb, completed in 1020/1611, thanks to the work of ᶜÖmer Fuʾādī mentioned above.

The order was at various times given fresh impetus by the great *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* who were regarded as founders of the branches of the S̲h̲aᶜbāniyya, and from the latter half of the 11th/17th century enjoyed a vast expansion throughout the Ottoman empire. At an early date, there was ᶜAlī ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḳarabās̲h̲ Welī (b. ᶜArabgīr, 1020/1611, d. on returning from the Pilgrimage in 1097/1686), founder of the Ḳarabās̲h̲iyya, called al-Aṭwel "the very tall" on account of his height and Ḳarabās̲h̲ "black head" because of the order's characteristic black cap. Initiated at Kastamonu, he was *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* at Çankırı in central Anatolia, and then, from 1079/1669, at Üsküdār (he also spent some time in exile on Lemnos). Ḳarabās̲h̲ Welī left behind numerous works on mysticism. One may note a commentary on Ibn al-ᶜArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (the *Kās̲h̲if-i esrār al-Fuṣūṣ*); a *ṭarīḳat-nāme*; a treatise on the interpretation of dreams (*taᶜbīr-nāme*); a treatise on the 40 days' retreat (*Risāle-yi uṣūl-i erbaᶜīn*); and one on the *d̲h̲ikr* made by whirling (*R. fī d̲j̲ewāz-i dewrāni 'l-ṣūfiyye*). He is said to have had many *k̲h̲alīfas* who spread the S̲h̲aᶜbāniyya in his new form. This last affected not only Anatolia but also Rumelia and the Arab provinces. The networks issuing from the order which took shape in the Arab provinces from the end of the 12th/18th century under the impetus of the spiritual successors of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, notably the Kamāliyya, Ḥinfiyya, Dardīriyya and Sammāniyya branches and their ramifications, can be considered as independent of the S̲h̲aᶜbānī networks of Anatolia and Rumelia, even if certain of their members preserved the common mystical tradition (see F. de Jong, *Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri (1688-1749). Revival and reform of the Khalwatiyya tradition*, in N. Levtzion and J.O. Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth century renewal and reform in Islam*, Syracuse-New York 1987, 117-32).

Four other personalities mark the evolution of the S̲h̲aᶜbāniyya up to the middle of the 19th century. The first was Muḥammad Naṣūḥī (d. 1130/1718), one of Ḳarabās̲h̲ Welī's *k̲h̲alīfas*. He was *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of a *tekke* built for him by the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a at Üsküdār in the Dog̲h̲and̲j̲ïlar quarter, an establishment considered at the close of the Empire as the *āsitāne*, main centre, of the order in Istanbul. He was also the author of several works, including a Ḳurʾān commentary and a *dīwān* of poetry. The second was Muṣṭafā Čerkes̲h̲ī (d. 1229/1814), disciple of a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the region of Safranbolu, who exercised his functions at the little town of Čerkes̲h̲, to the south-west of Kastamonu. More than Muḥammad

Naṣūḥī, he seems to have set his mark on the brotherhood. He lightened the burden of the rules made by Ḳarabāsh Welī, reducing the precepts for members from twenty to three: to be linked with a spiritual master, committing oneself to him totally; to accept from this master pardon (*tawba*) and initiation (*talḳīn*); and to perform *dhikr* unceasingly. Čerkeshī was also the author of an epistle said to have been written at the request of Sultan Maḥmūd II (*R. fī taḥḳīḳ al-taṣawwuf*), and he appears moreover in recent works as the second *pīr* of the Shaᶜbāniyya. The third person mentioned as the founder of a branch of the *ṭarīḳa* was a *khalīfa* of the preceding person, one Ḥadjdjī Khalīl Geredelī (d. 1247/1831-2 and buried in the village of Gerede, near Bolu). He is said to have been illiterate (*ummī*) and to have been invited by the sultan to install himself in the capital, where he assumed direction of the *tekke* of the Zeyrek mosque. The fourth and last person considered as founder of a branch of the Shaᶜbāniyya was Ibrāhīm Ḳushadalī (d. 1845), *khalīfa* of Beypāzārlī Shaykh ᶜAlī, a disciple of Muṣṭafā Čerkeshī. He had numerous disciples (including some provincial governors and some women) and gave a particular imprint to the order, notably by rejecting residence in a *tekke*, a mode of life which he considered to be in a state of degeneration (when the *tekke* which he headed in Istanbul was burnt down in 1833, he refused to rebuild it and settled down in a simple *ḳonaḳ*). He was certainly influenced by *malāmī* doctrine, but equally, he placed the *sharīᶜa* in the forefront, insisting on the practice of *rābiṭa* (liaison of the disciple's heart, in imagination, with that of his *shaykh*) and on that of *khalwa*.

Under the impulse of these different persons, the Shaᶜbāniyya gradually became that branch of the Khalwatiyya with the most centres in the Ottoman capital. It even exceeded those of the Sunbuliyya [*q.v.*] in the last decades of the 19th century, with 25 *tekkes*, of which about ten were on the Asiatic shore, mainly at Üsküdār. The *ṭarīḳa* likewise spread vigorously in northern Anatolia, in a zone extending from Istanbul to Tokat, above all in the triangles Kastamonu-Bolu-Ankara and Kastamonu-Yozgat-Tokat. In Rumelia, where it had spread strongly since the 11th/17th century (Ewliyā Čelebi mentions its presence in the Bulgarian lands *ca.* 1650), it had a special spurt of growth in the second half of the 19th century, notably in Bulgaria (at Nevrokop/Goce Delčev and Trnovo), at Iskeçe/Xanthi in Thrace, at Bitola in Macedonia, and also in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where *tekkes* were founded from *ca.* 1865 onwards at Sarajevo, Severin, Bijeljina, Donja Tuzla and Višegrad under the stimulus of the *shaykh* Muḥammad Sayf al-Dīn Iblizović. It may be noted that Yaᶜḳūb Khān Kāshgharī, who was one of the disciples of Muḥammad Tewfīḳ Bosnewī, *khalīfa* of Ibrāhīm Ḳushadalī (as well as being also affiliated to the Naḳshbandiyya and Ḳādiriyya), is said to have contributed to spreading the order in India; but it does not seem to have put down durable roots there.

Today, the Shaᶜbāniyya, which has not survived in the Balkans, is represented uniquely in Turkey, where it is the most active branch of the Khalwatiyya. In Istanbul itself, there are at least fifteen mosques where Shaᶜbānī dervishes meet for *dhikr*, generally on Thursday or Sunday evening. For the ceremony, each adept wears a *khirḳa* and a fine-textured white turban falling on to the back. The *dhikr* unfolds in three phases: seated in a circle, in darkness, the dervishes first recite the brotherhood's *wird*, then the *dhikr* properly speaking, characterised by repetition of the three formulae *Lā ilāh illā 'llāh, Allāh* and *Hū*, and then ending by standing up in a *ḥalḳa*. According to recent publications attesting the activities of the Shaᶜbāniyya in Turkey (see *Bibl.*), these belong to the Čerkeshiyya branch and consider Muṣṭafā Čerkeshī as their second *pīr*. In Kastamonu there exists a "Şa'ban-i Veli Association of Kastamonu" which looks after the ancient centre of the order. This consist of a much-visited complex, including a mosque which until 1925 served als as a *tekke* and in which one can still see a series of small cells intended for spiritual retreat, a *türbe* enshrining Shaᶜbān Welī's tomb and those of his successors, a library, and ablutions fountain, a kitchen, two houses, a cemetery and a spring whose water is sought after for curative purposes.

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(Nathalie Clayer)

SHABĀNKĀRA, the name of a Kurdish tribe and of their country in southern Persia during mediaeval Islamic times. Ibn al-Athīr spells the name Shawānkāra, whilst Marco Polo rendered it as Soncara.

According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the Shabānkāra country was bounded by Fārs, Kirmān and the Persian Gulf. At present, it falls within the *ustān* or province of Fārs, and there are still two villages, in the *shahrastāns* of Djahrum and Bū Shahr respectively, bearing the name Shabānkāra (Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrānzamīn*, vii, 139).

Mustawfī says that the capital was the stronghold of Īg or Īdj; other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zarkān (near Īg), Iṣṭabānān (or Iṣṭabānāt), Burk, Tārum, Khayra, Nayrīz [*q.v.*], Kurm, Rūnīz, Lār [*q.v.*] and Darābdjird [*q.v.*]. As for particulars and identifications it suffices to refer to the notes of G. le Strange on his translation of Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 138, tr. 139; see also P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii, 92. As for climate, Shabānkāra was reckoned among the warm countries (*garmsīr*); but it enclosed also regions of a moderate temperature (*hawā-i muᶜtadil*). The products of Shabānkāra consisted chiefly in corn, cotton, dates, (dry) grapes and other fruits; at Darābdjird, mineral salt was found. Among the most fertile districts were those of Zarkān and of Burk. The revenues (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwānī*) during the Saldjūḳ rule amounted to more than 2,000,000 dīnārs, but at the time Mustawfī wrote (740/1340) they only came to 266,100 dīnārs. The country abounded in strong places, e.g. Īg, Iṣṭabānān (destroyed by the Saldjūḳ Atābeg of Fārs Čawulī,

rebuilt later on) and Burk. At the time of Mustawfī, the fortifications of Darābdjird were ruinous, but the mountain-pass of Tang-i Ranba, to the east of the town, had a strong castle. In the chapter on the Muẓaffarid dynasty, intercalated in the manuscript of Mustawfī's *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, facs. ed. Browne, 665-6, there is also mention of the fortifications of Shabānkāra, the fertility of that country ("beautiful and cultivated like the garden of Iram"), its mills, bāzārs, etc.

The Shabānkāra tribe were Kurds; in Ibn al-Balkhī's time (early 6th/12th century) there were five subdivisions of them, viz. the Ismāʿīlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuwī, the Masʿūdī and the Shakānī. They were herdsmen, but also intrepid warriors, who more than once, in the course of history, became a power to be reckoned with. Their chiefs boasted descent from Ardashīr, the first Sāsānid, or even from the legendary king Manūčihr. Leaving aside the exploits of the Shabānkāra in Sāsānid times (as e.g. the fact that Yazdadjird III is said to have taken refuge among them at the time of the Muslim invasion), the history of the Shabānkāra begins at the epoch of the decline of Būyid power.

The Ismāʿīlīs were regarded as the most noble in descent; their chiefs are said to descend from Manūčihr and to have held in Sāsānid times the function of Ispāhbads. The first time, so far as we know, this tribe came into collision with a great Muslim power was in the days of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (421-32/1030-41 [*q.v.*]), whose general Tāsh Farrāsh drove them from the environs of Isfahān, so that they were compelled to remove southward. But now they came within the sphere of Būyid influence. The Būyids not suffering their presence, they had to migrate once more, until they settled in the Darābdjird district. Ibn al-Balkhī gives the history of their ruling family at some length. It may be sufficient to state that in the course of the quarrels which arose among the kinsmen one of them, Salk b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, called to his aid the mighty Faḍlūya of the Rāmānīs [see FAḌLAWAYH]; at the time Ibn Balkhī wrote, Salk's son Ḥusūya was the ruler of the Ismāʿīlīs, but his kinsmen contested his supremacy.

The Karzuwī Shabānkāra, taking advantage of the decline of the power of the Būyids, obtained Kāzarūn [*q.v.*], but were driven out of it by Čāwulī when he made his expedition in Fārs. The Masʿūdīs also came to some power in the days of Faḍlūya; the Karzuwī chief Abū Saʿd had also served under that Rāmānī ruler. For some time, the Masʿūdīs possessed Fīrūzābād and part of Shāpūr Khūra, but they were no match for the Karzuwīs, whose chief, Abū Saʿd, defeated and put to death Amīrūya, the Masʿūdī prince. When, later on, Čāwulī ruled Fārs, he installed Amīrūya's son Vishtāsf as ruler of Fīrūzābād. The Shakānīs, rapacious mountaineers of the coastland, present no historical interest. They also were subdued by Čāwulī.

Historically, the most important tribe was the Rāmānīs, to whom belonged Faḍlūya (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 48, calls him Faḍlūn), the mightiest *amīr* of the Shabānkāra. This man, the son of a certain ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, who was the chief of his tribe, rose to the rank of *Sipāhsalār* in the service of the Ṣāḥib-i ʿĀdil Muhadhdhib al-Dawla Hibat Allāh, the *wazīr* of the Būyid ruler of Fārs. Even before this time, the Būyids had been troubled by the Shabānkāra. The *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 432, mentions an insurrection of a certain Ismāʿīl of Shabānkāra against ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān (415-40/1024-48). This prince was succeeded by his eldest son al-Malik al-Raḥīm Khusraw Fīrūz [*q.v.*], who died in 447/1055 and left the throne to his younger brother Fūlād Sutūn, the royal master of the Ṣāḥib-i ʿĀdil. Fūlād Sutūn put to death this *wazīr*, whereupon Faḍlūya rose in rebellion. He succeeded in capturing the prince himself and his mother, the Sayyida Khurāsūya. Fūlād Sutūn was confined in a stronghold near Shīrāz, where he was murdered in 454/1062; the Sayyida was, by order of Faḍlūya, suffocated in a bath. The Shabānkāra chief, now ruler of Fārs, soon came into collision with the Saldjūḳ power. After fighting without success against Ḳāwurd, the brother of Alp Arslan, he submitted to the latter, from whom he received the governorship of Fārs. Faḍlūya afterwards revolted; the stronghold of Khurshah, to which he had betaken himself, was besieged and taken by the great Niẓām al-Mulk, and Faḍlūya, after many vicissitudes, captured and executed (464/1071). Such is in substance the account of Ibn al-Balkhī, a younger contemporary. Ibn al-Athīr represents these events somewhat differently (x, 48-9; the Kurd Faḍlūn, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 289, held part of Ādharbaydjān and raided the Khazars in 421/1030, cannot, of course, be identified with the Shabānkāra chief and was, in fact an *amīr* of the local line of the Shaddādids [*q.v.*]). With the Faḍlūyā affair is connected without any doubt, the expedition of Alp Arslān to Shabānkāra of the year 458/1066, mentioned by al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbāl, 118.

The Shabānkāra were to be for many years a nuisance to the provinces of Kirmān and Fārs. In 492/1099, supported by the Saldjūḳ prince of Kirmān, Īrān-Shāh b. Ḳāwurd, they defeated the Amīr Unar, who was *wālī* of Fārs for Sultan Berk-yaruḳ. About this time, the struggles of the Atabeg Čāwulī with the Shabānkāra begin. This commander, Fakhr al-Dīn Čāwulī, who died in the year 510/1116 (the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* wrongly places his death under the rule of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh), governed Fārs on behalf of the Saldjūḳ ruler of ʿIrāḳ, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. The Shabānkāra Amīr al-Ḥasan b. al-Mubāriz Khusraw refused to pay homage; thereupon, Čāwulī attacked him suddenly. Khusraw had a narrow escape, being saved by the help of his brother Faḍlū. Now Čāwulī subdued Fasā and Djahrum in Fārs; he then besieged for some time the stronghold where Khusraw had taken refuge, but perceiving that the siege would be a long and hard one, he came to terms with the Shabānkāra chief. Later, Khusraw accompanied the Atabeg on his expedition to Kirmān, the ruler of which had sheltered the prince of Darābdjird, Ismāʿīl. In this connection, Ibn al-Athīr mentions the fact that Čāwulī requested the ruler of Kirmān to hand over some Shabānkāra forces who had taken refuge to him.

After these events, the Shabānkāra seem to have kept quiet during the rule of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, but new troubles arose when, under the following sultan, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31), the *wazīr* Nāṣir b. ʿAlī al-Dargazīnī began to ill-treat these tribes also. This caused a revolt, during which the Shabānkāra wrought great damage. For the time up to the Kirmān affair, there may be noted the following data. In the service of the Salghurid Atabeg Sunḳur [see SALGHURIDS], the Kurd Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir, who afterwards became the first independent sovereign of the Greater Lūr dynasty (he died in 555/1160 [see LUR-I BUZURG]), made himself meritorious by a victory over the chiefs (*ḥukkām*) of Shabānkāra. In 564/1168 the Shabānkāra sheltered Zangī b. D.klā, who was expelled from Fārs by the ruler of Khūzistān.

We now enter on the most glorious period of

Shabānkāra history, which, however, lasted only a few years. The Shabānkāra chief Ḳutb al-Dīn Mubāriz and his brother Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, *amīrs* of Īg, availed themselves of the disturbances which arose in Kirmān after the extinction of the ruling Saldjūḳ dynasty of that country. They responded to the call of the *wazīr* Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn, who solicited their aid against the Ghuzz. Contrary to the intention of the *wazīr*, but assisted by the citizens, they occupied, before giving battle to the Ghuzz, the capital Bardasīr and so secured the dominion of Kirmān (507/1200-1). The two *amīrs* now defeated the Ghuzz, but the strained relations between these rulers of Īg and the Atabeg of Fārs compelled them to return to their realm after having appointed as their *nāʾib* one of the nobles of Kirmān. At this point, the Ghuzz appeared once more to repeat their ravages. One of the Kirmānī *amīrs*, Hurmuz Tādj al-Dīn Shāhānshāh, concluded a treaty with them. Niẓām al-Dīn marched against him from Īg; in the battle which ensued Hurmuz fell and his Turkish allies were routed. Shortly after, Niẓām al-Dīn entered Bardasīr again. He made himself, however, by his debauchery and his rapacity odious to such a degree that a plot was laid against him. In the night, the conspirators took him prisoner with his sons (600/1203-4). They intended thereby to compel the commanders of Mubāriz's garrisons to surrender. These commanders, however, remained in their strongholds and the latter had to be besieged. Meanwhile, a new actor made his appearance on the political stage, viz. ʿAdjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, a protégé of the Khʷārazm-shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. ʿAdjam Shāh had concluded an alliance with the Ghuzz, who assisted him in his attempts to secure the realm of Kirmān. In short, the course of events was as follows. The prisoner Niẓām al-Dīn was sent to the Salghurid Atabeg of Fārs, but if ʿAdjam Shāh expected to remain in the quiet possession of Kirmān, he was disillusioned by a polite message from the Atabeg, Saʿd b. Zangī, to the effect that Saʿd was sending his general ʿIzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn to accelerate the reduction of the garrisons mentioned above (600/1203-4). The troops of Fārs duly arrived and delivered Kirmān definitively from the Shabānkāra. An expedition which Mubāriz undertook in revenge had no results except bringing about once more sore devastations.

In 658/1260 the Mongol Hülegü or Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] destroyed Īg and killed the Shabānkāra *amīr* Muẓaffar Muḥammad; afterwards, in the year 694/1295, we find Shabānkāra among the regions which, according to the treaty between Baydū Khān and Ghāzān Khān, fell to the lot of Ghāzān. For the year 712/1312, mention is made of a revolt of the Shabānkāra against the authority of the Il-Khānid Öldjeytü. It was repressed by Sharaf al-Dīn Muẓaffar, who later became the first historically important member of the Muẓaffarid dynasty. It was the princes of that house who definitely put an end to the power of the Shabānkāra. In the year 755 or 756 (1354 or 1355), the last Shabānkāra ruler, the Malik Ardashīr, refused to obey the orders of the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn. The latter sent his son Maḥmūd with an army to chastise the Kurdish prince. Maḥmūd subdued the country and obliged Ardashīr to fly. From this time onwards, Shabānkāra formed a part of the Muẓaffarid lands; incidentally, in the year 765/1363-4, we hear of a *ḥākim* of Shabānkāra on behalf of the Muẓaffarid princes (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 698). In the later 9th/15th century, Shabānkāra is mentioned as one of the fiefs of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu prince Baysonḳor (Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, 351).

The Shabānkāra tribe produced a historian during the 8th/14th century, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkāraʾī [*q.v.*], author of a general history which brings considerable near-contemporary and contemporary information on Fārs during the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods (*Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, ed. Mīrzā Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1363/1984, 220 ff.).

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(V.F. Büchner-[C.E. Bosworth])

SHABĀNKĀRAʾĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Persian poet, littérateur and historian, of Kurdish origin (*ca.* 697-759/*ca.* 1298-1358), who wrote during the last decades of the Īl-Khānid era. His general history, the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb fi 'l-tawārīkh*, exists in a number of versions. The first redaction, dedicated to the Īl-Khānid Abū Saʿīd's vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn, was produced in 733/1332-3 but was lost in the destruction of the vizier's house in 736/1336. Shabānkāraʾī completed a second redaction on 22 Djumādā I 738/17 December 1337; this is found in the best ms., Istanbul, Yeni Cami 909, and in the printed edition. Yet a third version, dedicated to the Čūpānid Pīr Ḥusayn and finished in 743/1343, is represented by the Paris ms. Supp. pers. 1278 and by a ms. in Tabrīz. An abridgement of this third recension, extant in several mss. (e.g. B.L. Add. 16,696), probably originated at a considerably later date, since none of the mss. is earlier than the 10th/16th century.

The *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* is of importance for its original material on the Ghaznawids, being the sole source to supply the alleged *Pand-nāma* of Sebüktegin [*q.v.*]. It is also the first general history to incorporate chapters on the local dynasties of Shabānkāraʾī's native region of southern Persia, with sections *inter alia* on the rulers of the Shabānkāraʾī Kurds [see SHABĀNKĀRA], the atabegs of Fārs, and (most detailed) the princes of Hurmuz [*q.v.*] and the atabegs of Luristān [see LUR-I BUZURG].

After Shabānkāraʾī's death, and not later than 783/1381, a certain Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Faryūmadī wrote, apparently in Gurgān or Khurāsān, a brief *dhayl* or continuation of the *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb*, dealing with the Sarbadārs [*q.v.*] and the local dynasties of Khurāsān during the mid-to-late 8th/14th century: this is extant only in the Istanbul ms.

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(C.E. Bosworth and P. Jackson)

SHĀBĀSHIYYA, the name of a sect of extreme Ḳarmaṭians in the region of Baṣra and al-Aḥsā led by hereditary chiefs, the Banū Shābāsh *shaykhs* (the *rubūbiyya* was handed down from father to son). Their political activity lasted over a century (about 380 to 480/990-1090) in the Persian Gulf region. (The form *Shabbāsiyya* should be dropped.)

Two of them, in spite of their excommunication by orthodox writers, were viziers to the Būyid governor of Baṣra: Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Faḍl (or Ḥasan) Ibn Shābāsh (d. 444/1052) and his son Salīl al-Barakāt (mentioned in 487/1094 by al-Ghazālī). It is remarkable that the Druzes regarded them as followers of their religion, for we have in the Druze canon an epistle of al-Muḳtanā [*q.v.*] of 428/1037 which is dedicated to them. We know also that in the 9th/15th century there were still links between the Druzes and the islands of the Persian Gulf (cf. Poliak, in *REI* [1934], 255).

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AL-SHĀBB AL-ẒARĪF [see AL-TILIMSĀNĪ].

SHABBATAY ṢEBĪ, a Jewish mystic, pseudo-Messiah and the inspiration for a Judaeo-Muslim sect.

Born at Izmir in 1035/1626, where his father, originally from the Peloponnese, was a trader, he showed a precocious propensity for the religious sciences, and was dedicated to a rabbinical career. From his adolescence, he devoted his time to the esoteric study of the Ḳabbālāh and led a life of abstinence and solitude. Thanks to his remarkable charisma, he became surrounded by a group of adepts whose extravagant practices ended up by attracting the censure of the rabbinical authorities. He was banished from his native city in *ca.* 1061/1651, and became a wandering ascetic travelling in turn from Salonica to Istanbul and then from Jerusalem to Cairo. There, during 1663-5, he was the protégé of the mystical circle of Raphaël Joseph Čelebi, head of the Egyptian Jewish community and director of the Ottoman treasury (*ṣarrāf bashî*) until the time when, visiting Gaza, he was hailed as the Messiah by Nathan Ashkenazi, who also took himself for the Prophet Elijah. The tireless efforts of this latter person to spread the messianic faith in the form of circular letters and pamphlets provoked a real frenzy in the Jewish world, from Kurdistān to Morocco via Europe. He was denounced to the *ḳāḍī* of the town through the rabbis' opposition in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1075/June 1665. Ṣebī, mounted on a horse and clad in green, despite Muslim prohibition, made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem after having circumambulated it seven times. From there he returned via Aleppo to his natal city, where he was hailed enthusiastically by the populace. In an eschatological atmosphere of penitence and aseticism, the messianic movement, favoured by socio-religious factors, increased in fervour. Whilst certain rumours related the story of the miraculous conquest of Mecca by the ten tribes of Israel, manifestations of "Jewish pride" were cruelly repressed in certain Muslim lands, involving a breaking of the contract of *dhimma*, notably in Yemen.

Henceforward called by the Hebrew acrostic *amīrāh*, evoking Arabic *amīr* "prince", Ṣebī, accompanied by his "ministers", set sail in Djumādā II 1076/December 1665 for Istanbul where, according to Nathan's predictions, he was to seize the crown of the "Grand Turk" without having to strike a blow. Meanwhile, the Ottoman government, perhaps alerted by the Jewish pseudo-Messiah's own Jewish opponents, decided to put an end to this ferment of activity, considered to be seditious. The fate of the agitator, intercepted on the high seas, was decided by the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü [see KÖPRÜLÜ], who, unwilling to create a martyr, imprisoned him in the fortress of Gallipoli (Shaʿbān 1076/February 1666). With an aura of prestige for having escaped death, Ṣebī continued to receive, in prison, delegates from all over. These included Nehemiah Cohen, a Polish Kabbalist, who feigned conversion to Islam in order to gain access to the Grand Vizier, to whom he denounced Ṣebī as an imposter. Ṣebī was brought to Edirne and to Sultan Meḥemmed IV's *dīwān* on 16 Rabīʿ I 1077/16 September 1666.

Ṣebī escaped capital punishment by "adopting the turban", on the advice of the apostate Muṣṭafā Ḥayātī-zāde, *alias* Gidʿōn, the sultan's physician. On his conversion to Islam, he took the name of ʿAzīz Meḥmed Efendi, saw himself receive the honorific title of *ḳapîdjî bashî* "chief doorkeeper of the palace", and received a royal pension. Had the Turks spared him in order for him to act as a missionary for Islam? If the majority of his followers abandoned him, his apostasy was in fact followed by numerous of his faithful followers, including his wife Sarah, who, after arriving in Gallipoli, took the name of Fāṭima Ḳadîn. Seeking a theological justification for the paradoxical mystery of his defection—it could allegedly be considered as a deliberate act with an esoteric aim—Ṣebī's partisans continued to believe in him, adopting for themselves the Hebrew name of *maʾamīnīm* "believers". Ṣebī kept up secret contacts with them and with Nathan of Gaza during his stays in now Edirne and now Istanbul, during which he led a double life, observing the Muslim religion externally whilst practicing certain Jewish rites. He is described as going now to the mosque and now to the synagogue, holding a Ḳurʾān in one hand and a Tōrāh scroll in the other. The Shabbatayan tradition holds that, despite this duplicity, Ṣebī enjoyed the favour of Meḥmed Wānī Efendi, the sultan's favourite preacher, who is said to have been assigned to him as his teacher of the precepts of Islam. It seems also that during this period Ṣebī had contacts with Muslim sectaries like the Bektāshīs, and perhaps also with the Khalwatī mystic Meḥmed Niyāzī [*q.v.*]. According to certain pieces of evidence, he reportedly frequented in Edirne the Bektāshī *tekke* of Khîḍîrlîḳ and took part in *dhikr* sessions. He was again arrested in Rabīʿ II 1083/August 1672 on charges of licentious conduct, and finally deported in Shawwāl 1083/January 1673 to Ulčindj in the distant province of al-Bassān (Albania). Despite visits from certain of his followers, apparently disguised as Muslims, Ṣebī died in solitude on 9 Radjab 1086/17 September 1676 at Ulčindj, where his unmarked tomb is still venerated by the local Muslim population.

Coming as it did at a time of eschatological expectation in the Muslim environment, where he was seen as the Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*], Ṣebī's death stimulated the appearance of Mahdī claimants.

However, the demise of its founder did not mean the end of his messianic movement. Accepting Nathan's teaching, according to which Ṣebī had gone into a phase of occultation—one thinks of the Shīʿī concept of *ghayba*—and whilst awaiting his return, several hundreds of his followers embraced Islam *en masse* in 1095/1683 at Salonica, which henceforth became an active centre for propaganda. Under the direction of Jacob Querido (ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿkūb), the brother of Jochebed-ʿĀʾisha, Ṣebī's last wife, these apostates assumed the shape of a sect known as the *dönmes* [*q.v.*] (Tk. "convert"). Querido was proclaimed by his sister as Ṣebī's reincarnation; he preached the pious performance of the Islamic obligations and died at Alexandria or at Būlāḳ in *ca.* 1102/1690 when returning from the Meccan Pilgrimage. The *dönmes* split into various factions, the most radical of them being headed by ʿOthmān Baba (*alias* Berukhyah Russo, d. 1721), who also claimed to be a reincarnation of Ṣebī. They borrowed certain practices and also liturgical chants from the Bektāshī circles whose *tekke* was in the neighbourhood of their cemetery at Salonica. Whilst practising Islam externally, they considered themselves the "true community of Israel". They observed a messianic form of Judaism based on eighteen precepts, whilst continuing to believe in the return of Ṣebī. By marrying amongst themselves, they maintained themselves as an independent community living in a special quarter until 1912. At the time of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1924, the majority of them, estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000 families, left for Istanbul, where their descendants continue to reside.

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AL-SHĀBBĪ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim Ibrāhīm, modern Tunisian poet (1909-34).

There exists no legal registration of his birth, but according to information published in his lifetime (al-Sanūsī, 1927, 202) and confirmed in a posthumous letter (*Complete works*, ii, *Correspondence*, 269), he was born on 3 Ṣafar 1327/24 February 1909 in the village of al-Shābbiyya, near Tozeur in southern Tunisia, whence his *nisba*, the eldest of a numerous family. His father, who had studied at al-Azhar 1901-8 and then at the Zaytūna of Tunis, was appointed in 1910 as *ḳāḍī* at Siliana. The family henceforth had various moves, to Gafsa, Gabès, Thala, Madjāz al-Bāb, Raʾs al-Djabal and Zaghouan; it led a comfortable life from having as its head an official certain of secure employment under the French Protectorate established in 1881.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim did his primary studies entirely in Arabic, after a straightforward entry to the Franco-Arabic school at Gabès, whilst his three younger brothers were to become bilingual; he felt frustration from this lack all his life. In October 1920 he entered the Zaytūna, where he received a traditional education: Arabic language and literature, and Islamic theology. The teaching at the Zaytūna, and his frequenting the nearby libraries, ensured for him a wide literary culture, but one badly assimilated since he lacked direction from a preceptor. It included the classical world, modern Egyptian and Syro-Lebanese literature, as well as European literature through translations, in this latter case given a misleading bias by the dominance of the trio of Goethe, Lamartine and Ossian.

The literary cafés, study circles and cultural societies enabled him to form some firm friendships and to give him a consciousness of the problems posed by modern life: trade unionism, educational reform and the emancipation of women. Already, when he was only 14, al-Shābbī composed his first poem *al-Ghazāl al-fātin* (1923). In 1927 al-Sanūsī published 27 selected poems of his (in *al-Adab al-tūnisī fi 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar*, 202-54).

In 1928 he obtained his diploma of secondary education (*al-taṭwīʿ*), and enrolled at the Higher Law College. In February 1929 he delivered a resounding lecture on *al-Khayāl al-shiʿrī ʿind al-ʿArab* "Poetic imagination among the Arabs", published the same year and dedicated to his father, who died a few months later in September aged 50. He finished his legal studies in 1930, was married the next year and had two sons (1932, 1934). He himself died on 9 October 1934 at the Italian Hospital in Tunis from heart disease of rheumatic origin.

Al-Shābbī was a born poet. Having a presentiment that his life would not be long, he was seized by an avid desire for reading and writing. In the considerable corpus of his verse and prose works, the reader finds here and there the imperishable message of the young inspired poet. In a musical language, with an assured sense of form, he sings of life and love, and expresses his confusedness and his unsatisfactory way of life. Al-Shābbī shows himself as a young bourgeois disturbed and aroused by modernism. Modernity was, for him, Europe; but he only knew Europe at second-hand. What was ancient, completed and outmoded, was Arabic literature; but he knew that directly. It was thus a question for him of either implanting himself firmly in his own culture and renouncing the call of the new, or else of hurling himself into the quest for modernity, thereby cutting himself off from his roots.

Amongst the 132 pieces in the 1984 edition of his poems, the autograph manuscript has only 83, with him rejecting in his definitive version poems which he considered repetitive, rough sketches which he adjudged poorly-executed and containing shallow lyricism. The longest poems comprise a hundred or so verses, the shortest are mere couplets. Al-Shābbī used a large spread of metres, since he employed ten out of the sixteen, in descending order of frequency, 1. *khafīf*; 2. *kāmil*; 3. *mutaḳārib*; 4. *ramal*; 5. *basīṭ*; 6. *ṭawīl*; 7. *sarīʿ* and 8. *mudjtathth*; 9. *mutadārik*; 10. *munsariḥ*.

Most of his poems are in the classical mode, with a single metre and monorhyme; in this, al-Shābbī remained a conservative. Nevertheless, he moved forward timidly towards innovation, following the Syro-Lebanese and New World poets, with some strophic poems in which he plays on the number of poetic feet and by alternating the rhymes. A varied typology opened up for him, e.g. seven possibilities for a single

ramal. Thus we have a strophic schema for the seven attested combinations:

one foot, rhyme A
one foot, rhyme A
four feet, rhyme B
four feet, rhyme B
two feet, rhyme C.

The young poet's death, at the age of 25, in a Tunisia where poets had been very few, gave him a romantic halo and a popularity verging on the mythic. This infatuation with him has engendered, for over 60 years, erroneous, contradictory or fantastic biographical statements, and peremptory, verbose or extravagant literary judgements. Whilst he was published as a literary critic at the age of 20, his collected poetry had to await publication 21 years after his death.

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2. Studies. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Kirrū, *al-Shābbī, ḥayātuhu wa-shiʿruhu*, Beirut 1952 (by other works, this author clearly shows himself as the person who knows al-Shābbī best); *Poèmes de Chabbi*, French tr. A. Ghédira, Paris 1959; idem, *Chabbi ou le mal de vivre*, Tunis 1986; *Songs of life. Selection of poems*, Eng. tr. Lena Jayyusi and Naomi Shibab Nye, Carthage 1987; *Journal*, French tr. Mongi Chemli and Mohamed Ben Ismaïl, Tunis 1988; *Camb. hist. of Arabic literature. Modern Arabic literature*, ed. M.M. Badawi, Cambridge 1992, 126-30.

(A. GHÉDIRA)

SHABBĪR ḤASAN KHĀN DJOSH, modern Urdu poet, born 5 December 1898, died 22 February 1982.

He was born in Malīḥābād, a town in present-day Uttar Pradesh (formerly United Provinces) in India. His parents gave him the name of Shabbīr Aḥmad Khān, but subsequently he adopted his existing name of Shabbīr Ḥasan Khān as a token of his Shīʿī sympathies. He descended from a line of poets reaching back to his great-grandfather, Nawwāb Faḳīr Muḥammad Khān, who composed poetry under the pen-name Goyā. Djosh received his early education at home. About 1914 he went to ʿAlīgaṙh, where he joined the school attached to the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. He attended various institutions one after the other, but failed in the end to complete his formal education, in part because of his father's death. Among those whom he mentions by name as his teachers was the famous Urdu novelist Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (d. 1931 [*q.v.*]), who taught him Arabic.

In 1924 Djosh went to Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) and was appointed in the Translation Bureau of Osmania University, his duty being to supervise the translations of literary works from English into Urdu. Through his poetry he won access to higher social circles, and seemingly enjoyed a pleasure-loving life. He stayed in Ḥaydarābād for some ten years, when he was expelled for reasons which are unclear but probably resulted from official disapproval of his dissolute conduct. Whatever the case may be, he was dismissed and made to leave the state summarily.

In January 1936 Djosh started a monthly magazine from Delhi, *Kalīm*. Although the magazine was well received in literary circles, it came up against financial difficulties and ceased in 1939 as an independent publication. Thereupon it became merged with the journal *Nayā adab* ("New literature"), and appeared for some time under the title *Nayā adab awr Kalīm*, with Djosh acting as its chief editor. Soon after the outbreak of World War II it published in its August-September 1939 issue an inflammatory poem by Djosh, entitled *East India Company ke farzandoṅ ke nām* ("To the children of East India Company"), which received wide prominence, but was banned by the government for its strong anti-British content.

From 1943 till the beginning of 1948 Djosh was associated with Indian films as a songwriter, most of this time with Shālīmār Pictures in Pune (Poona). In 1948 he became the editor of *Ādj kal* ("Now"), a literary magazine published from Delhi under the auspices of India's Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, continuing in that capacity until 1955.

Djosh had strongly supported the cause of Indian nationalism. This, together with his outstanding contribution to literature, assured him a privileged place in the new set-up after India became independent in 1947. The Indian government rewarded him with one of its highest honours, the Padam Bhushan. Given all the prestige that he enjoyed in India, it came as a shock when he suddenly migrated to Pākistān towards the end of 1955. From the Indian point of view, his action amounted to a betrayal of trust, the more so because of the strained relations existing between India and Pākistān. According to Djosh's own admission, he made the choice (which he seemed to have regretted afterwards) in anticipation of better economic prospects for himself and his family. In Pākistān he was appointed in 1958 as literary consultant in the *Taraḳḳī-yi Urdū* Board ("Urdu Development Board"), a Karachi-based, government-sponsored body, which was entrusted with the task of preparing a comprehensive dictionary of Urdu on the pattern of the *Oxford English dictionary*. Later, the Board also assumed the work of reissuing standard Urdu writings which had been out of print for a long time. Djosh was connected with the Board until the beginning of 1968, when his contract was not renewed by the military government of President Ayub Khan, supposedly because the poet was reported to have spoken against Pākistān while on a tour to India during the previous year. In 1972 Djosh moved from Karachi to Islamabad where, in 1973, the government of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto provided him with a job in the Ministry of Education. He continued in this position under President Zia-ul-Haq, but in 1981 his health began to fail and he died in February 1982, being buried in Islamabad.

Djosh remained a controversial figure throughout his life. He was outspoken both in his personal dealings as well as in his poetry. His habits were provocative; thus his taste for drinking shocked orthodox sentiments, and he seemed irreverent where religious matters were concerned, yet, at the same time, he displayed deep feelings for the Prophet Muḥammad and for ʿAlī and his son Ḥusayn.

Djosh claimed to have begun composing poetry when he was nine years old, eventually using as his pen-name Djosh. He was a prolific writer and has left numerous publications in verse and prose (see *Bibl.*). His first collection, *Rūḥ-i adab* ("The spirit of literature"), which contained his work composed since the age of nine, was published in 1920, and the entire edition quickly sold out. His other poetical works followed in quick succession, and a posthumous volume of his unpublished poems appeared in 1993 under the title *Miḥrāb u miḍrāb* ("The niche and the plectrum"). He was also a prose-writer with a distinctive style, his best-known book here being his

autobiography *Yādoṅ kī barāt* ("The wedding procession of memories"), which is perhaps one of the most interesting works of modern Urdu literature.

Djosh's earliest adventures in poetical composition were represented by the *ghazal*. About 1914 he took up the writing of *naẓm* (thematic poem) at the instance of Mawlawī Waḥīd al-Dīn Salīm (d. 1928), of Pānīpat, a follower of the literary reformer, Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (d. 1915 [*q.v.*]), and one of the architects of modern Urdu literature. The subjects of most of Djosh's early *naẓms* were love and nature. Soon, however, politics also entered his verse, and became ultimately one of his most frequently employed themes. Superficial and devoid of any sustained effect, these inflammatory and topical poems were nevertheless important because they articulated the prevalent political mood of the country, and may be said to have laid the foundation of militant poetry in Urdu. One of the best-known poems reflecting this tendency, *Shikast-i zindāṅ kā khʷāb* ("The dream of the breaking down of the prison"), was composed in the 1920s, and reflected the revolutionary fervour of the period against British domination.

The predominant note of Djosh's verse is its romanticism. His poetic outlook is largely traditional, and he employs set forms for his compositions. One of his favourite verse forms is the *rubāʿī*, in which his mastery is evidenced by the skilful treatment of varied subjects. He has also revived the traditional *marthiya* by using it as a medium for conveying a new social and political sensibility. Another significant aspect of his poetry is his protest against religious hypocrisy, social injustice and political expediency, though his command over language often translates itself in his poems into a mere exercise in words, adding little to the development of the thought and its content.

Djosh undoubtedly ranks among the foremost Urdu poets of modern times. In fact, he is regarded by his admirers as next only to Iḳbāl (d. 1938 [*q.v.*]) in importance. He has left a lasting effect on modern Urdu poetry, and his influence is seen most vividly in the works of such poets as Iḥsān Dānish (1911-82), Asrār al-Ḥaḳḳ Madjāz (1911-55), Makhdūm Muḥyī al-Dīn (1908-69) and ʿAlī Sardār Djaʿfarī (b. 1913).

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3. Studies. These are fairly extensive. Only selected items may be mentioned here: *Afkār* (special issue on Djosh), xvii/122 and 123, Karachi 1962; *ibid.* (special issue on Djosh), xxxviii/148, Karachi 1982; *Sāḳī* (special issue on Djosh), lxviii/4, Karachi 1963; Iḥtishām Ḥusayn, *Djosh Malīḥābādī: insān awr shāʿir*, Lucknow 1983; Iḥtishām Ḥusayn and Masīḥ al-Zamān (eds.), *Intikhāb-i Djosh* (introd.), Allahabad 1967 (?); Sardār Djaʿfarī, *Taraḳḳī pasand adab* (138-63), Aligarh 1951; Naresh Kumār Shād, *Djosh awr us kī shāʿirī*, Delhi n.d.; ʿIṣmat Malīḥābādī, *Djosh kī rūmānī rubāʿiyyāṅ*, Lucknow 1976; idem, *Rūmānī shāʿirī meṅ Djosh kī khidmat*, Lucknow 1984; idem, *Kitāb-i Djosh*, Lucknow 1991; Faḍl-i Imām, *Shāʿir-i ākhir al-zamāṅ Djosh Malīḥābādī*, Delhi 1982; Māʾil Malīḥābādī, *Djosh awr diyār-i Dakan*, Lucknow 1984; Ṣibghat Allāh Baranī (ed.), *Haḍrat Djosh Malīḥābādī: shakhṣiyyat, fann u afkār*, Karachi 1984; Kāẓim ʿAlī Khān (ed.), *Djosh shināsī*, Lucknow 1986; Ẓafar Maḥmūd, *Djosh Malīḥābādī: shakhṣiyyat awr fann*, Delhi 1989; Khalīḳ Andjum (ed.), *Djosh Malīḥābādī: tanḳīdī djāʾiza*, Delhi 1992; ʿAḳīl Aḥmad, *Djosh kī shāʿirī kā tanḳīdī tadjziya*, Delhi 1993; Ḳamar Raʾīs (ed.), *Djosh Malīḥābādī: khuṣūṣī muṭālaʿa*, Delhi 1993; ʿĀliya Imām, *Shāʿir-i inḳilāb* (*Djosh Malīḥābādī*), Karachi n.d.

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

AL-**SHAʿBĪ**, ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl b. ʿAbd al-Kūfī, Abū ʿAmr, famous early legal expert and transmitter of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*].

He is said to have been a descendant of a kinglet (Ar. *ḳayl*) of Yemen. He was a member of the Shaʿb clan of the tribe of Hamdān. In *isnāds* [*q.v.*] he is either referred to as al-Shaʿbī or (less often) as ʿĀmir (without patronymic), but there are no other men called ʿĀmir, at least not in that early slot of *isnāds*, immediately preceding a Companion or the Prophet, with whom he could have been confused. As is the case with many other leading figures of the first two centuries of Islam, the year of his birth is shrouded in mystery. He stated himself that he was born in the year of the battle of Djalūlāʾ, but for that battle two years are mentioned: 16/637-8 and 19/640 (cf. F.M. Donner, *Early Islamic conquests*, 212, while al-Ṭabarī, i, 2646, indicates his birth in the year 21/642). His mother is said to have been captured after that battle and to have been allotted to his father as part of the booty. Al-Shaʿbī is said to have died sometime between 103/721 and 110/728. His age at death may be reconstructed on the basis of other data, which seems to suggest that he was born *ca.* 40/660, cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition* etc., 20.

Al-Shaʿbī is said to have lived most of his life in Kūfa where, with Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī [see AL-NAKHAʿĪ, IBRĀHĪM], with whom he often is compared, he was the most influential legal expert of his day. He claims that he met numerous Companions of the Prophet, which entitles him to be classed in the generation of the Successors. Although he is supposed to have spurned the use of *raʾy* (i.e. one's personal judgement which is not based upon *sunna māḍiya* i.e. precedent, cf. Ibn Saʿd, vi, 176), hundreds of his legal opinions (Ar. *ḳawl*, pl. *aḳwāl*) have survived in several pre-canonical tradition collections, cf. especially the indices of the *Muṣannaf* works by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827) and Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849); see also *Concordance*, viii, s.n. It is hard to establish which of these individual *aḳwāl* are historically ascribable to Shaʿbī and which are not. But the mere fact that *aḳwāl* of Successors have survived at all in such numbers, while traditions with more "sophisticated" *isnāds*, the *mawḳūfāt*, *marāsīl* and *marfūʿāt* [see MURSAL and RAFʿ. 2], were already in the process of being put together, thus making these *aḳwāl* redundant, may perhaps be taken as an indication of the overall tenability of their historicity, cf. Juynboll, *Some notes on Islam's first* fuqahāʾ *distilled from early* ḥadīt *literature*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992), esp. 299-302. Taken together, they describe him as an all-round *faḳīh* who seemed to have been well-versed in every *fiḳh* chapter. His advice (*fatwā*) on juridical and ritual matters was

allegedly sought by many, and the trends he set in fashion and cosmetics, such as his habit to wear clothes of silk and dye his hair with henna, are extensively dealt with in Ibn Saᶜd, vi, 176. Furthermore, al-Shaᶜbī's recorded skill in arithmetic, cf. *ibid.*, 173, l. 3, made him especially expert in the solving of inheritance problems, as is attested in Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* and al-Dārimī's *Sunan*, chs. on *farāʾiḍ*. An explanation for Shaᶜbī's supposedly frequent resorting to *raʾy*, as set off against his vehement rejection of it on other occasions, may be sought in plain *jalousie de métier*: we may assume that he barely suffered trespassing on his patch by recently converted *mawālī* who, with the exception of the Ḥidjāz, were everywhere in the majority in the Islamic domain. In their desire to find out what their new religion stood for, and, where necessary, to give it substance, they were presumably also engaged in the giving of *fatwās* and the dissemination of *akwāl* and *ḥadīth*. Their mere presence in the mosque where al-Shaᶜbī himself held court may have prompted him to call them by highly derogatory appellatives, such as *Ṣaᶜāfika* (= "penniless merchants"), cf. *LA*, s.n. On the whole, he seems to have mistrusted *mawālī*, as may be reflected in a remark attributed to him: after the *mawālī* have mastered the rules of Arabic grammar, they are surely the first to corrupt them, cf. Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *ᶜIkd*, ed. Cairo 1948-53, ii, 478; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 69. *Mawālī* mentioned as the butt of al-Shaᶜbī's vitriol were among others Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, the celebrated teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], Ḥakam b. ᶜUtayba, Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām, and the self-styled Ḳurʾān exegete al-Suddī.

Moreover, al-Shaᶜbī figures in the *isnād* strands of innumerable historical *akhbār* the majority of which deal with the early conquest history of ᶜIrāḳ as recorded by Sayf b. ᶜUmar [*q.v.*] and a few other historians. Among these, the disproportionately large number of reports of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] genre is particularly striking. Appointed *ḳāḍī* by the governor of ᶜIrāḳ Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] (according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1347, in the year 100/718), he is said to have refused to combine his judgeship with nocturnal conversation (Ar. *samar*) with his employer. Besides, Shaᶜbī is recorded to have composed unusual rhymes (*awābid*), as well as high-class poetry. He allegedly boasted that he could recite poetry for a month without having to resort to repeats. The Umayyad caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik, who had sent his children to al-Shaᶜbī to be educated (Wakīᶜ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ii, 421-2; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 251) invited him to Damascus to engage in poetic contests with al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], and allegedly gave him and twenty members of his household and children each 2,000 dirhams annually; it is recorded that he also sent him to his brother ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, the then governor of Egypt (cf. *Aghānī*[3], xi, 20-6) as well as to the emperor of Byzantium, who is said to have been greatly impressed by al-Shaᶜbī (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 231).

As far as Shaᶜbī's use of *isnāds* is concerned, a case could be made for crediting him with an innovative device: in response to the *isnād* requirement instituted in the course of his life, he was the first man who thought of attributing reports which were in need of an *isnād* strand back to the Prophet to particularly long-lived informants, thus giving rise to the widely imitated *muᶜammar* [*q.v.*] phenomenon. One of the very few Companions in the technical sense of the term whose age at death "qualified" him as a *muᶜammar* and whose name was inserted in *isnād* strands back to Muḥammad was ᶜAdī b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*], and more extensively than anybody else, it was al-Shaᶜbī who relied heavily on ᶜAdī *isnād* strands, as ᶜAdī's *musnad* in the *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf* of al-Mizzī [*q.v.*] makes abundantly clear (cf. vii, 274-80). But a final analysis of al-Shaᶜbī's role in the proliferation of prophetic *ḥadīth* is something that still needs to be tackled.

All accounts of his life agree that al-Shaᶜbī became deeply involved in politics. Al-Ṭabarī, ii, 609-13 has preserved his eyewitness account of how al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd [*q.v.*] began his rebellion, which al-Shaᶜbī espoused. Later, he took fright and left for al-Madāʾin or Medina, as it says elsewhere. Here he is said to have met ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar [*q.v.*], who allegedly praised al-Shaᶜbī's knowledge of the *maghāzī* [*q.v.*], which he called greater than his own. His flirtation with Shīᶜī ideology is supposed to have come to an end because of the Shīᶜīs' *ifrāṭ* or exaggeration in religion, which he abhorred. In Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *ᶜIkd*, ii, 409, he is depicted as scathingly inveighing against the Rāfiḍīs. Eventually, having returned to ᶜIrāḳ, he is also described as having participated with the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*] in the insurrection of Ibn al-Ashᶜath [*q.v.*] against al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] in 80/699. This governor had reportedly always held al-Shaᶜbī in great esteem, so that he had appointed him the *ᶜarīf* [*q.v.*] of his clan and the *mankib* (= superintendent) of the Hamdān tribe. After this insurrection was put down, al-Shaᶜbī fled from the governor's revenge to the court of Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], where he enjoyed asylum for a time. Later, he allegedly returned to al-Ḥadjdjādj, apologised for his role in the rebellion and was subsequently pardoned. His confrontation with the governor has given rise to a long range of flowery anecdotes, which receive broad mention in historical as well as *adab* sources.

Bibliography: More or less extensive sections on al-Shaᶜbī are given in Ibn Saᶜd, vi, 171-8; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, index s.n.; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 227-34; Dhahabī, *Siyar aᶜlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, iv, 294-319; idem, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 79-88; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ᶜAbbās, iii, 12-5; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, xi, 249-63; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, v, 65-9. Abū Nuᶜaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, iv, 310-38, contains a long series of traditions most of which are spuriously ascribed to al-Shaᶜbī. He is, furthermore, credited with numerous bon mots and aphorisms which are scattered over early historical and *adab* works, cf. the indices s.n. of such sources as Fasawī, *K. al-Maᶜrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ᶜUyūn al-akhbār*; Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *ᶜIkd*; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*; etc. For al-Shaᶜbī's *awāʾil* reports, see the indices s.n. of Abū Hilāl al-ᶜAskarī, *K. al-Awāʾil*, ed. M. al-Miṣrī and Walīd Ḳaṣṣāb, Damascus 1975, and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasāʾil ilā musāmarat al-awāʾil*, ed. Asᶜad Talas, Baghdād 1950. For his use of *muᶜammarūn* in his *isnāds*, see *WZKM*, lxxxi (1991), 155-75. For his role in *ḥadīth*, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.n. (G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

SHABĪB B. SHAYBA, Abū Maᶜmar al-Minḳarī al-Tamīmī, orator, narrator of *akhbār* and author of many maxims preserved in various works of *adab* literature, was a man of high lineage of the Saᶜd b. Zayd Manāt branch of the Banū Tamīm at Basra. Khālid b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], the famous orator of the late Umayyad and early ᶜAbbāsid periods, also belonged to the same family as Shabīb. According to al-Djāḥiẓ (*al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, i, 355), they were cousins, but biographers also note a different lineage (e.g. al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix,

274). In any case, they are often mentioned together, and it is noted that their relationship, dictated by the ties of family and profession, was not always friendly (*Bayān*, i, 340; *Aghānī*, xx, 404-5). After serving for a short time as head of the *shurṭa* at Baṣra (Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ii, 60), Shabīb went to the new capital Baghdād, where he was admitted at court as companion and *littérateur* of the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. He is said to have had some influence, and he reports himself that he was regularly invited to meetings with al-Mahdī (Thaʿlab, *Madjālis*, ed. Hārūn, 413), who held him in esteem for his wise and witty statements. His acquaintance with the inner circles of power made him an authority for some historical *akhbār*. After about two decades, he returned to Baṣra. Ibn al-ʿImād includes Shabīb among the names of the deceased of the year 162/778-9, but it is more likely that he died some years later, "in the sixties" as al-Dhahabī (*Taʾrīkh al-Islām*) notes.

As a pious man, Shabīb included prophetic *ḥadīth* into his sayings. However, when the specialists of Islamic Tradition developed their criteria of censure, his testimony did not find approval, although his merits in the literary field were aknowledged by Ibn Ḥibbān and others (*K. al-Madjrūḥīn*, ed. Zāyid, i, 363 and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, xxxiv, 307). These merits are expressed by al-Djāḥiẓ in clear terms: in addition to his competent knowledge of style, Shabīb was distinguished by the dissemination of his sayings among the literati (*Bayān*, i, 317-18). The reason for this was, as it is witnessed by the quotations preserved in our sources, his mastery of the short sententious expression. This art was for him the true perfection of speech (*Bayān*, i, 112). *Adab* literature preserves examples of his eloquence in the oratory genres of admonition (*mawʿiẓa*), condolence (*taʿziya*) and general ethical topics. His repeated recommendations for the quest of *adab* are early references to this literary and social concept (e.g. *Madjālis Thaʿlab*, 257; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Bahdjat al-madjālis*, ed. al-Khūlī, i, 112; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 276). Besides maxims of his own, older examples of aphorisms and speeches appear in literature on his authority. A considerable number of the texts quoted from Shabīb show parallels which testify to a widespread and varied transmission of his sayings. Brockelmann already mentions him as a precursor of *adab* literature (Suppl. I, 105), and in spite of the fact that Shabīb did not compose books—Ibn al-Nadīm only names him among the *khuṭabāʾ* (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 139)—this view is confirmed by the materials preserved.

Bibliography (in addition to the literature mentioned): Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, vi (Index), 409-10; W. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, Berlin 1983, 385-7; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, iv, 260; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ed. Tadmurī, 257-9, years 161-70. For quotations from Shabīb, see also al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Akhbār al-Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, ed. al-ʿĀnī; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*; Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, ed. al-Nuʿaymī; etc. (S. LEDER)

SHABĪB B. YAZĪD b. Nuʿaym al-Shaybānī, Khāridjite leader of the early Umayyad period. A tribesman of the Banū Hammām b. Murra b. Dhuhl lineage of the Shaybān, Shabīb's father Yazīd b. Nuʿaym emigrated from al-Kūfa to the region of al-Mawṣil, and participated in Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī's raids along the northern frontier; during one of these Nuʿaym is said to have taken a wife, and the union produced Shabīb in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of year 25 (September/October 646) or 26 (September/October 647). Shabīb seems to have grown up in al-Mawṣil, perhaps in the town of Sātīdamā (on this toponym, see J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 274 ff.). Shabīb also served in the army, since he is said to have received a stipend and fought the Kurds, but at some undetermined time his name was dropped from the *dīwān*; the account preserved in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* and credited to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī says this was by reason of his absence from the muster call. In any case, several sources (al-Balādhurī, Ibn Aʿtham and al-Baghdādī) explain Shabīb's rebellion with reference to ʿAbd al-Malik's refusal to grant (or restore) his stipend.

Little specific is said about Shabīb's Khāridjite ideas, but his rebellion was certainly one of the most spectacular of the Umayyad period; it caught the fancy of Muslim and Christian historians alike, who portray Shabīb as a fearless guerrilla leader. His fighting men were drawn largely, but not exclusively, from the Banū Shaybān. According to Abū Mikhnaf, as preserved in al-Ṭabarī, in Djumādā I 76/September 695, Shabīb succeeded the pious and ascetic Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ (less frequently, Musarraḥ), when Ṣāliḥ was killed in battle against al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmayra al-Hamdānī at the village of al-Mudabbadj; Ṣāliḥ had earlier rebelled in the region of Dara, and Shabīb is counted among his men. However, other sources cast some doubt on Abū Mikhnaf's reconstruction of the events, presenting Ṣāliḥ's rebellion as separate from that of Shabīb's. Be this as it may, according to Sayf, Shabīb then led the remnants of Ṣāliḥ's force through al-Mawṣil and central ʿIrāḳ, scoring victories at Khāniḳīn and al-Nahrawān, and even appearing in al-Kūfa with 200 men; he then defeated Zāʾida b. Ḳudāma at Rūdhbār, and ʿUthmān b. Ḳaṭan al-Ḥārithī near the village of al-Batt, which lay on the southern borders of the province of al-Mawṣil, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 76/March 696. After 3 months of manoeuvring in early 77/mid-696, Shabīb eventually took al-Madāʾin, and now with perhaps 600 men, defeated ʿAttāb b. Warḳāʾ al-Riyāḥī, and threatened al-Kūfa. But his luck finally turned when a force of several thousand Syrians under the command of Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī routed him near al-Kūfa; after an indecisive battle at al-Anbār, he marched through Djūkha, Kirmān, and moved into al-Ahwāz. There, crossing the Dudjayl before the Syrians, he was drowned sometime near the end of 77/early 697. Other reports put his death in 78/697-8.

Despite Shabīb's defeat, the Khāridjites of al-Djazīra and al-Mawṣil continued to draw on the region's restive tribesmen, and the sources record a nearly unbroken succession of rebellions against the Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids; among these later Khāridjites the sources identify Shabīb's son Ṣuḥārī, who rebelled against the governor Khālid al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] in 119/737.

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Ṭabarī); A.A. Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705*, London 1971, 182-91 (based on Ṭabarī and Balādhurī).

(K.V. Zettersteén-[C.F. Robinson])

SHABISTARĪ [see maḥmūd shabistarī].

SHABṬŪN, an Andalusian *faḳīh* who was the grandson of a Syrian Arab who had entered the Iberian Peninsula either during the conquest or shortly after and who had left descendants in Cártama, Sidonia and Rayya. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zuhayr al-Lakhmī (d. 204/819) was the first member of the family to devote himself to *ʿilm*. He was known as Shabṭūn or Shabaṭūn, a word apparently of Romance origin and a *laḳab* given to other Andalusī scholars.

During his *riḥla* to the East, probably begun in 173/789, he studied with Ibn ʿUyayna and al-Layth b. Saʿd among others, although he is especially remembered as Mālik b. Anas's pupil. He is in fact credited with having been the first to introduce Mālik's *fiḳh* into al-Andalus, as before him Andalusians would have followed al-Awzāʿī's *madhhab*. According to another version, he was the first to introduce material of *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*. Although he is said to have actually introduced Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, this is clearly a later assumption. What he transmitted was his "audition" of Mālik's teachings, known as *samāʿ Ziyād*. This *samāʿ* was incorporated by al-ʿUtbī in his *Mustakhradja* and can be partially found in Ibn Rushd al-Djadd's commentary on the *Mustakhradja* entitled *K. al-Bayān* (see M. Fierro, in *Al-Qanṭara*, vi [1985], 576-8). It deserves to be studied as one of the earliest surviving legal transmissions in al-Andalus, especially important for the introduction of Medinan *fiḳh* into the Iberian Peninsula.

Once back in al-Andalus, he was offered the post of judge which he refused (possibly a *topos* to stress his asceticism and piety). The same refusal is attributed to Shabṭūn's most famous pupil, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, whose transmission of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* originates directly from Mālik (but see now N. Calder, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993, 20-38), except for some chapters of the *kitāb al-iʿtikāf* that Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā transmitted from Shabṭūn (Shabṭūn's contribution can be checked in the existing editions of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā's *riwāya* of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*).

Shabṭūn is also credited with having been the first to introduce the practice of wearing his cloak inside out during the prayer for rain (*al-istisḳāʾ*), a practice which was censured as magical. Shabṭūn was connected by marriage with the Andalusī judge and traditionist Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥimṣī. His descendants became one of the *buyūtāt al-ʿilm* of Cordova. As scholars, some of them fulfilled religious offices such as *ṣāḥib al-ṣalāt*, judge and *faḳīh mushāwar*. Another branch of the family was connected with Rayya (Málaga), the most important member being the judge ʿĀmir b. Muʿāwiya. The last-known member of the family died in 430/1038. The Banū Ziyād Shabṭūn in fact disappear, at least from public life, with the end of the Umayyad caliphate. These Banū Ziyād are sometimes confused in the sources with a family of judges also known as the Banū Ziyād who were not of Arab origin (on them see Fierro, *Tres familias*, 115-30).

Bibliography: All references can be found in Mª I. Fierro, *Tres familias andalusíes de época omeya apodadas "Banū Ziyād"*, in *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. V*, ed. M. Marín and J. Zanón, Madrid 1992, 89-102, and 102-15 for the rest of the family (for the statements made at 99, see now M. Fierro in *Al-Qanṭara*, xiii [1992], 473, n. 34).

(Maribel Fierro)

al-**SHĀBUSHTĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, littérateur of the Fāṭimid period, and librarian and boon-companion to the caliph al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96 [*q.v.*]), died at Fusṭāṭ in 388/988 or possibly in the succeeding decade. Ibn Khallikān explains the unusual cognomen Shābushtī as being a name of Daylamī origin, and not a *nisba*; an origin in *shāh pushtī* "he who guards the king's back" has been somewhat fancifully suggested.

Al-Shābushī's works included a *K. al-Yusr baʿd al-ʿusr*, a *Marātib al-fuḳahāʾ*, a *K. al-Tawḳīf wa 'l-takhwīf*, a *K. al-Zuhd wa 'l-mawāʿiẓ*, and collections of epistles and poetry. All these are lost, and his fame stems from his *K. al-Diyārāt* "Book of monasteries", extant in a Berlin ms. and now ed., with a good introd., by Gūrgīs ʿAwwād, ²Baghdād 1386/1966. This forms part of a minor genre of writing about monasteries, in which the author had been preceeded by the Khālidiyyānⁱ brothers, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ [*q.vv.*]. It deals with 37 Christian monasteries in ʿIrāḳ, plus a smaller number of those in al-Djazīra, Syria and Egypt, and is of high importance for cultural history, historical geography and literature. There emerges from it that the monasteries were places to which caliphs and other high men of state could retire for recreation, above all, for drinking parties, since the monasteries were leading centres for wine-making [see dayr]. A considerable amount of poetry is cited, including verses otherwise unknown.

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SHABWA, the name of the ancient capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

The name of this town appears in classical sources as Sabata (Strabo, *Geographica*, XVI, 4.2, according to Eratosthenes), Sabatha (Ptolemaios, *Geographia*, VI, 7.38), Sabbatha (*Periplus maris Erythraei*, 27) and Sabota (Pliny, *Natural history*, VI, 155; XII, 52). Ptolemaios calls the town a metropolis, and the *Periplus* additionally calls it the residence of the king, for whom silverware, horses, statues, and clothing of fine quality are imported. Pliny mentions as the chief place of the Atramitae Sabota a walled town containing sixty temples (*ibid.*, VI, 155), built on a high hill and situated a march of eight days away from the incense-producing region (*ibid.*, XII, 52). That the capital was also the religious and cultic centre of the kingdom seems to be confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

Shabwa, the geographical co-ordinates of which are lat. 15° 22′ N. and long. 47° 01′ E., is located about 700 m/2,300 feet above sea-level at the eastern border of the Ramlat al-Sabʾatayn on a hill at the mouth of the Wādī ʿAṭf, the lower course of the Wādī ʿIrma. The area was already inhabited during the Stone Age, and in the middle of the second millenium B.C. a settlement existed at the southern part of the later town. Shabwa was situated at the meeting-point of important caravan routes leading from the port of Ḳanaʾ at the Indian Ocean in the south and from the Djawl and the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt in the east to Timnaʿ, the capital of Ḳatabān [*q.v.*], and Mārib [*q.v.*], the capital of Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], as well as through the Ramlat al-Sabʾatayn and the Yemeni Djawf to

Nadjrān [*q.v.*] in the west and to al-ʿAbr further to the north.

The first epigraphic attestation of Ḥaḍramawt is to be found in the Old Sabaic inscription *RES* 3945, a record of Karibʾil Watar, from the 7th century B.C., in which the Ḥaḍramite king Yadaʿʾil is mentioned as an ally of the Sabaean king.

In the 5th century B.C. the first buildings on stone bases were erected in Shabwa and inscriptions in monumental script were set up. The cultural and political heyday of Shabwa was in the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. The mention of Shabwa in the epigraphic form *shbwt*, Shabwat, in Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions found outside of the capital (e.g. *Khor Rori* 1, 3, from the ancient town of Samārum at the coast of Ẓafār; *Jamme* 892 from Saʾnūn, the present-day Hānūn in the Ḳarāʾ Mountains of Ẓafār; *RES* 4912 from al-ʿUḳla, a fortress to the west of Shabwa) give evidence to the importance of the town.

The extensive research work carried out by the French Archaeological Mission in the ruins of the ancient town showed that, inside the fortified walls, tower dwellings were the most common architectural type of building in Shabwa. Materials for the construction of the houses were stone slabs, wooden beams and bricks of dry mud. A complex fortress with high foundations, a window-less base, many floors and with a courtyard surrounded by columns, turned out to be the royal castle. Its name *shkr*, Shaḳīr, was already known from Ḥaḍramitic and Sabaic inscriptions and from legends of coins, since the royal castle was also the mint of the Ḥaḍramite kingdom. Later, parts of the town and the royal castle were rebuilt, and the palace was splendidly decorated with sculptures and ornaments manifesting local traditions as well as Hellenistic influences. During the first decades of the fourth century A.D., the Ḥimyarite kings put an end to the independent kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt, and at the beginning of the 5th century the town of Shabwa began to decay.

The Arabic geographers of the Middle Ages knew of the ruins of the former metropolis only an insignificant settlement still called Shabwa, a name which has survived until today. Al-Hamdānī speaks of a province (*mikhlāf*) Shabwa, the inhabitants of which are the Ashbāʾ (the supposed descendants of a certain Shabāʾ, a grandson of Ḥaḍramawt; cf. *Iklīl*, ii, ed. M. al-Akwaʿ, Cairo 1966, 372, l. 5-373, l. 1), the Ayzūn (i.e. the Yazanids), and also Ṣudāʾ and Ruḥāʾ (*Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 98, 20). According to the same author, Shabwa is situated between Bayḥān and Ḥaḍramawt and is a town belonging to the Ḥimyar. One of the two mountains of salt lies in its neighbourhood. When the Ḥimyar waged war on the Madhḥidj [*q.v.*], the people of Shabwa emigrated from their town and settled in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, where Shibām was allegedly named after them (*Ṣifa*, 87, ll. 23-5). The fact that Shabwa is considered as belonging to the Ḥimyar may reflect the situation of late pre-Islamic times when Ḥaḍramawt had become part of the Ḥimyarite realm. In another passage, al-Hamdānī enumerates Shabwa among the strongholds of Ḥaḍramawt (*Iklīl*, viii, ed. al-Akwaʿ, Damascus 1979, 157, l. 5). Until today, salt of good quality is mined from two mountains to the north of Shabwa, called Milḥ Maḳʿa and Milḥ Khashʿa, and from two mountains to the south-west of it, called Milḥ Kharwa and Ḥayd al-Milḥ near ʿAyāḍ. Yāḳūt writes that Shabwa is a station on the main road from the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt to Mecca (*Muʿdjam*, iii, 257, l. 14), and in another passage he mentions that it is the place where the grave of the prophet Ṣāliḥ is supposed to be (iv, 184, ll. 17-18). The notice that in Shabwa one sells a load of dates for one dirham (Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1975, 347) indicates that the surroundings of the town must still have been fertile in the Islamic Middle Ages.

H. Helfritz was the first European who succeeded in reaching Shabwa during an adventurous journey in 1934. In 1936 H.St.J.B. Philby, coming from the north-west, visited the ancient town, gave a detailed report on the existing ruins and drew a plan of Shabwa. The first small excavation in the ruins of Shabwa was undertaken in 1938 by R.A.B. Hamilton. In December 1974 a French Archaeological Mission under the direction of Jacqueline Pirenne and subsequently of J.-Fr. Breton started excavations at the site of Shabwa which have given a deep insight into the two millennia of the ancient history of this important settlement.

The ruins of Shabwa are so extensive that, within the area of the ancient town, there are the three villages of Hadjar, Mathnā and Maywān, which are inhabited by members of the tribes of the Karab and Āl Burayk. In the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and in the present Republic of Yemen, Shabwa has given its name to a governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) which reaches from the Saudi Arabian border to the Indian Ocean and includes an area of 37,910 km². The governorate of Shabwa is divided into four administrative districts (*mudīriyyāt*), and its capital city is ʿAtaḳ. In the recent past, the region around Shabwa has become economically important because of the exploitation of the oilfields which have been discovered there.

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(W.W. Müller, shortened by the Editors)

SHADD (a.) either the act of girding with an initiatic belt or girdle, as practised by the chivalrous sodalities (the exponents of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]), the trade guilds (*aṣnāf*, see below, 2., and ṣinf), and certain Ṣūfī orders, or the belt or girdle itself. To the Arabic *shadd* in its verbal meaning correspond the Turkish expressions *ṣedd kuṣatmak*, *kuṣak kuṣatmak*, and *bel bağlamak*, and the Persian *kamar bastan*. The origin of the custom has been attributed to the *kustī*, the sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians, for whom, however, girding on the *kustī* was a rite of passage into manhood, not of initiation into a closed society; moreover, the

symbolism attributed to this girdle—a separation of the noble from the ignoble parts of the body—found no reflection in any of the groups practising *shadd* (J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, 114-15). In Islam, the initiatic belt was regarded pimarily as a symbol of steadfastness and submissiveness (Süleyman Uludağ, *Tasavvuf terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1991, 447-8).

1. In futuwwa and in Ṣūfism.

Handbooks of *futuwwa* assert that the first initiatic belt was that which Adam girded on at the behest of Gabriel as a token of fidelity to his terrestrial mission as divine viceregent (Neşet Çağatay, *Bir Türk kurumu olan ahilik*, ²Konya 1981, 181). By way of reaffirming this primordial covenant, Gabriel wound a similar belt around the waist of the Prophet Muḥammad, and he in turn girded it on ʿAlī. Next, those of the Companions who came to be regarded as the patrons of various crafts and trades were invested with a *shadd*, either directly by the Prophet or by ʿAlī acting under his instructions. As an honorary member of the Prophet's household, Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] is also said to have participated in this activity (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *İA*, art. *Şedd*). No Ḳurʾānic reference could be adduced to vindicate the practice of girding; however, the words of Moses referring to Aaron in XX, 31, *ashdud bihi azrī* ("strengthen my back by means of him") are sometimes cited as alluding to the *shadd* (F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, Zurich and Munich 1979, 162).

Among the *fityān*, the girding on of the *shadd* was accompanied by the recitation of various prayers that always included mention of ʿAlī, who was regarded as the fountain head of the tradition; mention of all Twelve Imāms was also common, particularly from the 8th/14th century onwards. A further echo of the putative ʿAlid origins of *futuwwa* was the practice of associating one end of the belt with Ḥasan and the other with Ḥusayn; the latter was to be kept longer than the former, as an indication of the primacy of the Ḥusaynid over the Ḥasanid line of descent (Çağatay, 45-7). At the time of initiation, the belt would be handed to the candidate for *futuwwa* by a companion (*rafīḳ*), whose duty it was to assist him in his further progress; and the ceremony of girding would be concluded with the drinking of salted water (*shurb*), water signifying wisdom and salt, justice (Taeschner, 139).

The *shadd* was usually knotted, rather than being held together by a buckle, and it would be wound around the waist a varying odd number of times. It was usually made of wool, although other materials such as leather, rope and cloth were also acceptable; the only condition was that the *shadd* should not resemble the *zunnār*, the distinctive girdle *dhimmīs* were required to wear (Murtaḍā Ṣarrāf, *Rasāʾil-i Djawānmardān*, Tehran and Paris 1973, 77). It is worth noting that despite this stipulation, Jews and Christians were permitted to join the *futuwwa* brotherhoods, particularly if there was reason to hope they might come to accept Islam, conversion being, in fact, a condition of their proceeding beyond the stage of girding on the belt (Taeschner, 116).

The novice girded with a belt was known as *mashdūd* ("girded") or, more fully, *mashdūd al-waṣt* ("girded of waist"), and counted as a probationary member of the brotherhood; full initiation, referred to as *takmīl* ("completion") and symbolised by the putting of ritual trousers (*sirwāl*/*shalwār*) [see SIRWĀL], came later. The ceremony of *shadd* was said to correspond to *nikāḥ*, the conclusion of a marriage contract, and that of *takmīl* to the consummation of marriage (Taeschner, 141; Sarrāf, 77).

Similar procedures accompanied the girding on of the initiatic belt in the craft guilds, except that in the accompanying prayers mention would generally be made of a Companion of the Prophet believed to have practised the craft in question. Although Jews and Christians sometimes organised their own guilds, they were also admitted to those established by Muslims; in 19th-century Syria, they would recite the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer respectively as the *shadd* was bound on (Taeschner, 585). Each guild, especially in Ottoman Turkey, had its own distinctive form of *shadd* and method of folding and knotting it (Çağatay, 156-7; Gölpınarlı, 380).

The fraternities of brigands known as *ʿayyār* [*q.v.*] which may be designated as a degenerate manifestation of *futuwwa* also resorted to the girding on of initiatic belts. This is apparent from the advice given in 532/1138 by Abu 'l-Karam, the governor of Baghdād, to his nephew, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, that as a precautionary measure he should have himself girded with a belt by Ibn Bakrān, an *ʿayyār* chieftain then threatening the city (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 24).

The custom of *shadd* was relatively uncommon among Ṣūfīs, for whom the major initiatic garment was the cloak or *khirḳa* [*q.v.*]; in fact, an explicit parallel was sometimes drawn between the belt and trousers of the *fityān* and the *khirḳa* of the mystics (see e.g. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1340/1922, 241). Nonetheless, certain Ṣūfī orders did use the binding on of a girdle as part of their initiatic rites, undoubtedly as a borrowing from the traditions of *futuwwa*. It is tempting to suppose that this borrowing first took place under the auspices of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]), for he was simultaneously a Ṣūfī and an initiate of the caliph al-Nāṣir's courtly *futuwwa* (the assumption is made by J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 35). However, al-Suhrawardī's only reference to *shadd* in his celebrated manual of Ṣūfī practice comes in the context of travelling, where he remarks that binding up the waist (*shadd al-waṣt*) before setting out on a journey forms part of the Prophet's *sunna* (*ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, printed as a supplement to Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Beirut n.d., v, 95). The connection between *shadd* and travelling is confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of travelling Ṣūfīs arriving at the *khānaḳāhs* of Cairo as *mashdūd al-waṣt* and carrying with them other essential appurtenances of a journey: a staff, a jug for ablutions, and a prayer mat (*Riḥla*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut 1384/1964, 38, tr. Gibb, i, 45). Another passage in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa confirms that the girdle generally had a utilitarian not a ritual function in Ṣūfism; he recalls meeting in Hurmuz with a certain *shaykh* from Anatolia who gave him a belt—here the Persian word *kamar* is used—that supported the body of the wearer "as if he were leaning against something", and adds that "most Persian dervishes" (*akthar fuḳarāʾ al-ʿadjam*) wore such belts (*Riḥla*, 274).

The principal Ṣūfī orders using belts or girdles for cultic purposes were the Mewlewīs and the Bektāshīs, a circumstance accounted for by the ubiquity of *futuwwa* (or of *akhilik*, its Turkish equivalent) in Anatolia during the period of their genesis in the 8th/14th century. The Mewlewīs wore a woollen girdle known as the *elifi nemed*, so called because with its tapering end when laid out flat it resembled the letter *alif*. A cord long enough to be twisted around the waist twice was attached to the end of the *elifi nemed* (Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî âdâb ve erkânı*, Istanbul 1963, 16-17). A second type of woollen girdle, known as the *tīghbend* (literally, "swordbelt"), was worn only

during the Mewlewī dance, in order to hold in place during its initial stages the ample skirt of the garment known as the *tennūre* (*ibid.*, 44).

The *tīghbend* held a central place in Bektāshī ritual and belief. According to their tradition, the caliph Hishām wished to hang the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], but the first time the rope was twisted around his neck he invoked the name of God and was saved, only a knot remaining in the rope. The second and third times the Imām invoked the names of the Prophet and ʿAlī respectively, giving rise to two further knots. When preparations were being made for a renewed attempt to hang the Imām, one of his followers by the name of Muʾmin ʿAyyār suggested that a rope made from the wool of a freshly slaughtered ram would be more effective, as he then demonstrated by hanging himself in front of the Imām's cell. Duly impressed, the caliphal agents went to hang the Imām using the same rope, but the Imām had peacefully breathed his last at precisely the moment Muʾmin ʿAyyār had hung himself. The Bektāshī *tīghbend*, also fashioned from ram's wool, was intended to be a replica of this rope, and it thus served as a symbol of self-sacrifice and commitment. Its girding on was the second element (after the donning of a skullcap) in the Bektāshī ceremony of initiation known as *iḳrār*. The three knots tied into the *tīghbend* symbolised both the names of the Bektāshī trinitarian scheme (God, the Prophet and ʿAlī) and the threefold ethical injunction of Bektāshism (restraining the hand from stealing, the tongue from lying and the loins from sexual transgression) (Aḥmed Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt ul-maḳāṣid fī defʿ il-mefāsid*, Istanbul 1293/1876, 268-70; J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London 1937, 170, 181, 192, 234-5).

Other Ṣūfī orders said to have practised the *shadd* in Ottoman Turkey and—under Turkish influence—the Arab lands, include the Wafāʾiyya, Rifāʿiyya, Saʿdiyya, and Badawiyya (Trimingham, 185, n. 1; Pakalın, iii, 314). In Persia, the girding on of an initiatory belt is recorded for the Khāksār dervishes. The seven folds of the Khāksār girdle (*kamar*) signified the discarding of seven "instinctual fetters" (*band-i nafsānī*), i.e. vices, and the fixing in their place of seven "divine fetters" (*band-i raḥmānī*), i.e. virtues. The fact that the Khāksār, like the Bektāshīs, slaughtered a ram as part of their initiatic ceremonies points to the likelihood of a common source for the practices of both groups (Sayyid Muhammad ʿAlī Khwādja al-Dīn, *Kashkūl-i khāksārī*, Tabriz 1360 Sh./1981, 69-75; R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil, die Affiliationen*, in *AKM*, XXXVI 1, 80, *Dritter Teil, Brauchtum und Riten*, in *AKM*, XLV 2, 95-6).

It should be noted that the Ottoman practice of having a Ṣūfī *shaykh* gird a sword-belt on a newly-installed sultan, first documented for Murād II (824-48/1421-44 and 850-5/1446-51) was a reflection of *shadd* as practised both in *futuwwa* and in Turkish Ṣūfī orders (Çağatay, 45; Mustafa Kara, *Din, hayat, sanat açısından tekkeler ve zaviyeler*, ²Istanbul 1980, 166-8). It may finally be observed that the tradition of *shadd* may have predisposed certain Turkish Ṣūfīs to adopt freemasonry, with its comparable custom of initiatic girdling (Th. Zarcone, *Mystiques, philosophes et franc-maçons en Islam*, Paris 1993, 312).

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(Hamid Algar)

2. In the trade guilds.

Under its corporate aspect, the practice of *shadd* is attested from the 16th to the 19th century in the Arab lands of the Near East; the guilds in the Maghrib did not apparently know this initiation rite.

There have been numerous descriptions of the *futuwwa* and the *shadd* ceremony (with divergencies over details) all through the period of the Ottoman empire. The main ones are to be found in the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir* (ms. Gotha 903, studied by Goldziher, Thorning and Baer) and in four mss. of the *K. al-Futuwwa*, all closely related to each other and concerning, like the preceding work, Egypt (Gotha ms. 906, used by Thorning, and three B.N. mss., arabe 1375-7, used by Massignon), whose dates of copying extend between 1653 (Gotha 906) and 1733 (B.N. 1377) and which relate to the situation in the 16th and 17th centuries. These texts give lists of the guilds and their masters (*pīr*), tracing the history of the *shadd*, received by Muḥammad from Djibrīl, handed on to ʿAli, and then handed on by ʿAlī to seventeen masters in the first place, beginning with Salmān al-Fārisī, who then proceeds to the *shadd* of other masters (whose number varies in the texts from 50 to 58). The texts then describe the initiation ceremony. Ewliyā Čelebi gives information on the guilds and the *futuwwa* at Istanbul and Cairo. Al-Djabartī mentions a very similar ritual (without mentioning the term *shadd*). The ceremony itself is described in detail, in an essentially similar form, by Jomard (*Description de l'Egypte*) and Lane (*Modern Egyptians*), and, for Damascus at the end of the 19th century, by Qoudsī.

The ceremony of the *shadd* took place at the point of reaching the status of master of a craft (*muʿallim*). It is unclear whether there was a *shadd* ceremony for the entry of the apprentice into his profession (mentioned by the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir*); it may be that the usage fell into disuse. When the apprentice was considered expert enough in his trade to open a workshop or shop, he was brought to the *shaykh* of the guild, who examined him and, if he found him qualified, summoned a meeting, through the *naḳīb* (his assistant and the master of ceremonies), of the masters of the trade. On a fixed day, those invited gathered together. The *naḳīb* brought forward the petitioner to the *shaykh* who, after reciting the *Fātiḥa*, proceeded to instal him according to a ritual laid down in minute detail. He tied a girdle round the upper part of the neophyte's body, making in it knots, between three and six or seven in number, in the accounts of the various authors, according to the number of important master craftsmen of the trade who were present. Each knot had a symbolic meaning and was untied by the candidate's master, the *shaykh* and one of his assistants. When the ceremony, punctuated by recitations of the *Fātiḥa*, was over, the young man was considered to be *mashdūd*. The *shaykh* gave him various pieces of advice. Then a feast (*walīma*) was given, at the expense of the petitioner. There may perhaps have been a similar ceremony for the elevation of someone to the office of *shaykh*.

This ceremony (*shadd al-walad*) was the corporate usage which lasted longest, but in a more and more restricted number of trades. Lane, in *ca.* 1830, mentions it for the carpenters, the wood-turners, the barbers, the tailors and the bookbinders. ʿAlī Pasha cites the barbers, the keepers of baths and the shoemakers. It was, in fact, amongst the shoemakers (*ṣarmātiyya*) (Mahmoud Sedky, *La corporation des cordonniers*, in *Revue Egyptienne* [1912]) and the coppersmiths (*naḥḥāsīn*) (Mohamed Cherkess el-Husseine, *Images*, Cairo 1947) that the last echoes of it, well into the 20th century, were to be found. The inevitable decline of the trade guilds, because of the modernisation of the Egyptian economy, explains the progressive disappearance of these traditions. The same thing happened in Syria, where the very detailed picture given by E. Qoudsī in 1885 of these usages (largely similar to

those of Cairo) clearly reflects a situation largely outdated.

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SHADDĀD b. ʿĀD, a personage associated with the legendary town of Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād, to whom is attributed its foundation. For information on him, see ʿĀD and IRAM. (T. Fahd)

SHADDĀD b. ʿAMR b. Ḥisl b. al-Adjabb ... al-Ḳurashī al-Fihrī, Companion of the Prophet (*ṣaḥābī*), as also his son AL-MUSTAWRID, who transmitted on the authority of his father.

It is unknown when he was born or when he died. But since his son was also a Companion, he must have been of a certain age in the earliest Islamic period. But contrariwise, there is known a tradition of his from the Islamic period, transmitted by his son from Shaddād and going back to the Prophet Muḥammad himself, "I went along to the Prophet's side ... took his hand, and lo, it was softer than silk and colder than snow" (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 141 no. 3855; on the vocalisation of the name Ḥisl (*sic*) and of Fihr, see Caskel-Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 324, 246, and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabāʾil al-ʿarab*, ⁵Beirut 1985, i, 271, iii, 929).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (R.G. Khoury)

SHADDĀDIDS or Banū Shaddād, a minor dynasty of Arrān and eastern Armenia which flourished from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th century (*ca.* 340-570/*ca.* 951-1174), with a main line in Gandja and Dwīn [*q.vv.*] and a junior, subsequent one in Ānī [*q.v.*] which persisted long after the end of the main branch under Saldjūḳ and latterly Ildeñizid suzerainty.

There seems no reason to doubt the information in the history of the later Ottoman historian Münedjdjim Bashī that the Shaddādids were in origin Kurdish. Their ethnicity was complicated by the fact that they adopted typically Daylamī names like Lashkarī and Marzubān and even Armenian ones like Ashot, but such phenomena merely reflect the ethnic diversity of northwestern Persia and eastern Transcaucasia at this time.

Around 340/951 the adventurer Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. Ḳ.r.ṭ.ḳ established himself in Dwīn whilst the Musāfirid Daylamī ruler of Ādharbaydjān Marzubān b. Muḥammad was pre-occupied with various of his enemies, including Kurdish and other Daylamī rivals, the Arab Ḥamdānids, the Rūs [*q.v.*] and the Būyids (who eventually captured and imprisoned Marzubān) [see MUSĀFIRIDS]; but Ibn Shaddād was unable to hold on to Dwīn and had to flee into the Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan. Muḥammad's eldest son Lashkarī (d. 368/978-9) in 360/971 seized Gandja and made the Shaddādids an independent power, ending Musāfirid influence in Arrān and expanding northwards into Shamkūr in Transcaucasia and eastwards to Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*]. After the short reign of Muḥammad's second son Marzubān, the third son Faḍl (I) began a long reign (375-422/986-1031) and, in general, expanded the Shaddādid territories from his base in Arrān. He combatted neighbouring Armenian princes, recovered Dwīn from them in *ca.* 413/1022, and occupied the territories of the Armenicised Hungarian Sevordikʿ to the west of Shamkūr. His campaigns against the Armenian Bagratids of Tashir, who had styled themselves "kings of [Caucasian] Albania", Ałvankʿ, and the Georgians, met with varying fortunes, but in 421/1030, after a successful foray into Georgia, he was intercepted by the Georgian king Liparit and the Armenian one David Anhołin of Tashir and his forces disastrously defeated. He had in 418/1027 constructed a fine bridge over the Araxes river [see AL-RASS], possibly in anticipation of an incursion into the Rawwādids' [*q.v.*] territory of Ādharbaydjān.

By this time, the whole region was becoming confused and unstable, with strong Byzantine pressure on the Armenian princes and with increasing raids from the Turkmen Oghuz bands, who were eventually to establish Saldjūḳ suzerainty over Ādharbaydjān and Arrān; thus the chroniclers record an attack on Shaddādid Gandja by Ḳutlumush b. Arslan Isrāʾīl [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 5] in 437/1045-6 or 438/1046-7. ʿAlī Lashkarī b. Faḍl (I) (425-40/1034-49) had a successful and prosperous reign; he was praised by the Persian poet Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*], who frequented his court at Gandja, amongst other things for a major victory over the joint forces of the rulers of Armenia and Georgia; but towards the end of his reign, he was besieged in Gandja by the Oghuz, mentioned above, and relief only came from the imminent approach of a Byzantine and Georgian army.

Lashkarī's brother Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur (I) had ruled in Dwīn as a vassal of the elder members of the Shaddādid family—in effect as an autonomous prince—since 413/1022, in the face of increasing Greek pressure on the region which culminated in Byzantine operations against Dwīn and Ānī. In 441/1049-50 he took over power in Gandja also, and ruled as the last great independent Shaddādid until 459/1067. Although married to a sister of the Armenian king of Tashir David Anhołin (whence, doubtless, the name Ashūṭ given to his second son), Abu 'l-Aswār achieved a great contemporary reputation as a *ghāzī* against the infidels and he restored the Shaddādid principality to much of its former glory in Arrān and Shamkūr. But after the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg had made the Rawwādids of Ādharbaydjān his tributaries at Tabrīz, the sultan came to Gandja in 446/1054 and Abu 'l-Aswār became his vassal also. In the latter part of his reign, he participated in the Turkmen expansion into Armenian and eastern Anatolia, and he further combatted his kinsmen the Yazīdī Shirwān-Shāhs [*q.v.*] in Shirwān to the north of Arrān and repelled raids by the Alans or Ās [see ALĀN] of the central Caucasus.

But in the end, the Saldjūḳs imposed direct rule over Arrān and brought about the end of Shaddādid power there. Abu 'l-Aswār's son Faḍl (II) was captured by the Georgians, and the Shirwān-Shāh Farīburz b. Sallār invaded Arrān. When sultan Alp

Arslan's eunuch commander Sāwtigin passed through Arrān in 460/1068, the dissensions within the Shaddādid ruling family were apparent to the Saldjūk ruler, and when Sāwtigin appeared for a second time in 468/1075, the rule of Faḍl (III) b. Faḍl (II) was ended and the Shaddādids' territories were annexed to the Great Saldjūḳ empire.

However, the branch installed by the Saldjūḳs at Ānī continued for another century or so. Ānī, the capital of the Armenian Bagratids, had been taken over from them by the Byzantines, but in 456/1064 was conquered by Alp Arslan. Certainly by 464/1072, and probably before then, the Shaddādid Abū Shudjā' Manūčihr b. Abi 'l-Aswār (I) (d. *ca.* 512/1118?) was governing the city. The history of the Shaddādids of Ānī is known only sketchily. We no longer have for them an Islamic source comparable to the information on the main line in Gandja found in Münedjdjim Bashî and going up to 468/1075-6. We do know that Manūčihr, with help from his Great Saldjūḳ suzerains, had to fight off attacks by the Artuḳid Il Ghāzī of Mārdīn [see ARTUḲIDS] and by the latter's vassals such as Ḳîzîl Arslan (sometimes called in the Arabic sources al-Sabuʿ al-Aḥmar "the Red Lion"), of the region to the south of Lake Van; but the Shaddādids seem to have held on to Dwīn till 498/1104-5. In the reign of Manūčihr's son and successor Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur (II), the Georgian king David the Restorer (1089-1125) recaptured Ānī for the Christians and replaced the Muslim crescent emblem on the Armenian cathedral there by the cross, but it was recovered for the Muslims by Abu 'l-Aswār (II)'s son Faḍl or Faḍlūn (III) (d. 524/1130), who also retook Dwīn and Gandja. Nevertheless, the Shaddādid pricipality of Ānī remained under Georgian overlordship, and few facts are known about the Shaddādid *amīrs* of the middle decades of the century. After internal unrest within Ānī itself the Georgians occupied the city in 556/1161, carrying off Faḍlūn (IV) b. Maḥmūd b. Manūčihr, and shortly afterwards sacked Dwīn and Gandja also. It was Eldigüz or Ildeñiz [*q.v.*] who regained Ānī in 559/1164, and the historian of Mayyāfāriḳīn al-Fāriḳī records that its governorship was given by him to a Shaddādid, Shāhanshāh (b. Maḥmūd) b. Manūčihr; he ruled there until the Georgians once again conquered Ānī in 570/1174-5. Thereafter, the Shaddādids fade from mention, except that a Persian inscription in Ānī of 595/1198-9 was apparently made by "Sulṭān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāwur b. Manūčihr al-Shaddādī", whom Minorsky identified with the brother of Faḍlūn (IV), Shāhanshāh (= Sulṭān in Arabic).

The family thus disappears from history; the Anī branch, at least, had been notable for its beneficent rule over both Muslims and Christians of this ethnically and religiously very mixed region, echoing the similar, generally just treatment of the Muslims in their own lands by the Georgian kings.

Bibliography: The passages of the anonymous *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb* preserved in Münedjdjim Bashî's *Taʾrīkh al-Duwal* (for the main branch of the Shaddādids) and of Fāriḳī's *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn* (for the Ānī branch) were translated, with a copious and penetrating commentary, by V. Minorsky in his *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 1-10 (survey of earlier literature at 2-3, genealogical table of the main line at 6 and of the Ānī branch at 106); see also his *A history of Sharvan and Darband*, Cambridge 1958. Of both the earlier and subsequent literature, see E.D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan dynasties*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215-19; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, Tehran 1928-30, iii, 264-313; Cl. Cahen, *L'Iran du Nord-Ouest face à l'expansion Seldjukide d'après une source inédite*, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1342/1963, 65-71 (information from Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī); Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 73; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 239-43; Bosworth, in *ibid.*, v, 34-5; and for inscriptions at Gandja and Ānī, Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxania*, Leiden 1992, index s.v. Shaddad(i).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**SHĀDHILĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*ca.* 593-656/*ca.* 1196-1258), one of the great figures in the Ṣūfism of the brotherhoods. His teachings launched a *ṭarīḳa* which gave birth to numerous, dynamic ramifications. These developed and have constituted a mystical tradition very widespread in North Africa and equally present in the rest of the Islamic world, as far as Indonesia.

Al-Shādhilī's life is known to us through the texts compiled by his disciples, often late and in a clearly hagiographical mould. It is thus hard to distinguish the historic personage from what pious legend or the archetype of the *walī* has brought forward. Yet one can sketch out the course of life of one of the most famous saints of Maghribī Islam. The most important sources here are the *Laṭāʾif al-minan* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 709/1309; ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Maḥmūd, Cairo 1974) and the *Durrat al-asrār* of Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 724/1323; Brockelmann, S II, 147, which places his work *ca.* 751/1350, to be corrected; ed. Tunis 1304/1886). There is also the synthesis of Ibn ʿIyād (sometimes written Ibn ʿAyyād and even Ibn ʿAbbād), the *Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1355/1937, much later than the previous two sources since it cites al-Suyūṭī, Zarrūḳ (9th/15th century) and al-Shaʿrānī (10th/16th century).

Al-Shādhilī was born in northern Morocco, in the Ghumāra country between Ceuta and Tangiers in *ca.* 583/1187 or ten years later, according to the sources. He claimed descent from the Prophet via al-Ḥasan. He studied the various religious sciences in Fās, was tempted for some time to follow alchemy, but abandoned it for the mystical way in its proper sense. Seeking instruction from the great masters of his time, and seeking especially to meet the Pole [see ḲUṬB], he left for the East, sc. ʿIrāḳ, in 615/1218, where he continued his education, notably with the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 632/1234), disciple and *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Rifaʿī [see RIFĀʿIYYA]. One master (*baʿḍ al-awliyāʾ*, according to *Durra*, 4), nevertheless suggested that he should return to the Maghrib to seek out the Pole of the age. Back in his homeland, Morocco, al-Shādhilī recognised the Pole in the person of the hermit of the Rīf, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (d. 625/1228 [*q.v.*]). He stayed with the latter for several years, until ʿAbd al-Salām suggested that he should travel to Ifrīḳiya; it is not impossible that al-Shādhilī's departure was motivated by local disturbances, in the course of which ʿAbd al-Salām was murdered. We do not know exactly why he decided to settle precisely in the village of Shādhila, half-way between Tunis and Ḳayrawān, nor why he henceforth began to be called by the *nisba* of al-Shādhilī—which a flash of divine inspiration offered him the interpretation of *al-Shādhdh lī* "the man set apart for My service and My love" (*Durra*, 10). But his teaching and personal influence speedily acquired a great fame in the land. Numerous miraculous happenings were attributed to him; he is said to have been in touch with al-Khaḍir. His influence displeased the *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḳayrawān, who launch-

ed against him a campaign of denigration, accusing him of proclaiming himself a "Fāṭimid"—an allegation which was possibly not entirely alien to al-Shādhilī's conviction (since, as we have seen, he was of Sharīfian origin) that he was the Pole of his age. He finally decided to leave Ifrīḳiya when a Pilgrimage caravan was departing. He settled in Egypt, an attractive and welcoming land for Ṣūfīs, at Alexandria in 1244 or perhaps only as late as 1252. The success of his teaching and his prestige grew unceasingly, including in the eyes of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and numerous pupils came to Alexandria from distant parts of the Islamic world to gain a spiritual and ascetic training from him. As a fervent observer of the duties of Islam, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī made the Pilgrimage as often as he could, and it was in the course of a journey to the Holy Places that in 656/1258 he died at al-Ḥumaythirā in the Upper Egyptian desert.

Al-Shādhilī left behind no writings on doctrinal matters (deliberately thus, according to *Laṭāʾif*, 37-8). The only writings which we have from him are some letters, litanies and prayers. The essential core of his teachings was transmitted by his pupils (see above, and in *Bibl.*) in the form of collections of "sayings", words of wisdom and edifying and miraculous anecdotes. In these he develops the themes of a moderate Ṣūfism, attentive to the material life of his disciples and respectful of social cohesion. Basically, it is a question of a strict and unequivocal Sunnī spirituality. The putting into practice of the *Sharīʿa* is here the indispensable framework of the faith, equally valid for Ṣūfīs and for ordinary believers; by the practice of the virtues, the Ṣūfī purifies the mirror of his soul and becomes fit to undertake the mystical pilgrimage. The *faḳīr* who is a bad practitioner of these requirements is *ipso facto* severely blamed. In a more general way, the mystic should keep a deep humility in face of what has been provided by revelation. "If your mystical unveiling (*kashf*) diverges from the Ḳurʾān and Sunna, hold fast to these last two and take no notice of your unveiling; tell yourself that the truth of the Ḳurʾān and Sunna is guaranteed by God Most High, which is not the case with unveiling inspiration and mystical perceptions" (al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, ii, 4; see also *Durra*, 34).

Al-Shādhilī's counsels on spiritual orientation likewise recall traditional Ṣūfism. Recurrent themes of them are the abandonment of earthly concerns, the struggle against the carnal soul and acceptance of the fate which befalls one. These counsels are not directed at ascetics but at pious believers engaged in the social life; "the Way does not involve monastic life (*rahbāniyya*), nor living off barley or flour-siftings; the way involves patience in the accomplishing of the divine commands and the certainty of being well-guided" (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 6; *Durra*, 86). Numerous of the master's locutions stress the necessity of a detachment essentially internal and without ostentation (see e.g. *Durra*, 138), at times displaying *malāmatī* overtones. Begging (*Laṭāʾif*, 143) and even wearing special clothing are condemned by al-Shādhilī, who moreover himself chose to dress with a certain elegance. He showed himself circumspect in the use of *samāʿ* [*q.v.*] (*Durra*, 104) and did not take part in sessions which induced trances or spectacular phenomena (walking on fire, piercing the flesh), as with the Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*]. The core of his Ṣūfī practice was the constant remembrance of God by means of jaculatory prayers and litanies, plus spiritual firmness in the face of the material trials and hardships of the individual life.

The mystical experience towards which al-Shādhilī endeavoured to guide his disciples was laid out in a practical way and not an abstractly doctrinal one. Although he himself had been trained in theology, he saw no spiritual value in the speculative and independent exercise of reason (see e.g. *Durra*, 34, 91), and the hagiographical sources show us al-Shādhilī combatting and converting Muʿtazilī disputants (*ibid.*, 23). God is the original source of the conscience, not an object of knowledge; how could He be approached through concrete things, when it is only through Him that these things are known? (*Laṭāʾif*, 92). Al-Shādhilī develops very little the doctrinal consequences of the experience of *fanāʾ*—unity of existence, identification of the devotee with his Lord—but goes back to the actual spiritual experience itself: "The Ṣūfī sees his own existence as being like dust (*habāʾ*) floating in the air—neither as existence nor as annihilation, just as it is in the knowledge of God" (al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 8; *Durra*, 90). He recommends to his disciples the greatest possible discretion concerning their spiritual conditions, so as not to become at the same time puffed up with pride in regard to others and uselessly to hurt the susceptibilities of ordinary believers: "If you wish to reach the irreproachable Way, speak like someone who is apart from God, at the same time keeping union with Him present in your secret heart" (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 7; see also *Durra*, 30).

Another aspect of the spiritual teaching of al-Shādhilī is the number and the important function of prayers (*adʿiya*) and litanies (*aḥzāb*) which he left to his disciples. These prayers often relate to specific situations, e.g. spiritual or material distress (cf. *Durra*, ch. iii; al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 6, 9). The *aḥzāb* most often recited are the very popular *ḥizb al-baḥr* (inspired directly by the Prophet, cf. *Durra*, 51), the *ḥ. al-kabīr* (or *ḥidjāb sharīf*), the *ḥ. al-barr*, the *ḥ. al-nūr*, the *ḥ. al-fatḥ* and the *ḥ. al-Shaykh Abi 'l-Ḥasan*. Their texts are given by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Ibn ʿIyād and, more recently, ʿA.Ḥ. Maḥmūd, *al-Madrasa al-shādhiliyya al-ḥadītha wa-imāmuhā Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1969). The boundary between the liturgical recitation of a prayer taught by the Pole and the magical usage of these texts is not always easy to trace; certain of these litanies include formulae of a theurgical or talismanic nature, and numerous of the faithful attribute inherent virtues to these texts, independent of whatever understanding of it the one reciting it may have. But al-Shādhilī is in any case guiltless regarding all the forms of superstition surrounding the cult of saints, which he condemned as a form of idolatry (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 10). If saints' prayers are answered, it is because they are the theophanic locus of the divine mercy, and not because they themselves have any authority for intercession. In his own lifetime, al-Shādhilī already acquired a reputation as a miracle worker; marvellous happenings took place round his tomb and amongst his close disciples, for whom the Master remained, even after his death, the person for whom God answers prayers.

A more esoteric teaching of al-Shādhilī's concerns the concept of sainthood. It revolved round *walāya* as a prophetic inheritance (see e.g. al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 10; or *Durra*, 132-3), here again taking up an earlier Ṣūfī doctrine. The fully-accomplished saint reaches the degree of knowledge of the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) and the messengers (*rusul*), but he is inferior to them on two counts: on the one hand, his knowledge is, in the great majority of cases, less complete than theirs, and on the other, he is not sent to bring a more correct version of a *sharīʿa* (*Laṭāʾif*, 59-60). Al-Shādhilī's teaching was nevertheless perceived by his followers as an actual, living continuation of Muḥammad's mission (cf.

e.g. *Durra*, 154). The vision of a hierarchy of saints, which is implied here, is fundamental. As we have seen, al-Shādhilī was preoccupied since his youth by the meeting with the Pole of the universe. His disciples considered him fairly soon as being himself this *ḳuṭb* (*Laṭāʾif*, 139), and he personally openly strengthened them in this conviction (*ibid.*, 141, 146, 165; *Durra*, 13-14, 111). He designated his main disciple Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī as his successor in this function, and Shādhilī tradition confirms that the *ḳuṭb* would be a member of their brotherhood, until the Judgement Day. This *ḳuṭbāniyya* is here to be understood in the absolute sense (or even, cosmic, cf. *ibid.*, 9, 105-6) and not relative to a specific community; al-Shādhilī himself enunciated the fifteen remarkable features or charismas which this office of the Pole involves (amongst these are the guarantee of inability to err, and knowledge of the past, present and future; cf. *Laṭāʾif*, 163, and *Durra*, 71). But otherwise, it is a delicate task to isolate the original doctrine of al-Shādhilī regarding the formulations of the Masters of the following generations. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh relates (*Laṭāʾif*, 163-4) that Abu 'l-Ḥasan received a visit from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī [*q.v.*] at a time when his master Ibn ʿArabī was still alive. "[Ṣadr al-Dīn] expatiated on a multiplicity of sciences. The Shaykh kept his head bowed until Ṣadr al-Dīn had finished talking. Then he raised his head and said to him, Tell me who is at this moment the Pole of our age, who is a veracious successor (*ṣiddīḳ*) and what is his knowledge? Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn was silent and gave no reply". P. Nwiya (*Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shadhilite*, Beirut 1972, 26) sees in this tale an affirmation of the pre-eminence of the Shādhilī way—proceeding from the direct teaching of and inspired by the Pole—over that represented by Ibn ʿArabī. But this opinion is rejected by M. Chodkiewicz (*Le sceau des saints*, Paris 1986, 173), for whom the function of the Seal, claimed by Ibn ʿArabī, cannot coincide with that of the Pole—whence al-Ḳūnawī's silence.

Even if al-Shādhilī never envisaged the formation of a *ṭarīḳa* in the strict sense of the term, his teaching nevertheless marks the evolution of Ṣūfism towards its manifestation in the brotherhoods and in maraboutism. There are several disciples of far-reaching influence—the Andalusian Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) and the Egyptian Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 709/1309) from amongst his immediate successors—who at the same time continued his teaching, codified the ritual of the *dhikr*, founded *khānaḳāhs* and in turn instructed disciples in the spirit of the school. This moderate form of Ṣūfism corresponded to a profound need in the Muslim society of the age; Shādhilī *khānaḳāhs* spread and flourished in Egypt, Ifrīḳiya, Morocco, as well as in Syria and the Ḥidjāz. Numerous branches and sub-branches more or less attached to the Shādhiliyya saw the light in the course of succeeding centuries [see SHĀDHILIYYA]. As for the master's memory, it is perpetuated by the annual festivals on the very spot of his burial in the eastern desert of Upper Egypt, as well as in Ifrīḳiya, at Sidi Belhassen (in the outskirts of Tunis), Menzel Bouzelfa (Cape Bon) and on the mount Zaghwān.

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SHĀDHILIYYA, one of the most important currents of Ṣūfism, associated with the teaching and spiritual authority of the great Moroccan mystic of the 7th/13th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*].

This last, originating from northern Morocco, where he benefited from the spiritual teaching of ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [see ʿABD AL-SALĀM], lived in Ifrīḳiya and, above all, in Egypt, where his preaching and spiritual precepts enjoyed an immense success [see AL-SHĀDHILĪ]. It does not seem that he himself had the idea of founding a structured Ṣūfī brotherhood. But the fervour of his disciples, who considered him as the Pole (*ḳuṭb*) of the universe for his age, and who therefore saw in his words a direct divine inspiration, was transferred to his successor, the Andalusī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287). The latter's authority and spiritual breadth knew how both to maintain the cohesion of the Shādhilī group and to instill into it a lasting dynamic of expansion. Al-Mursī's work was completed by the enthusiastic work of an Egyptian scholar, Tādj al-Dīn Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309 in Cairo; see IBN ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH). Whereas neither his own master nor Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī left behind any written work, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh wrote, notably, numerous treatises of a doctrinal nature, as well as collections of prayers, which played a decisive role in the constituting of a genuine Shādhilī spirituality (see Brockelmann, II, 143-4, S II, 145-7; A.W. al-Ghunaymī al-Taftazānī, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Sikandarī wa-taṣawwufuhu*, Cairo 1389/1969, i, 3). His *Laṭāʾif al-minan* forms one of the main sources regarding the teachings of the two first masters of the Shādhilī school; as for his collection of dicta, the *Ḥikam*, it had an immense diffusion all over the Islamic world and attracted several commentaries, notably by Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda (8th/14th century), Aḥmad Zarrūḳ (9th/15th) and Ibn ʿAdjība (12th-13th/18th-19th). See the study and Fr. tr. by P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shadhilite*, Beirut 1972; Eng. tr. V. Danner, *Ibn Ataillah's Sufi aphorisms*, Leiden 1973.

We know only imperfectly the formative period of the brotherhood. During the 8th/14th century it spread through Egypt and the Maghrib, where from the 9th/15th century it enjoyed a considerable success. One should stress that it never assumed the form of a centralised order, but early spread out into a multitude of ramifications with very relaxed links, of sub-branches energised by spiritual masters whose strong personality often raised up a specific strain amidst the generality of the Shādhilī tradition. Certain of these ramifications had a limited implantation within a determined region, whilst others formed much wider groupings. But in all cases, the flexibility of a tradition presenting itself more as a school of spirituality than as a structured organisation allowed its adaptation to very diverse historical and local contexts. It could thus avoid the rigidity and degeneration which often awaited mystical groups which were over-institutionalised. The Shādhiliyya was born in an ur-

ban milieu (Alexandria, Cairo, Tunis), and counted within its ranks a good number of well-known intellectuals, such as the great 9th/15th-century polygraph Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*]. But it also found a ready audience in rural areas, especially in the Maghrib. The affiliation to the order of the ecstatic popular saints of the 10th/16th-century ʿAlī al-Ṣanhādjī and his pupil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb is characteristic in this regard (see A.L. de Premare, *Sîdî ʿAbd-er-Rahmân el-Mejdûb*, Paris-Rabat 1985, ch. III). In the Maghrib properly speaking, but equally in the Nile valley, the Shādhiliyya accompanied the development of a Ṣūfism which tolerated—and even encouraged—cults around saints' tombs, in which the efficacy of the *baraka* of the master counted for more and more.

We shall not deal here with the Ṣūfī currents which sometimes attached themselves to the Shādhilī spirit in a purely mythical or lateral manner, such as the Badawiyya or Dasūḳiyya; nor with those which, despite being impregnated with the Shādhilī spirit, developed into new and independent orders (the Tidjāniyya and orders derived from the Idrīsiyya). But one should mention, amongst the brotherhoods of the Shādhilī tradition which affirmed their personality during that time, that, in Egypt, the Wafāʾiyya, founded by the Ifrīḳiyan Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Wafāʾ al-Bakri (d. 760/1359) and his son ʿAlī (d. 807/1404; on him, see al-Shaʿrānī's notice, in *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 22-65), enjoyed a solid implantation and an undoubted spiritual and intellectual diffusion. The Ḥanafiyya were founded by Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī (d. 847/1443), a highly charismatic personality who left a strong mark on his age (cf. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Battanūnī, *K. Sirr al-ṣafī fī manāḳib al-sulṭān al-Hanafī*, Cairo 1306/1888). In Syria, the Shādhiliyya spread under the impulse of the Moroccan ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Fāsī (d. 917/1511) and his disciples, affiliates of the Madyaniyya branch.

In the Maghrib, the Shādhilī presence was even more widespread. One may mention, in particular, the Zarrūḳiyya, which arose out of the teaching of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Burnusī, called al-Zarrūḳ (d. 899/1494). This Moroccan scholar had a stay in Egypt, where he became a disciple of the Wafāʾī master Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍramī and probably of another Hanafī one. Then he returned to the Maghrib and travelled in various regions. He left behind an important body of written work (cf., especially, his *Ḳawāʿid al-taṣawwuf*, Damascus 1968) and breathed fresh life into the Shādhilī heritage there, raising up a fresh impulse (see A.F. Khushaim, *Zarrūq the Sufi*, Tripoli 1976). Several Maghribī brotherhoods claimed connections with his teaching: the Darḳāwiyya (see below), the Rashīdiyya and its own branches, the Shaykhiyya, Karzāziyya and Nāṣiriyya (on these groups, see Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1884, 457 ff.; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, Paris 1951, 185 ff.). Another dynamic movement of Shādhilī inspiration was stimulated by the figure of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djazūlī, a Ṣūfī master originally from southern Morocco. This last travelled to Fez, then had a long stay in the East (40 years?) and finally returned to Morocco. After a period of hermit-like seclusion, he spread his teachings, which had such popular repercussions that he was persecuted by the political authorities and died—perhaps from poison—in *ca.* 869/1465, the year of the fall of the Marīnid [*q.v.*] dynasty [see AL-DJAZŪLĪ]. Later, his body was interred at Marrakech, and he became one of the seven patron saints of the city. This thaumaturge *walī* marks the origin of a new form of mass Ṣūfism. Membership was no longer conditional upon personal initiation rites (*ṣuḥba, talḳīn*), and did not necessarily take place within a structured brotherhood, but resulted from a simple act of allegiance to a *shaykh* shown by a rite of transmission of *baraka* and devotional practice centred round reading a collection of litanies, the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*. This last became extremely popular, notably because of the miraculous benefits which certain people connected with its recitation. Several later *ṭawāʾif* attached themselves to the movement of al-Djazūlī, including the ʿArūsiyya, widespread in Ifrīḳiya (see Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 341 ff.), the Ḥanṣaliyya (see Depont and Coppolani, 492 ff.; Drague, 163 ff.) or also the ʿĪsāwiyya. The latter, which owed its name to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Mukhtār (d. 931/1524), added to the Shādhilī-Djazūlī tradition shamanistic practices reminiscent of those of the Rifāʿiyya: initiates were endowed with a totem animal, practised spiritual healings and, in a trance, devoured snakes or pierced their bodies with sword blades (see R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie des Aïssaouas au Maroc*, Paris 1926). Analogous practices are also found in the related Moroccan order of the Ḥamdūshiyya (see V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha—a study in Moroccan ethnopsychology*, Berkeley, etc. 1973).

The historic success of the Shādhilī Way probably depended on several factors of a historical nature. Within a North Africa engulfed in a permanent economic and political state of crisis, grouping in the bosom of a community based on initiational solidarity had a certain attraction. The political authorites, such as the Marīnids in Morocco or the Ḥafṣids in Ifrīḳiya, often actively favoured the creating or expansion of the *zawāyā* in their territories, and the integration of moderate Ṣūfism in the teaching of the *madrasas*—or conversely, of *fiḳh* in the *zawāyā*. It is true that these last also at times played the role of centres of dissidence against the central power, as with that of al-Dilāʾ in Morocco, which almost succeeded in seizing the sultanate power towards the middle of the 11th/17th century (see M. Hadjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, Rabat 1384/1964, and AL-DILĀʾ in Suppl.). Nevertheless, they were more often regarded as centres of social stability by virtue of the allegiance given by complete tribes or villages to the *shaykh*. They were often organised on a "dynastic" manner of functioning, and to some extent regulated local and tribal particularisms. But the especial success of the Shādhiliyya was due to the factors peculiar to itself. Its strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour. Finally, the active role played by the brotherhoods in attempting to resist European encroachments in the Muslim lands—as e.g. that of the Shādhiliyya-Djazūliyya in Morocco in the warfare against the Portuguese in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries—accelerated the process of cohesiveness of Ṣūfism and the social fabric in the Maghrib.

More recently, currents of revival attached to the Shādhilī tradition have appeared. This is the case with the Darḳāwiyya [see DARḲĀWA]. It goes back to Abū Ḥāmid al-ʿArabī al-Darḳāwī (d. 1823), who is to be placed in the Zarrūḳī tradition without there being any new elements added, except for a reforming zeal in combatting the material and spiritual corruption of the surrounding maraboutic Ṣūfism. The great moral (and political) influence which he exercised from his

zāwiya in the region of Fez was prolonged after his death; new branches of the order then came into being, with a remarkable vitality extending right through the 19th century. Thus there was the Bū-Zīdiyya, of which Ibn ᶜAdjība, prolix author and head of an active *ṭarīḳa* (d. 1809; *q.v.* and J.-L. Michon, *Le Soufi marocain Ahmad ibn ᶜAjiba et son miᶜraj*, Paris 1973), was a member. One should also mention the Yashruṭiyya branch, founded by the Tunisian ᶜAlī al-Yashruṭī (d. 1891), which became especially rooted in Syria, Palestine and Jordan; his history is known to us from the compendious *Riḥla ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ* written by the master's daughter, Fāṭima al-Yashruṭiyya (see J. van Ess, *Die Yaśruṭīya*, in *WI*, xvi [1975]). Finally, there is the ᶜAlāwiyya, founded in 1914 in the Darḳāwiyya-Bū-Zīdiyya tradition by Aḥmad b. ᶜAlīwa (d. 1934; see IBN ᶜALĪWA). His reforming dynamism and his new presentation of Islamic esotericim—which he spread forth in his journal *al-Balāgh al-djazāʾirī* and in many publications—attracted numerous disciples, including a certain number of Westerners (see M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961, Fr. tr. *Un saint musulman du 20ᵉ siècle, le cheikh Ahmad al-ᶜAlawi*, Paris 1967).

It is not easy to trace the contours of such movements as these, since their attachment to the Shādhilī *silsila* is sometimes very loose and blurred. It often happened that a Master would be brought up in several traditions, and multiplicity of affiliations by the simple attributing of a *khirḳa* became a custom more and more widespread over the lapse of centuries. Nāṣir al-Darᶜī, founder of the Nāṣiriyya, had received the double Zarrūḳī and Djazūlī initiation; Muḥammad b. ᶜArūs, who had frequented Shādhilī and Ḳādirī masters, did not claim kinship with any well-defined *ṭarīḳa*. At that time, the historic correctness and authenticity of the *silsila*s was visibly less important than the efficacious presence of a master whose charisma authenticated his mission. This rather diffuse character of the brotherhoods' affiliations is illustrated and analysed for the eastern regions by E. Geoffroy in his *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans: orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels*, Damascus 1995, part 3.

The present position of the Shādhiliyya can be delineated as follows. The order is mainly represented in North Africa, where it forms, with the Ḳādiriyya and the Khalwatiyya the chief living Ṣūfī school. The Shādhilī branches remain equally active in Egypt and also in the Sudan. But it would be erroneous to see in the Shādhiliyya an exclusively North African order. Branches of it have in effect spread throughout almost the whole Muslim world, see A. Popovic and G. Veinstein (eds.), *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam—Cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris 1986, index s.n.: most certainly in Syria and the Arab Near East (see F. de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques au Machreq arabe*, in Popovic and Veinstein, *op. cit.*), but also in Turkey and the Balkans, in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, in Indonesia and as far as China.

How, then may one characterise Shādhilī spirituality as it has been formed, propagated and modified in the course of the centuries? First of all, one should note its attachment to orthodoxy and its carefulness not to give any appearance of contravening either the letter or the spirit of the *Sharīᶜa*; it is only in confident submission to the Law and total obedience to the *shaykh* that the novice can grasp the nature of his relationship with God. It gives little attention to phenomena of a miraculous appearance (*karāmāt*), and commends a mystical cult of sobriety (*ṣaḥw*) which is circumspect regarding the states of mystical inebriation. In general, it tolerates the practices of music and dancing (*samāᶜ* [*q.v.*]), but with a clear display of prudence. The excesses of ceremonies involving conditions of trance amongst the ᶜĪsāwiyya and Ḥamdūshiyya are in any case marginal phenomena, and it is likely that the respective founders of these orders did not play any role in them. The Shādhiliyya advocate an attitude of action of continual gratitude (*shukr*), and try to avoid an asceticism involving renunciation which might lead to despising part of God's blessings and beauty; the Ṣūfī who sees nothing else but God is spiritually less perfect than the one who sees God in everything (*Laṭāʾif al-minan*, Cairo 1974, 89-90). In this spirit, al-Shādhilī and other great masters after him (ᶜAlī Wafāʾ and Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī) deliberately dressed themselves in an elegant fashion.

It is not an "intellectual" order, in the sense that a greater accent is placed on practice than on doctrine. This does not mean, as some have written, that the Shādhiliyya have no structured doctrine; the Wafāʾiyya branch, in particular, provoked the production of an important corpus of texts which is still poorly explored. The work of Ibn ᶜArabī was moreover spread within the Shādhilī milieu as elsewhere within the fabric of Ṣūfism. Indeed, the Shādhiliyya wished to make itself an order accessible to all Muslims, at whatever level of culture they might be, but reading is recommended to those with access to it (see e.g. Ibn ᶜIyād or ᶜAyyād, *al-Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-shādhiliyya*, Tunis 1986, 116). However, by far the most used books are the collections of prayers and litanies. For Shādhilī spirituality is seen mainly through readings made out loud and the cantillation of various texts: *aḥzāb* composed by the founding masters (al-Shādhilī and al-Mursī), collections like al-Djazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* and poems in honour of the Prophet (al-Būṣīrī, author of the celebrated *Burda* ode, was a Shādhilī). An important part of the popular work *al-Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya* is thus consecrated to *dhikr* texts. These are those prayers and litanies recited congregationally which best represent Shādhilī mysticism, based on deep immersion in the state of service to God (*ᶜubūdiyya*) in humility and on the action of grace.

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2. Studies. On the order's origins: ᶜA.S. ᶜAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1951; ᶜA.H. Maḥmūd, *al-Madrasa al-shādhiliyya al-ḥadītha wa-imāmuhā Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1969; A. Mackeen, *The rise of al-Shādhilī*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Shorfa*; A. Mustafā, *al-Bināʾ al-idjtimāᶜī li 'l-ṭarīḳa al-shādhiliyya*, Alexandria 1982; P. Nwyia, *Les Lettres de direction spirituelle d'Ibn ᶜAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1958; idem, *Ibn ᶜAbbād de Ronda (1332-1390)*, Beirut 1961. For a general view of the order's development, see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971. There are older, but still sometimes useful, pieces of information for the historian in L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Les confréries religieuses au Maroc*, Rabat 1923; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926; E.

Dermenghem, *Le culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, repr. 1982. (P. Lory)

SHĀDĪĀBĀD [see MĀNḌŪ].

SHADIRWĀN, also *shadhirwān*, is an Arabised Persian word which originally meant a precious curtain or drapery suspended on tents of sovereigns and leaders and from balconies of palaces and mansions. But in mediaeval sources it often occurs as an architectural term designating either a wall fountain or its most important element—the inclined and carved marble slab upon which water flows—perhaps in reference to the fabric-like texture of water rippling down the oblique surface (Laila Ibrahim and M.M. Amin, *Architectural terms in Mamluk documents*, Cairo 1990, 66, 68-9; G. Marçais, *Salsabīl et Šadirwān*, in *Études d'Orientalisme dédié à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 639-48). In this second sense, it usually alternates with *salsabīl*, an Arabic word which appears in the Ḳurʾān (LXXVI, 18) as the name of a particular spring in heaven. In Muslim India, large water chutes, called *ābshārs* and made of inclined and carved marble slabs similar to *shadirwāns* or *salsabīls*, intercepted the flow of water in the long channels that run the entire length of gardens, especially in the Mughal gardens of Kashmīr, and provided the transition from one level to the next below [see on this MĀʾ. 12].

The origin and first appearance of *shadirwān* or *salsabīl* in Islamic architecture are not known. Nor is its place of appearance, although there are some indications that it might have been Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], the transient and opulent ʿAbbāsid capital (221-79/836-92), where a large number of palaces with gardens, fountains, and pools were constructed. Modern excavations and contemporary panegyric poetry describing these palaces suggest that the monumental water works in Sāmarrāʾ anticipated the later and more intimate *shadirwān* systems (Yasser Tabbaa, *Towards an interpretation of the use of water in Islamic courtyards and courtyard gardens*, in *Journal of Garden History*, vii/2 [July-Sept. 1987], 198-9). The earliest datable remains of a *shadirwān*, a marble slab (1.3 m by .37 m and .14 m thick), carved with a chevron pattern with three fish in low relief at one end, was discovered during the excavation of the Zīrid Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād in Algeria, built in the middle of the 5th/11th century (L. Golvin, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qalʿat des Banī Ḥammād*, Paris 1965, 122-7, and pls. 43-4). Several *shadirwāns* from the 6th/12th century, complete with scalloped or carved *salsabīls*, small basins, and channels emptying in central pools exist in various regions, Palermo in Sicily, al-Fusṭāṭ in Egypt, and a number of sites in Syria and Djazīra, proving the diffusion of the type over the entire Islamic world. The earliest and best preserved among them is the *shadirwān* of the La Ziza (ʿAzīza) Palace at Palermo, built between 1165 and 1175 for William I and William II, Norman kings of Sicily, undoubtedly by Muslim craftsmen. Located in an alcove at the centre of the main hall under a *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] vault, it consists of a nozzle in a niche in the wall from which water gushes over a multi-coloured marble *salsabīl* with a chevron deep carving to a channel cut in the paving which flows into two aligned shallow square pools before emptying in a large pool outside (G. Caronia, *La Zisa di Palermo: storia e restauro*, Rome 1982, 53-6, 64-7, figs. 71-3, 142-3, 164-5). A painting of a *shadirwān* with a lion head for a spout and a chevron-patterned *salsabīl* emptying in a quadrilobed pool appears among other paintings into the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo built by Roger II in the 1140s (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, Geneva 1962, 48). This representation and a number of references to the *shadirwān* in contemporary Sicilian Arabic eulogistic poetry, addressed both to Norman and Muslim Ḥammādid patrons, suggest that the type was widespread in palatial architecture all over the Maghrib (Tabbaa, 202).

This is further confirmed by the remains of large houses excavated in al-Fusṭāṭ. The plans of at least two of them (nos. iii and vi), dated to the Fāṭimid period (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries), exhibit arrangements similar to the Ziza *shadirwān*. They each have a big basin in the centre of the courtyard connected with a small basin in the middle of a side hall via a shallow channel. The small basin is set under a wall recess with a spout attached to pipes in the wall from which most probably water ran over a no-longer-extant *salsabīl* (K.A.C. Creswell, *Muslim architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1952, i, 124-6, figs. 58, 61). Whether the *salsabīl* had any *muḳarnas* hood above it is impossible to know.

The next example of *shadirwān* comes from Damascus. In the Madrasa al-Nuriyya (of Nūr al-Dīn, 567/1172), in the īwān [*q.v.*] facing the entrance and under a *muḳarnas* hood, "water pours from a *shadirwān* into a pool, which opens into a long channel until it falls into a central pool in the courtyard" (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Beirut 1964, 256). It was recently cut off and its channel paved over, but the 1920s plan made by Herzfeld shows a typical *shadirwān* system (Creswell, ii, 109-10, fig. 56). The appearance of this *shadirwān* can be considered a novelty, since this is the first time we encounter it outside the realm of residential or palatial architecture. A little later in date is a series of Ayyūbid and Artuḳid palaces built in the citadels of Syria and Djazīra with elaborate water systems consisting of fountains, channels, and pools. At least three of them, the early 7th/13th-century Artuḳid palace at Diyārbakir, the Ayyūbid palace in Aleppo (built between 617/1220 and 658/1260) and the Artuḳid al-Firdaws palace in Mārdīn (636-58/1239-60), have *shadirwāns* occupying the centre of an īwān's back wall and flowing via a narrow channel into a large pool in the courtyard (Tabbaa, 208-11, figs. 11-17).

In Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Cairo, *shadirwān* arrangements became a salient feature in reception halls, known as *ḳāʿas*. Several Cairene *shadirwān* slabs with various patterns engraved on their surfaces are on display at the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo and the Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya in Kuwait, while few are still *in situ*. The most notable among them are the two *shadirwāns* in two opposite īwāns of the *bīmāristān* of Sultan Ḳalāwūn (683/1284), which may have belonged to the four-īwān *ḳāʿa* of the Fāṭimid Western Palace, or its Ayyūbid replacement that was appropriated by Ḳalāwūn to build his complex (Creswell, ii, 208-10, pl. 63). *Waḳf* [*q.v.*] documents furnish a number of descriptions of Mamlūk *shadirwāns* which provide information on their various uses, composition, and terminology (Mona Zakarya, *Deux palais du Caire médiéval, waqfs et architecture*, Marseilles 1983, 148). Thus, for example, we learn that the small receptacle in which water falls before flowing over the *shadirwān* had an onomatopoeic name, *ḳarḳal*; the channel was called *silsal* (Ibrahim and Amin, 66). The *bīmāristān* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (821-3/1418-20) repeated the model of the *bīmāristān* of Ḳalāwūn with two *shadirwāns* in two opposite īwāns (*waḳf* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, Dār al-Wathāʾiḳ, no. 938 ḳ, 7, l. 24-5). Cairene *sabīls* [*q.v.*] too had *shadirwāns* from which water collected into small basins (*fasāḳī*, pl. of *fisḳiyya*) (*waḳf* of Amīr Khāyir Bek, Dār al-Wathāʾiḳ,

no. 292/244, 5, l. 5-13). Some *shadirwāns* had two flanking colonnettes which supported the *muḳarnas* hood above, an arrangement probably inspired by the development of Mamlūk *miḥrābs* which had two or four flanking colonnettes as well (*waḳf* of Sultan Barsbāy, Dār al-Kutub, no. 3390, 5, l. 5-13).

Because Cairene *ḳāʿas* developed into smaller enclosed units with either two īwāns and a space in the middle called *durḳāʿa*, or one īwān and a *durḳāʿa*, or, in the rarest of cases, four īwāns in a cruciform plan around a *durḳāʿa*, water moving from *shadirwāns* to collecting pools no longer played a role in linking the interior and exterior spaces. Furthermore, the shrinking of the central space precluded the possibility of having a large pool in its centre which could receive a constant flow of water from a *shadirwān*. In fact, it seems that enclosing *ḳāʿas* ultimately sealed the fate of *shadirwāns*. Later Mamlūk and Ottoman *ḳāʿas* had central small fountains but no *shadirwāns* and no connecting channels. Many, however, retain a strong reminder of the missing *shadirwān* in the form of a niche in the centre of their īwān's back wall, called *ṣadr*, with an ornate hood, and sometimes flanking colonnettes but no water flowing.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(NASSER RABBAT)

SHADJAR AL-DURR, Wālidat Khalīl al-Ṣāliḥiyya, also called Umm Khalīl, the famous sultana of Egypt (ruled 648/1250).

Shadjar(at) al-Durr (the oldest sources prefer the former, modern Arab authors the latter), a strong-minded Turkish slave, started her career as al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's favourite concubine (hence al-Ṣāliḥiyya). In 637/1239-40, during their imprisonment in al-Karak, she bore him a son, Khalīl (hence Umm/Wālidat al-Khalīl), after which al-Ṣāliḥ freed and married her. The sultan loved his wife, now queen of Egypt, dearly and ranked her next to his commander Fakhr al-Dīn. When in 647/1249 al-Ṣāliḥ, expecting the French Crusaders' advance, died in al-Manṣūra, she formed part of the council of three that mastered the crisis. They agreed to conceal his death and entrust rule to one of them, Fakhr al-Dīn, until al-Ṣāliḥ's son and heir al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh arrived from Ḥiṣn Kayfā three months later. It was only after disgruntled Baḥrī *amīrs*, perhaps with the threatened widow's consent, had killed the new sultan, that Shadjar al-Durr stepped into the centre stage: Al-Ṣāliḥ's *amīrs* and Mamlūks appointed her sultana on 30 Muḥarram 648/4 May 1250 with ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī as commander. Though women had exercised power as royal spouses and regents before, her formal recognition as ruler in her own right was unheard-of in the Muslim Near East, the only precedent being the sultanate of Raḍiyya [*q.v.*] of Dihlī from 634/1236 to 637/1240. Her claim to legitimacy rested on her status as wife of the late sultan and, what is more, mother of their dead son, as seen in her regnal name Wālidat al-Khalīl. Her election by Mamlūks marks the transition from Ayyūbid to Mamlūk rule. Their choice of a woman, unusual as it may seem, was considered. Al-Ṣāliḥ himself had recommended her as chief advisor to his son, and she had proven worthy of his trust after his death. The enthronement of their female compatriot may have been facilitated by a less restrictive view of élite women's roles among tribal Turks and a general propensity to hold women in high esteem. Her coin titulature reads "al-Mustaʿṣimiyya, al-Ṣāliḥiyya, Malikat al-Muslimīn, Wālidat al-Malik al-Manṣūr (i.e. Khalīl)". The loyalty to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim herein declared was never rewarded by his investiture of her. Although late reports about a caliphal letter objecting to a woman's sultanate and a similar pronouncement by a leading jurist are questionable, Shadjar al-Durr's claim to the Ayyūbid throne could be and was repudiated by the Syrian Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf on several counts, including her sex and slave origin. Loath to lose the Syrian provinces the Baḥrī Mamlūks felt compelled to replace her by a man. Shadjar al-Durr therefore ceded the throne to her as yet undistinguished commander Aybak on 28 Rabīʿ II 648/30 July 1250. However, her formal abdication did not put an end to her pre-eminent part in ruling the country, as is attested by all sources; in fact, she still signed royal decrees as late as 653/1255. Aybak married her either the day after his tentative promotion or sometime after he deposed the child al-Ashraf Mūsā, of Yemenite Ayyūbid descent, in 651/1254, who had replaced him as nominal sultan five days after his installation. Having dealt with the Syrian enemy and internal Baḥrī opposition, he thought to challenge his wife's position by contracting a marriage with the Zangid princess of Mawṣil. Shadjar al-Durr heard of his plans and had him killed on 23 Rabīʿ I 655/10 April 1257. But her attempts to retain influence as kingmaker came to nothing. On 11 Rabīʿ II/28 April, her naked corpse was found lying outside the Citadel. She was buried in the tomb she had built for herself. The "*dāhiyat al-dahr* whom no woman rivalled in beauty and no man in determination" (Barhebraeus) had finally lost the struggle for power. Her posthumous career as historical and literary character exemplifies the transformation of fragmentary evidence into ever more readable stories, into history and her story.

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(L. AMMANN)

SHADŪNA, the Arabic name of one of the *kūras* or provinces of al-Andalus. It stems from Latin Asido, a Roman and then Visigothic town also called Madīnat Ibn Salīm in Muslim times, the modern Medina Sidonia. It was bounded on the north by the *kūras* of Seville and Morón; on the east by that of Algeciras; and on the south and west by the sea. There is no clear information about the *kūra*'s capital, since the sources mention at times Jerez (Sharīsh), Medina Sidonia, Arcos or a certain Ḥāḍirat Ḳalsāna and Ḳādis or Djazīrat Ḳādis. According to contem-

porary authors, Shadūna was divided into numerous districts, including villages, towns and fortresses (*huṣūn*). Amongst these last are mentioned in the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* Tota, Arcos, Ibn Salīm, Nablab, Sanlúcar, Galyāna, al-Ḳanāṭīr, al-Aḳwās and Ḳalʿat Ward. Concerning the towns, this work distinguished especially Cadiz and Jerez. Algeciras, a major centre of al-Andalus all through its long history, formed part of this *kūra* at an early period but soon became the chef-lieu of an independent province. According to Ibn Ghālib and al-Ḥimyarī, Shadūna was bountifully endowed with the gifts of land and sea, and covered 25 square miles.

Ibn al-Shabbāṭ relates that Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*] disembarked in al-Andalus and marched on the Wādī Lakko, where he confronted the troops of King Roderic. After defeating the Visigothic ruler, the Muslims besieged Madīnat Shadūna. In 125/743, the *djund* of Filasṭīn (i.e. Palestine) settled in the province; this is the first reference to Shadūna as a *kūra*. Towards 127/745 the Ḳaysī rebels led by al-Sumayl assembled there against the Kalbīs of Abu 'l-Djaṭṭār. The Madjūs [*q.v.*] or Northmen landed on the coast of Shadūna in 229/844 and occupied the port of Cadiz, although the greater part of their fleet sailed up the Guadalquivir towards Seville. Being highly fertile and productive, as noted above, the district paid tribute of 50,600 dīnārs in the time of al-Ḥakam I, and it furthermore furnished almost half the 20,000 cavalry which could be mobilised in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's time.

The sources are sparse about the succeeding period up to the constituting of the taifas. It was at Shadūna that the Banū Djazrūn, Berbers who had come over to reinforce al-Manṣūr's army in the Peninsula, overran a land in the grip of civil warfare. Set apart in the *kūra* of Shadūna, they formed a taifa around the stronghold of Arcos, and their authority was recognised by Jerez and Cadiz. Shadūna had three rulers before being absorbed by the ʿAbbādid of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid: Muḥammad b. Djazrūn (402-20/1011-29), ʿAbdūn b. Muḥammad (420-45/1029-53) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳāʾim (445-51/1053-9). It belonged to the taifa of Seville until the Almoravids took over al-Andalus in 483/1090. In the middle of the 6th/13th century, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Maymūn led a rising in Cadiz, as part of the generalised anti-Almoravid movement which split the country into fragments, which are called the "second taifas". From 540/1145 onwards he proclaimed the Almohads, and the territory of the ancient *kūra* remained under the new dynasty's aegis, although soon menaced by the Castilian armies of the Reconquista. Thus *ca.* 572/1176 Ferdinand II attacked Arcos and Jerez. It was there that the tentative movements for expansion of Ibn Hūd were halted, defeated by Castile at Jerez in 627/1230. The Muslims remained in the region, but once Seville fell in 646/1248, they found themselves defenceless. Then Castile seized Cadiz in 660/1262. Two years later came the Mudéjar rebellion against Alfonso X, supported from Granada, as a result of which the Castilians decreed the expulsion of the Mudéjars from this region, thus subduing the populations of Jerez, Medina Sidonia, Vejer, Sanlúcar, Arcos, etc. Shadūna became henceforth the political and military frontier with the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada [see NAṢRIDS].

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(F. ROLDAN-CASTRO)

SHAFĀʿA (A.), intercession, mediation. He who makes the intercession is called *shāfiʿ* and *shafīʿ*. The word is also used in other than theological language, e.g. in laying a petition before a king (*LʿA* s.v.), in interceding for a debtor (al-Bukhārī, *Istiḳrāḍ*, 18). Very little is known of intercession in judicial procedure. In the *Ḥadīth* it is said: "He who by his intercession puts out of operation one of the *ḥudūd Allāh* is putting himself in opposition to God" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 70, 82; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, 54/11; *Ḥudūd*, 12).

1. In official Islam.

The word is usually found in the theological sense, particularly in eschatological descriptions; it already occurs in the Ḳurʾān in this use. Muḥammad became acquainted through Jewish and more particularly Christian influences with the idea of eschatological intercession. In Job xxxiii, 23 ff. (the text is corrupt), the angels are mentioned who intercede for man to release him from death. In Job v, 1, there is reference to the saints (by whom here also angels are probably meant), to whom man turns in his need. Abraham is a mortal saint whom we find interceding in the Old Testament (in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah).

In the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, we again find the same classes of beings with the same function: the angels (*Test. Adam*, ix, 3) and the saints (2. *Maccab.*, xv, 14; *Assumptio Mosis*, xii, 6). In the early Christian literature the same idea repeatedly occurs, but here we have two further classes of beings: the apostles and the martyrs (cf. Cyril of Jerusalem in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, xxxiii, 1115; patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; cf. xlvi, 850; lxi, 581).

In the Ḳurʾān, intercession occurs mainly in a negative context. The day of judgment is described as a day on which no *shafāʿa* will be accepted (sūra II, 48, 254). This is directed against Muḥammad's enemies as is evident from X, 18: "they serve not God but what brings them neither ill nor good and they say these are our intercessors with God"; cf. also LXXIV, 48: "the intervention of those who make *shafāʿa* will not avail them".

But the possibility of intercession is not absolutely excluded. XXXIX, 44 says: "Say: the intercession belongs to God, etc.". Passages are fairly numerous in which this statement is defined to mean that *shafāʿa* is only possible with God's permission: "Who should intervene with Him, without His permission?" (II, 255, cf. X, 3). Those who receive God's permission for *shafāʿa* are explained as follows: "The *shafāʿa* is only for those who have an *ʿahd* with the Merciful" (XIX, 87) and XLIII, 86: "They whom they invoke besides God shall not be able to intercede except those who bear witness to the truth". XXI, 26-8 is remarkable where the power of intercession is evidently credited to the angels: "they say the Merciful has begotten offspring. Nay, they are but His honoured servants who ... and they offer not to intercede save on behalf of whom it pleaseth Him". It appears that

the angels are meant by the honoured servants. XL, 7 (cf. XLII, 5) is more definite: "Those who bear the throne and surround it sing the praises of their Lord and believe in Him and implore forgiveness for those who believe (saying), Our Lord; who embracest all things in mercy and knowledge; bestow forgiveness on them that repent and follow Thy path and keep them from the pains of Hell".

Such utterances paved the way for an unrestricted adoption by Islam of the principle of *shafāʿa*. In the classical *Ḥadīth* which reflects the development of ideas to about 150 A.H., we already have ample material. *Shafāʿa* is usually mentioned here in eschatological descriptions. But it should be noted that the Prophet, even in his lifetime, is said to have made intercession. ʿĀʾisha relates that he often slipped quietly from her side at night to go to the cemetery of Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad [*q.v.*] to beseech forgiveness of God for the dead (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, 102; cf. al-Tirmidhī, *Djanāʾiz*, 59). Similarly, his *istighfār* is mentioned in the *ṣalāt al-djanāʾiz* (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 170) and its efficacy explained (*ibid.*, 388). The prayer for the forgiveness of sins then became or remained an integral part of this *ṣalāt* (e.g. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. T.J.W. Juynboll, 48) to which a high degree of importance was attributed. Cf. Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, 58: "If a community of Muslims, a hundred strong, perform the *ṣalāt* over a Muslim and all pray for his sins to be forgiven him, this prayer will surely be granted"; and Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 79, 100, where the number a hundred is reduced to three rows (*ṣufūf*).

Muḥammad's intercession at the day of judgment is described in a tradition which frequently occurs (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 19; Muslim, *Īmān*, 322, 326-9; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra XVII, 19; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 4), the main features of which are as follows. On the day of judgment, God will assemble the believers; in their need they turn to Adam for his intercession. He reminds them, however, that through him sin entered the world and refers them to Nūḥ. But he also mentions his sins and refers them to Ibrāhīm. In this way, they appeal in vain to the great apostles of God until ʿĪsā finally advises them to appeal to Muḥammad for assistance. The latter will gird himself and with God's permission throw himself before Him. Then he will be told "arise and say, intercession is granted thee". God will thereupon name him a definite number to be released and when he has led these into Paradise, he will again throw himself before his Lord and the same stages will again be repeated several times until finally Muḥammad says, "O Lord, now there are only left in hell those who, according to the Ḳurʾān, are to remain there eternally".

This tradition is in its different forms the locus classicus for the limitation of the power of intercession to Muḥammad to the exclusion of the other apostles. In some traditions it is numbered among the charismata allotted to him (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *ṣalāt*, 56).

Muḥammad's *shafāʿa* then is recognised by the *idjmāʿ*; it is based on XVII, 79: "Perhaps the Lord shall call thee to an honourable place"; and on XCIII, 5: "and thy Lord shall give a reward with which thou shalt be pleased" (al-Rāzī's commentary on sūra II, 48, 2nd *masʾala*; cf. earlier, Muslim, *Īmān*, 320). Muḥammad is said to have been offered the privilege of *shafāʿa* by a message from his Lord as a choice; the alternative was the assurance that half of his community would enter paradise. Muḥammad, however, preferred the right of intercession, doubtless because he thought he would get a considerable result from it (al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Ḳiyāma*, 13; Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 404).

The traditions describe very vividly how the "people of hell" (*djahannamiyyūn*) are released from their fearful state. Some have had to suffer comparatively little from the flames; others on the other hand are already in part turned to cinders. They are sprinkled with water from the well of life and they are restored to a healthy condition (e.g. Muslim, *Īmān*, 320).

In another class of traditions it is said that every prophet has a "supplication" (*daʿwa*) and that Muḥammad keeps his secret in order to intercede with God for his community on the day of judgment (cf. e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 313; Muslim, *Īmān*, 334).

In accordance with the Christian conception mentioned above, Islam was not content to make Muhammad the sole conveyor of intercession. At his side, we find angels, prophets, martyrs and even simple believers (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 24/5; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 94; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, 26; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on Ḳurʾān, XIX, 87). But it is Muḥammad who will be the prime intercessor (Muslim, *Īmān*, 330, 332; *Faḍāʾil*, 3; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, 13). For the Shīʿa, naturally, the power of intercession after the Prophet falls above all to the Imāms (see e.g. M.J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Beirut 1978, 254-5).

Finally, one should examine the question of those for whom intercession will be efficacious. In classical Tradition, the response in principle which is given there is that *shafāʿa* is valid for all those who do not associate anything with God (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 19; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-ḳiyāma*, 13), even if they have nevertheless been guilty of grave sins (of which they have not repented). A famous *ḥadīth* makes the Prophet say, "My intercession will be for the grave sinners of my community (*li-ahl al-kabāʾir min ummatī*)" (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, 21; al-Tirmidhī, *loc. cit.*, 11; Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, 37). Such is the position of the Sunnī theologians (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, 474), including the Ḥanbalīs (cf. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 100 of tr.). For them, the Prophet's intercession will concern all those believers who, because of their sins, would have merited divine punishment, with God either admitting them to His Paradise immediately or else bringing them forth from Hell at the end of a period of time more or less protracted (see al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr* on Ḳurʾān, II, 48, beginning of the second *masʾala*, ed. Tehran n.d., iii, 56). The Muʿtazila, on the other hand, as well as the Khāridjites, reject this interpretation (see al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 244; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 63). For the Muʿtazila, prophetal intercession can only operate in favour of sinners who have already repented (see Mānkdīm = Ps. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, Cairo 1965, 688, 691); they consider it to be, on God's part, an extra act of favour (*faḍl*) (see al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 474; Mānkdīm, *op. cit.*, 691; al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 56). Against the Sunnī position, the Muʿtazila invoke certain of the Ḳurʾānic verses cited above, notably XL, 18, and XXI, 28 (cf. Mānkdīm, 689; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iii, 56).

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(A.J. Wensinck-[D. Gimaret])

2. In popular piety.

Although the Throne Verse (surā II, 155) asks, "Who could intercede with Him except by His permission?" many Muslims believed that the Prophet was granted this permission, as XVII, 79 speaks of his "special rank". Another Ḳurʾānic verse that seems to allow intercession was XL, 7, where "those who carry the divine throne" are mentioned as constantly asking divine forgiveness. Thus the belief developed that even pious acts could serve as intercessors: the Ḳurʾān will intercede for those who have studied and recited it devoutly, and this hope is often expressed in prayers written at the end of manuscripts of it. Other religious works could be imagined as interceding, such as the profession of faith; even mosques were thought to be transformed into white camels or boats to carry to Paradise those who had regularly performed their prayers in them, just as Friday might appear as a beautiful youth to intercede for people who had honoured him by attending the Friday worship. It was also believed that martyrs could intercede on behalf of family and friends, and that children who had died in infancy would intercede for their parents to have them brought to Paradise, because otherwise they would feel lonely.

But the most important intercessor is Muḥammad, and the numerous people in the Muslim world who are called "Muḥammad Shafīʿ" bear witness to this belief, which is based on the legend that at Doomsday, all prophets (including the sinless Jesus) will call out *nafsī nafsī* "I myself [want to be saved]" while Muḥammad calls out *ummatī ummatī* "my community, my community [should be saved]". Innumerable folk-songs and also high-flown poetical descriptions tell how he will lead his community to Paradise carrying the green "banner of praise" (*liwāʾ al-ḥamd*), for his *shafāʿa* is meant, it is believed, for the grave sinners of his community.

Many prayers contain the request that God may grant His prophet the position of honour in which he can intercede for his community; typical is the prayer in al-Djazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*, "O God, appoint our lord Muḥammad as the most trusted of speakers and the most prevailing of requesters and the first of intercessors and the most favoured of those whose intercession is acceptable ... etc.". There is barely a poet—"heretic, drug addict (*bhāngī*) or wine-bibber" (as a Sindhi bard sings in the 19th century)—who has not relied upon the Prophet's intercession, and to recite blessings over him was believed to attract his special help. Poetry in which hope for *shafāʿa* is expressed is found abundantly in all the languages of the Islamic world, whether one turns to a scholar like Ibn Khaldūn in North Africa or to a folk poet in the Khowar language in the Karakorum. The Urdu poet Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr (d. 1223/1810 [*q.v.*]) claims:

"Why do you worry, O Mīr, thinking of your black book?
The person of the Seal of Prophets is a guarantee for your salvation!"

and the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳāyitbāy of Egypt was as convinced of the Prophet's intercession as were poets in Sind, who loved to enumerate dozens of countries over which the Prophet's *shafāʿa* stretches (mostly in alliterating groups of names). All of them claimed that their "hand was on his skirt" to implore his help, and some, like the Urdu poet Muḥsin Kākōrawī (d. 1905) expressed the hope that the poetry written in his praise might be recited at Doomsday to make the Prophet intercede on his behalf (although the *Ḥadīth* expressedly emphasises the *umma*, not an individual, as recipient of intercession.) Even Hindu poets wrote poetry in the hope of the Prophet's intercession, and the believers' fear of the terrible Day of Judgment was more and more tempered by adding the element of hope, represented by the Prophet's loving care for his community.

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(Annemarie Schimmel)

AL-**SHAFAḲ** (A.), morning or evening twilight, the periods between daybreak (*al-fadjr* or *ṭulūʿ al-shafaḳ*) and sunrise (*ṭulūʿ al-shams*) and between sunset (*ghurūb al-shams*) and nightfall (*mughīb al-shafaḳ*). These are of special importance in Islamic ritual because they relate to three of the prayers [see ṢALĀT and MĪḲĀT, i]: the *fadjr* prayer is to be performed as soon as possible after daybreak and must be completed before sunrise, the *maghrib* prayer begins as soon as possible after sunset, and the *ʿishāʾ* prayer as soon as possible after nightfall. Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] gives an excellent description in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* (Ḥaydarābād 1954-6, ii, 948-50), here summarised. In the morning a long thin column of light appears first, which is more or less inclined to the horizon according to the latitude of the locality. This is called the "false dawn" (*al-ṣubḥ al-kādhib* or *al-fadjr al-kādhib*) or, because of its shape, "the tail of the wolf" (*dhanab al-sirḥān*). Prayer at this time is forbidden. This is followed by the "true dawn" (*al-ṣubḥ al-ṣādiḳ*), first as a faint white light which gradually extends in the form of a crescent along the horizon; it marks the time for the beginning of the *fadjr* prayer. Next comes the "red dawn" (*al-shafaḳ al-aḥmar*). The same phenomena occur in the evening but in the reverse order, although "the wolf's tail" is not seen so frequently in the evening. The "wolf's tail" in the morning corresponds in fact to the phenomenon known as the zodiacal light, already mentioned in Ḳurʾān, II, 183. Redhouse (1878 and 1880) has gathered numerous references from Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources.

The Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs are in accord that the disappearance of the red glow (*mughīb al-shafaḳ al-aḥmar*) in the evening sky should mark the end of the interval for the *maghrib* prayer and the beginning of that for the *ʿishāʾ* prayer. Abū Ḥanīfa, on the other hand, favoured the time of the disappearance of the white glow, and his pupils Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī followed other schools in this question. The various definitions have been collected by Wiedemann and Frank (1926), and al-Bīrūnī's discussion in his *Ifrād al-maḳāl fī amr al-ẓilāl* has been studied by E.S. Kennedy (1976).

Various Muslim astronomers determined the angle of solar depression below the horizon at the times of daybreak and nightfall, which are not identical to each other. The actual values depend on atmospheric conditions and the influence of moonlight as well as on the sharpness of the eyes of the observer. Ḥabash [*q.v.*], for example, used 18° for both, as did Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*]. Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] suggested both 18° and 17°, and al-Ḳāyinī (*ca.* 400/1000) based his calculations on 17°. Ibn Muʿādh (see below) mentioned 18° and 19° but used 19° in his calculations. In the corpus of tables for time-keeping used in Cairo from the

7th/13th to the 13th/19th century, some of which go back to Ibn Yūnus, 19° is used for morning and 17° for evening twilight. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] assumed 18° for both phenomena. Al-Marrākus͟hī [*q.v.*] favoured 20° and 16°, but al-K͟halīlī (*ca.* 760/1360), who otherwise relied heavily on him, used 19° and 17° in the corpus of tables that was used in Damascus from the 8th/14th to the 13th/19th century.

The duration of twilight (*ḥiṣṣat al-s͟hafaḳ*) is a function of the solar longitude and terrestrial latitude and hence varies throughout the year as well as from one latitude to another. Its determination is a trivial extension of the general problem of determining time from solar altitude, a problem that was extremely popular amongst Muslim astronomers. The earliest table displaying this interval is due to Ḥabas͟h and is based on an approximate Indian formula for timekeeping (as well as on the parameter 18°); the time is given in seasonal hours and the table serves all latitudes (up to *ca.* 45°). Later tables, based mainly on exact formulae, are found in the various corpuses of tables used for time-keeping in various localities [see MĪḲĀT. ii]. These corpuses sometimes contain in addition a table of the duration of total darkness (*d̲jawf al-layl* or *mā bayn al-s͟hafaḳ wa 'l-fad̲jr*), simply determined by subtracting morning and evening twilight from the time between sunset and sunrise. The 10th/16th-century Cairene astronomer Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-K͟hayr al-Ḥusnī prepared a set of tables displaying the duration of morning and evening twilight at the equinoxes and solstices for a series of latitudes.

The duration of twilight may also be determined with an astrolabe [see ASṬURLĀB], whose markings sometimes include a curve representing the solar depression at daybreak/nightfall below the horizon, enabling the user to measure the time taken from that depression to the eastern or western horizon. In the case of the astrolabic quadrant (*rubʿ al-muḳanṭarāt*) [see RUBʿ], two curves are often included whose distance from the meridian measures the duration of morning and evening twilight throughout the year (the meridian being cleverly substituted for the horizon).

To explain the varying phenomena at twilight, it is assumed by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-S͟hīrāzī [*q.v.*] and others that the spherical earth is surrounded by a layer of vapour that contains earthy and watery components, thicker in the lower strata than in the upper ones. Around the veil of vapour is a layer of pure air. The sun's rays cast a shadow of the earth into these layers, the parts outside the shadow reflect the light and appear to shine. The earliest attempt to measure the height of the atmosphere was by the late 5th/11th-century Andalusian *ḳāḍī* Ibn Muʿād͟h. His work, lost in the original, was published as *Liber de crepusculis* in 1542 and, falsely associated with Ibn al-Hayt͟ham [*q.v.*] (the correct authorship was first established in Sabra, 1967), it was influential in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Ibn Muʿād͟h "deserves credit for bringing together diverse views in meteorology and astronomy to form a coherent method for determining the height of the atmosphere" (Goldstein, 1977), even though his result, namely, 50 miles, was not satisfactory. More practical considerations of twilight are found in *zīd̲j*s [*q.v.*] and in works on time-keeping and on instrumentation.

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(E. WIEDEMANN-[D.A. KING])

S͟HĀFIʿ B. ʿ**ALĪ** AL-ʿASḲALĀNĪ, Nāṣir al-Dīn, historian of Mamlūk Egypt (born D͟hu 'l-Ḥid̲jd̲ja 649/February-March 1252, died 24 S͟haʿbān 730/ 12 June 1330).

The son of a sister of the chancery clerk Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*], he served as clerk first Baraka K͟hān b. Baybars, then Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. His official career ended when he was blinded by an arrow at the battle of Ḥimṣ (680/1281) [*q.v.*], although he claimed to have

played a significant part in the abrogation of the truce with the Latin kingdom (689/1290). He spent his long retirement as a *littérateur* and bibliophile. His numerous writings in verse and prose included a biography of Baybars, covertly critical both of the late sultan and of his previous biographer, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Kitāb Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīra al-Ẓāhiriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976); and also biographies of Ḳalāwūn and his two sons, al-Ashraf Khalīl and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The first is probably *al-Faḍl al-maʾthūr min sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Bodleian, ms. Marsh 424), which appears to be a compilation of pieces finally put together *ca.* 693/1293.

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SHAFĪʿĀ YAZDI, Dānishmand Khān, a high noble in the Mughal Empire. A Persian by birth, he studied both rational and traditional sciences in the country of his birth. He came to India as a merchant and traded at Aḥmadnagar. He entered imperial service in 1060/1650 under Shāh Djahān and was given the rank of 1,000/100. In 1065/1654-5 he was given the title of Dānishmand Khān which suggested the Emperor's high opinion of his intellectual talents (*dānishmand*, lit. "scholar, sage") and in 1068/1657-8 he was appointed Mīr Bakhshī but he resigned the same year. In 1070/1659-60 Awrangzīb, the new Emperor, raised his rank to 4,000/2,000, and in 1076/1665-6 to 5,000/2,500. He was appointed Governor of Dihlī, but soon afterwards, in 1078/1667-8, a central administration minister (Mīr Bakhshī). He died in 1081/1670.

Dānishmand Khān is also known to us from the letters of François Bernier who had taken his service in the 1660s. Dānishmand Khān showed great interest in European sciences, and had Bernier expound to him the discoveries of Harvey and Pacquet and the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes. The Italian traveller Manucci shares Bernier's high opinion of Dānishmand Khān's wisdom and learning.

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AL-**SHĀFIʿĪ**, al-Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUthmān b. Shāfiʿ b. al-Sāʾib b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAbd Yazīd b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy al-Ḳurashī, the eponym, rather than the founder, of the Shāfiʿī school (*madhhab*) [*q.v.*].

1. Life.

The biographers are all agreed in dating the birth of al-Shāfiʿī in 150/767, the year of the death of Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], a tradition, related by al-Āburī (d. 363/974) and often disputed, placing the two events on the very same day. According to the most ancient preserved source (Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939), *Ādāb al-Shāfiʿī wa-manāḳibuhu*, Aleppo n.d., 21-3), al-Shāfiʿī was born either at ʿAsḳalān, a town on the southern coast of Palestine, or in the Yemen, while most biographers incline rather towards Ghazza, likewise in southern Palestine (also mentioned, less frequently, is Minā near Mecca).

His genealogy was one of the most prestigious since, while being a Ḳurashī, he was a Muṭṭalibī on his father's side, thus a distant relative of the Prophet (al-Muṭṭalib was the brother of Hāshim, paternal great-grandfather of Muḥammad). His mother was, according to different sources, either of the Yemeni tribe of Azd [*q.v.*], or a direct descendent from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. This latter hypothesis, disputed by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī but retained by al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., i, 193-5) merits consideration for the extent to which it could partially account for the attitude of al-Shāfiʿī at the time of his *miḥna* (see below).

This genealogy, which has been disputed, is always cited in connection with various *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet—"The Imāms are of Ḳuraysh", "Learn from the Ḳurashīs and do not seek to teach them anything", etc.—with the evident intention of stressing the fundamental superiority of al-Shāfiʿī, and thereby of the school which claims him, over the other Imāms. Similarly, it is often considered that al-Shāfiʿī was the renewer (*mudjaddid*) of religion (who, according to another *ḥadīth*, is sent by God "at the beginning of each century") of the 2nd century A.H.

At the age of two (or ten according to the source which places his birth in the Yemen), orphaned of his father, al-Shāfiʿī was taken by his mother, who seems to have been totally without means, to Mecca where they had relatives. Living in humble style in the *Shiʿb al-Khayf*, the young al-Shāfiʿī seems to have become avidly interested in activities appropriate to his status as a member of the tribal aristocracy: poetry and, in particular, archery. His eloquence and his knowledge of the Arabic language—acquired, it is said (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, Cairo n.d., ii, 157), in the course of prolonged wanderings with Hudhayl [*q.v.*], a tribe of northern Arabia renowned for the beauty of its speech—have remained highly respected and are said to have been praised by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]; a collection of poems (*dīwān*) attributed to him has also survived (numerous editions in Cairo). Having furthermore become an excellent archer—"hitting the bull's-eye nine (or ten) times out of ten"—he seems to have composed a treatise on archery, an extract from which was to be reproduced in a section of the *Kitāb al-Umm* (ed. Dār al-Shaʿb (photomechanical reprod. of the Būlāḳ edition, 1321-5/1902-6), Cairo n.d., iv, 149-55; a (manuscript) *K. al-Sabḳ wa 'l-ramy* is attributed to al-Shāfiʿī, cf. F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 490).

At a very early age, al-Shāfiʿī was torn between the pursuit of these very mundane activities and the "quest for knowledge" (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*). According to an anecdote related by the biographers, one day, after al-

Shāfiʿī had demonstrated his talents as an archer, one of the spectators, ʿAmr b. Sawwād, told him that he was a better scholar than an archer (*anta fi 'l-ʿilm akbar minka fi 'l-ramy*); a compliment which apparently persuaded him to devote himself entirely to study (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb*, 22-3).

In Mecca, the principal masters of al-Shāfiʿī were Muslim b. Khālid al-Zandjī (d. 179/795 or 180/796), of whom little is known other than that he was the jurisconsult (*muftī*) of the city, and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/813) who was also, later, the master of Ibn Ḥanbal. At fifteen (or eighteen) years old, al-Shāfiʿī is said to have received his master's permission to issue judicial decisions (*fatwās*) in his own right. At the same time, the reputation of a master of Medina, the Imām Mālik b. Anas (95-179/715-95 [*q.v.*]) was in the ascendant and it was to him that al-Shāfiʿī resolved to turn in order to complete his legal education.

According to Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, while still in Mecca al-Shāfiʿī obtained a copy of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*—the principal work of Mālik—and learned it by heart before introducing himself to Mālik in *ca.* 170/786, persistently asking his permission to recite it to him. After initial hesitation, Mālik agreed and was very pleasantly surprised by the eloquence of the other, who was to become one of his disciples (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb*, 27-8).

Al-Shāfiʿī remained in Medina as a pupil of Mālik until the latter's death, a period of about ten years (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Manāḳib al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo 1986, 45). Al-Shāfiʿī was always to consider Mālik his supreme master but, being of a resolutely independent spirit, he was later to allow himself an extremely critical *K. Ikhtilāf Mālik wa 'l-Shāfiʿī*, in fact a refutation of Mālik which, in the form in which it has survived, is the work of al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī (d. 270-884), an Egyptian disciple of al-Shāfiʿī, a book for which the Mālikīs, of Egypt especially, were not to forgive him (ed. with the *K. al-Umm*, vii, 177-249; see in this connection R. Brunschvig, *Polémiques médiévales autour du rite de Mālik*, in *Etudes d'Islamologie*, ii, 65-101). In consequence, the Mālikī school was to issue a polemical literature aimed directly at al-Shāfiʿī himself (the *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Shāfiʿī* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Labbād al-Ḳayrawānī, d. 333/944, published Tunis 1986), which definitely deserves to be studied to the same degree as the better-known debates between Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs.

At Medina, al-Shāfiʿī had other masters including in particular, a disturbing fact for his Sunnī biographers, Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā (d. 184/800 or 191/807) of whom the heresiographers maintain that he was a follower of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*]; but according to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Manāḳib*, 44), this master is said to have taught him only Law (*fiḳh*) and Tradition (*ḥadīth*) and nothing in relation to theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*).

On account of the contradictions presented by the biographers, it becomes difficult to trace with precision the life of al-Shāfiʿī after this first Ḥidjāzī episode of his existence. Was he already in ʿIrāḳ between 177/793 and 179/795, and did he compose there the *K. al-Ḥudjdja* (lost), as stated by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī? In which case, how can he also write that al-Shāfiʿī remained as a pupil of Mālik at Medina until the latter's death, i.e. until 179/795? According to al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), al-Shāfiʿī's first period of residence in ʿIrāḳ dated from 195/811 to 197/813; which seems improbable since he is reckoned when there to have visited al-Shaybānī, who died in 189/805. The following events, widely attested, in the life of al-Shāfiʿī, may however be accepted as genuine, although they cannot be dated with precision (all dates given here, with the exception of that of the death of al-Shāfiʿī, are hypothetical).

It appears certain that it was shortly after having completed his education that al-Shāfiʿī was summoned to perform some official function at Nadjrān (in the north of Yemen) and that it was during this period that he compromised himself by joining the partisans of the Ḥasanid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh (regarding him and the revolt which he led, see H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1983, 76-7). According to Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995 [*q.v.*]), al-Shāfiʿī was a fervent Shīʿī (*wa-kāna al-Shāfiʿī shadīdan fi 'l-tashayyuʿ*: *Fihrist*, Beirut 1978, 295); if this was genuinely the case, it can only be understood in a strictly political sense. This episode, which the biographers call the "test" (*miḥna*) or the "crisis" (*fitna*) of al-Shāfiʿī, ended, at some point in the decade following 180, with his appearance before the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at Raḳḳa. It was through the intervention of the eminent jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]—a much favoured courtier and himself a former pupil of Mālik and of Abū Ḥanīfa—that al-Shāfiʿī was pardoned, perhaps after a spell in prison, by the caliph (although the other nine co-defendants were executed). According to the hagiographic version of this *miḥna*, al-Shāfiʿī's salvation was entirely his own achievement, obtained by his re-affirmation of loyalty to al-Rashīd and by "the strength of his argument" (*ḳuwwat ḥudjdjatih*). Al-Shāfiʿī was not subsequently to occupy any official function, refusing the caliph's offer of the post of judge (*ḳāḍī*) of Yemen.

Al-Shāfiʿī took up a first period of residence (of two years?) in ʿIrāḳ (either before, or just after his *miḥna*), during which he furthered his acquaintance with the school of *fiḳh* which had developed there, at the initiative of Abū Ḥanīfa in particular, and which continued to flourish there largely through the efforts of his two disciples Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] and al-Shaybānī (the text of the *disputatios* (*munāẓarāt*) between the latter and al-Shāfiʿī is preserved in the *Manāḳib* of Fakhr al-Dīn). Al-Shāfiʿī was a regular frequenter of the latter's circle and was later to devote a refutation to him, the *K. al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan* (*K. al-Umm*, vii, 277-303).

After this first period in ʿIrāḳ, al-Shāfiʿī returned to Mecca where, moving gradually from the status of disciple to that of master, he stayed for some nine years. *Ca.* 195/811, he is again found in Baghdād for a period of approximately two years during which he composed the first version of the *Risāla* (lost) and various texts containing what the Shāfiʿīs call "the ancient (doctrine)" (*al-ḳadīm*) of al-Shāfiʿī. In 198/813, probably after another visit to the Ḥidjāz, he is once again in Baghdād, but for only a few months. It was during this period, probably in Mecca, that al-Shāfiʿī met Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]), but despite the abundance in the biographies of anecdotes linking the two, it does not seem that they were well acquainted.

Little is known of the reasons which induced al-Shāfiʿī to emigrate and to settle definitively at Fusṭāṭ in Egypt (according to certain sources he had already spent time there in 188/804). He was probably invited there by the governor al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh (according to Yāḳūt) but it seems probable that it was in fact the isolation imposed on him, in the Ḥidjāz, by the predominance of the disciples of Mālik and, in Baghdād, by that of the disciples of al-Shaybānī, which persuaded him to attempt the foundation of a school elsewhere.

At Fusṭāṭ, he was initially well received, regarded probably as a disciple of Mālik, by the major Mālikī

family of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. Before writing a refutation of al-Shāfiʿī and returning to the ranks of the Mālikīs, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 268/881) was one of his most fervent disciples. However, al-Shāfiʿī very soon became a target for the criticism of the Egyptian Mālikīs, who sought without success to have him banished by the authorities. The life of al-Shāfiʿī was clearly that of an undesirable.

It was however in Egypt—he lectured in the mosque of ʿAmr—that al-Shāfiʿī's teaching had its greatest impact; his principal disciples were Egyptians and subsequently Shāfiʿism competed successfully with Mālikism for supremacy in Egypt [see SHĀFIʿIYYA]. It was here that al-Shāfiʿī composed the new version of his *Risāla* (the one which has survived) and the majority of the texts collected in the *K. al-Umm*.

The circumstances of his death, at 54 years old, the last day of Radjab 204/20 January 820, remain uncertain: according to some, he died as a result of a violent assault at the hands of a fanatical Mālikī while others speak of sickness. He was buried in the tomb of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam Hills. The architectural complex, frequently altered and restored, which surrounds his mausoleum, was erected under the Ayyūbids. His tomb is today the object of particular veneration (along with the nearby tombs of the Imām al-Layth and of others, it forms part of a "tour" which takes place on Thursdays), and every year his *mawlid*, one of Cairo's most important dates, is lavishly celebrated (one aspect of the popular devotion surrounding al-Shāfiʿī is studied in S. ʿUways, *Ẓāhirat irsāl al-rasāʾil ilā ḍarīḥ al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo 1978).

Married twice, al-Shāfiʿī had four children: two sons, Abū ʿUthmān (who was *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan, and two daughters, Fāṭima and Zaynab.

Reference may be made to SHĀFIʿIYYA for a list of the principal disciples of al-Shāfiʿī.

2. Doctrine.

a. Theology (*uṣūl al-dīn, ʿilm al-kalām*). Over the years, a considerable quantity of ink has been expended in addressing the question of the theological views of al-Shāfiʿī. In reality, the interest accorded to this question in the post-al-Shāfiʿī period seems to be inversely proportional to the interest in the subject shown by al-Shāfiʿī himself; the few references to the *ahl al-kalām* (an expression which, at the time, denoted the Muʿtazilīs) in his work are always linked to issues of a legal and not of a theological nature (J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 258-9).

It is therefore appropriate to treat with great caution (1) the various professions of faith attributed to al-Shāfiʿī which give the impression that his thinking was in some ways a prefiguration of Ashʿarism (*al-Ashʿariyya* [*q.v.*]), (the *K. al-Fiḳh al-akbar fi 'l-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1324/1906, is clearly apocryphal and the authenticity of the *K. Waṣiyyat al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. Kern in *MSOS*, xiii [1910], 141-5, is doubtful), and at other times a prefiguration of Ḥanbalism (cf. the creed (*ʿaḳīda*) attributed to al-Shāfiʿī in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila* of Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, Beirut n.d., i, 283-4); and (2) the observations related by Ashʿarī Shāfiʿīs, such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī or al-Subkī, depicting al-Shāfiʿī as favouring the exercise of *ʿilm al-kalām* and those, related by traditionalist Shāfiʿīs, which show him hostile to this discipline (e.g. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ādāb*, 182-9). In this context, the literature as a whole derives largely from retrospective projection, and the debates to which it refers were not to become crucial in Islam until after the death of al-Shāfiʿī (more precisely, after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] revolving round the question of the creation of the Ḳurʾān, which began in 218/833).

A recent interpretation of the work of al-Shāfiʿī, open to objection on the grounds that it, too, borrows from this dubious retrospection on the part of biographers, depicts him as a traditionalist whose primary purpose was to oppose the development of so-called "rationalist" theology (G. Makdisi, in *SI*, lix [1984], 5-47).

b. *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*. It was, allegedly, at the request of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, a traditionist of Baṣra who died in 198/813, that al-Shāfiʿī composed the *Risāla* (numerous editions since 1894, of which the best is that of A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1940 with numerous re-issues; Eng. tr. M. Khadduri, repr. Cambridge 1987; partial Fr. tr. Ph. Rancillac, in *MIDEO*, xi [1972], 127-326) and thus instituted the science of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* which was later to be elevated to a privileged position in the classical canon of Islamic scholarship (statements denying to al-Shāfiʿī the credit for having founded this science should be regarded as strictly polemical). The text which is currently available, in the form of two manuscripts, was very likely composed in Egypt and reflects the final stage in the legal thinking of al-Shāfiʿī, who had composed a substantially different version (*al-risāla al-ḳadīma*) while resident in ʿIrāḳ.

As a result of the works of I. Goldziher, who had no knowledge of the *Risāla* (*Die Ẓahiriten. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig 1884, Eng. tr. *The Ẓāhiris*, Leiden 1971) and of J. Schacht (*Origins*, and *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, Fr. tr. *Introduction au droit musulmane*, Paris 1983), the contribution of al-Shāfiʿī to Islamic legal thought—which he raised to the status of a science—is customarily regarded as a synthesis between the two major directions hitherto followed in terms of the elaboration of *fiḳh*, with which he was thoroughly familiar: on the one hand, that of his master Mālik and on the other that of Abū Ḥanīfa, as represented by al-Shaybānī. In the depth of its inspiration, the Shāfiʿian synthesis would nevertheless be more faithful to the spirit of the former and could be placed under the rubric of traditionalism.

The fundamental idea around which the entire legal thought of al-Shāfiʿī is developed in the *Risāla* is that, to every act performed by a believer who is subject to the Law (*mukallaf*) there corresponds a statute (*ḥukm*) belonging to the revealed Law (*sharīʿa*). This legal statute is either presented as such in the scriptural sources (the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna), which al-Shāfiʿī calls "the foundation" (*al-aṣl*), or is it possible, by means of analogical reasoning (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]) to infer it from the *aṣl*, the latter being the bearer of a latent "rationally deducible content", the *maʿḳūl al-aṣl*?

All the efforts of al-Shāfiʿī—and herein lies his originality in comparison with his predecessors—were subsequently to be applied to defining with precision, establishing critically and ranking in order of priority these different sources (*aṣl* and *maʿḳūl al-aṣl*) and to determining the modalities of their usage. It is no doubt the critical effort characterising Shāfiʿian legal thought which explains to a large extent the open hostility or the indifference with which the *Risāla* was initially received among *fuḳahāʾ* of all persuasions. Furthermore, the simple fact that al-Shāfiʿī had chosen to write a treatise on this subject entailed a systematisation, a codification and, up to a point, a rationalisation of understanding the Law, the *fiḳh*, which were soon to provoke tensions which would not be resolved until much later.

The principal attainments of the legal thought of al-

Shāfiᶜī consist in (1) the definition of the Sunna [*q.v.*], and (2) the systematisation of analogical reasoning. As regards the Sunna, it is appropriate, according to al-Shāfiᶜī, to identify it strictly with the sayings (*akwāl*), the acts (*afᶜāl*) and the tacit acquiescence (*ikrār*) of the one Prophet as related in solidly established traditions; in other words, it is no longer possible to suppose naïvely that the various existing local traditions faithfully reflect the practice of the Prophet. The argument, reinforced by a radical critique of conformism (*taklīd* [*q.v.*]), was principally directed against Mālik and his disciples, who tended to assimilate the practice (*ᶜamal*) of Medina to that of the Prophet for the reason, theoretically indefensible, that the Medinans had directly inherited the tradition of the Prophet because he had lived there.

As for analogical reasoning, identified with *idjtihād* [*q.v.*], the function of which is to fill gaps left by the Kurʾān and the Sunna, al-Shāfiᶜī distinguishes between two types: "analogy by cause" (*kiyās al-maᶜnā*)—the *kiyās al-ᶜilla* of the post-Shāfiᶜian theoreticians—and the less authoritative "analogy by resemblance" (*kiyās al-shabah*). Common to both of them is the imperative obligation to rely upon a legal proof (*dalīl sharᶜī*), which may sometimes be difficult for the jurist to trace but of which, through postulating, the existence is certain. The argument, this time, is directed rather against Abū Ḥanīfa and his partisans who were reputed to rely on *raʾy* and *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*], i.e. on freer forms of reasoning, less closely tied to the revealed datum. In using such reasoning, al-Shāfiᶜī was to claim that man introduces arbitrariness (*taḥakkum*) into the comprehension of the Law and that in so doing he substitutes himself for God and the Prophet (al-Ghazālī attributes to him the maxim *man istaḥsana fa-kad sharaᶜa*), the only legitimate legislators of the community.

It is evident that al-Shāfiᶜī maintains his distance from Mālik, as from Abū Ḥanīfa and his successor al-Shaybānī, and that in fact he has placed the two parties side-by-side in formally addressing to them the same message "Return to the proof". Considering his work from this perspective, al-Shāfiᶜī was anything but a traditionalist, since he profoundly modified the notion, hitherto predominant among jurists, that the community was still in direct and immediate contact with the Revelation. After the passing of al-Shāfiᶜī, on the other hand, the jurists would be obliged to interpret the reception of the revealed Law by referring to a legal theory which became ever more complex.

It should be noted that the *Risāla* remained a dead letter for more than a century and that the science of the *uṣūl al-fikh*, inherited from al-Shāfiᶜī, was not really developed until after the 4th/10th century. But it is not certain, on the other hand, that this means that the importance traditionally accorded to this work is exaggerated (a thesis recently propounded by W.B. Hallaq in *IJMES*, xxv [1993], 587-605, in reply to N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 53-61, Fr. tr. *Histoire du droit islamique*, Paris 1995, 52-60).

In addition to the *Risāla*, two other texts of al-Shāfiᶜī's legal theory have been preserved, and these have yet to receive the attention that they deserve: the *K. Ibṭāl al-istiḥsān* (published with the *K. al-Umm*, vii, 267-77), and the *K. Djimāᶜ al-ᶜilm* (in *ibid.*, 250-62, another ed. by A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1940).

c. *Fikh*. In the absence of any monograph devoted to the practical law elaborated by al-Shāfiᶜī, the present writer is obliged to confine himself to indicating the texts which could serve as a basis for such a study (the later Shāfiᶜī texts of *fikh*, some of which have been translated, are the work of the major *mudjtahids* and do not necessarily reflect the *fikh* of al-Shāfiᶜī).

Great confusion prevails among the biographers in regard to the works of *fikh* of al-Shāfiᶜī (see, in this context, the attempt at clarification of the Shāfiᶜian bibliography by Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Shāfiᶜī*, Cairo n.d., 134-49). Just as in the field of legal theory, two distinct periods in the activity of al-Shāfiᶜī are to be identified here. The first took place in the Ḥidjāz and in ᶜIrāk and led to the production of a book intitled *K. al-Ḥudjdja*, probably a compilation, of which the transmitter reputed to be the most reliable was Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḥasan al-Zaᶜfarānī (d. 260/874), a Baghdādī disciple of al-Shāfiᶜī. This work has not survived.

The "new (doctrine)" (*al-djadīd*) was elaborated in Egypt during the last years of al-Shāfiᶜī's life and is to be found recorded in the monumental *K. al-Umm*, the edition of which cited above also contains, in vol. vii, numerous other texts of al-Shāfiᶜī, some, according to J. Schacht (cf. *Origins*, 330), dating from the ᶜIrākī period. In the current state of knowledge it is impossible to determine with certainty whether the *Mabsūṭ*, mentioned by al-Bayhakī in particular as belonging among the works of al-Shāfiᶜī, is, as seems probable, the same book as the *K. al-Umm*.

Also available is an *Aḥkām al-Kurʾān* (ed. al-Kawtharī, 2 vols., n.d.), a treatise dealing with the legal statutes present in the Kurʾān which is not the one, now lost, composed by al-Shāfiᶜī himself. It is in fact a work of compilation undertaken by the great Shāfiᶜī al-Bayhakī (d. 458/1066) on the basis of different texts of al-Shāfiᶜī.

d. *Ḥadīth*. A promoter of the introduction of the critique of traditions into the legal sciences (J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 36), inasmuch as, for him, prophetic traditions are the only means of access to knowledge of the Sunna, al-Shāfiᶜī, as a traditionist (*muḥaddith*), is the author of a *Musnad* and of a *K. Ikhtilāf al-ḥādīth* (ed. with the *K. al-Umm*, respectively, vi, in the margins, 2-277, and vii, in the margins, 2-414).

In this domain, al-Shāfiᶜī was the object of numerous criticisms both on the part of the Mālikīs and, subsequently, of the disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal. He was reproached in particular for having been an unreliable transmitter (*rāwī*) (neither al-Bukhārī, nor Muslim accepted traditions transmitted by him), for having argued certain points of doctrine on the basis of dubious traditions, while being himself very rigorous on this point, in theory, and for having placed his trust in unacceptable transmitters such as Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā. The *Bayān khaṭaʾ man akhṭaʾa ᶜalā 'l-Shāfiᶜī* "Revelation of the error of those who tax al-Shāfiᶜī with error" (Beirut 1986) of al-Bayhakī seeks to exonerate al-Shāfiᶜī from these accusations.

A list, incomplete, of the *ruwāt* on whose authority al-Shāfiᶜī transmitted *ḥadīth* and of those who relied upon his authority for transmission in their turn, is supplied by Ibn Farḥūn (*al-Dībādj*, ii, 157).

e. Others. The biographers make frequent mention of al-Shāfiᶜī's extensive knowledge in the fields of medicine (*ṭibb*), of physiognomy (*firāsa*), also stating that, before turning away from it, he was interested in astrology (*al-nudjūm*).

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and of al-ʿAsḳalānī (*Tawālī al-taʾsīs bi-maʿālī Ibn Idrīs*, Cairo 1883); 3. Among biographical dictionaries, that of al-D͟hahabī (*Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1981-88, x, 5-99) assembles a mass of information, as does the shorter work of al-Nawawī, *Tahd͟hīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lug͟hāt*, Beirut n.d., i, 44-67; 4. Among modern works, besides that of Muḥ. Abū Zahra (above), ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *al-Imām al-S͟hāfiʿī*, Cairo 1945; al-Bag͟hdādī, *Manāḳib al-Imām al-S͟hāfiʿī*, Mecca 1910; M. Muṣṭafā, *K. al-D͟jawhar al-nafīs fī taʾrīk͟h ḥayāt al-Imām Ibn Idrīs*, Cairo 1908. B. In western languages: E.F. Bishop, *Al-S͟hāfiʿī...*, in *MW*, xix (1929), 156-75; J. Schacht, *On S͟hāfiʿīs life...*, in *Stud. or. Pedersen*, Copenhagen 1953, 318-26; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām al-S͟hāfiʿī...*, Göttingen 1890-1. Supplementary references in Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 485-6.

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AL-**S͟HĀFIʿIYYA**, a legal school (*mad͟hhab*) of Sunnī Islam whose members claim to follow the teachings of the Imām al-S͟hāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]).

Origins (first half of the 3rd/9th century).

The issue of the institution of the S͟hāfiʿī *mad͟hhab* remains poorly understood, and it poses a series of problems, fundamental as well as chronological, which are not confined to this school alone, applying in an identical manner to the emergence of other legal schools within the Islamic legal system.

In reference to the S͟hāfiʿī school, the fundamental problem is essentially the following: the Imām al-S͟hāfiʿī is the author of a radical criticism of judicial conformism (*taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]), developed in his celebrated *Risāla* (ed. S͟hākir, Cairo 1940; numerous re-editions in Cairo and in Beirut), which sought, on the one hand, to discredit the living local traditions as a source of religious Law, and on the other, to insist that the doctrines of the Imāms could no longer be invoked in legal issues without additional proof of the authority attributed to these great masters. Furthermore, the biographers credit al-S͟hāfiʿī with a series of solemn declarations strictly forbidding others to claim him as a teacher or to make his doctrine, after his death, the object of a new conformism. If reference is to be made to S͟hāfiʿī thought, the very existence of a school thus appears contradictory from the outset. There can be no doubt that this fundamental anomaly at the very heart of the institution of judicial schools was very soon perceived by Muslim jurists, who sought to resolve it in various manners (ranging from the refusal, rare and soon inadmissible, to belong to any school whatsoever, to the most blind acceptance of the undisputed superiority of the Imāms, with various intermediate solutions seeking to legitimise the existence of the schools while avoiding the danger of *taḳlīd*). Unfortunately, this issue has yet to be examined in depth.

As a general rule, the question of adherence to one *mad͟hhab* or to another should be further sub-divided according to the nature of the adherent: whether the case of a scholar-jurist (*ʿālim*), or of one who is secular in religious matters (*ʿāmmī*). Every secular person is obliged to refer himself to a recognised scholar (recognition depending on a number of criteria, some of them controversial) of his choice when a question relating to the *S͟harīʿa* [*q.v.*] is put to him and it behoves him to act in conformity (*ḳallada*) with the opinion which he has sollicited. For him, the only means of access to the knowledge of legal statutes is *taḳlīd*. Theoretically, the adherence of a secular Muslim to a specific judicial school is thus consequent upon the choice to act in conformity with one scholar rather than with another: he will be called a "S͟hāfiʿī" if he appeals to the authority of a jurist claiming the legacy of S͟hāfiʿism and the only personal effort which is (sometimes) required of him is to decide upon the relative worth of the Imāms and subsequently to choose, in a logical and sincere manner, the school to which he will belong (hence the existence, in each school, of a literature, yet to be studied, directed towards a broad public which is educated, but insufficiently, or not at all, versed in legal matters, which seeks to prove the superiority of such an Imām over such another; thus there is, among the S͟hāfiʿīs, the unedited *Mug͟hīt͟h al-k͟halḳ fī bayān al-aḥaḳḳ* of al-D͟juwaynī). However, the adherence of a secular person to a *mad͟hhab* is not necessarily definitive or strict; he may, on the one hand, change his school, and on the other, according to certain authors, he has the right, in a particular matter, to refer in an exceptional fashion to a scholar belonging to a school other than that whose doctrine he normally follows.

The question of the chronology of the emergence of the *mad͟hhabs*, and in particular of the S͟hāfiʿī one, is likewise imperfectly resolved. According to J. Schacht (*Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 58), the inception of a school laying claim to al-S͟hāfiʿī and seeking to propagate his doctrine ("doctrine" is, alongside "way", one of the senses of the word *mad͟hhab*), is to be credited to the very first generation of disciples of al-S͟hāfiʿī and, more specifically, to al-Muzanī (see below), who, in compiling a "summary" (*muk͟htaṣar*) of the doctrines of al-S͟hāfiʿī (text edited in the margins of the *K. al-Umm* of al-S͟hāfiʿī, Cairo n.d., i-vi) would allegedly have laid the foundations of the institutionalisation of this doctrine. This hypothesis is confirmed by the history of judicial science (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]) in the Islamic community presented by a S͟hāfiʿī author of the very first rank, Abū Isḥāḳ al-S͟hīrāzī (d. 479/1083 [*q.v.*]). In his "list of jurists", the latter classifies the first Muslim jurists according to geographical criteria (jurists of Medina, of Mecca, of Yemen, of Syria, of Egypt, etc.). On the other hand, the geographic criterion is not retained for the immediate disciples of the Imāms al-S͟hāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/845 [*q.v.*]), Mālik (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) and Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b. K͟halaf

(d. 270/884 [*q.v.*]): "Then, subsequently", writes al-Shīrāzī, "in all the lands where Islam was present, the judicial science (*fiḳh*) passed into the hands of the disciples of al-Shāfiᶜī, of Abū Ḥanīfa, of Mālik, of Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] and of Dāwūd and was propagated by them in the regions. Imāms claiming allegiance to them—to the five above-mentioned Imāms—were eager to demonstrate the superiority of their *madhhab*s and their doctrines (*aḳwāl*)" (al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, Beirut n.d., 108). It seems, however, quite probable that Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī was proceeding here towards an *a posteriori* reconstruction and that the birth of the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* in the sense of a genuine institution is probably later than he indicates (the evolution of the institution of *madhhabs* definitely deserves more attentive study).

It is thus appropriate to locate the birth of these so-called "personal" schools (as opposed to the former schools known as "local") during the first half of the 3rd/9th century. In the current state of knowledge, it is difficult to establish precisely what adherence to a particular school meant to a jurist. Whatever the hypothesis, recent studies (W.M. Watt, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, i, 1974, 675-8, and W.B. Hallaq, in *IJMES*, xvi [1984], 3-41) have shown, in opposition to an opinion which is still widely diffused (expressed in its classic form by J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 69-75), that the birth of the personal schools could not be identified with the "closure of the door of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*]", which, while it never took on the form of an institution, was a much later phenomenon.

Development.

A preliminary remark is required before addressing the question of the development of the Shāfiᶜī school in history; it concerns the modalities of its diffusion in the Muslim world. Two theses are opposed on this point, although in fact it is doubtless more realistic to consider them as complementary. If credence is to be given to the authors of the *Ṭabaḳāt* and, more generally, to ancient and contemporary Muslim authors (with the exception of a few historians), the diffusion of the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* is to be laid to the exclusive credit of a certain number of eminent personalities who emerged from its ranks and who, principally on account of their pedagogic ability and powers of persuasion (but also of their morality, their spirituality, etc.) drew to themselves an often considerable number of pupils and disciples sometimes coming from distant places. The latter, on completion of their education, returned to their homes where they pursued an academic career and/or occupied official functions in the judiciary, and it was through diffusion of this sort that the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* developed in different regions of the *Dār al-Islām*. This thesis has an undoubted tendency towards idealisation of the issue, ignoring the fact that education and, more particularly, the magistrature, were not genuinely independent of political power, nor of its crises. It appears difficult, however, with G. Makdisi (*The rise of colleges*, Edinburgh 1981, 1-9), to subscribe entirely to the theses by C. Snouck Hurgronje and revived by Schacht which tend rather to place the development of the *madhhabs* under the heading of state policy. Numerous works (see, for example, A.K.S. Lambton, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981, ch. *The* Fuḳahāʾ *and the holders of power*, 242-63) have in fact shown that in Sunnī Islam the relations between the body of scholars, jurists in particular, and the circles of power were not expressed as one voice, so that while it is certain that official policy was capable of influencing the development of judicial schools by favouring sometimes one and sometimes another on the institutional level, this influence remained limited; it was to some extent a process of identification—more or less efficacious according to the times—with the activity of the jurists of a certain school, without, however, conferring secondary status on others (in relation to the interaction between political régime and judicial scholarship, see K.S. Salibi, *The Banū Jamāᶜā. A dynasty of Shāfiᶜite jurists in the Mamluk period*, in *SI*, ix [1958], 97-109 or idem, art. BANŪ DJAMĀᶜĀ in this Encyclopaedia).

The first Shāfiᶜīs.

Although the career of al-Shafiᶜī also included phases in the Ḥidjāz and in Baghdād, it was principally towards the end of his life, at Fusṭāṭ in Egypt, that his teaching was most favourably accepted, and that he had the greatest number of disciples, who played a significant role in the diffusion of his doctrine.

It is furthermore appropriate to recall that there are two distinct bodies of doctrine in the work of al-Shāfiᶜī: the first, known as "the ancient" (*al-ḳadīm*) having been developed before his arrival in Egypt (in 198/814, according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo n.d., ii, 334) and the second, known as "the new" (*al-djadīd*), during his residence at Fusṭāṭ. Now the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* has definitively retained only the "new" Shāfiᶜī doctrine (with considerable modifications over the course of the centuries), in such a way that its diffusion could only be accomplished by these Egyptian disciples.

The first ᶜIrāḳi Shāfiᶜī transmitters of the ancient doctrine.

Two direct disciples of al-Shāfiᶜī are renowned for having transmitted his earlier doctrine: Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḥasan al-Zaᶜfarānī (d. 260/874; on him, see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiᶜiyya al-kubrā* (= *Ṭ.Sh.K.*), Cairo n.d., ii, 114-17) and Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 or 248/862), see *ibid.*, ii, 117-26, the former being reckoned the more reliable. A late biographer, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī (d. 772/1370), claimed that he still had in his possession a copy of the book transmitted by al-Karābīsī after al-Shāfiᶜī (al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiᶜiyya*, Beirut 1987, i, 26). According to various authors, including Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) (*Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiᶜiyyīn*, Cairo 1994, i, 39), Ibn Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] was also an assiduous disciple of al-Shāfiᶜī during the latter's second period in Baghdād in the years following 195/811. The "new" doctrine of al-Shāfiᶜī was only introduced into ᶜIrāḳ by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ᶜUthmān al-Anmāṭī (d. 288/901) who was the pupil of two Egyptian Shāfiᶜīs, al-Muzanī and al-Rabīᶜ (see below).

The first Egyptian Shāfiᶜī transmitters of the new doctrine.

Three names stand out among the direct disciples of al-Shāfiᶜī in Egypt: Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yusūf al-Buwayṭī (d. 231/846), Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāᶜīl al-Muzanī (d. 264/877) and Abū Muḥammad al-Rabīᶜ al-Murādī (d. 270/883). Of the first, al-Shāfiᶜī said that he was "[his] tongue" (*lisānī*), of the second that he was "the one who made [his] doctrine triumph" (*nāṣir madhhabī*) and of the third that he was "the transmitter of [his] books" (*rāwiyat kutubī*).

Al-Buwayṭī, a native of Buwayṭ in Upper Egypt, was, evidently, al-Shāfiᶜī's favourite disciple; it is he whom the latter is said expressly to have appointed his successor. Having contributed significantly to the diffusion of his master's *madhhab*, al-Buwayṭī suffered persecution at the time of the so-called "*miḥna* [*q.v.*] of the Ḳurʾān", was arrested and imprisoned in Baghdād, where he died in detention. He is the author of a "summary of the books of al-Shāfiᶜī" (*Mukhtaṣar min kutub al-Shāfiᶜī*), praised by the Shāfiᶜī biographers (see al-ᶜAbbadī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiᶜiyya*, Leiden 1964, 8; the work is preserved in

manuscript form, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 491). Historically, the importance of al-Buwayṭī and of his work seems, however, to be of rather secondary importance (unless Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) is correct in his assertion, repeated by al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, that al-Buwayṭī was the real author of the *K. al-Umm*, which is attributed to al-Shāfiʿī).

Al-Muzanī, whose sister also followed the teaching of al-Shāfiʿī, is renowned, and sometimes criticised, for having been al-Shāfiʿī's most independent disciple. His *Mukhtaṣar*, the subject of numerous commentaries (see Sezgin, i, 493), was at the same time considered by some, e.g. al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), as one of the seminal works of reference of the school, and by others, e.g. al-Rāfiʿī (d. 628/1230), as diverging too often from the teachings of al-Shāfiʿī, to such an extent that the "singularities" (*tafarrudāt*) of his *fiḳh* could no longer be counted, according to him, among the doctrines of the school. His "strange points of view and [his] numerous positions which are contrary to the *madhhab*" (*wa-lahu wudjūh gharība wa-ikhtiyārāt kathīra mukhālifa li 'l-madhhab*: Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyyīn*, i, 123) were often refuted by Abū Isḥāḳ, al-Shīrāzī in the *Muhadhdhab*, another, later, work of reference of the school. As indisputable evidence of the tenuity, or the laxity, which then characterised the links between a disciple and his master, al-Muzanī was also, according to al-Asnawī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, i, 28), the author of a book in which he completely renounced the doctrine of al-Shāfiʿī and expounded a *madhhab* of his own.

Quite unlike al-Muzanī, al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī, the "servant of al-Shāfiʿī" (*khādim al-Shāfiʿī*), owes his reputation to his role as a faithful transmitter of al-Shāfiʿī—it was he whom jurists trusted (see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Beirut n.d., 297)—rather than as a major jurist; in legal matters, he was reputedly "slow of comprehension" (*baṭīʾ al-fahm*). Al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī was in effect the principal transmitter of the "new" doctrine of al-Shāfiʿī and of the books propounding it, i.e. the *K. al-Umm* and the *Risāla* (of which one of the two surviving copies may be his own work). Furthermore, he was himself the author of a summary (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the doctrines of al-Shāfiʿī which did not enjoy the success of that of al-Muzanī (see al-Bayhaḳī, *Manāḳib al-Shāfiʿī*, Cairo n.d., i, 255).

The major Shāfiʿīs and the expansion of the madhhab.

As a result of the zeal of the first Egyptian Shāfiʿīs, Egypt, with the exception of the Ṣaʿīd [*q.v.*] which remained Mālikī, was the cradle of Shāfiʿism and rapidly became its "fief" (*markaz mulk al-shāfiʿiyya*: *Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 326). Syria (*al-Shām*), hitherto Awzāʿī, was soon to follow the movement. Until the institution, in 665/1228, of the system of the four judges by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī, practically all official judicial functions in Egypt and in Syria were exercised by Shāfiʿīs (except, naturally enough, during the Fāṭimid period, from 358-567/969-1171). However, even when the four "orthopraxic" rites were thus officially represented in the institutions, Shāfiʿism retained, in Egypt and in Syria, various prerogatives; it lost them definitively with the Ottoman conquest of 1517, which rapidly imposed Ḥanafism as the legal doctrine of the state (see Schacht, *Introduction*, 89-93; for a history of Shāfiʿism in Egypt, see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 331-44).

To the west of Egypt, Shāfiʿism did not succeed in establishing itself and, from the 4th/10th century onward, only a very few Shāfiʿīs are to be observed in the Maghrib and in Andalusia. In terms of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), Shāfiʿism nevertheless exerted a significant influence on the Mālikism of North Africa and Andalusia, through the intermediary of Mālikī scholars who travelled to the East, and were sometimes taught there by Shāfiʿī masters; such was the case of Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī (d. 474/1081), whose *uṣūl al-fiḳh* are virtually indistinguishable from those of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, his Shāfiʿī teacher in Baghdād.

In the Ḥidjāz, Mecca and Medina included, the Shāfiʿīs were broadly in the majority, while the Yemen was shared between Shāfiʿism and the Zaydiyya; tensions between representatives of the two tendencies have persisted into the present day (for a history of Shāfiʿism in the Yemen, see al-Djaʿdī (d. 586/1190), *Ṭabaḳāt fuḳahāʾ al-Yaman*, Beirut 1981).

In ʿIrāḳ, and more particularly in Baghdād, the role of al-Anmāṭī (see above) seems to have been decisive in the diffusion of the *fiḳh* of al-Shāfiʿī: "It was through his inspiration, and in tribute to his memory, that the people of Baghdād set themselves with such zeal to writing the *fiḳh* of al-Shāfiʿī" (al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, 114). In fact, al-Anmāṭī stands at the head of a line of very eminent jurists who were concerned with theorising and codifying Shāfiʿī *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *fiḳh*. His principal disciple was the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ibn Suraydj (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*]), whose activity was probably even more important for the diffusion of the *madhhab*. He had a considerable number of disciples who are still renowned: Abū Isḥāḳ al-Marwazī (d. 340/951), Ibn Abī Hurayra (d. 345/956), al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 336/947), etc. It is also in the line of Ibn Suraydj that it is appropriate to locate the works of other important authors, such as Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 406/1015), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*]), Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083 [*q.v.*]), etc. The extraordinary development of Shāfiʿī literature in Baghdād, for as long as this city retained its full importance, should no doubt be attributed to the fact that in the city numerous *madhhabs* remained well represented, thus creating a climate of competition which was a catalyst for, in the best case, the fine intellectual creativity to which Shāfiʿism and the other schools owed some of their major works and, in the worst case, doctrinal fanaticism (*al-taʿaṣṣub al-madhhabī*) from which serious violence sometimes resulted.

In Khurāsān, and more particularly at Nīsābūr and at Marw, the Shāfiʿīs were so numerous that they constituted, according to al-Subkī, "half of the *madhhab*" (*Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 326). It is with the Khurāsānian branch of Shāfiʿism, as a general rule more speculative than its ʿIrāḳi branch, that are associated the names of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 418/1027), of Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) or indeed of the illustrious Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.vv.*]). As a result of serious politico-religious disorders, the 6th/12th century saw the demise of the Shāfiʿī presence in Khurāsān in favour of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, and an exodus of Shāfiʿī scholars towards the west, especially towards Syria, is observable at this time (see J. Sublet, in *Arabica*, xi/2 [1964], 188-95; for more details regarding the diffusion of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in the rest of the Muslim world, see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule...*, Wiesbaden 1974; A. Taymūr, *Naẓra tārīkhiyya fī ḥudūth al-madhāhib al-fiḳhiyya al-arbaʿa*, Beirut 1990, 70-80; M. Abū Zahra, *Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-islāmiyya*, Cairo n.d., 477-82 and *Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 324-9; for the geographical distribution of *madhhabs* in the contemporary period, see L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, Paris 1955).

An author of the 8th/14th century, al-Subkī (*Ṭ.Sh.K.*, i, 199-202), gives the following list, which cannot be considered canonical on account of the

theological views of its author, of the Shāfiᶜīs who, according to him, are the most important in the history of the *madhhab*, each of them being the «renewer» (*mudjaddid*) of religion, whose coming each century is prophesied by a statement of the Prophet : al-Shāfiᶜī, Ibn Suraydj, Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ᶜĪd (d. 702/1302). (Regarding the major Shāfiᶜīs, see also M.H. Hītū, *al-Idjtihād wa-ṭabaḳāt mudjtahidī al-shāfiᶜiyya*, Beirut 1988 and F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām el-Schafiᶜī, seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum J. 300 d. H.*, Göttingen 1890-1).

The principal works of reference of the madhhab.

1. Legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]). Although Shāfiᶜīs often took pride in the fact that their Imām, al-Shāfiᶜī, was the founder of the science of the *uṣūl-al-fiḳh*, this science was, in fact, hardly practised at all during the first two centuries of the existence of the *madhhab*, even if it was not totally neglected (on this point, see W. B. Hallaḳ in *IJMES*, xxv [1993], 587-605). On the other hand, during the 4th/10th century and, subsequently, throughout the classical period, the science of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* experienced an extraordinary development. It is only in the last few years that a close interest has been taken in this literature and that it has been published. In regard to the Shāfiᶜī *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the paucity of works dealing with them demands a very schematic approach. As a general rule, all the Shāfiᶜī *uṣūlīs* claim their adherence to the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiᶜī, but this claim is often very formal; it impinges upon various currents of legal thought.

The first is characterised by its very strictly legal nature and its representatives were in fact "pure" jurists; most often, they were renowned also for the quality of the treatises on *fiḳh*, as correctly defined, which they composed. This current is principally represented by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) whose books *al-Lumaᶜ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (numerous editions since Cairo 1326/1907) and *Sharḥ al-Lumaᶜ* (ed. ᶜA.-M. Turkī, Beirut 1983) served for a long time as models and were the subjects of frequent commentaries (see. M.H. Hītū, *al-Imām al-Shīrāzī*, Damascus 1980, 209).

This current, today once again highly valued, was supplanted by the works of *uṣūlīs* who were definitely Shāfiᶜīs, but who were often not jurists but theologians of generally Ashᶜarī allegiance. The classical texts of this current of theologico-legal thought are: *al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* by Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī (ed. al-Dīb, Cairo 1980) and, by the same, the short and much commentarised *Waraḳāt* (numerous editions; French tr. I. Bercher, Tunis 1930), *al-Mustaṣfā min ᶜilm al-uṣūl* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (Beirut n.d., repr. Būlāḳ 1322-4/1904-6; text partially analysed by H. Laoust, *La Politique de Gazālī*, Paris 1970, 152-82), *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* by Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1234) (ed. al-Djamīlī, Beirut 1984; on him, see B.G. Weiss, *The search for God's law. Islamic jurisprudence in the writings of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī*, Salt Lake City 1992), and in particular *al-Maḥṣūl fī ᶜilm uṣūl al-fiḳh* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (ed. al-ᶜAlwānī, Beirut 1992).

In the post-classical period, these texts were tirelessly commentarised and glossed and they served as the basis for numerous "original" texts which in fact are compilations. The best known of the latter is the *Djamᶜ al-djawāmiᶜ* of Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1369 [*q.v.*]) (Cairo 1316/1898) which, accompanied by various later commentaries, principally that of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*]), served as a basis for the teaching of the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* among Shāfiᶜīs for centuries. These late texts are mistrusted by contemporary Muslim scholars, who prefer to go directly to the great classical works of a more distant past, reckoned to be more authentic and more prestigious.

2. Law (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]). In the 7th/13th century, the great Shāfiᶜī al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) compiled a list of the works of *fiḳh* of those of his predecessors who had exerted the greatest influence in the *madhhab*; he mentions the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī, *al-Tanbīh* and *al-Muhadhdhab* of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (respectively: 1. Cairo 1901, Fr. tr. by G.H. Bousquet, *Le Livre de l'Admonition*, Algiers 1949; and 2. Dār-al-Fikr, n.p., n.d.), *al-Wasīṭ* and *al-Wadjīz* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and the *Sharḥ al-wadjīz* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Rāfiᶜī (d. 623/1226) (cf. al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lughāt*, Beirut n.d., i, 3). It will be noted that none of the works of al-Shāfiᶜī himself feature in this list and, judging by the number of commentaries which they engendered, it is doubtless no exaggeration to say that the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī had definitively greater importance than the *K. al-Umm* of al-Shāfiᶜī himself in the development of the Shāfiᶜī doctrine (concerning the divergence between the *fiḳh* of al-Shāfiᶜī himself and classical Shāfiᶜī *fiḳh*, see Schacht, *Sur la transmission de la doctrine...*, in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 401-19).

The works of al-Shīrāzī are associated with the ᶜIrāḳī element of the Shāfiᶜī school: *al-Tanbīh* takes its inspiration from the commentary, *al-Taᶜlīḳ*, by Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī, while in *al-Muhadhdhab*, al-Shīrāzī devised his *fiḳh* around another commentary on the same *Mukhtaṣar*, also intitled *al-Taᶜlīḳ* but the work of his master, the *Ḳāḍī* Abū Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058). On the other hand, the work of al-Ghazālī is associated with the Khurāsānian element of the school; *al-Wadjīz* is a summary of *al-Wasīṭ*, which is itself a summary of *al-Basīṭ* by the same al-Ghazālī, in which he derived inspiration from the *Nihāya al-maṭlab* of his master Abu 'l-Maᶜālī al-Djuwaynī. Of a somewhat later date is *al-Taḳrīb* (ed. T. Keijzer, Leiden 1859, Fr. tr. G.H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi...*, in *R.Afr.* [1935]), another summary of the *Nihāya* of al-Djuwaynī, by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan Abū Shudjāᶜ (still living in 500/1106 [*q.v.*]) which was the object of glosses and commentaries until the 13th/19th century.

In the *Fatḥ al-ᶜazīz fī sharḥ al-wadjīz*, a commentary on *al-Wadjīz* of al-Ghazālī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Rāfiᶜī (628/1230) is reputed to have made the connection between the two elements of the school and, after him, there is barely any distinction between the two. Al-Rāfiᶜī is also the author of *al-Muḥarrar*, likewise inspired by *al-Wadjīz*, which was to be critically summarised by Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī in his *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (much-criticised tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, *Le Guide des zélés croyants*, Batavia 1882-4), which was in its turn highly regarded in the *madhhab*. The same al-Nawawī composed two important works based on the *Sharḥ al-wadjīz* of al-Rāfiᶜī, the *Rawḍa al-ṭālibīn* and the *Zawāʾid al-rawḍa*.

Two commentaries on the *Minhādj al-ṭālibin* of al-Nawawī, the *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj* by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 975/1567) and the *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī (d. 1006/1596), as well as a commentary on *al-Taḳrib* of Abū Shudjāᶜ, the *Fatḥ al-ḳarīb* by al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512) (again, a much criticised tr. by L.W.C. van den Berg, *La Révélation de l'Omniprésent*, Leiden 1895), constituted works of reference for the teaching of Shāfiᶜism in later periods. A gloss (*ḥāshiya*) on the last-named text by Ibrāhim al-Bādjūrī (d. 1276/1860) has been partially summarised by E. Sachau (*Muhammedanisches Recht*

nach schafiitischer Lehre, Stuttgart-Berlin 1897; for a more exhaustive bibliography of the school, see al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1014/1605), *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1979, *Bāb fī dhikr kutub al-madhhab*, 245-51).

Shāfiʿism, theology and Ṣūfism.

Throughout its long history, the Shāfiʿī school generally maintained good relations, in terms of theology (*ʿilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*]), with Ashʿarism [*q.v.*] and, in regard to Ṣūfism, with its reputedly "moderate" tendency. Scholars such as Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī (d. 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), renowned Khurāsanian author of the *Risāla fī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*, who combined the qualities of Shāfiʿī jurist, of Ashʿarī theologian and of Ṣūfī, are plentiful among the Shāfiʿī ranks; Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī remains the most eminent representative of this trend, although he is neither the most original nor the most interesting.

In regard to Ṣūfism, envisaged as an interior struggle (*mudjāhada*) towards the comprehension and realisation of the injunctions of the Law addressed to the consciousness of the believer (*fiḳh bāṭin al-sharīʿa*), Shāfiʿī legal doctrine has strictly speaking nothing to dispute; the contrary is the case, insofar as, on the one hand, Ṣūfism does not eliminate the importance of *fiḳh* as such by seeking to act as a substitute for it, and insofar as, on the other hand, it does not engender practices, "spiritual exercises", which, from the viewpoint of *fiḳh*, could be seen as reprehensible. But, as a more general rule and in a more essential manner, the majority of the spiritual and moral virtues—the spirit of scrupulousness (*al-waraʿ*), asceticism (*al-zuhd*), etc.—which *fiḳh* refuses, on principle, to take into consideration in its work of demonstration and application of legal statutes and which have been codified in the framework of Ṣūfism, are highly valued by, in particular, the majority of biographers who do not hesitate, when the occasion arises, to attribute them to such-and-such a *faḳīh*. Among renowned Ṣūfīs who were Shāfiʿīs (or at least, whom Shāfiʿism claims), the most significant names are: al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857 [*q.v.*]) whose few biographers state that he was a friend of al-Shāfiʿī; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]), although al-Ḳushayrī asserts that he adhered rather to the *madhhab* of Abū Thawr; the *shaykh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Khafīf (d. 391/1001); etc.

The history of relations between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism [see ASHʿARIYYA] is, however, more problematical and has for a long time been the object of debate in Islamic studies. With regard to theology, it is appropriate first to distinguish between two tendencies among Shāfiʿī jurists. The first—represented by scholars such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939), al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) or indeed Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/939)—was, for various reasons and to differing degrees, hostile to the exercise of this discipline as such. This tendency is often described as "traditionalist", although there is doubt as to whether this adjective is well-chosen.

The second tendency was for its part enthusiastically in favour of the development of the *ʿilm al-kalām* in the Muslim community and it is represented by Shāfiʿīs—Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī, Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015), al-Djuwaynī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), etc.—who include some of the best Muslim theologians. It is asserted that more than a large majority of the Shāfiʿīs favouring the exercise of speculative theology supported Ashʿarism (with a few exceptions, including, famously, the *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1024 [*q.v.*]) who was a Shāfiʿī in legal matters and a Muʿtazilī in theology). It seems to be accepted furthermore, among the majority of Shāfiʿī biographers (see, for example, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, al-Nawawī and al-Mizzī, *Ṭabaḳat al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1992, ii, 604-6), that the theologian al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6 [*q.v.*]) was himself a Shāfiʿī. It is, however, impossible to state this categorically (see D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿari*, Paris 1990, 517-9; on the question of relations between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism, see, with regard to Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, C. Gilliot in *SI*, lxviii [1988], 170-86, and, in reply to the latter, E. Chaumont in *SI*, lxxiv [1991], 168-77, and with regard to al-Djuwaynī, T. Nagel, *Die Festung des Glaubens*, Munich 1988).

It is not, however, appropriate to speak of a special relationship between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism since, on the one hand, as has been observed, numerous Shāfiʿīs were opposed to any speculative theology, and on the other hand, not all Ashʿarīs were Shāfiʿīs, indeed, far from it. Furthermore, bearing in mind the fact that, over the centuries, Ashʿarism tended to be regarded as the supreme theological doctrine of Sunnī Islam—at the expense of Muʿtazilism and, to a lesser degree, of creeds of the Ḥanbalī type—the presence of a majority of Ashʿarīs among the Shāfiʿīs is hardly surprising (on this point, see *T.Sh.K.*, iii, 377-8, where al-Subkī draws up a contemporary table of the theological allegiances represented in the *madhhabs* and stresses the fact that, while Ashʿarīs constitute the majority in all the schools, with the exception of Ḥanbalism, it is only the Mālikīs who are exclusively Ashʿarī). It is apparent, therefore, that the question of relations between Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism is subordinate, by comparison with a more general enquiry, not yet undertaken, which would seek to determine the precise nature of the causes capable of explaining why and how Ashʿarism was implanted in the Islamic legal system and its institutions with greater ease than other theological doctrines.

Bibliography: The majority of important references are indicated in the text. For a more extensive bibl., recourse may be had to the exhaustive and thematically classified compilation given by Schacht in his *Introduction to Islamic law*, 215-85. See also ASHʿARIYYA, ḤANĀBILA, ḤANAFIYYA, MĀLIKIYYA, MUʿTAZILA. (E. CHAUMONT)

SHAFSHĀWAN (dialect, Shāwan, usual Fr. rendering Chaouen, Span. Xauen), a town of Morocco in the country of the Ghumāra [*q.v.*]. The term is said to mean "horn or horns" in Tamazight, referring to the mountain peaks (over 2,000 m/6,500 feet) which surround the town. Situated at an altitude of 600 m/2,000 feet, Shafshāwan is rich in springs of water, the best-known being that of Raʾs al-Māʾ. Equally situated between Oazzane and Tetuan, with which it has always been in close contact, the town occupies a strategic position 40 km/25 miles from the coast, and in the past played the role of a crossroads for the Djbāla region.

It was founded in 876/1471-2 on the right bank of the wadi of the same name by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Rāshid, a descendant of the Idrīsid saint ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh [*q.v.*]. It was moved to the right bank by ʿAlī b. Rāshid. It sheltered waves of Moriscos, Muslims and Jews, expelled from al-Andalus, and still bears the imprint of this history, seen in the utilisation of space and colours, the architecture, as well as the customs and patronymics attesting this Andalusian grafting. The town's history is linked with that of the founding Banū Rāshid, the most famous of whom being Mawlāy Ibrāhīm (895-946/1490-1539). The family cultivated matrimonial alliances with the powerful caïds of the region;

Mawlāy Ibrāhīm's sister, Sayyida al-Ḥurra, married the *ḳāʾid* of Tetuan al-Mandrī and, after becoming a widow, became the wife of the Waṭṭāsid sultan Aḥmad. She played a leading role in the politics of the region, and Mawlāy Ibrāhīm himself distinguished himself in warfare against the Portuguese of Aṣīla before succeeding his father as *ḳāʾid* of Shafshāwan. As a splendid and faithful warrior, Sīdī Brāhīm/Mawlāy Ibrāhīm compelled the admiration of his enemies, who did not cease to heap praises on his great deeds and generosity (Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anals de Arzila*, ed. D. Lopes, Lisbon 1915-20; R. Ricard, *Moulay Ibrahim, caïd de Chefchaouen*, in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Portugal*, Paris 1948, iii, 146-57, and the same article in *al-And.* [1941]). But his family fell victim to the conflicts between the last Waṭṭāsids and the Saʿdids. After Abū Ḥassūn's capture of Fās in 961/1554, Shafshāwan was besieged by the minister Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in the name of the sultan al-Ghālib, and the Banū Rāshid fled in Safar 969/October 1562 and disappeared from the political scene.

Shafshāwan played an essential role in the fight against the Portuguese installed at Ceuta, Tangiers and Aṣīla, and Leo Africanus states that its citizens were "freed from taxes because they serve as cavalrymen and infantrymen in the fight against the Portuguese". The 9th/15th century was its most brilliant one, when it produced several renowned scholars, such as Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Habtī (d. 963/1556) and Ibn ʿAskar, the author of the *Dawḥat al-nāshir*, banished by the Banū Rāshid. Once occupied by the Saʿdids, the town lost its importance and, henceforth, is hardly ever mentioned. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl built a *ḳaṣba* there. It was in turn held by al-Raysūnī, al-Khaḍir Ghaylān and then by the *pasha* Aḥmad al-Rīfī (d. 1146/1743), and in October 1920 was occupied by Spain. During 1922-6 ʿAbd al-Krīm made it a base of operations for the war in the Rīf [*q.v.*].

The surrounding region, despite its steep slopes, is fertile and well-watered and produces cereals and fruit (grapes, figs, pomegranates etc.), but the water-mills and the presses which gave the town its fame survive only vestigially. The activity recorded by G. Colin in the earlier decades of this century (*EI*[1] art. *s.v.*) is only a memory, and Shafshāwan lives essentially off tourism, with many tourists attracted by the climate and the beauty of its site, and with handicrafts: textiles (*drāza*), pottery, leatherwork and copper ware. The fortified town has walls pierced by eleven gates. Its clearly individual quarters, its numerous mosques, its *ḳaṣba* and the shrine of Sīdī ʿAlī Ben Rāshid, bear witness to a past era now completed, for the town now suffers from its cramped site. It remains a modest place, and its eccentric position and the poverty of the region have not encouraged the growth of population which characterises other urban centres of Morocco. It is thought to have had between 3,000 and 7,000 inhabitants before 1918. In 1953 the census counted 11,500 Muslims, 2,500 Spanish and 15 Jews. The population reached 16,850 in 1969, but did not go beyond 24,000 in 1982.

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(Halima Ferhat)

SHĀH "king", and **SHĀHANSHĀH** "king of kings", two royal titles in Persian.

They can be traced back to the Achaemenid kings of ancient Persia, who, from Darius I (521-486 B.C.) onwards, refer to themselves in their inscriptions both as *xšāyaθiya* "king" (from the root *xšay-* "to rule", cognate to Sanskrit *kṣáyati* "possess" and Greek *κτάομαι* "acquire") and as *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* "king of kings". Even earlier the title "king of kings" had been used by the rulers of Assyria and of Urartu (in the Caucasus) and it is not unlikely that the Persians adopted it from the latter (see O.G. von Wesendonk, *The title "King of Kings"*, in *Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, London 1933, 488-90). The implication of this title would seem to have been, not that the Achaemenid monarch was the chief king over other sub-kings (there is no evidence that there were any other "kings" within the empire), but rather that he was the king *par excellence*. We have thus to do with a rhetorical figure which might be called the superlative genitive, as also in the Biblical "vanity of vanities" (*hăbel hăbālīm*).

The same two titles, in their Western Middle Iranian forms *shāh* and *shāhān shāh*, occur in the inscriptions of the Arsacid and Sāsānid kings. In inscriptions in the Parthian language these are represented by the Aramaeograms MLKʾ and MLKYN MLKʾ respectively; Middle Persian uses the Aramaeogram MLKʾ (also MRKʾ and in books occasionally the "phonetic" spelling šḥ) for the former and the "semi-phonetic" spelling MLKʾ-n MLKʾ (and variants) for the latter (for references, see Ph. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*, London 1972, 28, 57, and add the new Arsacid inscription discussed by E. Lipiński in *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta*, xlviii [1993], 127-34). The Sāsānid inscriptions refer to the emperor consistently as *shāhān shāh*, and use *shāh* as a title for other members of his family: the emperors appointed their sons as "kings" of the outlying provinces, assigning them the royal titles of the former rulers of those regions (e.g. *Kushān shāh* "king of the Kushāns"), in much the same way that the heir to the English throne bears the title "Prince of Wales". However, in a contemporary Manichaean text (published by W.B. Henning, *Mani's last journey*, in *BSOS*, x/4 [1942], 941-53) the Sāsānid Wahrām I is referred to merely as "the king" (*shāh*). It would thus appear that, although in official protocol the ruler was always *shāhān shāh*, in everyday speech he could be simply *shāh*. The distinction between the "king of kings" and the subordinate "kings/princes" is mirrored by the title "queen of queens" (Middle Persian *bāmbishnān bāmbishn*, written MLKTʾ-n MLKTʾ), borne by the monarch's principal wife, to distinguish her from the other queens in the royal household, and similarly further down the hierarchy, with the *mowbed ī mowbedān* "priest of priests", and so forth. It is not unlikely that Islamic titles like *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* continue this Iranian tradition.

Neo-Persian *shāh* (also *shah*) is the usual word for "king" in that language, and is used either by itself or else in conjunction with a personal name. In the latter case it can precede the name (e.g. *shāh Maḥmūd*), follow it in an *iḍāfa*-construction (*Maḥmūd-i shāh*), or be appended directly to the name and form an accen-

tual unit with it (*Maḥmūd-shāh*). The latter usage is the most common and, though found already in early texts (such as Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*), is anomalous in Neo-Persian; it seems likely that it is either an isolated relic from Middle Persian or else an imitation of Turkish constructions with titles such as *khān*. Compounds with *shāh* (as the first or last element) or indeed *shāh* on its own occur quite frequently as proper names of kings, but also of commoners; the given name of the famous Saldjūḳ ruler Malik Shāh, for example, is formed simply by combining the Arabic and Persian words for "king". As a common noun (without a name) *shāh* is widely used in poetry and non-official prose of all periods to designate potentates who, in their official protocol, styled themselves *malik, sulṭān, amīr, pādshāh* or whatever. It is also used with reference to the kings of pre-Islamic Persia and in works of fiction. Sometimes it is applied to princes (as already in Middle Persian; many references in F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 549, 583). In a number of compounds or set phrases *shāh* means "pre-eminent, principal", e.g. in *masdjid-i shāh* "congregational mosque" (not "king's mosque"), or *shāh-rāh* "principal road, highway". In the Indian subcontinent, *shāh* is appended to the names of persons claiming descent from the Prophet and has today become a surname.

As for the title *shāhān shāh*, this naturally fell into disuse with the collapse of the Sāsānid empire, but it remained in popular memory in its Neo-Persian form *shāhanshāh* (the vowels in the first and last syllables can be shortened when required by the metre; modern Western Persian has also the vulgar form *shāhinshāh*). This is an inseparable compound (from which is derived an adjective *shāhanshāhī*) and in the context of Neo-Persian it can no longer be analysed morphologically, though there has never been any doubt that its meaning is indeed "king of kings". It was adopted as his official title by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (338-72/949-83 [*q.v.*]), and continued to be used by his successors on their coins and in court documents, sometimes in conjunction with its Arabic equivalent *malik al-mulūk*, despite the objections raised by religious authorities (for details, see LAḲAB and the literature cited there), but after the fall of the Būyids it does not seem to have figured in official protocol until the 20th century, when it was adopted by the self-styled "Pahlawī" dynasty in Persia. It has, however, always been used quite freely by poets. Thus the Ghaznavid Masʿūd I, who would hardly have tolerated such a sacrilegious title in his official documents, had evidently no scruples about his court poet Manūčihrī addressing him as *shahanshāh, shāhanshah-i dunyā, shāh-i malikān* and the like, and similar expressions are used by the panegyrists of the Saldjūḳs and others after them.

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(F.C. DE BLOIS)

SHĀH ʿABD AL-ʿAẒĪM AL-ḤASANĪ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Shīʿī ascetic and traditionist, well-known under the name of Imāmzāde (Shāh) ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. He is buried in the principal sanctuary of Rayy [see AL-RAYY].

1. *The holy man.*

Only sparse biographical data are available on ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, who must have been born in Medina before 200/815 and who was a companion of the ninth and tenth Imāms, Muḥammad al-Djawād al-Taḳī (d. 220/835) and ʿAlī al-Hādī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868) [see AL-ʿASKARĪ]. When the latter, at the order of caliph al-Mutawakkil, was forced to go to Sāmarrāʾ in 233/848, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm followed him there. He is said to have been ordered by al-Naḳī, apparently under the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz, to go to Persia in exile. He stayed in Ṭabaristān, and then in Rayy, where he lived in the *sikkat al-mawālī* in the quarter of Sarbānān, hidden in the house of a Shīʿī. He passed his time in prayers, ascetic practices, study and teaching, and visited the tomb of an ʿAlid which was later reputed to be that of Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (see below). He died perhaps before al-Naḳī (towards 250/864?, see Karīmān, i, 384 ff.) although, according to some Shīʿī sources (Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī, see Madelung, quoted in the *Bibl.*), he also was a companion of the eleventh Imām, Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874 [*q.v.*]).

In the small Imāmī community of Rayy, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm occupied an important position as *sayyid*, companion of the Imāms, traditionist and teacher. His works, now lost, were used and quoted until the 5th/11th century: *Kitāb Yawm wa-layla* (on the daily rituals); *Riwāyāt ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm*; *Kitāb Khuṭāb Amīr al-muʾminīn* (on the sermons of Imām ʿAlī). His views on the concepts of *ʿadl* and *tawḥīd* (cf. Karīmān, i, 386 ff.) were praised by Ibn ʿAbbād, the Būyid vizier in Rayy. The Imāmī traditionist Ibn Bābuya/Bābawayh [*q.v.*], who in part continued ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm's efforts, devoted a now lost biography to him, *Akhbār ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Ḥasanī*.

2. *The sanctuary.*

ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm was buried in a garden under an apple-tree (*shadjara tuffāḥ*), opposite the tomb of Ḥamza b. Mūsā which was situated outside the walls, to the west of al-Rayy, in the partly Sunnī quarter of Bāṭān (see Karīmān, i, 264 ff.). The garden belonged to a certain ʿAbd al-Djabbār, probably a Sunnī (see Karīmān, i, 388; ii, 316). A Shīʿi is said to have heard in a dream the Prophet telling him that one of his descendants of the *sikkat al-mawālī* should be buried there. The tomb was venerated by the Shīʿīs at a very early date. According to the Imām al-Naḳī, pilgrimage to there was as meritorious as the one to the tomb of the Imām al-Ḥusayn (Ibn Kulūya, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, see Madelung; Karīmān, i, 386, ii, 51). The sanctuary, mentioned as a *mashhad* by Ibn ʿAbbād and known under the name of *Mashhad al-Shadjara*, was restored during the Saldjūḳid period thanks to the patronage of the Shīʿī vizier Madjd al-Dīn Barāwistānī al-Ḳummī (ʿAbd al-Djalīl Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, in Karīmān, i, 389, ii, 191, 419). Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr (d. 602/1205-6), the Bāwandid ruler of Māzandarān, used to send every year 200 dīnārs to the sanctuary (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1320, i, 120).

The most ancient trace of the mausoleum consists of a coffin of precious wood (aloe, betel, walnut), carrying a Ḳurʾānic inscription, part of which is the *āyat al-kursī* (*sūrat al-baḳara*, II, 256). The coffin is a gift of Nadjm al-Dīn Muḥammad, vizier under the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd (d. 737/1335), see Karīmān, i, 392. The sanctuary was visited by famous Tīmūrid and Turkmen pilgrims (Karīmān, ii, 225 ff.) and then by the Ṣafawids. Under the patronage of Ṭahmāsp I (1524-76), it was restored. An *īwān* (*aywān*) was constructed in 944/1537. A robust balustrade (*muḥadjdjar*) of boxwood was erected around the coffin in 950/1543-4 (Karīmān, i, 390 ff., with reference to a *farmān* by Ṭahmāsp I preserved in the sanctuary) in order to protect it against depredations by the pilgrims. When Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*], about to attack the Özbegs in 996/1587-8, fell ill, he recovered his health after a pilgrimage to the sanctuary (Karīmān, ii, 239).

Notwithstanding the interest shown to the sanc-

tuary by notables or rulers up to the Ṣafawids, it is quite difficult to form a picture of its importance in former days. Since it was called Mas̲h̲had or Masd̲j̲id al-S̲h̲ad̲j̲ara, and its cemetery, according to some sources, Gūristān al-S̲h̲ad̲j̲ara (Karīmān, i, 328 ff.), it must have developed in conjunction with the neighbouring Imāmzāda [*q.v.*] dedicated to Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The Ṣafawids pretended to descend from this *sayyid ḥusaynī-mūsāwī*, whose supposed burial place is also located at Turs̲h̲īz or in a village near S̲h̲īrāz. It is at this last site, and not at Rayy, that they caused a richly endowed mausoleum to be built (*ibid.*, 395 ff.). Until the beginning of the 19th century, the tombs of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm, of Ḥamza and other holy men were situated outside the town of Rayy (*ibid.*, 392 ff.). The sanctuary must have included a rather important garden. On his way to Māzandarān, ᶜAbbās II (1643-66) camped there with his suite for nine days in 1070/1659-60 (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd Ḳazwīnī, *ᶜAbbās-nāma*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dihgān, Arāk 1329, 265 ff.).

The administrator of the sanctuary (*mutawallī*) was designated and appointed by the central government. This practice was continued by Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand (see J.R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand. A history of Iran, 1747-1779*, Chicago 1979, 220) and after that by the Ḳād̲j̲ārs. Fatḥ ᶜAlī S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], who was an assiduous pilgrim of the sanctuary, had it embellished (Karīmān, i, 392; Algar, 48). The same was the case with Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], who in 1270/1853-4 had the cupola covered with gold and the *īwān* decorated with stalactites consisting of mirrors; the latter initiative was due, at least to a certain extent, to his vizier Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Nūrī (1851-8) (Karīmān, i, 391 ff.; Algar, 159).

Like other S̲h̲īᶜī sanctuaries, S̲h̲āh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm constitutes a place of asylum reputed to be inviolable for persons (or animals), lawbreakers or others, who are menaced by people in power [see BAST; and J. Calmard, art. *Bast (sanctuary, asylum)*, in *EIr*]. When the neighbouring town of Tehran was promoted to be the capital by Āg̲h̲ā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān in 1786, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary and its use for politico-religious protests, in particular against foreign influence, developed considerably. The project of constructing a railway line between Tehran and the sanctuary made people fear, erroneously, that the extension of the line to Ḳum would mean the end of this town. The line was indeed constructed and exploited by a Belgian company (8 km between 1888-93) notwithstanding the fact that it was ransacked by a furious crowd in December 1888 (see Algar, 175 ff., 182). Under Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, the sanctuary formed the most important place of *bast*, criminals or debtors, as well as political opponents. finding there protection in several degrees (see E.G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, London 1893, 174). The most ominous violation of the right of *bast* occurred in January 1891 when the Muslim reformist D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Asābādī "al-Afg̲h̲ānī" [*q.v.*] was brutally expelled from the sanctuary (see Calmard, *loc. cit.*). Nāṣir al-Dīn was murdered in the courtyard of the mausoleum on the eve of his jubilee (fifty lunar years) on 1 May 1896 by Mīrzā Riḍā Kirmānī, a partisan of al-Afg̲h̲ānī. During the events of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-11), about 2,000 *ᶜulamāʾ* (*mullas*, *mud̲j̲tahids*, *ṭullābs*), opposed to the authoritarian measures of the vizier ᶜAyn al-Dawla and financially supported by shopkeepers of the bazaar and several notables or dignitaries who had passed to the opposition, captured the *bast* at S̲h̲āh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm (mid-December 1905-12 January 1906). The establishment of a *ᶜadālat-k̲h̲āna* ("house of justice") in each province was only one of the seven or eight of their demands which did not entail a demand for a constitution (see Martin, 70-6). In February 1907 Sayyid Akbar S̲h̲āh, an opponent of the constitution, took refuge in the sanctuary with his partisans. Supported by the governor of Tehran, his initiative had no popular success whatsoever (Martin, 115, 148). On the other hand, the action of the most notorious of the anti-constitutional *ᶜulamāʾ*, the *mud̲j̲tahid* S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Faḍl Allāh Nūrī [*q.v.*], who, probably supported by Muḥammad ᶜAlī S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], took the *bast* of the sanctuary with *ca.* 500 partisans (June-September 1907), had a durable success among the numerous Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ* (see Martin, 121-38), extending even into the current which assured the triumph of the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1978-9.

The pilgrimage to the sanctuary, which forms a whole with neighbouring Imāmzādas dedicated to Ḥamza, Ṭahir and his son Muṭahhar (Karīmān, i, 395 ff.), now incorporated with Rayy into the great agglomeration of Tehran, was very much frequented in the 19th century (see H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, ii, 403). Although Nad̲j̲af and Karbalā [*q.v.*] have a greater reputation as burial places, many notables, dignitaries, *ᶜulamāʾ*, members of the Ḳād̲j̲ār family, etc., are buried at S̲h̲āh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm. The most renowned royal tomb is that of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, situated at the western corner at a place known under the name of Masd̲j̲id-i Hūlāgū. An imposing mausoleum dedicated to Riḍā S̲h̲āh Pahlawī [*q.v.*] was erected on the site of the ancient quarter of Bāṭān, south-east of the sanctuary (Karīmān, i, 395). It was destroyed during the events of the Islamic Revolution.

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(J. CALMARD)

S̲H̲ĀH ᶜABD AL-ᶜAZĪZ [see ᶜABD AL-ᶜAZĪZ AL-DIHLAWĪ].

S̲H̲ĀH ᶜABD AL-ḲĀDIR [see ᶜABD AL-ḲĀDIR DIHLAWĪ].

S̲H̲ĀH ᶜĀLAM II (1142-1220/1729-1806, r. 1173-1202/1759-88, 1203-21/1788-1806), later Mug̲h̲al emperor, son of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor ᶜĀlamgīr II.

His original name was Mīrzā ᶜAbd Allāh, the title ᶜAlī Gawhar was conferred in 1168/1754, and that of S̲h̲āh ᶜĀlam in 1170/1756. As a prince, he led an unsuccessful raid into Bihar in D̲j̲umādā II 1172/February 1759, and claimed the throne in 1173/1759. He was, however, unable to rule from Dihlī. Becoming an ally of S̲h̲ud̲j̲āᶜ al-Dawla and Mīr Ḳāsim [*q.vv.*], he shared in their defeat at Baksar (Buxar) in 1178/1764 at the hands of the British. In 1179/1765 he granted the *dīwānī* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company, receiving in return Allāhābād (as his seat) and an annual pension of 2.6 million rupees. Seeking to return to Dihlī, Shāh ᶜĀlam sought an alliance with the Marāthās, and escorted by them rode into his capital Dihlī in Ramaḍān 1185/January 1772. He thereupon lost

both Allāhābād and his annual pension from the British. Mahādji Sindhia, who was now responsible for the safety of the Emperor, was constantly faced by local malcontents. The Rohilla chief Ghulām Ḳādir held Dihlī in 1202/1788 for two-and-a-half months. He blinded Shāh ʿĀlam, but was himself captured and put to death. In 1203/1789 Mahādji Sindhia provided Shāh ʿĀlam with a daily cash pension of 300 rupees; later territories were assigned to him yielding on paper nearly 1.7 million a year. In 1217/1803 Dihlī fell to the British, who refused to make any treaty arrangements with him allowing him maintenance and control of the Dihlī fort along with his titles. Shāh ʿĀlam died there in 1220/1806, his long "reign" merely reflecting the utter ruin of the Mughal Empire.

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(M. Athar Ali)

SHĀH-I ARMAN, "king of the Armenians", denoted the Turcoman rulers of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*] from 493/1100 to 604/1207. Their role in eastern Anatolian history is difficult to reconstruct from local sources alone but they are mentioned periodically in the wider context of late Saldjūḳ and Ayyūbid affairs. The first Shāh-i Arman, Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī, took Akhlāṭ in 493/1100 from the Marwānids [*q.v.*] and seized Mayyāfāriḳīn in 502/1108-9 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 330; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 164; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 249-50). Within Diyār Bakr, his particular rivals were the Artuḳids [*q.v.*]. He participated in *djihād* against the Franks under Mawdūd of Mawṣil and died at Bālis during the campaign in 506/1112-13 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 340-1; *Atābegs*, 18; Michael the Syrian, 216; Matthew of Edessa, 275-6; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 164-5, 169, 174-5). Before his death, Sukmān had extended his territory to include Ardjīsh and Malāzgird.

Little is known of Sukmān's ineffectual successor, his son Ibrāhīm (ruled 506-21/1112-26). He lost Mayyāfāriḳīn to Il-Ghāzī in 512/1118 (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 34). After Ibrāhīm's death, power was soon seized by Inandj Khātūn, Sukmān's widow, on behalf of her six-year old grandson, Sukmān II, whose long reign (522-81/1128-85) represents the high point of Shāh-i Arman power (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 17). The Georgians, profiting from Muslim disunity, were pursuing an expansionist policy towards eastern Anatolia; in 556/1161, they defeated the forces of Sukmān II and Saltuḳ, the ruler of Erzerum (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 184; Matthew, 361-2). In 558/1163, however, Sukmān joined Eldigüz of Ādharbaydjān in repelling further Georgian aggression (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 188; Ibn al-Azraḳ, fols. 181b, 183b-184b, 185b; *Akhbār*, 158-9). Another Muslim campaign into Georgia was successful in 571/1175 (Ibn al-Azraḳ, fol. 199b). After Sukmān's death in 581/1185 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 338-9) without male issue, the race for Sukmān's lands between Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī and the Eldigüzid ruler, Pahlawān, was won by the latter (*ibid.*; Ibn Shaddād, 84-5; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 383-4, 423; Bar Hebraeus, 318). From 581/1185 the Shāh-i Arman state rapidly declined under a series of *mamlūk* commanders—Bektimur, Aḳ Sunḳur, Muḥammad and Balabān (Bar Hebraeus, 343, 362-4; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 67, 167-9). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī's brother, al-ʿĀdil, maintained Ayyūbid interest in Armenia; Akhlāṭ was taken by his son al-Malik al-Awḥad in 604/1207-8. Thus ended the Shāh-i Arman state (Makīn, 18-19; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 71; Humphreys, 128-9). Regrettably, little is known of the Shāh-i Arman socio-cultural life, but it must have been an interestingly mixed ethnic and religious milieu.

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(Carole Hillenbrand)

SHĀH BANDAR (P.), literally "harbour, port master". The term was used before the Ottoman period to denote the chief of the merchants, and sometimes the representative of foreign merchant communities, at the Indian Ocean ports of India; the form *Xabandar* is found in the Portuguese chronicles. It appears in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in regard to the Muslim chief of the merchants (*amīr al-tudjdjār*) at Calicut [see KALIKAT in Suppl.], "Ibrāhīm Shāh Bandar (the king or chief of the port), originally from Baḥrayn" (tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, London 1994, 812). See also Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*², 816-17 s.v. *Shabunder*.

1. In the Arab world.

Here, he was not known in Mamlūk times, when there is mentioned the *raʾīs* or *kabīr al-tudjdjār*. The frequent use of the term in the *Thousand and one nights* confirms the comparatively late redaction of a certain number of its stories. After the Ottoman conquest, *shāh bandar* is attested in all the Arab countries of the Near East in the sense of provost or overseer of the merchants (notably, at Cairo, Aleppo, Mecca and Baghdād), and likewise at Istanbul, where the expression *bazirgan bashi* was also used, "merchants of the Black Sea and of the Mediterranean" (also found at Cairo and Aleppo). On the other hand, the term was unknown in the Maghrib; at Tunis, the *amīn al-tudjdjār* was an Andalusian, the trade organisation

there, it appears, having been formed by these immigrants.

We are best informed about the *shāh bandar* in the great centres of Cairo and Aleppo, where there existed an important international trade, which enriched powerful communities of merchants. In Cairo, the *shāh bandar* was at the head of a group of around 500-600 merchants who specialised in the large-scale traffic in coffee, spices and textiles. He was a person of considerable status; in official ceremonies, he had precedence over the *muḥtasib*. He was probably appointed by the community, with ultimate control by the authorities. The office was usually for life, and in some cases, was hereditary (cf. the Sharāʾibīs in the 18th century). The *shāh bandar* seems to have been chosen from amongst the richest *tudjdjār*, which is the case for the greater part of the *shāh bandars* whom we know, the best-known being Aḥmad al-Ruwīʿī, Ismāʿīl Abū Ṭākiyya (d. 1624), Djamāl al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (alive in 1630), Dāda (d. 1724) and then Ḳāsim al-Sharāʾibī (d. 1734), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 1791), Maḥmūd Muḥarram (d. 1793) and Aḥmad al-Maḥrūḳī (d. 1804). The *shāh bandar* arbitrated in disputes between merchants and was their intermediary *vis-à-vis* the authorities. Normally, the community of merchants lay outside the jurisdiction of the *muḥtasib* and even outside that of the Agha of the Janissaries. But the *shāh bandar*'s power resided largely in his own, personal prestige; thus the Sharāʾibīs clearly exercised political influence and had links with the ruling classes. The "house of the chief of the merchants" mentioned on the plan of Cairo in the *Description de l'Egypte* (VIIᵉ arrondissement, 85 I 4) had been the personal residence of ʿAbd al-Salām and then of al-Maḥrūḳī, but does not appear to have played any "administrative" role.

The *maḥkama* or legal tribunal documents which have been studied for Aleppo bring some details on the functions of this dignitary, in all cases analogous to those of his counterpart at Cairo. He apparently had his seat in the *khān* of the customs officials (*gumruk*), according to the information of Thévenot (1664). He regulated disputes between the merchants. He gave expert witness in the courts where legal cases involved commercial matters, and represented the merchants *vis-à-vis* the administration. The position was held by local notables. Two cases are known where the holder of the office was deprived of it by the authorities at the request of the merchants, on grounds of senility (1645) or incapacity (1689). Alexander Russell (*The natural history...*, London 1794, i, 323) gives the specific information that he was a member of the Pasha's council (*dīwān*) *ca.* 1760.

Everything leads us to believe that the importance which the *shāh bandar* Muḥammad al-Maḥrūḳī assumed in Cairo during the decade beginning in 1810 (going as far as jurisdiction over the whole body of artisans and merchants in 1813), and his conflict with an especially energetic *muḥtasib* in 1817, was linked to this person's influence with Muḥammad ʿAlī, rather than to a growth in the powers of the office. However, Lane, enumerating the councils set up by Muḥammad ʿAlī, mentions a "Court of the Merchants" (*dīwān al-tudjdjār*) presided over by the *shāh bandar* (*Manners and customs*, ch. iv). In reality, the deep changes in the economy and in society in both Egypt and Syria, led in the 19th century to a weakening of the traditional corporative structures, and also of the group of great merchants who had dominated international trade. Although the term itself, and the functions of the *shāh bandar*, are still mentioned for a long time after this in Egypt (ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak records a "Muḥammad Bāshā al-Suyūfī who is at present *shāh bandar al-tudjdjār bi-Miṣr*"), the institution had lost all importance and was on its way to disappearing, just like the whole of the corporative organisation.

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2. In South-East Asia.

This term (modern spelling in South-East Asia, *syahbandar*) has a long history in the Islamic lands east of India, and refers primarily to the official who directed trade in the maritime cities of Malaysia and Indonesia [*q.vv.*]. Within this broad definition, three distinct but related uses of the term can be traced.

(1) *As a member of a "Royal Council"*. Taking the royal court of Melaka (*ca.* 14th-15th centuries) [see MALACCA] as a paradigm, we find a number of named officials with specific functions and duties, such as the Bendahara (treasurer), Temenggong (in charge of public order), Laksamana (commander of warships), etc. The Shāh Bandar was intimately involved with trade at the ports (this trade being a royal monopoly), and was part of the inner circle of government, though to what exact extent is not clear. Much depended on his own personality. Some were apparently quite wealthy; it seems that the holder of the office was entitled to a proportion of the duty levied on trade goods, calculated either on place of origin of the goods or on the type of goods concerned.

(2) *Administration of trade*. At the apogee of the Melaka sultanate (late 15th century), the Shāh Bandar's rights and obligations were clearly defined. The laws of Melaka (*Undang-Undang Melaka*, see *Bibl.*) have various specific references. Thus he is described as the "Father and Mother" of foreign merchants. He generally determined weights and measures. He had his own court for settling commercial disputes by applying elements of the *Sharīʿa*, though we have no direct evidence of how this actually functioned. He could order various punishments, up to death, for theft and murder at sea. He was responsible for public order in the ports (hence his title is sometimes translated as "harbourmaster") and for giving succour to and supervising shipwrecked sailors.

(3) *Controller of trade groups*. The entrepôt trade in Malaysa and Indonesia involved many different nationalities, and each had its own Shāh Bandar (thus for the Čam, the Siamese, the Javanese, the Kling (Indians), the Arabs, etc.). The function of each of these officials was to organise trade and finance within his own community, and between its members and the wider port community.

In addition to the above, there are minor references to the office. The term is still used as a general honorific. It appears in Lingga [see RIAU] in the first half of the 19th century. In the Negri Semblan, in Malaysia, it appears as a clan title in the form "Dato Bandar", although there is no trade connection here.

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SHĀH DJAHĀN (1000-76/1592-1666, r. 1037-68/1628-57), Mughal emperor, son of the Emperor Djahāngir [*q.v.*] and his Rādjput wife Manmati; his personal name was Khurram, the title of Shāh Djahān being granted to him by his father in 1025/1616.

His first responsible assignment came with his appointment to the Mēwāṙ campaign in 1022/1614. He was subsequently appointed *ṣūbadār* of the Deccan in 1025/1616 and again in 1030/1621. In 1031/1622 he procured the murder of his elder brother Khusraw and afterwards rebelled in 1032/1623; driven out of the Deccan, he made his way to Bengal, but was defeated there, too, hence returned to the Deccan, where he submitted to his father (1035/1626). On Djahāngir's death in 1036/1627, through the machinations of Āṣaf Khān, he ascended the throne in 1037/1628 and ordered the execution of his nearest kinsmen as potential rivals—the first instance of such massacres in the Indian Mughal dynasty, and an unhappy precedent for the future. Shāh Djahān's approach to nobles who had supported his rivals was, on the other hand, moderate, and he loved to contrast his moderation with the bloodthirstiness of rulers in other Islamic countries.

To support his ambitions, Shāh Djahān increased the income of his treasury by enlarging the *khāliṣa* (imperial reserved lands). The *Djāmadāmī* (net revenue annual income) of the empire during his reign was about 9,03,74,20,000 *dāms* (22,59,35,000 rupees); Shāh Djahān was probably the richest monarch in the world.

Shāh Djahān annexed Aḥmednagar in 1045/1636, allowing to Bidjāpur [*q.v.*] a portion of it, and standing forth as a protector of Golkoṅdā, which now paid him annual tribute. In 1047/1638 the Ṣafawid governor of Ḳandahar handed it over to the Mughals, but the Persians re-captured it in 1058/1649. In 1055/1646 Shāh Djahān attacked the Uzbek khānate, and temporarily occupied Balkh and Badakhshān, but finally had to withdraw in 1056/1647.

Shāh Djahān was a vigorous administrator, and introduced certain important changes (new pay-schedules, month-ratio system for classification of *djāgīrs*, etc.); and re-inforced the central authority. He also enjoys a deserved reputation as a builder. The classical product of his interest is the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*]. On 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/6 June 1631 Shāh Djahān ordered the construction of a mausoleum for his wife Mumtāz Maḥall. It was completed in 1053/1643 at the cost of 50 lakhs of rupees. In 1048/1638 he founded the imperial city of Shāhdjahānābād at Dihlī at the cost of 60 lakhs of rupees. Lāhōrī, the official historian, records that the total expenditure on buildings under Shāh Djahān up to the year 1057/1647-8 was rupees 2 crores, 50 lakhs of rupees.

Though Shāh Djahān began to introduce Islamic observances into Mughal court etiquette, he largely continued the tolerant policy of his two predecessors. He promoted Rādjputs to high ranks and patronised Hindī poetry. His eldest son Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*] translated the Upaniśads and wrote a tract (the *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*) comparing Ṣūfism with Vedanta. Under the patronage of Shāh Djahān, an intellectual movement to bridge the gap between Hinduism and Islam was started and an attempt was made to evolve a common language for both religions.

He fell ill in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1067/September 1657, and his four sons Dārā Shukōh, Shāh Shudjāʿ, Awrangzīb and Murād Bakhsh started making preparations to contest the throne. Awrangzīb emerged victorious, and dethroned and imprisoned his father in 1068/1658. In his imprisonment in the Āgra fort, he was looked after by his loyal and talented eldest daughter Djahān Ārā. He died in 1076/1666, and lies buried by the side of his wife Mumtāz Maḥall in the Tādj Maḥall.

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SHĀH MALIK b. Alī Yabghu, the Oghuz Turkish [see ghuzz] ruler in the town of Djand [*q.v.* in Suppl.] on the lower Syr Darya in Transoxania during the second quarter of the 11th century A.D.

Shāh Malik, who is given by Ibn Funduḳ the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Fawāris and the *laḳabs* of Ḥusām al-Dawla and Niẓām al-Milla, was the son and successor of the Oghuz Yabghu, head of a section of that Turkish tribe in rivalry with that one led by the Saldjūḳ family of chiefs [see saldjūḳids. ii]. It was this hostility that made Shāh Malik ally with the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] against his kinsmen the Saldjūḳs, and in 429/1038 the sultan appointed him as his governor over Khʷārazm [*q.v.*]. Shāh Malik successfully overran Khʷārazm, but with the triumph at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Khurāsān of Ṭoghrïl and Čaghrï Begs, was driven out of Khʷārazm by 435/1043-4. He fled southwards through Persia to Makrān and was eventually killed there, his short line being thus extinguished; by the time of his flight from Khʷārazm, Djand had probably already fallen into the hands of the Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*] Turks.

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SHĀH MANṢŪR SHĪRĀZĪ, finance minister of the Mughal emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605).

Of Indian origin, he held an appointment as *mushrif* (accountant) of the Royal *khūshbū-khāna* (perfume department), but incurred the hostility of powerful

nobles and, dismissed from that post, became *dīwān* (finance superintendent) at Djawnpur. After Khān Zamān's rebellion and death (973/1566) he served as Munᶜim Khān's *dīwān* and then as *bakhshī* (paymaster of troops). After Munᶜim Khān's death (984/1576), he was again in some personal difficulty, but won Akbar's approval and was appointed *wazīr*, sharing the control of finance ministry with Muẓaffar Khān and Ṭōdar Mall. However, the latter two were soon assigned other duties, and Manṣūr was mainly responsible for the new system of land revenue collection and payment of cash salaries to nobles according to their ranks or *manṣabs*. In 986/1578 he prepared a new record of estimated revenues (*djamᶜ*) based on the preceeding ten years' collections. He was himself raised to 1,000 *dhāt*, a high rank at the time. But his rigour made him many enemies; and the rebellion of 988/1580 in Djawnpur, Bihār and Bengal was attributed to this cause. In 988/1580, while Akbar marched north-westwards to meet the danger from his foster-brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, ruler of Kābul, Manṣūr was accused of secret correspondence with him. Since none of the nobles would come forward to stand surety for him, he was executed in 989/1581. Later on, the charge was found to be based on a forgery; but since some very high nobles (Mān Singh [*q.v.*] and Shāhbāz Khān) were involved in it, Akbar seems to have decided to close the case.

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(M. Athar Ali)

SHĀH MUḤAMMAD b. ᶜABD AḤMAD, popularly known as Mullā Shāh, a distinguished saint of the Ḳādirī *silsila* in India (992-1072/1584-1661). According to Djahān Ārā, the name of his father was Mawlānā ᶜAbdī, but Mullā Shāh refers to him in his *mathnawī Risāla-yi nisbat* as ᶜAbd Aḥmad. Born in 992/1584, in Arkasa, a village of Badakhshān, he lived there for about 21 years. Later he visited Balkh, Kābul and other places in search of a spiritual teacher. He reached Lahore in 1023/1614-15 and felt attracted towards Miyān Mīr [*q.v.*], remaining in this latter's service for about thirty years. At the direction of his master, he settled in Kashmīr and built there a garden house for himself. Dārā Shukōh and Djahān Ārā also built buildings and fountains there, and the Emperor Shāh Djahān visited him. Mullā Shāh used to spend his summers in Kashmīr and winters in Lahore. He breathed his last in Lahore in 1072/1661, and was buried there in a small mosque at some distance from the mausoleum of Miyān Mīr.

Mullā Shāh's spiritual fame attracted the Mughal prince Dārā Shukōh and his sister Djahān Ārā to his mystic fold, and both of them wrote their accounts of him (see *Bibl.*). Mullā Shāh was a believer in pantheism. His poetic works, for which he used the nom-de-plume of Mullā, particularly his *Mathnawiyyāt* and *Rubāᶜiyyāt*, are known for their spiritual sensitivity, though they lack poetic elegance. Some of his verses, steeped as they were in pantheistic ideas, provoked orthodox criticism, and Awrangzīb summoned him from Kashmīr in order to question him about these verses; Dārā Shukōh's association with him must have also created suspicion in the new Emperor's mind but Mullā Shāh wrote a congratulatory chronogram on Awrangzīb's accession and thus saved his skin. He wanted to write a commentary on the Ḳurʾān in the light of his mystic ideology, but was unable to proceed beyond the first part. His works have not been published. The following 10 *mathnawīs*, interspersed with prose lines, are found in an excellent India Office ms. (dated 1580), with some autographic remarks: (i) *Risāla-yi walwala*, (ii) *Risāla-yi hōsh*, (iii) *Risāla-yi taᶜrīfāt khānahā wa bāghhā wa manāzil-i Kashmīr*, (iv) *Risāla-yi nisbat*, (v) *Risāla-yi murshid*, (vi) *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, (vii) *Risāla-yi dīwānā*, (viii) *Risāla-yi shāhiyā*, (ix) *Risāla-yi ḥamd wa naᶜt*, (x) *Risāla-yi bismillāh*. A copy of his *Kulliyyāt* is found in the Bankipore Library (ms. no. 326).

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(K.A. Nizami)

SHĀH-NAWĀZ KHĀN [see maʾāthir al-umarāʾ].

SHĀH NIᶜMAT ALLĀH [see niᶜmat-allāhiyya].

SHĀH RŪD, a hydronym and toponym of Persia.

1. A river of the Elburz Mountains region of northwestern Persia.

It runs from the south-east northwestwards from a source in the mountains west of Tehran and joins the Ḳïzïl Üzen [*q.v.*] at Mandjīl, the combined waters then making up the Safīd Rūd [*q.v.*], which flows into the Caspian Sea. The upper reaches of the Shāh Rūd are known as the Shāh Rūd-i Ṭālaḳān, to distinguish it from its right-bank affluent the Shāh Rūd-i Alamūt. This last rises near the Takht-i Sulaymān peak and is hemmed in by high mountains; its flanks are dominated by the ruins of a series of Assassin fortresses from mediaeval Islamic times, the most famous of which is Alamūt [*q.v.*]. In the wider, more fertile parts of the Shāh Rūd valleys rice and corn are grown.

The Shāh Rūd is not navigable and is little noted in mediaeval sources. The first notice seems to be that of the 8th century Armenian geography, which describes it as a river of Daylam rising in the mountains of Ṭālaḳān (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 126). In the 19th century, it became known through the travels of W. Monteith (1832) and H. Rawlinson (1838), the first of whom identified ruins of the Assassins from the time of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] (see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 147, 155, 217-18).

2. A district, mentioned by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 82, tr. 85, as adjoining the districts

of Ṭālis̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (the *Ṭawālis̲h̲*) in the north of Gilan; he states that its people were nominally S̲h̲āfiʿīs.

3. A town of western K̲h̲urāsān, lying just to the south of Bisṭām [*q.v.*] in lat. 36° 25′ N. and long. 55° 00′ E, altitude 1,360 m/4,460 feet. The town is unmentioned in mediaeval sources, but has become important since the 19th century from its position on the high road from Tehran to K̲h̲urāsān and now on the railway; there is also a road from it across the Elburz to Astarābād/Gurgān and the Caspian coastlands, which is normally passable all through winter. After the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the town was renamed Imāmrūd but has now reverted to the old name of S̲h̲āhrūd; it comes within the Simnān province. The population in 1991 was 92,195 (*Preliminary results of the 1991 census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

S̲H̲ĀH RUK̲H̲ b. Tīmūr, fourth son and successor of Tīmūr (Tamerlane), was born on 14 Rabīʿ II 779/20 August 1377 of one of Tīmūr's concubines, Tag̲h̲āy Tarkān Āg̲h̲ā. In 794/1392 Tīmūr appointed him to the new fortress of S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲iyya north of the Jaxartes, and in 799/1397 made him governor of K̲h̲urāsān, Sīstān, and Māzandarān. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ was married to two prestigious women, Gawhars̲h̲ād bt. G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Tark̲h̲ān and Malikat Ag̲h̲a, the Čingisid widow of his eldest brother ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲.

As governor of K̲h̲urāsān, S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ was in a strong position in the struggle after Tīmūr's death on 17 S̲h̲aʿbān 807/18 February 1405. He gave limited support to Tīmūr's designated successor, Pīr Muḥammad b. D̲j̲ahāngīr, while allowing other princes to exhaust their resources. In 811/1408, he campaigned against the insubordinate rulers of Sīstān, devastating their irrigation systems. After Pīr Muḥammad died in 809/1407 and dissident *amīrs* deposed his nephew K̲h̲alīl Sulṭān in Transoxiana, S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ entered Samarḳand in late 811/Spring 1409 and installed his son Ulug̲h̲ Beg as governor, retaining Harāt as the main capital. In late 815/Spring 1413, his army retook K̲h̲ʷārazm from the Golden Horde.

Southwestern Persia was held by the sons of ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ b. Tīmūr, who gave S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ nominal recognition. In 816/1413 Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ took the title Sulṭān and prepared to oppose S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ defeated him at Iṣfahān on 3 D̲j̲umādā I 817/21 July 1414. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲'s other sons continued to be troublesome; in the autumn of 818/1415, S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ attacked them and installed his son Ibrāhīm Sulṭān as governor of Fārs. In the next two years he undertook campaigns to Ḳandahār and Kirmān, and dismissed the rebellious governor of Andid̲j̲ān, Aḥmad b. ʿUmar Shayk̲h̲. By 821/1418 S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ had removed his nephews from all major provinces.

Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Ḳoyunlu had taken Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, killed Mīrāns̲h̲āh b. Tīmūr and annexed Sulṭāniyya, Ḳazwīn and Hamadān [see ḳara ḳoyunlu]. On 11 S̲h̲aʿbān 823/21 August 1420, S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ began a long-projected campaign against him, probably with the encouragement of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: clan, confederation, empire*, Chicago 1976, 58; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī (ed.), *Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīk̲h̲ī-yi Īrān*, Tehran 2536/1977, 179-85) Ḳara Yūsuf died before S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ arrived. Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān had not been strongly held by Tīmūr, and S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ was content with nominal overlordship and the possession of Ḳazwīn and Sulṭāniyya. After a year pacifying the region he installed ʿAlī b. Ḳara ʿUt̲h̲mān Aḳ Ḳoyunlu as governor, and put an *amīr* with an army in Sulṭāniyya.

The rule of S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲

S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ was quite willing to use violence; he executed both insubordinate followers and religious figures, and wrought deliberate destruction in Sīstān and Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān. He was at the same time a cautious ruler, who rarely undertook campaigns without provocation and the assurance of military superiority and of local alliances. Most of his reign he spent in K̲h̲urāsān, going in spring to hunt in Sarak̲h̲s and to visit the Mas̲h̲had shrine. Many military expeditions were entrusted to his sons and *amīrs*. Ulug̲h̲ Beg campaigned aggressively against the Mog̲h̲uls and the D̲j̲očids, and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān campaigned in K̲h̲uzistān and southern Persia. The balance of power in the north shifted after 830/1426-7 when the Uzbeks defeated Ulug̲h̲ Beg and Muḥammad D̲j̲ūkī b. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲; after this Ulug̲h̲ Beg stopped campaigning in person. The Mog̲h̲uls became aggressive and took Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar in 1435, while the Uzbeks under Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr K̲h̲ān raided Transoxiana for the rest of S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲'s reign. Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr invaded K̲h̲ʷārazm in 834/1430-1 and 839/1435; S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ quartered a winter army in Māzandarān to protect the frontier. In the west, S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ defended his political claims. On 5 Rad̲j̲ab 832/10 April 1429 he set out against Iskandar b. Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, who had seized Sulṭāniyya. He defeated Iskandar near Salmās on 18 D̲h̲u 'l Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 832/18 September 1429, and appointed Iskandar's brother Abū Saʿīd governor. In spring 838/1435 S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ set out again against Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, which had fallen to Iskandar. Iskandar fled and local rulers submitted with little resistance. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ made D̲j̲ahāns̲h̲āh b. Ḳara Yūsuf governor of the region; this arrangement lasted until S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲'s death.

S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ exchanged embassies with a large number of powers. He received homage from many neighbouring rulers: the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the Dihlī Sultan, the rulers of Hurmuz and, at least at the beginning of his reign, the Ottoman sultans. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲'s attempts to assert superiority over the Mamlūk sultans evoked increasing hostility up to the accession of Čaḳmaḳ in 842/1438, after which relations were cordial though equal. Until the death of the Yung-lo emperor in 1424, S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ exchanged frequent embassies with China (a total of 20), and established a rare level of formal equality with the emperor (M. Rossabi, *Two Ming envoys to Inner Asia*, in *T'oung Pao*, lxii/1-3, 1-34).

S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ governed by balancing the power of his subordinates, allowing individuals to hold office for long periods. The power of his two most eminent *amīrs*—ʿAlīka Kūkeltās̲h̲ and D̲j̲alal al-Dīn Fīrūzs̲h̲āh—was kept in check by overlapping responsibilities and the administrative authority of S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲'s son Bāysung̲h̲ur. In his *dīwān* the two preeminent viziers—Sayyid Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Aḥmad up to 819/1416-17 and K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad thereafter—shared authority with partners, and suffered periodic demotions. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ initiated the fiscal decentralisation of the Tīmūrid realm by distributing numerous *soyurg̲h̲als*, grants of land with tax immunity. The magnificence of provincial courts suggests that not all revenues were forwarded to the centre. Nonetheless, S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ retained sufficient funds to field a large army and to undertake major

restoration works in Balkh, Marw and Harāt. Provincial governors enjoyed considerable autonomy but required permission for important campaigns. Shāh Rukh, moreover, appointed his own *amīrs* to nearby cities, and interfered occasionally in provincial affairs. From 820/1417-18 until near the end of his life, he suffered little insubordination.

Shāh Rukh was presented as a ruler of exceptional piety, even as a renewer of the Islamic order. In the beginning of his reign he apparently proclaimed the restoration of the *Sharīʿa* and abrogation of the *yasa* (Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, ms. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. A.F. 112, fols. 1b-2b; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Bāysunghurī*, ms. Istanbul, Fatih 4371/1, fol. 486b, letter to China). He avoided drinking and twice publicly poured away wine. He was conspicuous in his involvement with religious affairs and his patronage of shrines, but harsh towards *ʿulamāʾ* whose loyalty he questioned and popular religious movements such as the Nūrbakhshiyya [*q.v.*] movement among the Kubrawiyya. On 23 Rabīʿ I 830/22 January 1427, a member of the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*] sect tried to assassinate Shāh Rukh. This led to executions and the exile of the Ṣūfī poet Ḳāsim al-Anwār [*q.v.*], whom Shāh Rukh linked to this event.

Shāh Rukh did not fully abandon Mongol tradition. Mongol taxes remained in force, as did the Turco-Mongolian *yarghu* court, and Shāh Rukh claimed to punish infringements against Mongol custom. He presented his dynasty as successor to the Īl-Khāns; his government was styled "Īl-Khānī", and he used Īl-Khānid titles earlier applied to Tīmūr's Činggisid puppet khāns, whom he no longer maintained. (Nawāʾī, 163, 165, 171, etc.) His major act of literary patronage was the copying and continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn's works.

Shāh Rukh's reign initiated an upsurge of Persian and Turkic cultural activity. There was a brief revival of the Uyghur alphabet, and the beginnings of Čaghatay Turkic literature. He reconstructed the city walls and bazar of Harāt and built a magnificent shrine for ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī [*q.v.*] at Gāzurgāh. Gawharshād built and endowed a shrine mosque at Mashhad, and a large mosque, *madrasa* and mausoleum complex outside Harāt. Numerous other buildings were endowed by Shāh Rukh's *amīrs*. His son Bāysunghur [*q.v.*] was a major patron of book production. Provincial courts also flourished, under Ulugh Beg in Samarḳand and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in Shīrāz, and under major *amīrs* in Yazd and Khwārazm.

Near the end of Shāh Rukh's life, the death of several sons and *amīrs* upset the balance of power in government. After Bāysunghur died in 837/1433, and Amīr ʿAlīka in 844/1440, Fīrūzshāh was without equal in army and administration. His subsequent abuses led to an investigation by Shāh Rukh, during which Fīrūzshāh died. Further financial scandals followed as well as a number of local rebellions, and increasing dissension within the dynasty. When Shāh Rukh became ill in 848/1444-5, disorder broke out, particularly in Khurāsān. Gawharshād tried to engineer the succession of her favourite grandson ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Bāysunghur. These events encouraged Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Bāysunghur to rebel; Shāh Rukh went against him, and executed several of his *ʿulamāʾ* supporters, but died during the campaign, on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 850/13 March 1447.

The ensuing succession struggle ravaged Khurāsān and opened western Persia to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. Within fifteen years, Shāh Rukh's line had largely destroyed itself, and Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], a descendant of Mīrānshāh, succeeded in taking power.

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SHĀH-i SHUDJĀʿ, Djalāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris (d. 786/1384), a prince of the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] dynasty in Persia (for the correct form of his name, see J. Aubin, *La fin de l'état sarbadâr du Khorassan*, in *JA*, cclxii [1974], 101-2 n. 32). Born on 22 Djumādā II 733/10 March 1333, he was the son of the dynasty's founder, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, who gave him Kirmān as his appanage in 754/1353 and recognised him as his heir. In the division of the Muẓaffarid territories following Mubāriz al-Dīn's deposition and blinding by his sons in 760/1359, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ received Fārs and the status of paramount ruler, residing at Shīrāz. In his early years Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had to check the depredations of the Shūl and of Mongol and Türkmen tribes who sought the restoration of the Īndjūid [*q.v.*] dynasty (*Manāhidj*, fol. 654b). But much of his reign was absorbed in conflict with the rival Djalāyirid [*q.v.*] dynasty in ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān, and with his turbulent relatives, of whom his brothers Shāh Maḥmūd and Sulṭān Aḥmad ruled respectively in Iṣfahān and Kirmān and a nephew Shāh Yaḥyā in Yazd. An attempt to bolster his authority by accepting, as his father had done, a diploma from the puppet ʿAbbāsid Caliph in Cairo and performing homage to his representative (770/1368-9) does not seem to have brought Shāh-i Shudjāʿ any advantage.

In 765/1364 he was confronted by a particularly serious threat when Shāh Maḥmūd revolted. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's army was defeated outside Iṣfahān and obliged to retreat, whereupon Shāh Maḥmūd summoned to his aid Shāh Yaḥyā and the Djalāyirid ruler Shaykh Uways, whose daughter he had married, and the allies moved on Shīrāz. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was deserted by his brother Sulṭān Aḥmad and himself besieged in Shīrāz. In Rabīʿ II 766/December 1364-January 1365 (*Manāhidj*, fol. 657a) he surrendered Shīrāz to Shāh Maḥmūd and was allowed to leave for

Abarkūh. Here he built up a power-base, taking Kirmān from a rebel who had seized possession of it. Together with his nephew Shāh Yaḥyā, who had submitted to him once more, and the latter's brother Shāh Manṣūr, he advanced on Shīrāz and routed Shāh Maḥmūd's forces. Sulṭān Aḥmad in turn went over to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ, and Shāh Maḥmūd abandoned the city in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 767/August 1366. The recovery of his capital, however, did not mean that Shāh-i Shudjāʿ enjoyed undisturbed rule. Although in 768/1366-7 Shāh Maḥmūd again acknowledged his overlordship, the two rulers continued to engage in periodic conflict; at one point Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's eldest son Sulṭān Uways rebelled and took refuge with Shāh Maḥmūd. Following the latter's death on 9 Shawwāl 776/13 March 1375, however, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was able to take over Iṣfahān despite a faction within the city which supported Uways.

Shaykh Uways having also died in 776/1375, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ sought to avenge himself on the Djalāyirids. He invaded Ādharbāydjān, defeated the Djalāyirid army on 6 Djumādā I 777/3 October 1375 (*Manāhidj*, fol. 660a), and occupied Tabrīz, Ḳarabāgh and Nakhčiwān, but was shortly obliged to withdraw. Peace was made with Uways's son and successor, Sulṭān Ḥusayn, and cemented by the marriage of Ḥusayn's sister to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, on whom his father now conferred Iṣfahān. A subsequent campaign against Yazd brought to heel Shāh Yaḥyā, who had again rebelled; but the prince's brother Shāh Manṣūr fled to Māzandarān and later to Baghdād. Over the next few years Shāh-i Shudjāʿ intervened once more in the upheavals afflicting the Djalāyirid principality, where the governor of Sulṭāniyya, Sārik ʿĀdil, rebelled and Ḥusayn was embroiled with his brothers. Sārik ʿĀdil was obliged to accept Muẓaffarid overlordship in 781/1379-80; and when in 784/1382 Ḥusayn was overthrown and killed by his brother Aḥmad, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ encouraged another dissident Djalāyirid commander to occupy Shushtar and Baghdād and to strike coins and make the *khuṭba* in his name. Although Aḥmad occupied Baghdād and sent the Muẓaffarid prince Shāh Manṣūr to seize Shushtar, he was soon confronted with a bid by Ṣārik ʿĀdil at Sulṭāniyya to seize the throne on behalf of a third brother, Bāyazīd, and appealed to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ for assistance. In order to attend to Shushtar, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ effected a reconciliation between the Djalāyirid brothers; but he was unable to make any headway against Shāh Manṣūr, with whom he made peace.

Soon after this campaign Shāh-i Shudjāʿ died on 22 Shaʿbān 786/9 October 1384. His son Uways had predeceased him, and he was succeeded at Shīrāz by his son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who proved unable to enforce his authority over his kinsmen. One of Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's last actions had been to write a letter interceding with Tīmūr-i Lang on behalf of his family (Kutubī, 104-8), but this did not prevent the conqueror invading the Muẓaffarid territories and eventually destroying the dynasty. The chroniclers praise Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's cultural accomplishments (Kutubī, 63). Although he himself wrote indifferent verse, he studied grammar and is celebrated as the patron and friend of the famous poet Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], who hails his accession as the dawn of a more liberal era. Yet Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was not without his dark side, as attested by his blinding both of his father and, in 785/1383, of his son Sulṭān Shiblī, whom he suspected, groundlessly, of plotting against him (Kutubī, 99-100).

Bibliography: The chief primary source is Maḥmūd Kutubī, *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1335 *Sh.*/1956, 63-108. For the earlier part of his work, covering the period prior to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's accession, Kutubī abridged Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī's *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* (goes down to 767/1365-6), ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1326 *Sh.*/1947 (vol. i only, to 754/1353); Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ms. McLean 198. There is a survey of the reign down to 777/1375-6 in the anonymous *Manāhidj al-ṭālibīn*, India Office ms. 1660 (Ethé, no. 23), fols. 649-660b. See also Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, partial ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1336 *Sh.*/1957, 186-93, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's history of the Muẓaffarids in his *Madjmūʿa*, B.N. Paris, ms. Supp. pers. 2046 (Blochet, no. 2284), fols. 70a-86b. The principal secondary sources are Ḥusayn-ḳulī Sutūda, *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, i, Tehran 1346 *Sh.*/1967; H.R. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, 14-16; see also Annemarie Schimmel, in *ibid.*, 934-5.

(P. Jackson)

SHĀH SULṬĀN, a name used for several princesses of the Ottoman dynasty, among others for a daughter of Bāyezīd II (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları*, Ankara 1980, 29) and for a daughter of Muṣṭafā III (*ibid.*, 10), who endowed a mosque and *zāwiye* complex in Eyüp, Istanbul, still extant today. Here we will deal with two 10th/16th century princesses bearing this name.

1. Shāh Sulṭān, also known as Shāhī Sulṭān or Dewletshāhī, daughter of Selīm I, was married before 929/1523 to Lütfī Pasha, with whom she may have spent some time in Epirus. From this marriage two daughters were born, named Ismikhan and Ṣefākhan. But by Muḥarrem 948/May 1541, Shāh Sulṭān's marriage to Lütfī Pasha had ended in divorce, after Ḳānūnī Süleymān had removed Lütfī Pasha from his post as Grand Vizier. A *ḥüdjdjet* dated 22 Muḥarrem 948/28 May 1541, witnessed among others by the Chief Architect Miʿmār Sinān, states that the princess renounced her rights to *mehr-i müʾedjdjel* and support; in return, Lütfī Pasha handed over to her several of his Istanbul properties.

Shāh Sulṭān did not marry again, devoting herself instead to patronage of the arts and piety. She was a renowned collector of books, nine of which were purchased for the Palace after her death. According to the Khalwetī hagiographer Yūsuf Sinān Efendi (d. 989/1581), Shāh Sulṭān and Lütfī Pasha at the time of their married life had founded a Khalwetī *tekke* in the Istanbul region known as Davutpaşa (935/1528), and Shāh Sulṭān invited the well-known *shaykh* Yaʿkūb Efendi to be its *pūstnishīn* (see Ḥāfıẓ Ḥüseyin Aywansarayī, *Ḥadīḳat ül-djewāmiʿ*, Istanbul, 1281/1864-5, i, 132, who claims that Shāh Sulṭān was buried here). However, when the famous Khalwetī Shaykh Merkez Efendi died in 959/1552, Yaʿḳūb Efendi, to the frustration of Shāh Sulṭān, preferred to succeed the latter at the Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha *zāwiye* in Iṣtanbul, whereupon the foundress apparently converted the *tekke* into a school.

In addition, Shāh Sulṭān, who belonged to the circle of Merkez Efendi, founded a mosque along with a Khalwetī *tekke* in the Eyüp area of Bahariye (inscription dated 963/1536-7). This site the foundress chose for her grave, probably due to the proximity of the tomb of Eyüb-i Enṣārī. Several of her descendants subsequently were buried in the same place. This foundation had originally been destined for Merkez Efendi himself; but when the latter declined the position, his *khalīfe* Gömleksiz Meḥmed Efendi (d. 951/1544) was appointed instead.

Both the Eyüp and the Davutpaşa mosques had

originally been established as *mesdjids*. In two *fermāns* dated 962/1555 and 970/1562-3 Ḳānūnī Süleymān accorded Shāh Sulṭān permission to upgrade these two foundations into Friday mosques. The Davutpaşa mosque today is located in the garden of the Djerrāḥ Pasha hospital; when it was restored in 1953, the original dome was supplanted by a tiled roof. The Eyüp foundation remained in the hands of the Khalwetī-Sünbülī dervishes until the *tekke*s were closed in 1925. After the earthquake of 1180/1766, the complex was restored several times, particularly in the reign of Maḥmūd II. Shāh Sulṭān's *türbe* was destroyed in the course of the 1953 restoration.

In addition to these two complexes, Shāh Sulṭān had built a mosque and *zāwiye* near the tomb of her *shaykh* Merkez Efendi, outside the Istanbul gate of Yeñi Ḳapu. Her continuing interest in the family of Merkez Efendi is documented by the pensions she granted in her *wakfiyye* both to his daughter and to his granddaughter.

All these foundations were to be supported by villages in the vicinity of Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*], donated to Shāh Sulṭān by Ḳānūnī Süleymān. As Shāh Sulṭān's former husband Lüṭfī Pasha had retired to the region after his deposition, the couple seems to have had a long-standing connection with Dimetoḳa. In addition, the princess endowed her foundations with extensive urban real estate, partly located in the vicinity of her own palace in the quarter of Hekimçelebi, later known as the Handjerli Sulṭān Sarayî. Some of Shāh Sulṭān's properties, not assigned to pious foundations, were left to her great-grandson Aḥmed Čelebi, and she appointed her niece, Ḳānūnī's daughter Mihr-i māh, as executor. Shāh Sulṭān must have died some time between 983/1575 and 985/1577; for at the earlier date, Murād III, who had recently acceded to the throne, confirmed the grant of Dimetoḳa villages originally assigned to Shāh Sulṭān by his grandfather Ḳānūnī Süleymān. At the latter date, a Palace account mentions her as deceased.

It is difficult to determine whether the Princess Shāh Sulṭān, for whose pilgrimage to Mecca the *Diwān-î humāyūn* made arrangements in 980/1572-3, is identical with Shāḥ Sulṭān, the daughter of Selīm I. Pilgrimages by princesses were of political significance, for no Ottoman sultan ever visited Mecca. Shāh Sulṭān's pilgrimage therefore was treated as an occasion to make the presence of the Ottoman dynasty visible. However, it is also possible that these preparations were intended for Shāh Sulṭān, the daughter of Selīm II. But pilgrims often set out for Mecca at an advanced age, and a testament such as the one left by this particular Shāh Sulṭān might be considered a suitable preparation for the pilgrimage. Moreover, as the Shāh Sulṭān discussed here possessed a special reputation for piety, it is probable that she was in fact the prospective pilgrim. Whether she reached Mecca remains unknown.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see Aywansarayī, *Ḥadīḳat*, i, 232, 256-7; H.J. Kißling, *Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijje-Ordens*, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 265-7; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, art. *Lüṭfī Pasha*, in *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 91; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar*, Istanbul 1952, 498-9; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table XXIX, mistakenly recorded as "Şahhuban"; Uluçay, *op. cit.*, 32-3; idem, *Harem II*, Ankara 1985, 92; Filiz Çağman and Cemal Kafadar, *Tanzimat'tan önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı toplumunda kadınlar*, in *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da kadın. Anadolu kadının 9000 yılı*, Istanbul 1993, 208-9, 228-9 (fundamental); Leslie M. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem, women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1993, 66, 67, 201-2; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans. The Hajj under the Ottomans*, London and New York 1994, 129-30; arts. *Şah Sultan Camii* (Esra Güzel Erdoğan) and *Şah Sultan Camii ve tekkesi* (Baha Tanman), in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1994, vii, 124-7.

2. Shāh Sulṭān, daughter of Selīm II and Nūrbānū Sulṭān, was born in Manisa in 951/1544. In 969/1562 Süleymān I married off three of his granddaughters, an event accompanied by major festivities. Shāh Sulṭān was bestowed upon the Čaḳîrdjîbashî Ḥasan Agha (later Pasha and Vizier). The bridegroom was assigned 15,000 *flori* to spend on the wedding, while the best man (*saghdič*) received 10,000 and the bride 2,000 *flori*. Apart from these grants to the individuals involved, the Palace spent 25,000 *flori* on the festivities.

According to at least one chronicler, the marriage ended in divorce. After the death of her first husband in 981/1574, the princess married Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha, a special favourite of Süleymān; thereafter, she was sometimes known as the Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha Sulṭānî. A daughter and a son, the latter known as Shehīd Köse Khüsraw Pasha, were born of this union.

Donating twelve villages granted to her by her father, Shāh Sulṭān, together with her husband, endowed a mosque, *medrese* and mausoleum in Eyüp, whose architect was Miʿmār Sinān. According to one source, the mosque and *medrese* were Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha's foundations, while Shāh Sulṭān contributed a *zāwiye*. The exact date of construction remains unknown, but since in 987/1579 a *müderris* was appointed to the *medrese*, it must have been complete or else close to completion. While both mosque and mausoleum appear in two lists of Sinān's works, the *medrese* is only mentioned in a single one. During this period, Miʿmār Sinān must have spent most of his energy on Sultan Selīm II's mosque in Edirne. Therefore the *medrese*, built on two levels linked by a staircase, may well be at least partly the work of another architect. Both Shāh Sulṭān and her spouse died in 988/1580 and were buried in their common mausoleum.

Bibliography: Aywansarayī, *Ḥadīḳat*, i, 253 ff.; art. *Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha* in *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 426; Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 502; Alderson, *op. cit.*, Table XXXI; Uluçay, *op. cit.*, 41; Peirce, *op. cit.*, 67; art. *Zal Mahmud Paşa Külliyesi* (Doğan Kuban) in *Dünden bugüne Istanbul ansiklopedisi*, vii, 542-3.

(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SHĀH ṬĀHIR al-Ḥusaynī al-Dakkanī, son of the Imām Raḍī al-Dīn II, the most famous imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line of post-Alamūt [*q.v.*] Nizārī Ismāʿīlism [*q.v.*].

He was a theologian, a poet, a stylist, and an accomplished diplomat who gave valuable services to the Niẓām-Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar in southern India, hence the surname al-Dakkanī because of this affiliation. He was born and brought up in Khund near Ḳazwīn, where his ancestors had settled after the fall of Alamūt and had acquired a large following. He was a gifted man and attained a high reputation for his learning and piety. Subsequently, he was invited by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] to join other scholars at his court; however, Shāh Ṭāhir's religious following aroused Shāh Ismāʿīl's suspicious mind, and only after the intercession of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī (who was an influential dignitary and might have been a secret convert and a follower of the imām)

was Shāh Ṭāhir allowed to settle down in Kāshān, where he became a religious teacher. Soon his influence over the people and his popularity among them aroused the hostility of the local officials and the Twelver Shīʿī scholars, who maliciously reported to the Shāh, accusing Shāh Ṭāhir of heretical teaching. Hence, in 926/1520 the Imām was obliged to flee with his family.

He first went to Fārs and then sailed to India. After landing in Goa he went to the court of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh in Bīdjāpūr. Disappointed with his reception, he decided to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and to the Shīʿī shrines in ʿIrāḳ before returning to Persia; however, on his way to the seaport he met some high dignitaries of Burhān Niẓām Shāh, the ruler of Aḥmadnagar, and was invited there. In 928/1522 the Imām arrived in the capital of Niẓām-Shāhī state and soon became the most trusted adviser of the Shāh and attained a highly privileged position at his court. The Indian historian Firishta, who has given the most detailed account of his life, relates an interesting story of his miraculous healing of Burhān Niẓām Shāh's young son, which brought about the latter's conversion from Sunnism to Shīʿism. Shortly after his own conversion, Burhān Niẓām Shāh proclaimed Twelver Shīʿism as the official religion of the state. Our sources state that the form of Shīʿism propagated by Shāh Ṭāhir, himself a Nizārī Imām, was Twelver Shīʿism, which may seem strange. However, one must bear in mind that Shāh Ṭāhir and his predecessors were obliged to observe *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], so that they propagated Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in the guise of Twelver Shīʿism and Ṣūfism. This explains why he wrote several commentaries on the theological and jurisprudential works of the well-known Twelver scholars and a commentary on the famous Ṣūfī treatise *Gulshan-i rāz*. Except for some of his poetry and excerpts of his correspondence, nothing seems to have survived. He died at Aḥmadnagar between 952/1545-6, the year mentioned by the contemporary Ṣafawid prince Sām Mīrzā, and 956/1549, the date recorded by Firishta. His remains were later transferred to Karbalāʾ.

Bibliography: For a detailed description of his works and sources, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu 1977, 271-5; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 453-4, 471, 487-90. (I. Poonawala)

SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH [see al-dihlawī, shāh walī allāh].

SHAHĀDA (a.), the verbal noun from *shahida*, a verb which means successively (1) to be present (somewhere), as opposed to *ghāba* "be absent"; whence (2) see with one's own eyes, be witness (of an event); whence (3) bear witness (to what one has seen); whence (4), attest, certify s. th. *tout court*. *Shahāda* can thus mean in the first place "that which is there", whence "that which can be seen", as in the Ḳurʾānic formula in which God is described as *ʿālim al-ghayb wa 'l-shahāda* "He who knows what is invisible and visible" (VI, 73; IX, 94, 105; XIII, 9; etc.). Another sense, more commonly used, is that of witnessing, the declaration by means of which the witness to an event testifies to the reality of what he has seen (or claims to have seen); this is the sense in Ḳurʾān, II, 282-3 (in regard to a debt), V, 106-8 (in regard to a bequest), XXIV, 4, 6 (concerning adultery), LXV, 2 (at the time of a divorce), and, from this point of departure, in legal language [see shāhid]. A third usage (not directly Ḳurʾānic but implicit in III, 19, VI, 19 and LXIII, 1) is the religious sense, in which *shahāda* denotes the Islamic profession of faith, the act of declaring "There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God". Sometimes, one speaks in this case of al-*shahādatān*ⁱ "the two *shahādas*" [see tashahhud]. Finally, by extension of this third sense, *shahāda* can refer to the supreme manner of affirming the Islamic faith, that of the martyr in the cause of Islam [see mashhad and shahīd].

Bibliography: See the *fiḳh* books and the *Bibl.* to shāhid. (D. Gimaret)

SHĀHANSHĀH [see shāh].

SHAHĀRA, also commonly Shuhāra, the name of a large mountain, town and fortress in the district (*nāḥiya*) of al-Ahnūm in the Yemen, placed by Werdecker (*Contribution*, 138) at 16° 14′ lat. N. and 43° 40′ long. E., i.e. approximately 90 km due east of the Red Sea coast and 110 km north, slightly west, of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*]. Al-Ahnūm was originally of Ḥāshid, one of the two divisions of Hamdān. Today, however, the majority of its tribal groups are of Bakīl, the other division, and it is counted as Bakīl territory.

The town itself, known in former times as Miʿattiḳ, is called Shahārat al-Raʾs since it is perched right on the summit of the mountain. The fortress is named Shahārat al-Fīsh and is situated to the east of the town. A famous and often photographed bridge was built on the instructions of Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn in about 1320/1902, and thus the town has spread in an easterly direction since that date. It has three gates through which all traffic entering and leaving the town must pass: Bāb al-Naḥr, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Saraw. It is said (al-Ḥadjarī, *Madjmūʿ*, i, 95) that its *djāmiʿ* mosque was built in 1029/1620 by Imām al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, who had made the town his capital and died and was buried there in 1054/1644, and that the town has seven other mosques.

Shahāra is firstly linked with the famous pre-Islamic Tubbaʿ, Asʿad al-Kāmil. Amīr Dhu 'l-Sharafayn Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, son of Imām al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿAyyānī, who died in 478/1085, made the town his headquarters, after which it was often referred to as Shahārat al-Amīr. Amīr Muḥammad is buried in the town.

The Turks during their two occupations of the Yemen made repeated assaults on Shahāra, but it was only in 995/1587 that their governor, Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim Pasha, finally succeeded in taking it after a long siege. This proved to be their only conquest of the town, for, although again in 1323/1905 the Turks besieged Shahāra, they were unsuccessful. Of this unsuccessful siege and attack, a Yemeni poet wrote "[The Turks] came by night (*saraw*) against Saraw gate, but in the morning they were slaughtered (*nuḥirū*) at al-Naḥr [gate], when victory (*al-naṣr*, the name of the third gate) was something to be hoped for".

Shahāra was always a centre of learning and produced a number of famous *fuḳahāʾ*, *udabāʾ* and poets. Of the last may be mentioned Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Shahāriyya who died in 1114/1702. Although her poetry was never assembled into a *dīwān*, it finds a respected place in Yemeni literature; she also wrote some prose.

Bibliography: J. Werdecker, *A contribution to the geography and cartography of north-west Yemen*, in *Bull. de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte*, xx (1939), 1-160; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥadjarī, *Madjmūʿ buldān al-Yaman wa-ḳabāʾilihā*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1984, i, 95-6; Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-Makḥafī, *Muʿdjam al-buldān wa 'l-ḳabāʾil al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1988, 365-6; Aḥmad ʿAlī al-Wādiʿī, art. *Shahāra* in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii* (eds.), *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, 556-7. (G.R. Smith)

SHAHĀRIDJA (much less frequently *shahārīdj*; sing. *shahrīdj*), Arabised form of the Persian *shahrīg*/*shahrīgān*, and the name given to some local notables of ʿIrāḳ who survived the coming of Islam well into the medieval period.

The role of the Shahāridja in the Sāsānid period is vexing, since the evidence is all late and all literary. Al-Masʿūdī states that they were part of the nobility of the Sawād [*q.v.*] and superior in rank to the *dihḳāns*; meanwhile, al-Yaʿḳūbī glosses the *shahrīdj* as the *raʾīs al-kuwar*, and this has often been taken to mean that they were imperial appointees with broad responsibilities in provincial administration. However, the material testimony is conspicuously silent when it comes to the Shahāridja (as opposed to the *shahrabs*), and Gyselen has argued that the Shahāridja of the Sāsānid period were representatives of the *dihḳāns*, rather than administrative officials; insofar as the later evidence from northern Mesopotamia sheds any light on the Sāsānid period, the Shahāridja should certainly be interpreted as local notables, but how they related to the *dihḳāns* is less clear.

The earliest attestation of the Shahāridja in the Islamic sources comes in Abū Mikhnaf's account of the conquest of Takrīt (here put in year 16/637), where they join a Byzantine force and local Arab tribes in defence of the town; al-Balādhurī also mentions the toponym Tall al-Shahāridja in his account of the conquest of Mawṣil, which, if we admit it as authentic, indicates their presence in the north before Islam (for a possible parallel, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 446, on Theophylactus Simocatta). Local Nestorian sources of the 9th century portray the Shahāridja as local headmen and wealthy notables, who lived in several towns and villages in the province of Mawṣil; according to Thomas of Marga, they levied onerous taxes on the *dihḳāns*. But Thomas also accuses them of holding the aberrant view that "Christ was a mere man" (*barnāshā shḥīmā*), and it is therefore hard to know how much of his information is polemical. Although an *ex eventu* prophecy recorded by Thomas suggests that their role in local taxation began to fade at the end of the 2nd Islamic century, they were known in the north as late as Ibn Ḥawḳal's time. The evidence for their presence in ʿIrāḳ (as opposed to Mawṣil) during the Islamic period is so thin and stereotypical that firm conclusions are impossible.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 332; Ṭabarī, i, 2474-5, tr. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 446-7; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 203; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 662, and Pellat's Index, vi, 417; *Aghānī*, Cairo 1958, xiv, 136; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 217; Thomas of Marga, *The Book of Governors*, ed. and tr. E.A.W. Budge, London 1893, *passim*; S.P. Brock, *A Syriac life of John of Dailam*, in *Parole d'Orient*, x (1981-2), 187/163-4; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 236 ff.; M. Grignaschi, *Quelques spécimens de la littérature Sassanide conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul*, in *JA*, ccliv (1966), 31-4; M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 129, 187-90, 204; R. Gyselen, *La géographie administrative de l'empire sassanide: les témoignages sigillographiques*, Paris 1989, 28.

(C.F. Robinson)

SHAHDĀNADJ (also *shahdānak*, *shāhdānadj*, *shādānak*, *sharānak*) hempseed. In Greek pharmacology and throughout its Arabic counterpart, it was known as a rather minor simple, useful for drying out fluid in the ear by dripping its oil into it, harmful in that it caused headache and sexual dysfunction when eaten in large quantities, and the like. The word was commonly accepted as the Persian equivalent of Greek *cannabis*, Ar. *ḳinnab*, and hence served as another term for *ḥashīsh* [*q.v.*]; this may explain why so many different forms were in use.

Bibliography: A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, ii, 502-3, 598-9. = *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge (1988), 172 ff., with full references to the pharmacological works. From the older literature, see I. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna and Leipzig 1928, repr. Hildesheim 1967, i, 255-63, and, for the *ḥashīsh* aspect, F. Rosenthal, *The Herb*, Leiden 1971, index, 201a.

(F. Rosenthal)

SHĀHDJAHĀNĀBĀD [see DIHLĪ].

AL-**SHAHHĀM**, Abu Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Isḥāḳ, Muʿtazilī theologian of the Baṣran school (3rd/9th century). His exact dates are unknown. His biographers only say that he was the youngest, or among the youngest, of the disciples of Abu 'l-Hudhayl (d. ? 227/841 [*q.v.*]), that he died aged 80 and that his death was after 257/871, when he was for a while prisoner of the Zandj, when these last overran Baṣra.

As his name implies, he was a seller of fat, and under al-Wāthiḳ held administrative posts in the taxation office or *dīwān al-kharādj*. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (cited in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, vi, 325), he is said to have even headed this department. According to other sources, he was reportedly simply charged as a "religious figure", and in the general framework of the suppression of abuses, to oversee in this regard the conduct of al-Faḍl b. Marwān [*q.v.*].

He was a disciple both of Abu 'l-Hudhayl and, it seems, of Muʿammar [*q.v.*] (thus according to al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, 45, ll. 15-17), and eventually became head of the Muʿtazilī school in Baṣra. He was the chief master of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*]. A trenchant polemicist, he is said to have written numerous refutations, as well as, notably, a Ḳurʾān commentary (for all biographical details, see ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, Tunis 1974, 280-1; al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ ʿuyūn al-masāʾil*, ms. Ṣanʿāʾ, Great Mosque, *ʿilm al-kalām*, no. 212, fol. 59a; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1961, 71-2; and on the episode of the Zandj, ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, Beirut 1966, 341).

He is characterised by two main theses:

(1) Concerning the science of God, on the question whether God has known things from all eternity (*lam yazal ʿālim^an bi 'l-ashyāʾ*)—a question debated at length in al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, 158-63—he was amongst those answering affirmatively (see *ibid.*, 162, ll. 8-17). This means that he admitted that, given the fact that the universe is created, "things are things even before they come into existence", in other words, that "what is not yet in existence is a thing" (*al-maʿdūm shayʾ*), a thesis which the majority of later Muʿtazilīs, Baṣrans as well as Baghdādīs, made their own. A relatively late tradition holds that, within the Muʿtazilī school, al-Shahhām was the first to uphold such a principle (see al-Djuwaynī, *Shāmil*, Alexandria 1969, 124, ll. 6-7; al-Shahrastānī, *Nihāya*, Oxford 1934, 151, ll. 2-5). In reality, his contemporary and compatriot ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān [*q.v.*] held the same view (see *Maḳālāt*, 158, ll. 16 ff. and 495, ll. 9 ff.). Al-Shahhām simply went further, saying that bodies even are bodies before they come into existence, a viewpoint which was later taken up by the Baghdādī al-Khayyāṭ [*q.v.*] (in his *Farḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 179, ll. 15 ff., al-Baghdādī attributes to al-Khayyāṭ the reasoning that, in *Maḳālāt*, 162, ll. 12-16, 504, ll. 16 ff., al-Ashʿarī attributes to al-Shahhām).

(2) Regarding God's power, considered in its

connection with human acts, al-Shahhām upheld, against all the other Muᶜtazilīs (thus in *Makālāt*, 549, ll. 9-11; but if one believes Ibn Mattawayh, *Madjmūᶜ*, Beirut 1965, i, 379, ll. 9-13, Abu 'l-Hudhayl and Muḥammad b. Shabīb are said to have thought the same) that "God has power over what He gives power to mankind" (*yakdiru ᶜalā mā akdara ᶜalayhi ᶜibādahu*) cf. *Makālāt*, 199, l. 7, 549, l. 12), thus admitting the idea of "one object of power for the two wielders of power" (*makdūr wāḥid li 'l-kādirayn*) (cf. *Fark*, 178, ll. 4-6). Although, moreover, like Ḍirār, al-Nadjdjār [*q.vv.*] and, later, the Sunnī theologians, al-Shahhām apparently distinguished between "to create" (*khalaka*), which would be proper to God, and "to acquire" (*iktasaba*), which would be proper to man (cf. *Makālāt*, 550, ll. 2-3), one should not understand that, for him, as these other theologians thought, it was the very same act at the very same instant which is, at the same time, "created" by God and "acquired" by man. It appears in fact to be a question of an alternative (cf. *Fark*, 178, ll. 7-9): this common possibility is, whether it is God who produces it and it is then an act of God alone, or whether it is man, and in this case it is exclusively an act of man (see *Makālāt*, 199, ll. 8-9, 549, ll. 13 ff.; *Madjmūᶜ*, I, 379, ll. 11-12, 15-16; ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1963, viii, 275, ll. 16-18).

Bibliography: Given in the article, to which should be added Ashᶜarī, *Makālāt*, 277, ll. 3-13, 415, ll. 6-8; ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl*, 256, ll. 1-10; Abu 'l-Muᶜīn al-Nasafī, *Tabṣira*, Damascus 1993, ii, 548, ll. 8-10, 724, ll 9-11; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1959, i, 7, ll. 6-10; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, iv, § 4.1.3.

(D. GIMARET)

SHĀHĪ (P.), lit. "royal, kingly". In numismatics, the name of a silver coinage denomination in Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid Persia until inflation gradually drove it out of circulation. The name originated in Persia after Tīmūr introduced his *tanga-yi nukra* in 792/1390 at 5.38 gr, half the weight of the Dihlī Sultanate tanga, 10.76 gr. Under Shāh Rukh the *tanga-yi nukra*'s weight was reduced to that of the *mithkāl*, 4.72 gr, and received the popular name *shāhrukhī*. Between Shāh Rukh's death in 853/1449 and the accession of Shāh Ismāᶜīl I Ṣafawī in 907/1501 the coinage of Persia underwent a rapid and continuous debasement. Shāh Ismāᶜīl then stabilised the coinage and issued three main silver denominations during the period of his first coinage standard, 908-23/1502-17 weighing one, two and four *mithkāls*. On the basis that the one *mithkal* coin weighed the same as the *shāhrukhī*, Fragner concluded that this was the *shāhī* valued at 50 dīnārs, but Rabino and Farahbakhsh assigned the same name and dīnār value of the *shāhī* to the two-*mithkal* weight denomination. There appears to be no contemporary historical evidence to decide this issue, although the Persian numismatic tradition may be favoured. After a series of steep devaluations in 923, 928, 938 and 945 A.H., all authorities are in agreement that the *shāhī* of Ṭahmāsb I now weighed a half-*mithkāl* (12 *nukhūd*), about 2.30 gr, and continued to be valued at 50 dīnārs, with 200 *shāhīs* being equal to one tūmān.

After periodic devaluations in the reigns preceding that of Karīm Khān Zand (1172-93/1759-79), the *shāhī* came to weigh a quarter-*mithkāl* (6 *nukhūd*), about 1.15 gr, and ten were valued at one rupee. Under the late Zands its weight was reduced to 5 *nukhūd*, 0.96 gr, with 12 being equal to one rupee. At this point the silver *shāhī* appears to have ceased to circulate as a coin in its own right because of its light weight and low value. After the silver *shāhī* had ceased to be struck, the name was applied to a copper coin weighing roughly one *mithkāl* which was issued by provincial governors rather than the central government mints.

Until the reign of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh (1212-50/1797-1834), the double *shāhī* was known as the *muḥammadī* and the four *shāhī* as the *ᶜabbāsī*; but the first coinage reform of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh in 1212/1797 introduced a new set of denominations in which one of his new *riyāls* was valued at 25 *shāhīs* or 1,250 dīnārs, 8 *riyāls* were worth one tūmān, while the smallest circulating coin, the *shahī safīd*, the white *shāhī* to distinguish it from the copper, or black *shāhī*, actually had a real value of 3.125 *shāhīs*. When the *kirān* standard was introduced in 1241/1825, 10 *kirāns* were valued at one tūmān, one *kirān* at 20 *shāhīs* or 1,000 dīnārs, while the circulating silver coins were issued at the value of one, half, quarter and eighth-*kirān*.

During the rule of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār (1264-1313/1848-96 [*q.v.*]), under the coinage reform law of 1293/1877 all provincial mints were closed and the manufacture of machine-struck coinage was introduced at the central government mint at Tehran. Copper coins were then issued with the value of 200, 100, 50, 25 and 12 dīnārs, but in the year 1305 the 100-dīnār coin was actually named the *dō shāhī* and the 50-dīnār one the *shāhī*. Between 1296/1879 and 1342/1924, the smallest silver coin was the *shāhī safīd* weighing 3.25 *nukhūd* or 0.7 gr. These small coins, while named *shāhī*, had an actual value of three copper *shāhīs*, and were struck for special distribution at the *Nawrūz* [*q.v.*] celebrations. Three varieties are known. One bore the Shāhs' names and titles on the obverse, and the Persian lion and sun emblem and date on the reverse, and was presumably given as presents to and amongst the secular administration. The second carries the rulers' names and titles as before, with the legend "O Master of the Age! To Thee be Greetings!", referring to the Twelfth Imām, and the third bears the same invocation to the Twelfth Imām with the Persian lion and sun and the date on the reverse. These, presumably, were intended for distribution within the religious community. With the coming of the Pahlawīs, the striking of the *shāhī safīd* ceased, and privately struck tokens took its place as *Nawrūz* gifts.

In 1309 A.S.H./1930, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*] introduced his own *riyāl* standard, valuing the tūmān at ten *riyāls*, the *riyāl* at 100 dīnārs and the *shāhī* at five dīnārs. The last appearance of the *shāhī* denomination in the Persian coinage was in 1314 A.S.H/1935 when the half-*riyāl* (50 dīnārs) was given the name of 10 *shāhīs*. The final fractional riyāl, a 50-dīnār coin, which was the last vestige of the *shāhī*, appeared only once after the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran when it was issued as part of the first republican coinage dated 1358 A.S.H./1979.

Elsewhere, there is evidence that the name *shāhī* as a shortened form of *shāhrukhī* was colloquially applied to those silver coins influenced by the Persian coinage system which circulated in pre- and early Mughal India, weighing around a half-*tanga* or one *mithkāl*.

Bibliography: H. Farahbakhsh, *Iranian hammered coinage 1500-1879 A.D.*, Berlin 1975; B. Fragner: *Social and internal economic affairs*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 556-65; C.L. Krause and C. Mishler, *Standard catalog of world coins*, ii, Iola, Wisc. 1991; R.S. Poole, *A catalogue of coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887; H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, medals and seals of the shahs of Iran*, Hertford 1945; idem, *Album of coins, medals and seals of the Shahs of Iran*, Oxford 1951.

(R.E. DARLEY-DORAN)

SHAHĪD (A., lit. "witness", pl. *shuhadā*ʾ), a word

often used in the sense of "martyr". In the Ḳurʾān it is attested in its primary meaning (e.g. II, 282, XXIV, 4) and also occurs as one of the divine names (e.g. V, 117). Muslim scholars maintain that in a number of verses *shuhadāʾ* means "martyrs", as in III, 140 ("So that God may know those who believe and may take *shuhadāʾ* from among you"), IV, 69 ("Whoever obeys God and the messenger—they are with those whom God has blessed, prophets, just men, *shuhadāʾ* and the righteous"), XXXIX, 69 and LVII, 19; and they explain in various ways how this meaning derives from the verb *shahida* (see Lane, s.v.). Goldziher, in contrast, thought that this sense of *shuhadāʾ* was post-Ḳurʾānic and reflected the use among Christians of the Greek *martys* and Syriac *sāhdā* (*Muslim studies*, ii, 350-1; cf. Wensinck, *The oriental doctrine*, 1, 9; SHAHĪD, in *EI*[1] [W. Björkman]). What is not in doubt is that the Ḳurʾān refers to the reward for those slain in the way of God (*fī sabīl Allāh*) (II, 154, III, 157, 169, IV, 74, IX, 111, XLVII, 4-6).

A large body of traditions describes the bliss awaiting the martyr. All his sins will be forgiven; he will be protected from the torments of the grave; a crown of glory will be placed on his head; he will be married to seventy-two houris and his intercession will be accepted for up to seventy of his relations. When the martyrs behold the delights awaiting them, they will ask to be brought back to life and killed again; but this is one request which even they will be denied. The Ḳurʾānic statement that the *shuhadāʾ* are alive (*aḥyāʾ*) is often (but not always) interpreted literally (see D. Gimaret, *Une lecture muʿtazilite du Coran*, Louvain-Paris 1994, 120, 202-3). According to some traditions, the spirits of the martyrs will ascend directly to Paradise, there to reside in the craws of green birds near God's throne. During the Resurrection these spirits will be returned to the martyr's earthly bodies and the martyrs will then be given their abode in Paradise (*dār al-shuhadāʾ*).

There are two main types of martyr, the difference between them being marked by the fact that martyrs of the first type have special burial rites while those of the second do not. The first type are *shuhadāʾ al-maʿraka*, "battlefield martyrs". They are referred to as "martyrs both in this world and the next" (*shuhadāʾ al-dunyā wa 'l-ākhira*), meaning that they are treated as martyrs both in this world (in that they undergo the special burial rites) and in the next.

The burial rites accorded to battlefield martyrs differ from those accorded to other Muslims in the following ways:

(1) *Ghusl* [*q.v.*]. There is widespread agreement among Sunnī and non-Sunnī jurists that the martyr's body should not as a rule be washed. This position is based on the precedent of the Prophet's actions at Uḥud and elsewhere and on the belief that martyrdom removes the impurity which adheres to a person's body at death. A minority view was held by some early authorities, including Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. *ca.* 94/713), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] and the Baṣran ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAnbarī (d. 168/785). Their view is that the Prophet acted in extraordinary circumstances and that his actions should therefore not serve as a precedent; in addition, they hold that martyrs are subject to the same laws of impurity as others. A special case is the martyr who dies without having performed the *ghusl* following sexual intercourse. Jurists who hold that his body should be washed include Abū Ḥanīfa, the Ḥanbalīs and the Ibāḍīs. These jurists cite the precedent of the Anṣārī Ḥanẓala b. Abī ʿĀmir: he was with his wife when called upon to fight at Uḥud and was killed before he could perform the *ghusl*; the angels washed his body, and he is therefore known as *ghasīl al-malāʾika*. A further point, allegedly made by Abū Ḥanīfa, is that martyrdom does not cancel an impurity which adhered to a person while he was still alive. Those who say that a martyr of this kind should be treated like any other battlefield martyr by not being washed include Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī and some later Ḥanafīs. Conflicting views on this point are also found among Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs, Zaydīs and Imāmīs.

(2) Clothes. The belief that the martyr's blood-stained clothes will constitute proof of his status on the Day of Judgment is the main reason for holding that he should be buried in the garments in which he was killed. But items of clothing which cannot normally serve as shrouds (e.g. headgear, footgear, fur or skin clothes) may not be buried with him; nor should his weapons accompany him to the grave, as this was a Djāhilī custom. The Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs maintain that if the martyr's next of kin (*awliyāʾ*) do not wish to bury him in his garments, they may use shrouds instead.

(3) Prayer. There are conflicting accounts of the Prophet's behaviour at Uḥud: according to some he prayed over the martyrs, according to others he did not. Those who hold that the former should serve as a precedent include the Ḥanafīs, Zaydīs and Imāmīs. Opponents of prayers over the martyrs include the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, as well as many of the older Meccan and Medinan authorities. Ibn Ḥazm argues that both accounts are equally reliable and that either practice may therefore be followed, while the Ḥanbalīs are split over the issue, depending on which of two *riwāyas* from Ibn Ḥanbal they choose to follow. One argument (attributed to al-Shāfiʿī) against prayers over the martyrs is that the martyrs are alive, while prayers are held only for the dead. Another argument is based on the notion that the aim of such prayers is to intercede on the dead person's behalf; as the martyr has been cleansed of all sins, he is in no need of such intercession. In contrast, supporters of such prayers claim that no-one can dispense with a request to God for His mercy and forgiveness, and that the martyrs, more than anyone else, deserve to have this request made on their behalf.

There is some difference of opinion as to who is included in the category of battlefield martyrs. While it is agreed that they are those who went into battle in order to further God's religion and in anticipation of His reward (*iḥtisāb*), there are some jurists who add that they must have died in a battle against unbelievers, whereas others maintain that their death in battle should have been caused by an act of injustice (*ẓulm*). Again, some jurists insist that these martyrs must have been killed by an enemy soldier, while others do not make this stipulation. All agree that death must be a direct and immediate result of the wounds received, but the interpretation of this rule varies; it is often taken to mean that the warrior must die before he has had a chance either to eat, drink, sleep, receive medical treatment, be moved away, or dictate his last will and testament. The Shāfiʿīs stipulate only that he should not have eaten during the time between his injury and his death, and that his death should have occurred either before or shortly after the battle ended.

Tradition has recorded the names of numerous battlefield martyrs who died during the Prophet's lifetime; they include members of his immediate family, such as his paternal uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (known as *sayyid al-shuhadāʾ*) and his cousin Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.vv.*]. Far greater numbers fell

during the conquests which followed the Prophet's death. Most died on land, some at sea; the latter are said to receive the reward of two martyrs who die on land. Many fought with extraordinary bravery against heavy odds and their behaviour is cited as an example of the "wish for martyrdom" (*ṭalab al-s̲h̲ahāda*). Such zeal was also common among various K̲h̲āridjī groups. The number of martyrs of this kind declined with the end of the first great wave of conquests, although it rose again whenever particular historical circumstances (such as the Crusades) revived calls for *d̲j̲ihād* (cf. E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade*, Paris 1968, 60-2, 110, 134 and *passim*). At the same time, the increasing importance attached to the defence of the border areas led to the elevation of fallen *murābiṭūn* to the rank of martyrs [see RIBĀṬ]. In eschatological times, martyrs will fight on the side of the Mahdī [*q.v.*], just as the early martyrs fought alongside the Prophet.

Battlefield martyrdom has captured the imagination of Muslims throughout the ages. A martyr's death in combat is the apogee of the believer's aspirations; it is the noblest way to depart this life (hence the motif of the old man who rushes forth to battle) and is a guarantee of God's approval and reward. In his willingness to lay down his life for a higher cause the believer overcomes that most basic of instincts, fear of death. Nor is the reaction to his death necessarily one of grief: there are accounts in mediaeval Sunnī sources of mothers who express gratitude at the news of their sons' martyrdom and forbid any mourning over them; and similar reports have appeared in modern times, most spectacularly on the Iranian side during the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war (1980-8). It is the behaviour of these mothers which is so striking, regardless of whether it reflects their true feelings. The significance of the martyr's death transcends the individual; in the eyes of ordinary Muslims, he endows his entire community with purity and grace, and his immediate family are the object of admiration and support.

The second major type of martyr are the "martyrs in the next world only" (*s̲h̲uhadāʾ al-āk̲h̲ira*); they are not accorded distinctive burial rites. Among them are the *murtat̲h̲t̲h̲ūn*, lit. "those who are worn out", i.e. warriors who in other respects qualify as battlefield martyrs, but whose death is not a direct and immediate result of their wounds. The question whether a person is to be regarded as a battlefield martyr or as a martyr only in the next world arose particularly in three cases. The first is that of a warrior accidentally killed by his own weapon; one example is that of ʿĀmir b. al-Akwaʿ (or b. Sinān), whose sword slipped from his hand during the battle of K̲h̲aybar [*q.v.*] and fatally wounded him. The Imāmīs and some Ḥanbalīs maintain that such a warrior is a battlefield martyr; others dispute this. The second case concerns those killed by *bug̲h̲āt* ("rebels"; cf. Kh. Abou El Fadl, *Aḥkām al-bughāt: irregular warfare and the law of rebellion in Islam*, in *Cross, crescent, and sword*, ed. J.T. Johnson and J. Kelsay, New York, Westport and London 1990, 149-76). For the Zaydīs and Imāmīs, the *bug̲h̲āt* are unbelievers, since they rose against a legitimate ruler; hence those who fall while fighting them (such as ʿAlī's supporters in the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffīn and al-Nahrawān) are considered to be battlefield martyrs. Sunnī scholars generally regard the *bug̲h̲āt* as erring Muslims and treat those who fall while fighting them as the victims of injustice. For some Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs and S̲h̲āfiʿīs, this is sufficient grounds for according them the status of battlefield martyrs; while those who hold that such a martyr must have died in a war against unbelievers maintain that victims of the *bug̲h̲āt* are *s̲h̲uhadāʾ al-āk̲h̲ira*. Finally, there are those who die while defending themselves, their families or their property against brigands (*luṣūṣ*) [see LIṢṢ] or highway robbers (*ḳuṭṭāʿ al-ṭuruḳ*). (The assumption appears to be that these brigands and robbers are Muslims rather than unbelievers.) Theirs is a special case, in that their death does not occur on a battlefield. Jurists none the less draw an analogy between such persons and warriors who were killed on the battlefield. According to al-Awzāʿī [*q.v.*] and some Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, they are to be regarded as battlefield martyrs; most jurists, however, consider the victims of brigands or highway robbers as martyrs in the next world only.

The decrease in the number of battlefield martyrs that followed the early conquests coincided (perhaps not fortuitously) with a large extension of the category of martyrs in the next world only. These further types may conveniently be grouped under three major headings:

(1) Persons who die violently or prematurely. Martyrs of this type include:

(a) *Those murdered while in the service of God.* Foremost among them are the caliphs ʿUmar, ʿUt̲h̲mān (who is sometimes regarded as a battlefield martyr) and ʿAlī. The Prophet himself was occasionally described as a *s̲h̲ahīd*, since his death was supposedly precipitated by his tasting a piece of poisoned mutton offered him by Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārit̲h̲ at the time of the K̲h̲aybar expedition.

(b) *Those killed for their beliefs.* Pre-Islamic figures include various prophets, most prominently Yaḥyā (John the Baptist) (for whom see e.g. Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, *Man ʿās̲h̲a baʿd al-mawt*, Cairo 1352/1934, 17-8), and righteous persons such as Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*]. During the early years of Muḥammad's mission, Sumayya, the mother of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*] (who himself fell at Ṣiffīn), is said in some reports to have been stabbed to death by Abū D̲j̲ahl after she had openly embraced Islam; some say that she was the very first martyr in Islam. An example from the time of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] is that of Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-K̲h̲uzāʿī, who refused to acknowledge that the Ḳurʾān was created and was beheaded in 231/846 by order of the caliph al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ. Those executed by a ruler for enjoining him to do what is proper and forbidding him from what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) are sometimes described as martyrs. Among Ṣūfīs, the most renowned martyr is al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] (see L. Massignon, *The passion of al-Ḥallāj: mystic and martyr of Islam*, tr. H. Mason, Princeton 1982, i, 560-645). The list of Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī martyrs is particularly long, with many names appearing in the *maḳātil* literature; some became posthumously known as "al-S̲h̲ahīd" (e.g. al-S̲h̲ahīd al-T̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*]). The most prominent of these martyrs are the Imāms, with Ḥusayn in particular occupying a unique position. He has traditionally been regarded as having sacrificed himself in order to revive the Prophet's religion and save it from destruction; yet he has also been seen (particularly in recent years) as a battlefield martyr to be emulated for his willingness to fight for justice against all odds. The tombs of Ḥusayn and the other Imāms are the most important shrines in the S̲h̲īʿī world; many non-S̲h̲īʿī martyrs also generated a cult, and their burial places became centres of pilgrimage [see MAS̲H̲HAD].

(c) *Those who die through disease or accident.* Early collections of Ḥadīt̲h̲ specifically mention victims of the plague (*ṭāʿūn* [*q.v.*]), of pleurisy or of an abdominal disease (diarrhoea or colic), those who drown, die in a fire or are struck by a falling house or wall, and

women who die in childbirth; other forms of death were added at a later date. According to al-Bādjī [*q.v.*], the elevation of these persons to the rank of martyrs is divine compensation for the painful deaths which they suffer.

(d) *The "martyrs of love"* (shuhadā᾽ al-ḥubb) *and the "martyrs who died far from home"* (shuhadā᾽ al-ghurba) *may also belong here.* The former are, according to a Prophetic tradition, those who love, remain chaste, conceal their secret and die (Ibn Dāwūd, *K. al-Zahra* [first part], ed. A.R. Nykl in collaboration with I. Ṭūḳān, Chicago 1932, 66; see the discussion in J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 307-16; L.A. Giffen, *Theory of profane love among the Arabs*, New York and London 1971, 99-115). The latter are those who leave their homes (e.g. in order to preserve their faith in times of persecution) and who die in a foreign land.

(2) Persons who die a natural death, either (a) while engaged in a meritorious act such as a pilgrimage, a journey in search of knowledge (*fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*) or a prayer (including a prayer for death on the battlefield); or (b) after leading a virtuous life. In ascetic circles, those who died after spending their lives waging war against their appetitive soul (*nafs*) were regarded as martyrs in the "greater *djihād*" [see DJIHĀD]; and according to some Imāmī traditions, every believer (i.e. every Imāmī Shīʿī), even if he dies in his own bed, is a *shahīd* who will be treated as if he had been killed fighting alongside the Prophet. Other Imāmī traditions declare as martyrs those who in their lifetime practised *mudārāt*, i.e. who treated others in a friendly manner while concealing their true attitude towards them. It has been suggested that the extension of the term *shahīd* to cover cases of non-violent death was a reaction against what was deemed a fanatical enthusiasm for self-sacrifice (Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, ii, 352).

(3) Living martyrs. They include those who, having joined the "greater *djihād*", successfully fight their *nafs*. The Ṣūfī author Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) [*q.v.*] declares that the battlefield martyr is a *shahīd* only externally (*fi 'l-ẓāhir*); the true martyr (*fi 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*) is he whose *nafs* has been slain while he continues to live in accordance with the Ṣūfī rules (*Manāhidj al-ʿārifīn*, ed. E. Kohlberg, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 30).

A number of questions relating to *shahāda* (particularly of the military kind) were debated in theological circles. For example, a majority of Muʿtazilīs are said to have held that "no one is allowed to wish for martyrdom ... A Muslim is only obliged to wish for fortitude (*ṣabr*) to bear the pain of wounds, should he be afflicted with them". The argument put forward was that the Muslim's wish for martyrdom could only be fulfilled by his being killed; and since killing a Muslim is an act of unbelief, it follows that the Muslim would be wishing for such an act to take place. A related question concerns God's attitude to the death of His servants as martyrs. This question was already addressed by the Ibāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd (*fl.* second half of the 2nd/8th century): he argued that since martyrdom could only come about through death at the hands of a sinner, it followed that God wants (*aḥabba*) the sinner to perform the sin which God knows he will perform. In his refutation of this view, the Zaydī Imam Aḥmad al-Nāṣir (d. 322/934) maintained that God does not want sinners to kill believers, nor does He determine that this should happen; only after a Muslim has been killed does God refer to him as a *shahīd* (al-Nāṣir, *K. al-Nadjāt*, ed. W. Madelung, Wiesbaden 1405/1985, 127-39). For ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*], God's wish that martyrdom should occur does not mean that He wishes His servants to die: one may wish for something without wishing for the prerequisites for its attainment. Muʿtazilī exegetes, in line with their belief that God does not command evil, interpret the "permission" (*idhn*) of Ḳur᾽ān, III, 166 ("And what happened to you on the day on which the two armies clashed happened with God's permission"), as meaning that God allowed the unbelievers freedom of action (*takhliya*) by removing any obstacles from their way; it does not mean that God decreed the death of the believers.

A genuine battlefield martyr is one whose actions proceed from the right intention (*niyya*) [*q.v.*]. But people's intentions are only known to God; in this world people are treated according to their apparent state. This means that even those who went into battle for the wrong reasons (for instance, to show off their prowess or to partake of the spoils) or without true belief in their hearts (as in the case of the *munāfiḳūn*) are nevertheless accorded the burial rites of the battlefield martyr (provided of course that they meet the other necessary conditions). They are known as "martyrs in this world only" (*shuhadā᾽ al-dunyā*), and will not enjoy the rewards of martyrs in the next world; indeed, some reports say that they will suffer the torments of hell. The right intention is also required of certain kinds of *shuhadā᾽ al-ākhira* (though not, say, of victims of disease or accident); but there is no specific term to designate the pseudomartyrs among them.

Bibliography: [i] *Ḥadīth*: references to the most important traditions are given in A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. "Martyr(s)". Further material may be found e.g. in ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. H. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1390-2/1970-2, iii, 540-8, v, 253-87; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ʿA. al-Afghānī *et al.*, Karachi 1406/1986-7, iii, 252-4, xii, 287-92; al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. M.ʿA.-Ḳ. ʿAṭā, Beirut 1414/1994, ix, 274-87; Ibn Shaddād, *Dalā᾽il al-aḥkām min aḥādīth al-rasūl ʿalayhi 'l-salām*, ed. M. Shaykhānī and Z. al-Ayyūbī, Damascus and Beirut 1413/1992-3, ii, 469-75; Suyūṭī, *Abwāb al-saʿāda fī asbāb al-shahāda*, ed. N.ʿA.-R. Khalaf, Cairo 1981.

[ii] *Tafsīr*: interpretations of the Ḳur᾽ānic *shuhadā᾽* as martyrs are to be found in commentaries on the relevant verses, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1368/1988, iv, 106-7 (to III, 140).

[iii] Biographical literature: Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Beirut n.d.; Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, *Rawḍat al-shuhadā᾽*, Tehran 1334 *Sh.*/1955.

[iv] *Fiḳh* (often in the chapters on *djanā᾽iz*): Ḥanafīs: Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324-31, ii, 49-56; Kāsānī, *Badā᾽iʿ al-ṣanā᾽iʿ fī tartīb al-sharā᾽iʿ*, Cairo 1327/1909, i, 320-5; Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā 'l-abḥur*, ed. W.S. Gh. al-Albānī, Beirut 1409/1989, i, 166-8; Shāfiʿīs: Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, Cairo 1321-6, i, 236-8; Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī 'l-kabīr*, ed. ʿA.M. Muʿawwaḍ and ʿA.A. ʿAbd al-Mawdjūd, Beirut 1414/1994, iii, 33-8; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *al-Muhadhdhab fī fiḳh al-imām al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. M. al-Zuḥaylī, Damascus and Beirut 1412/1992, i, 441-2; Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwā*, ii, Cairo 1355, 339-54; Mālikīs: Bādjī, *K. al-Muntaḳā sharḥ Muwaṭṭa᾽ Mālik*, Cairo 1332, ii, 25-7, 31; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid wa-nihāyat al-muḳtaṣid*, ed. M.Ṣ.Ḥ. Ḥallāḳ, Cairo 1994/1415, ii, 10-2, 41-2; Kharashī, *Sharḥ ʿalā 'l-mukhtaṣar li 'l-Khalīl*, Cairo 1316-7, ii, 44-5; Ḥanbalīs: Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Kāfī fī fiḳh al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, ed.

S.M. al-Laḥḥām, Beirut 1412/1992, i, 288-9; Mardāwī, *al-Inṣāf fī maʿrifat al-rādjiḥ fi 'l-khilāf ʿalā madhhab al-imām al-mubadjdjal Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1374-78/1955-58, ii, 498-504, 555; Ẓāhirīs: Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347-52, v, 115-16, 138; Ibāḍīs: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-nīl wa-shifāʾ al-ʿalīl*, ii, Djudda 1405/1985, 564-9; Zaydīs: al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh, *Sharḥ al-Tadjrīd fī fiḳh al-zaydiyya*, facs. ed., Ṣanʿāʾ 1405/1985, i, 233-5; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, Cairo 1368/1949, iii, 93-7, 122-3; Imāmīs: Ṭūsī, *K. al-Khilāf*, Nadjaf 1376, i, 260-4; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Nihāyat al-iḥkām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām*, ed. M. al-Radjāʾī, Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 235-9; al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Masālik al-afhām* (or *ifhām*) *fī sharḥ sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, ed. Ḥ.M. Āl Ḳubaysī al-ʿĀmilī, Beirut 1414/1993, i, 172-3. For a succinct summary of the Sunnī positions, see Djazīrī, *K. al-Fiḳh ʿalā 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 527-30; *al-Mawsūʿa al-fiḳhiyya*, xxvi, Kuwait 1412/1992, 272-8.

[v] *Kalām*: ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Asadābādī, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*, vi/2, ed. G.C. Anawati and I. Madkur, Cairo n.d., 299-302; idem, *Tanzīh al-Ḳurʾān ʿan al-maṭāʿin*, Beirut n.d., 80; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *K. al-Rūḥ*, Beirut 1412/1992, 56-7, 125-38, 145, 153-9, 244-5.

[vi] Modern Imāmī works: Ali Shariati, *Martyrdom: arise and bear witness*, tr. Ali Asghar Ghassemy [= ʿAlī Aṣghar Ḳāsimī], [Tehran] 1981; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḍl Allāh, *ʿAlā ṭarīḳ Karbalāʾ*, [Beirut] 1984; M.Ḳ. al-Baghdādī, *al-Shahāda: taʾṣīl lā istiʾṣāl*, Beirut 1413/1993.

[vii] Studies: I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, ed. and tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, ii, London 1971, 350-4; A.J. Wensinck, *The oriental doctrine of the martyrs*, in *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel 53, Serie A, no. 6, Amsterdam 1921; P. Peeters, *Les traductions orientales du mot Martyr*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxix (1921), 50-64; R. Eklund, *Life between death and resurrection according to Islam*, Uppsala 1941; A. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum*, Bonn 1966, 25-9; A.J. Arberry, *A Sufi martyr. The apologia of ʿAin al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī*, London 1969; M.W. Dols, *The black death in the Middle East*, Princeton 1977, 109, 112-14, 117; M. Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering in Islām: a study of the devotional aspects of ʿĀshūrāʾ in Twelver Shīʿism*, The Hague 1978; Ḥ. Khālid, *al-Shahīd fi 'l-islām*, Beirut 1978; J.I. Smith and Y.Y. Haddad, *The Islamic understanding of death and resurrection*, Albany 1981; M. Abedi and G. Legenhausen (eds.), *Jihād and Shahādat: struggle and martyrdom in Islam*, Houston 1986; A. Ezzati, *The concept of martyrdom in Islam*, in *Al-Ṣirāṭ*, xii (1986), 117-23; Y. Richard, *L'islam chi'ite: croyances et idéologies*, Paris 1991, index, s.v. "martyre"; W.R. Husted, *Karbalāʾ made immediate: the martyr as model in Imāmī Shīʿism*, in *MW*, lxxxiii (1993), 263-78; M.A. Cook, *The voice of honest indignation: al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar in Islamic thought and practice* (forthcoming). (E. Kohlberg)

SHĀHID (a.) "witness".

In Islamic law, testimony (*shahāda*) is the paramount medium of legal evidence (*bayyina* [*q.v.*]), the other means being acknowledgement (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*]) and the oath (*yamīn* [*q.v.*]). Testimony is "a statement in court based on observation, introduced by the words 'I testify (*ashhadu*)', concerning the rights of others." Giving testimony in court on what one has seen or heard is a collective obligation (*farḍ ʿalā 'l-kifāya*), which becomes an individual one in case someone will loose his right if a specific person does not testify to it. This is based on Ḳurʾān, II, 282, "The witnesses must not refuse whenever they are summoned." However, with regard to *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] offences, it is better not to give evidence, since the Prophet said to a man who testified to such an offence: "It would have been better for you if you would have covered [the offence] under your cloak." (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Ḥudūd*, 7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, V, 217).

In principle, testimony can only be given by a sane, adult, free, male Muslim of good morals (*ʿadl*, pl. *ʿudūl* [*q.v.*]). In exceptional cases, the testimonies of women are accepted e.g. with regard to facts of which in general only women are cognisant, such as menstruation, childbirth, virginity and defects of the female sexual organs, or in combination with a male witness (see below). All schools except the Ḥanbalīs agree that slaves cannot bear witness. Nor can non-Muslims. The Ḥanafīs, however, accept their testimony against other non-Muslims. There is some difference of opinion with regard to the question of whether adherents of Islamic sects are accepted as witnesses. The Ḥanafīs take the most inclusive position and allow the testimonies of practically all *ahl al-ḳibla*. In Twelver Shīʿī law, only the testimony of Twelver Shīʿīs (*muʾminūn*) is admitted.

Being *ʿadl* (of good morals) is defined as not having committed great sins or persevered in small sins and not displaying unbecoming behaviour, such as playing backgammon, walking around bareheaded, or eating or urinating in public. According to the Ḥanafīs, unbecoming behaviour does not affect the status of being *ʿadl* but may cause the *ḳāḍī* to reject someone's testimony. Before a witness is allowed to testify, the *ḳāḍī* has to establish his good morals by secret and public inquiry (*tazkiya, taʿdīl*).

Witnesses must be beyond suspicion of bias. Therefore, one cannot validly testify against one's enemy. Further, testimony in favour of close relatives and, according to most legal schools, one's wife, is not admitted. The various schools differ somewhat as to who must be regarded as close relatives, but all of them include one's ascendants and descendants. Most schools do not admit a witness who would profit from his testimony. For the Twelver Shīʿīs, this is the only criterion and they allow in principle testimonies in favour of relatives.

As a rule, the *ḳāḍī* must find for the plaintiff if the latter can prove his claim by corresponding testimonies given by two male witnesses. In financial matters, the testimony of one man and two women is also admitted as legal evidence. The Ḥanafīs, but not the other schools, allow such evidence also with regard to the status of persons (marriage, divorce, manumission, bequest). All schools except the Ḥanafīs regard the testimony of one male witness corroborated by an oath of the plaintiff also as sufficient evidence in financial matters. In the trial of *ḥadd* offences or of manslaughter or wilful grievous bodily harm where retribution is at stake, only the testimony of male witnesses is admitted. The Mālikīs, however, exclude here wilful grievous bodily harm and allow in these cases the testimony of one man and two women. For proof of illicit sexual relations, four male witnesses are required (cf. Ḳurʾān, IV, 15, and XXIV, 4). The Twelver Shīʿīs allow here also the testimonies of three men and two women or even two men and four women, but only if the punishment at stake is flogging, not if it is lapidation [see further, ḲADHF]. The schools differ with regard to the minimum number of female witnesses testifying to facts usually known only

to women; the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs consider one woman sufficient, the Mālikīs require two and the Shāfiʿīs four.

An interesting development took place in North Africa during the 16th and 17th centuries, when the practice (*ʿamal*) came into existence of admitting as legal evidence the *shahādat al-lafīf*, i.e. the testimony of a group of at least twelve men, who need not be *ʿadl*. This practice was justified by necessity (*ḍarūra*) deriving from the absence of *ʿudūl*, especially in rural communities. If such testimony would not be recognised, it was argued, people would not be able to enforce their rights (Sayyidī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Djaʿīṭ, *al-Ṭarīḳa al-marḍiyya fī 'l-idjrā'āt ʿalā madhhab al-Mālikiyya*, ²Tunis n.d., 171-8).

One can only testify to what one has heard or seen. However, with regard to certain facts one can give evidence on the strength of public knowledge, without having witnessed the event or the legal act that is at the basis of it (*al-shahāda bi 'l-tasāmuʿ*). Thus one may give evidence concerning e.g. a person's descent, marital status or death, without actually having been present at the time of his birth, his marriage contract or his decease. If a witness has a legal excuse for not attending the court session, his testimony may be transmitted by two other witnesses (*al-shahāda ʿalā 'l-shahāda*), except in cases of *ḥadd* offences or retribution.

Once a testimony has been given, it can be withdrawn only before a *ḳāḍī*. If this occurs before the end of the proceedings, the *ḳāḍī* cannot give judgement. If withdrawal takes place after the verdict has been pronounced, the sentence remains valid but the witness is liable for half of the damage of the party who had lost the case on the strength of the testimony that was later withdrawn. If the defendant was sentenced to death on the strength of a testimony that was later withdrawn, the witness is liable for blood-money (*diya*). According to the Shāfiʿīs, he can even be brought to death if he had wilfully borne false witness.

Already at a very early period, testimonies of legal acts were recorded in deeds in order to preserve the exact wording of the act. However, since under Islamic law documentary evidence is not admitted, the deed itself does not furnish proof, but, in cases of ligitation, the testimonies given in court by the witnesses who have signed the deed. In order to avoid the danger that such testimonies might be rejected because the witnesses were not *ʿadl*, professional witnesses, whose *ʿadāla* had been established by the court, and who were called *shāhid ʿadl* (or, briefly, *shāhid* or *ʿadl*), were employed for recording important transactions. They first appear in Egypt at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. These witnesses, who had a legal training, were appointed and dismissed by the *ḳāḍīs* of the courts where they performed their duties. Their task, however, was more comprehensive than acting as notaries public, for they functioned in general as judicial auxiliaries and occasionally, with the *ḳāḍī*'s authorisation, even as judges, and heard minor cases independently. The office of *shahāda* was often regarded as a training period for future judges.

Strictly speaking, the profession of drafting deeds (*muwaththiḳ, shurūṭī*) and that of testifying to it could be separated. In practice, however, they were not, and the notary would put his signature under the deed as a witness, together with those of the other witnesses. Although the signatures of two witnesses would technically be sufficient, for greater security many more were placed in the document, sometimes up to 48. Often these testimonies were added years after the original drafting.

Nowadays, with regard to those domains of the law where the *Sharīʿa* is applied, most countries have modernised the law of evidence e.g. by admitting documentary evidence. With regard to the testimony of witnesses, however, some of the classical rules are often maintained, such as the rule that the testimony of one witness does not count. In Morocco, the classical system of appointed *ʿudūl* still exists. Some of the countries that have recently expanded the application of the *Sharīʿa* to fields such as criminal law, have also enacted legislation to reintroduce to some extent the classical rules of evidence (cf. the Sudanese *Ḳānūn al-Ithbāt* of 1983 and the Pākistānī *Ḳānūn-e-Shahādat* of 1984).

Bibliography: Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1965, ii, 462-6; Shaykh-zāde, *Madjmaʿ al-anhur*, Istanbul 1309, ii, 145-73; Dasūḳī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā 'l-Sharḥ al-Kabīr*, Cairo n.d., iv, 164-237; Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī*, Cairo n.d., ii, 249-59; Khiraḳī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Damascus 1964, 228-31; Ḥillī, *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām fī masā'il al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*, Nadjaf 1969, iv, 125-46; E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*, Beirut 1945; R. Brunschvig, *Le système de la preuve en droit musulman*, in *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 201-19, first publ. in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xviii (1963), 169-86; M. Grignaschi, *La valeur du témoignage des sujets non-musulmans (dhimmi) dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xviii (1963), 211-323 (contains at 240-323 texts and French tr. of *fatwās* by Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] on testimony); F. Selle, *Prozessrecht des 16. Jahrhunderts im osmanischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1962, 77-103 (trs. of Ottoman *fatwās* on testimony).

(R. Peters)

SHAHĪD (or perhaps better, Shuhayd) b. al-Ḥusayn al-Balkhī al-Warrāḳ al-Mutakallim, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, a philosopher and a poet in Persian and Arabic, died (according to Yāḳūt, followed by al-Ṣafadī) in 315/927.

He was a contemporary and close friend of the polymath Abū Zayd al-Balkhī and of the Muʿtazilī theologian Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī (see AL-BALKHĪ; the three Balkhīs were the subject of a joint biography, used by Yāḳūt) and a bitter rival of the famous philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]; the latter wrote a polemic against Shahīd on the subject of pleasure (*al-ladhdha*) and another on eschatology (*al-maʿād*), both now lost. The epitome of al-Sidjistānī's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* contains a short extract from a work by Shahīd on the "superiority of the pleasures of the soul over those of the body", perhaps the object of al-Rāzī's attack.

Shahīd was a professional scribe and had a reputation as a meticulous copyist. His Arabic poetry, which is quoted by al-Marghīnānī, Yāḳūt and ʿAwfī, includes two *ḳiṭʿa*s mocking Aḥmad b. Abī Rabīʿa, who was the *wazīr* of the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] between 278/891 and 287/900. Yāḳūt tells us that he also satirised Aḥmad b. Sahl, the famous governor of Khurāsān, and had to flee his anger, but returned to Balkh after Aḥmad's execution (i.e. in 307/920).

Shahīd is mainly remembered as one of the earliest poets in Persian. His famous contemporary Rūdakī [*q.v.*] wrote an elegy on his death, and he is mentioned with respect by other Persian poets of the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries, but afterwards his poems fell into oblivion, apart from the hundred-odd verses preserved by the anthologists and lexicographers. These include an amatory poem of eight lines quoted by Djādjarmī, an extract from a *ḳaṣīda* which ʿAwfī says he dedicated to the Sāmānid Naṣr II (301-31/914-43), a poem with alternating Persian and Arabic verses and some couplets from a narrative poem, apparently

of romantic content. Not surprisingly, several of the stray verses cited in the dictionaries have a philosophic or gnomic flavour.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 299, 301 (= ed. Tadjaddud, 357-8); Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī, *Muntakhab Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, ed. D.M. Dunlop, The Hague 1979, 127; Bīrūnī, *Risāla ... fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936, 11, 18; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 21 (where "Sahl b. al-Ḥasan" is an error for "Shahīd b. al-Ḥusayn"); idem, *Laṭā'if 'l-maʿārif*, ed. al-Abyārī and al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1960, 203, tr. Bosworth, 135; al-Marghīnānī, *al-Maḥāsin fī 'l-naẓm wa 'l-nathr*, ed. G.J. van Gelder, Istanbul 1987, 77; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, 63, 83, 107 (and editor's notes, 134-9); Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 143, 149 (and ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, 275, 279-80, 1421-2, the last passage containing the entry on Shahīd from a hitherto unpublished *mukhtaṣar*); idem, *Buldān*, ii, 167-8 (read, twice, Abū <'l-Ḥasan> Shahīd); ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 3-5; idem, *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, iii/1, ed. Karīmī, Tehran 1352 *sh*./1973, 341-2; Shams al-Dīn b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. M.M. Ḳazwīnī, London 1909, 204; Muḥammad b. Badr al-Djādjarmī, *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daḳā'iḳ al-ashʿār*, ed. Ṣ. Ṭabībī, Tehran 1337-50 sh./1959-71, ii, 952-3; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xvi, 197-8 (no. 229); M. Ḳazwīnī's note in his edition of Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, *Čahār maḳāla*, London-Leiden 1910, 127-8 (and those by M. Muʿīn in his ed. Tehran 1331 *sh*./1952-3, *taʿlīḳāt*, at 80-3); P. Kraus, in his ed. of al-Rāzī's *Rasā'il falsafiyya*, Cairo 1939, 145-7; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans* (*IXe-Xe siècles*), Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 20-1, 62-9, ii, 23-39 (contains an ed. and tr. of the surviving fragments in Persian).

(F.C. de Blois)

AL-SHAHĪD AL-AWWAL [see MUḤAMMAD B. MAKKĪ].

AL-SHAHĪD AL-THĀNĪ, Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī (in some sources, erroneously, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī) b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī, known like his father as Ibn al-Ḥudjdja (or al-Ḥādjdja), Twelver Shīʿī author and jurist. He was born in the Lebanese town of Djubaʿ on Tuesday, 13 Shawwāl 911/9 March 1506, and studied with his father until the latter's death in Radjab 925/July 1519. He then embarked on a series of travels *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* which took him to Mays and Karak Nūḥ in his native Djabal ʿĀmil (925-34/1519-28) and also (in 937/1530-1 and 942/1535) to Damascus. In mid-Rabīʿ I 942/September 1535 he left the Syrian capital for an 18-month sojourn in Egypt, where he studied with a number of Sunnī scholars. He returned to Djubaʿ after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, but left it again to visit the shrines of the Imāms in ʿIrāḳ (946/1539-40) and, later, to visit Jerusalem (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 948/March-April 1542).

On 17 Rabīʿ I 952/29 May 1545 the Shahīd arrived in Istanbul, where he stayed for three-and-a-half months. His purpose was to obtain a licence to teach in a *madrasa*. The normal procedure would have been for him to produce a petition (*ʿarḍ*) from his local judge (in the case of the Shahīd, this would have been the *ḳāḍī* Maʿrūf of Ṣaydā), addressed to the Ḳāḍī ʿAskar [*q.v.*] of Anadolu and requesting that the bearer be given the licence in question. But instead, the Shahīd presented an epistle that he himself had composed and that showed his command of ten different branches of knowledge. The Ḳāḍī ʿAskar, Muḥammad b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Mīrim Kösesi (d. 957/1550) (cf. R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: a study in the development of the Ottoman learned hierarchy*, Oxford 1986, 256, n. 177), was so impressed that he offered him a choice of any teaching position in Damascus or Aleppo; the Shahīd opted for the Madrasa Nūriyya in Baʿlabakk. Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (r. 926-74/1520-66) issued the necessary documents and provided a stipend for him. After a second visit to ʿIrāḳ, the Shahīd took up his new post in 953/1546. He held it for a number of years (five, according to some reports, two according to others). In addition to teaching, he also issued responsa to Shīʿīs and to Sunnīs of the four schools, each responsum being in accordance with the petitioner's legal affiliation. His last years were spent in his home town, where his son, the author Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, was born (17 Ramaḍān 959/6 September 1552; he died at the beginning of Muḥarram 1011/June 1602). This was the first son to survive into adulthood, others having died in their infancy; the Shahīd's *Musakkin al-fu'ād ʿinda/fī faḳd al-aḥibba wa 'l-awlād* was written following the death in Radjab 954/August-September 1547 of one of his infant sons. The Shahīd's disciples included Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥārithī (d. 984/1576), the father of Shaykh Bahā'ī [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ]; Ḥusayn accompanied him to both Cairo and Istanbul.

The Shahīd is said to have often lived in fear, though whether of local enemies or of the Ottoman authorities is not stated; his death, however, is attributed to the latter. According to one version, this followed a complaint by a disgruntled litigant to the *ḳāḍī* Maʿrūf. The latter wrote to Sultan Sulaymān accusing the Shahīd of heresy, whereupon the Sultan ordered that he be brought before him for interrogation (al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, i, 90-1). Elsewhere, it is the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v*] who is said to have ordered the Shahīd's arrest after being told that he was actively propagating Shīʿism (Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. and tr. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931-4, i, 406). The Shahīd, who had escaped to Mecca, was detained there and was kept in prison for 40 days. One account has it that he was then sent by ship to Istanbul, where he was killed without being brought before the sultan, and his body thrown into the sea. According to a second account, the Shahīd's captor killed him shortly after the two of them had landed in Anadolu. This account adds that the Shahīd was buried at the spot where he had died and that a shrine (*ḳubba*) was erected over his grave. The date of his death is given as 965/1557-8 or 966/1558-9. In Ramaḍān 975/March 1568 he was already being referred to as al-Shahīd al-Thānī (al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, cviii, 181).

The Shahīd is credited with over 70 works. They deal with a variety of topics, including *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, grammar and *kalām*; but his main contribution to Shīʿī literature was in the realm of *fiḳh*. His major legal works are in the form of commentaries, particularly on the writings of the Muḥaḳḳiḳ, the ʿAllāma [see AL-ḤILLĪ] and al-Shahīd al-Awwal [see MUḤAMMAD B. MAKKĪ]. These works are noted for the clarity of their exposition and argument, as well as for their use of *al-sharḥ al-mazdjī*, a method of interweaving the text with its commentary in such a way that the two together form a smooth and coherent whole. This method is employed in some of his best-known works: the early *Rawḍ al-djinān fī sharḥ irshād al-adhhān*, a commentary on a work of the ʿAllāma which the Shahīd did not complete; the *Masālik al-afhām* (or *ifhām*), a 7-volume commentary on the Muḥaḳḳiḳ's *Sharā'iʿ al-islām;* and *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya* (probably the Shahīd's last work), a commentary on al-Shahīd

al-Awwal's *al-Lum'a al-dimashkiyya*. Among the themes which the Shahīd elaborated was that of the fully qualified jurist (*fakīh*) as a general representative (*nā'ib 'āmm*) of the Hidden Imām and the repository of judicial authority within the Twelver Shī'ī community during the Imām's occultation. In line with this position, he insisted on the jurist's right to conduct Friday prayers and to collect and distribute the Imām's shares of *zakāt* and *khums*. He also argued against blindly following the legal judgments of deceased jurists (*'adam djawāz taklīd al-amwāt/al-mudjtahid al-mayyit*).

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SHĀHĪN, ĀL, a family of Ottoman officials and governors who came to be especially identified with Ghazza [*q.v.*] or Gaza.

1. Ḳara Muṣṭafā Shāhīn Pasha, the patriarch of the line, was an Ottoman official, serving Süleymān the Magnificent as a governor, including in the *sandjaḳ* of Ghazza, part of the province of Damascus. In 963/1555 he went as governor of Yemen, and was then in Egypt, but was dismissed from his post as governor in 973/1565 and died shortly afterwards. His habit of carrying with him a peregrine falcon gave him the name of Shāhīn, by which the family was subsequently known. For further details, see MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, ḲARA SHĀHĪN.

2. His son Riḍwān took charge of Ghazza whilst his father was away from it. In 973/1565 he was appointed governor of Yemen, and combatted there the Zaydī Imām, the Ismā'īlīs and local tribal chiefs. His lack of success in the difficult situation led to his dismissal and imprisonment at Istanbul in 974/1566. He was later pardoned and served as governor at Ghazza, in Ḥabesh, at Baṣra and in Diyār Bakr, taking part in the war against Persia in 987/1579. Three years later he became governor of Anatolia, where he died in 993/1585. Amongst public works of his in the province of Damascus are mentioned his reconstruction of fortresses, especially that at Bayt Djibrīn, for the protection of caravans and travellers.

3. His son Aḥmad (d. 1015/1606) governed Ghazza for thirty years, and through his connections with the court at Istanbul built up a network of official posts for his family, with his son Süleymān becoming governor in the *sandjaḳ* of Jerusalem, and his brother in the *sandjaḳ* of Nābulus. Residing in Damascus, he had a reputation as a maecenas for poets and scholars.

4. On his retirement in 1009/1600, his son Muḥammad succeeded him in Ghazza. In 1022-3/1613-14 Muḥammad took part in an expedition led by the governor of Damascus against the Druze chief Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n II [*q.v.*].

5. His son Ḥasan (d. 1054/1644) was likewise governor in Ghazza, and was succeeded by

6. His son Ḥusayn (d. 1071/1660), who had previously been governor of Jerusalem. Ewliyā Čelebi visited Ghazza in 1059/1649, and describes Ḥusayn as a generous man, himself a writer of poetry and history, who was tolerant towards Samaritans, Jews and Christians of the various Eastern Churches. These latter attitudes may have cast doubts on his loyalty, for in 1073/1662 he was arrested, jailed at Damascus and executed on charge that he had failed in his duties as *amīr al-ḥadjdj*.

7. His brother Mūsā replaced him, but the sources say little about him, and he appears to have been the last governor of the Āl Shāhīn.

The extant *tapu defters* do not specify the names of the Āl-Shāhīn governors, nor do they register their names amongst the 41 *tīmār* holders in Ghazza; on the other hand, the several palaces, mosques, schools and cemetery that belonged to them (some still in use today) are described at some length.

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(M.A. al-Bakhit)

SHĀHĪN DIZH [see ṢĀʾĪN ḲALʿA].

SHĀHĪN, LALA, according to the early Ottoman chronicles, the preceptor or tutor (*lala*) of the Ottoman sultan Murād I [*q.v.*] and the first to occupy the post of the *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia. Perhaps he can be identified with Shāhīn b. ʿAbd Allāh who signed a *waḳf* document issued by sultan Orkhan [*q.v.*] in 1360; or also with the military leader Ἰσαΐμ, who, according to a Greek contemporary chronicle, supported the Lord of Yanina Thomas Prealimbos against the Albanians in 1380. Shāhīn crossed from Anatolia to Thrace in the 1360s, probably accompanying Murād when he was still a prince, and fought against the Christians successfully, especially in Bulgaria, where he conquered several fortresses and towns. In 1388 he invaded Bosnia and, according to Neshri [*q.v.*], he died shortly afterwards.

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(Elizabeth A. Zachariadou)

SHĀHĪN-I SHĪRĀZĪ, 14th-century Judaeo-Persian epic poet, the most brilliant name in Judaeo-Persian original literature. Mawlānā ("Our Master") Shāhīn ("the Falcon", a name in common use among the Jews of Persia at that time) wrote under one of the Mongol Īlkhāns, Abū Saʿīd Bahādūr (1316-35 [*q.v.*]). The comparatively numerous extant manuscripts with miniature paintings can be taken as a sign of his popularity.

Although influenced by the great epic poets of Persia, Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, Shāhīn was by no means a mere epigone. The metre he used was the *hazadj musaddas makhzūf* (⏑–––/⏑–––/⏑––). Shāhīn himself never gave titles to his epic works, and only not very informative words like *sharḥ* ("explanation"), *tafsīr* ("commentary") or (B.L. Or. 4742, fol. 3a, l. 1) *Kitāb az tafsīr-i Tōrāh* (in other manuscripts *Kitāb-i Shāhīn* and *Dāstān* "Story" occur). The titles chosen by Wilhelm Bacher have been commonly adopted, viz. the *Book of Genesis* (now mostly *Bereshit-nāma*), the *Book of Moses* (now commonly *Mūsā-nāma*), the *Book of Ardashīr*, consisting of two parts, Megillat Esther and the story of Shērō and Mahzād, and the *Book of Ezra*. The brief epic *King Kishwar*, the story of King Kishwar and his seven pieces of advice to his son Bahrām (known in only one manuscript, ENA 396, fols. la-4b, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York) could be by Shāhīn, but it is doubtful. If it were genuine, it would be the only purely Persian work by Shāhīn devoid of any specific biblical influence.

The sources of Shāhīn were the biblical books (as for the Pentateuch, almost exclusively the non-legal parts), non-biblical Jewish material (midrash, folk-traditions), and Islamic elements.

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(J.P. Asmussen)

SHĀHNĀMEDJI (or Shehnāmedji) (t.), the term for an Ottoman writer of literary-historical works in a style inspired by the *Shāh-nāma* of the Persian poet Firdawsī [*q.v.*], i.e. works composed in Persian, in the *mathnawī* form of rhymed couplets in the *mutaḳārib* metre, describing in fulsome terms the military exploits of the reigning sultan. The first Ottoman compositions in the *shehnāme* genre date from the mid-9th/15th century, as occasional works written for presentation to Meḥemmed II (1451-81).

An official, salaried post of *shehnāmedji* "writer of *shehnāmes*", was established by Süleymān II (1520-66) in the 1550s as a form of court historiographer. Of its five incumbents, three produced between them at least fifteen known works, largely chronicles of the military and imperial achievements of contemporary Ottoman sultans, particularly Süleymān, Selīm II (1566-74), and Murād III (1574-95). In line with developing literary taste, many of the later works were composed in Ottoman Turkish prose rather than Persian verse. Most of the manuscripts (few of which have been published) were richly illustrated by palace artists with specially commissioned miniature paintings and were intended as *objets d'art* for the sultan's private collection. The *Süleymān-nāme* of the first *shehnāmedji*, ʿĀrif (or ʿĀrifī, d. 969/1561-2), contains 62 miniatures (Esin Atıl, *Süleymānnāme: the illustrated history of Süleyman the Magnificent*, New York 1986).

Principal among the works composed by the third *shehnāmedji*, Loḳmān (in post *ca.* 1569-96), are: *Zübdetü ʾt-tewārīkh* ("Essence of history") (completed 991/1583), a world history in Ottoman prose; the two-volumed *Hüner-nāme* ("Book of accomplishments") (992/1584 and 996/1588), also in Ottoman prose, on Selīm I (1512-20) and Süleymān II respectively; the three-volumed *Shāhinshāh-nāme* ("Book of the Shāh of Shāhs") (991/1581-2, 1001/1592, and 1004/1596), in Persian verse, on the reign of Murād III; *Ḳiyāfetü ʾl-insāniyye fī shemāʾil ʿOthmāniyye* ("Description of the features of the Ottoman sultans") (987/1579), essentially an album of portraits of the sultans with accompanying text in Ottoman with physiognomical observations (facsimile text in *Kıyâfetü ʾl-insâniyye fî şemâili ʾl-ʿOsmâniyye*, ed. M. Tayşi, Historical Research Foundation, Istanbul 1987).

Loḳmān's successor Taʿlīḳī-zāde (in post *ca.* 1590-1600) composed a *Shemāʾil-nāme* ("Book of descriptions") (1002/1593) in Ottoman prose on the strengths of the Ottoman dynasty (cf. C. Woodhead, "*The present terror of the world?*" *Contemporary views of the Ottoman empire c. 1600*, in *History*, lxxii/234 [1987], 20-37); and narratives of the Hungarian campaigns of 1593-4 and 1596, in Ottoman prose and verse respectively (for the former, see Woodhead (ed.), *Taʿlīḳī-zāde's Şehnāme-i hümāyūn on the Ottoman campaign into Hungary, 1593/94*, Berlin 1983).

The post lapsed soon after 1600 for reasons which are unclear but probably related to the changing role of the sultan, which rendered the *shehnāme* style inap-

propriate. *Ad hoc* commissions of *shehnāmes* were made by ʿOthmān II (1618-22) and Murād IV (1623-40), but the permanent position of *shehnāmedji* was not revived.

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(Christine Woodhead)

SHAHR (p.) "town". The word goes back to Old Persian *xšaça-* (cf. Avestan *xšaθra-*, Sanskrit *kṣatrá-*; all from the same root as New Persian *shāh* [*q.v.*]), "kingship, royal power", thence "kingdom". The latter meaning is still the usual one for Middle Persian *shahr* and it survives in the *Shāh-nāma*, especially in set phrases such as *shahr-i Ērān* (used *metri causa* instead of *Ērān-shahr* "kingdom of the Aryans", the official name of the Sāsānid empire), *shahr-i Tūrān*, *shahr-i Yaman*, etc. But already in the earliest New Persian texts, the usual meaning, and soon the only meaning, is "town". The depreciation of *xšaça-/shahr* from "kingdom" to "town" runs parallel to that of *daheyu/dēh/dih* from "land, country" to "village". But it is also possible that *shahr* in the sense "town" is merely a curtailment of *shahristān* [*q.v.*]

The Persian word was borrowed into Turkish as *shehir/şehir* and figures as the final component of the names of many Turkish towns.

Bibliography: See that in shahristān.

(F.C. de Blois)

SHAHRANGĪZ (p.) or Shahrāshūb ("upsetting the town"), a genre of short love poems on young craftsmen, often related to the bazaars of specific towns.

1. In Persian

In Persian literature, the genre is usually referred to under the latter name. E.J.W. Gibb's contention that the genre was invented by the Turkish poet Mesīḥī [*q.v.*] of Edirne (*HOP*, ii, 232), was challenged already by E.G. Browne who, pointing to Persian specimens mentioned by the Ṣafawid anthologist Sām Mīrzā [*q.v.*], concluded that "though they were probably written later than Masíḥí's Turkish *Shahr-angíz* on Adrianople, there is nothing to suggest that they were regarded as a novelty or innovation in Persia" (*LHP*, iv, 237). Since then, many examples of mediaeval Persian poems on craftsmen have come to light, showing that *shahrāshūb* poems can be attributed to early poets like Rūdakī, Kisāʾī and Labībī [*q.vv.*]. The genre was very popular during the Saldjūḳ period, when it was most often used for quatrains (see the examples mentioned by Meier, *Mahsatī*, 94). The *Dīwān* of the 11th-12th century poet Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*] contains 93 short poems (*muḳaṭṭaʿāt*) on the subject, apparently written as a coherent collection although it is not clear whether or not a particular city was envisaged.

The formula of the genre consists of three main ingredients, each of which has had a separate existence in the Persian tradition. The first element is the motive of the uproar created in the city; it occurs in one of Sanāʾī's poems, in which a beloved produces this effect by suddenly appearing to the waiting lovers from the tavern (*Dīwān*, 89: *shūr dar shahr fikand ān but-i zunnār-parast*). This found an echo in several later *ghazals*, e.g. by Anwarī (*Dīwān*, ii, 864: *bāz dūsh ān ṣanam-i bāda-furūsh/shahrī az walwala āwurda ba-djūsh*) and Ḥāfiẓ (*Dīwān*, i, no. 3,3: *lūliyān-i shīrīn-kār-i shahrāshūb*). Secondly, the beloved is specified as a craftsman, an artist (e.g. ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 318: a *nay-zan*), an ethnic type (e.g. ʿAwfī, *op. cit.*, ii, 344: a *ghuzz bačča*; the beloved is very often referred to as a *turk* in Persian poetry) or a member of a religious community (e.g. Masʿūd-i Saʿd, *Dīwān*, 636/ii, 915: a *tarsā bačča*; cf. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, i, no. 119, l. 8). Poems of this kind were used to create hagiographical legends, notably in Kamāl al-Dīn Gāzurgāhī's *Madjālis al-ʿushshāḳ*, e.g. Sanāʾī's quatrain on a butcher (*ḳaṣṣāb*; cf. *Dīwān*, 1146, and J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry*, Leiden 1983, 6-7). Thirdly, there were the representations, in a panegyric or a satire, of a group of people belonging to a single court or city. Early specimens of this type are Masʿūd-i Saʿd's *mathnawī* on the court of Lahore (*Dīwān*, 562-79/ii, 787-817) and Sanāʾī's *Kār-nāma-yi Balkh* (in *Mathnawīhā-yi Ḥakīm Sanāʾī*, ed. M.T. Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1348 *sh.*/1969, 142-78).

As a fully developed genre, the *shahrāshūb* became particularly fashionable in late Tīmūrid and early Ṣafawid literature [*q.v.*]. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] made mention of it for the first time in his *tadhkira*, the *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, with reference to Sayfī Bukhārī (d. 909/1503), who made a collection of *shahrangīz* poems in *ghazal* form, entitled *Ṣanāʾiʿ al-badāʾiʿ* (Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, 26-8). Lisānī of Shīrāz was particularly renowned for his quatrains in this genre which together form a city-panegyric of Tabrīz, known as *Madjmaʿ al-aṣnāf* or *Shahrāshūb-i khiṭṭa-yi Tabrīz* (ed. and French tr. Bricteux; ed. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *op. cit.*, 96-161). The genre was used for satire by Āgāhī of Khurāsān (d. 932/1525-6), against Harāt, and Ḥarfī Iṣfahānī (d. 971/1563-4) against the province of Gīlān (cf. Rypka, 297, 303-4, with further references). In the 11th/17th century Sayyidā Nasafī described the craftsmen of Bukhārā in this manner (cf. A. Mirzoyev, *Sayyido Nasafi i yego mesto v istorii tadzhikskoy-literaturi*, Stalinabad 1955, 143 ff., 161). Various poetical forms, and even prose, were used for writing *shahrāshūb*. It was also a favourite subject in the Indian Subcontinent with poets writing in Persian and Urdu (see section 3., below).

Bibliography: A. Bricteux, in *Mélanges de philologie orientale*, Liège 1932, 1-56; F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 94-8; Muḥammad Djaʿfar Maḥdjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345 *sh.*/1967, 677-99; A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshūb dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346 *sh.*/1967-8, with an anthology; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; M. Glünz, *Ṣāfīs Šahrangīz. Ein persisches maṯnawī über die schönen Berufsleute von Istanbul*, in *Asiatische Studien/Etudes asiatiques*, xl/2 (1986), 133-45; Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān, *Dīwān*, ed. R. Yāsimī, Tehran 1339 *sh.*/1960, repr. ed. Mihdī Nūriyān, 2 vols., Tehran 1365 *sh.*/1986; Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*[2], ed. Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1341 *sh.*/1962; Anwarī, *Dīwān*, ii, ed. Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1340 *sh.*/1961; Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, [2]ed. P.N. Khānlarī, Tehran 1362 *sh.*/1983.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

2. In Turkish

This genre was popular from the early 16th to the early 19th century in *Dīwān* (classical Ottoman Turkish) poetry, serving mainly to praise a major city and its beauties. In modern Turkish, it is rendered as *şehrengiz*. The genre is represented by about fifty major works, of which less than forty are extant. The special place it holds in the Ottoman tradition has led numerous 20th-century Turkish scholars to the erroneous assumption that the *shahrangīz* existed only in Ottoman *Dīwān* literature.

Usually written in the stanzaic form of the *mathnawī* (rhyming couplets) and always in *ʿarūḍ* metres, the *shahrangīz* conforms, on the whole, to a special se-

quence of internal elements, starting with a brief *munādjāt* (doxological supplication) and/or *naʿt* (encomium of the Prophet), followed by the *sabab-i taʾlīf* (reason for writing), descriptions of the city's natural setting and aspects of its life, general or specific citations of the city's beautiful women or men and sometimes its notables, ending with a *khātima* (epilogue) in which the poet offers prayers to God for the protection of the city's beauties and praises his own poetic accomplishments.

Most of the major *shahrangīz* works in Ottoman Turkish take as their subject such principal cities as Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. Among other cities featured in this genre are Skopje, Belgrade, Yenice, Rize, Yenişehir, Sinop, Manisa, etc. The *shahrangīz* often provides vivid descriptions of urban life as well as information about topographical characteristics of individual cities.

Many works in this genre were commissioned by or dedicated and presented to prominent patrons. Their length ranges from 70-odd couplets (Ḥayretī on Yenice) to more than 1,600 couplets (Ṣāfī on Istanbul, composed in Persian) to 3,600 couplets (Dhātī on Adrianople).

The first *shahrangīz* is by Mesīḥī [*q.v.*], who wrote it *ca.* 918/1512 about Adrianople. E.J.W. Gibb translated the title as "city thriller", pointing out that all such works in later periods bore the same title, whence the name of the genre, and credited Mesīḥī with the invention of the *shahrangīz* as a literary form. The humorous element in Mesīḥī's work, which Gibb singled out for its originality, came to be a recurring feature of most of the subsequent works in this category. Many of them contain either a romantic description of a city's beautiful young men, often cited by name and profession—less frequently, young women were listed—or humorous, sometimes satirical, characterisation. Several *shahrangīz* (principally Fehīm's work on Istanbul in the 17th century) are explicitly pornographic.

Variations of the genre include the *sergüdhesht-nāme* (tale of adventure), where the poet tells the story of an affair with one beautiful person or stories of four people. Some concentrate on a single profession, as in the *Čengī-nāme* ("Book of dancers") by Enderūnī Fāḍil (d. 1810), while others, like his *Zenān-nāme* ("Book of women"), describe women of a wide variety of nations and ethnic groups. A few are essentially versified lists of the names of urban neighbourhoods or musical modes or types of tulips.

The best Ottoman *shahrangīz*, according to von Hammer-Purgstall, was Lāmiʿī's [*q.v.*] work on Bursa written on the occasion of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent's visit in 928/1522. Although most specimens of the genre are not notable for literary merit, Lāmiʿī's *shahrangīz*, the first substantive part of which provides vivid descriptions of Bursa, displays poetic virtuosity.

Bibliography: Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şehr-engizler ve şehr-engizlerde İstanbul*, Istanbul 1958; E.J.W. Gibb, *HOP*, London 1904-7, ii-iv.

(Talat Sait Halman)

3. In Urdu

In Urdu literature, the term *shahrangīz* is used only rarely if at all. The most common designation, also employed in Persian and Turkish, and identical in meaning with *shahrangīz*, is *shahr-āshob* (Persian: *shahr-āshūb*). The tradition of the Urdu *shahr-āshob* is markedly different from the one found in Persian and Turkish poetry. The type of verse which goes by that name in the other two languages is generally a poem describing the author's attraction for handsome artisan boys in a city. In Urdu, the number of such poems is exceedingly small. It is limited to stray examples seen in the writings of Mīrzā Djaʿfar ʿAlī Ḥasrat (d. 1206/1791-2) (see *Kulliyyāt-i Ḥasrat*, ed. Nūr al-Ḥasan Hāshimī, Lakhnaw 1966, 382-91), Mīr Ḥasan (d. 1201/1786), Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr (d. 1225/1810 [*q.v.*]), and a few other poets, all of whom seemed to have based their compositions, by way of imitation, upon similar models in Persian. Unlike these examples, the standard *shahr-āshob* in Urdu is a socially-motivated poem. Its main purpose is the portrayal of a city in disarray. The picture it paints reflects the breakdown of the established order, the dislocation of the social, economic and moral life of the people, and the topsy-turvy nature of things. One of the major conventions of the *shahr-āshob* is to name a series of professions and to describe the state of affairs governing the individuals associated with each of them. The *shahr-āshobs* are determined by the nature of their content, rather than by any separate form, and many of them appear in the works of the poets under titles other than *shahr-āshob*. They could be found in any of the traditional verse forms employed in Urdu poetry, though it is possible that some forms might have been favoured more than others during a particular period. Characteristic of the genre, at least during its pre-1857 phase, is the use of satire and ridicule as weapons of criticism—a feature that makes it difficult sometimes to draw a line between a *shahr-āshob* and a *hadjw* ("insult poem").

The real beginnings of the *shahr-āshob* may be traced to the 18th century, marking the decline of Mughal power. Following the death of Awrangzīb in 1707, the Mughal empire collapsed into anarchy and disintegration. In 1739 the Persian monarch Nādir Shāh (*r.* 1736-47 [*q.v.*]) invaded a weakened Mughal empire, and sacked Dihlī, and it was again sacked in 1756 by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*]. From the time of Shāh ʿĀlam II (*r.* 1759-1806 [*q.v.*]), the Mughal ruler was merely a figurehead maintained by one or the other power. The poems in which the effects of these developments found direct interpretation received the name of *shahr-āshob*.

Nothing can be said with certainty regarding the earliest *shahr-āshob* in Urdu. It has been suggested that the first poet who attempted this kind of verse was Mīr Muḥammad Djaʿfar, better known as Djaʿfar Zatallī (d. between 1125-28/1713-16). The latter has earned general notoriety as the author of obscene verses, which has distracted attention from the social aspect of some of his writing. His poems *Nawkarī* "Service", and *Dastūr al-ʿamal dar ikhtilāf-i zamāna-yi nā-handjār* "A guide to the incompatibility of these rough times", which are cited as *shahr-āshobs*, represent satirical statements commenting on the hardships of employment and on the distortion of social and moral values.

With the successful efforts led by Mīrzā Muḥammad Rafīʿ Sawdā (d. 1195/1781 [*q.v.*]), the *shahr-āshob* acquired increased recognition. His two *shahr-āshobs*, one in the form of a *ḳaṣīda* and the other entitled *Mukhammas dar wīrānī-yi Shāhdjahānābād* "A *mukhammas* on the destruction of Shāhdjahānābād", may be regarded as real masterpieces. Both are comparatively lengthy poems, and constitute a unified theme dealing with the devastation of Dihlī, the economic adversities of the people, and the contemporary social and moral decay.

Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr, who was a contemporary of Sawdā, composed several poems which resemble the *shahr-āshob*. One of these poems is the *Mukhammas dar ḥāl-i lashkar* "On the condition of the

army", which describes not only the plight of the soldiery but also points out, with bitterness and sorrow, the pitiable state of the court and nobles.

A number of *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs* are significant because of their historical interest. These include poems by Mīrzā D̲j̲aʿfar ʿAlī Ḥasrat and Ḳiyām al-Dīn Ḳāʾim (d. 1208/1793-4), referred to respectively as *Muk̲h̲ammas dar aḥwāl-i D̲j̲ahānābād* "On the condition of D̲j̲ahānābād", and *Muk̲h̲ammas*. The first of these poems describes the destruction of Dihlī and its citizens caused by the invasion of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī, and the second contains a denunciation of S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II for his role in connection with the battle of Sakartāl (1772), in which he, with the support of the Marāthās [*q.v.*], attacked and defeated Ḍābiṭa K̲h̲ān, son of Nad̲j̲īb al-Dawla [*q.v.*], and leader of the Rohilla Afg̲h̲āns.

Other *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs*, which have won critical approval, comprise Ẓuhūr al-Dīn Ḥātim's (d. 1197/1783) *Muk̲h̲ammas*, Ḳalandar Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ D̲j̲urʾat's (d. 1224/1810) *Muk̲h̲ammas-i tard̲j̲īʿ-band*, and Walī Muḥammad Naẓīr Akbarābādī's (d. 1246/1830) work mentioned as *Dunyā-yi dūn ke tamās̲h̲e* "Scenes of the contemptible world". Ḥātim's poem, described sometimes as the first *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob* composed in Urdu (see D̲j̲amīl D̲j̲ālibī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i adab-i Urdū*, ii/1, Lahore 1981, 441), presents an account showing the change of fortune suffered by members of various social groups after Nādir S̲h̲āh's invasion. The *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs* of D̲j̲urʾat and Naẓīr Akbarābādī are conspicuous for their out-of-the-ordinary imagery with insects, birds and animals serving as metaphors. All three poems share one assumption in common: that those regarded as occupationally "inferior" had risen in status, while those of the upper rank had lost their former position.

Most *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs* composed by Urdu poets have Dihlī as their setting, but some of them describe other cities as well. For instance, Naẓīr Akbarābādī is the author of a *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob* having Agra for its locale, and G̲h̲ulām ʿAlī Rāsik̲h̲ (d. 1238/1823) has left a *mat̲h̲nawī* which is placed in Patna, both poets portraying the destitution of the citizens in their respective towns.

The *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs* discussed so far belong to the period before 1857. The uprising which took place in 1857-8 had a deep impact upon the minds of the poets, whose response to the events found expression in numerous poems dealing mainly with the trials and tribulations suffered by Dihlī during that time. These poems have been called *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob* although they do not subscribe entirely to the classical pattern of the genre followed by earlier poems. One important element which is missing in them is the narrative dealing with different professions—an essential feature of previous *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs*. In fact, the *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs* of 1857 are mere elegies mourning the passing away of Mug̲h̲al Dihlī and the end of an era.

The poems connected with the fortunes of Dihlī at this time are contained in two collections named *Fug̲h̲ān-i Dihlī* "The lament of Dihlī", and *Inkilāb-i Dihlī* "Revolution of Dihlī", also known as *Faryād-i Dihlī* "The cry of Dihlī". The first-named work was edited by Tafaḍḍ al-Ḥusayn Kawkab, and was published in 1280/1863-4; the second, containing poems reproduced from the former work together with some additions, came out in 1932. Included in *Fug̲h̲ān-i Dihlī* is the famous *musaddas* by Nawwāb Mirzā Dāg̲h̲ (d. 1322/1905 [*q.v.*]) regarding the demise of old Dihlī, a poem full of pathos, which may be regarded as one of the finest pieces composed upon the subject.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Naʿīm Aḥmad (ed.), *S̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob*, Delhi 1968 (a comprehensive collection of *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs* in Urdu. For the text of *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲obs*, cited in the article, reference may be made to this book, except where it is indicated otherwise); idem, *S̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob kā taḥḳīḳī muṭālaʿa*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1979; Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, *S̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob kī tārīk̲h̲*, in *Mabāḥit̲h̲*, Lahore 1965; Sayyid Masʿūd Ḥasan Raḍawī Adīb, *S̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob: ek ṣinf-i suk̲h̲an*, in *Nigāris̲h̲āt-i Adīb*, Lucknow 1969; Iqtida Hasan, *Later Muġals as represented in Urdū poetry. A study in the light of* šahr-āšobs *from Hātim, Saudā and Naẓīr*, in *AIUON*, N.S. ix (1959), 131-53; idem, *Later Muġals as represented in Urdū poetry. II. a study of Qāʾim's* šahr-āšob, in *ibid.*, xii (1962-3), 129-52; F. Lehmann, *Urdu literature and Mughal decline*, in *Mahfil*, vi/2-3 (1970), 125-31; art. *S̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob*, in *Urdū dāʾira-yi maʿārif-i Islāmiyya*, xi, Lahore 1975, 824-6; Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, *Jurʾat's* šahr-āšōb: *an afterword*, in *Annual of Urdu studies*, iii (1983), 11-16; Shamsur Rahman Faruqi and Frances W. Pritchett, *In the presence of the nightingale* (= Eng. tr. of D̲j̲urʾat's *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob*), in *ibid.*, 1-9; eidem, *A vile world carnival* (= Eng. tr. of Naẓīr Ak̲h̲barābādī's *s̲h̲ahr-ās̲h̲ob, Dunyā-yi dūn ke tamās̲h̲e*), in *ibid.*, iv (1984), 24-35; Frances W. Pritchett, *The world upside down:* šahr-āšōb *as a genre*, in *ibid.*, 37-41; C.M. Naim, *A note on* šahr-āšōb, in *ibid.*, 42; Carla R. Petievich, *Poetry of the declining Mughals: the* shahr-āshob, in *Jnal. of South Asian literature*, xxv/1 (1990), 99-110.

(Munibur Rahman)

SHAHRĀSHŪB [see s̲h̲ahrangīz].

AL-SHAHRASTĀNĪ, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad, Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn, thinker and historian of religious and philosophical doctrines, who lived in Persia in the first half of the 6th/12th century. He received other honorific titles such as al-Afḍal or al-Imām. Besides a few landmarks, little is known of his life. Al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (the customary Arabic vocalisation is retained here) was born in the small town of S̲h̲ahristān, on the northern frontier of K̲h̲urāsān, not far from Nasā, at the edge of the desert of Ḳara Ḳum (currently in the Republic of Turkmenistan) [see s̲h̲ahristān (6)]. His contemporary al-Samʿānī is supposed to have written (according to Ibn K̲h̲allikān): "I asked him the date of his birth, and he told me: 479/[1086-7]." Other ancient authors give the dates 467 and 469, but the testimony of al-Samʿānī seems authoritative. Nothing is known of his family; however, the attribution by Yāḳūt of a *kunya* to his father (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim) and to his grandfather (Abū Bakr) could indicate a privileged background.

After what was definitely a very substantial traditional education, he was sent to the prestigious metropolis of Nīs̲h̲āpūr. It was there that he embarked on detailed study of the Islamic sciences. His principal masters are known; most of them were in their turn disciples of al-D̲j̲uwaynī. In *tafsīr*, and in As̲h̲ʿarī *kalām*, he was the pupil of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Salmān b. Nāṣir al-Anṣārī (d. 412/1118), who exerted great influence over him. *Ḥadīt̲h̲* was taught him by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Madīnī (d. 494/1100). In S̲h̲āfiʿī *fiḳh*, he was trained by the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-K̲h̲ʷāfī, a friend of al-G̲h̲azālī and a judge at Ṭūs (d. 500/1106) and by Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī (d. 514/1120, son of the eminent mystic). It may be noted that the date of the death of al-Madīnī is a *terminus ad quem* for the arrival of al-S̲h̲ahrastānī at Nīs̲h̲āpūr.

Impelled no doubt by religious motives, but also by the desire to consolidate his reputation, in 510/1117 he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. On the return journey, he visited Bag̲h̲dād. His friend Abu 'l-Fatḥ Asʿad b. Muḥammad al-Mayhanī (d. 523/1129 ac-

cording to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 660; but 520 according to Djalāl Humā'ī, *Ghazzālī-nāma*, Tehran 1318/1939, 308) was then teaching at the Niẓāmiyya. With Mayhanī's assistance, al-Shahrastānī obtained a post at the Niẓāmiyya. For three years, and with considerable success, he devoted himself to teaching, preaching, disputation. Around 514/1120 he returned to Persia.

The Saldjūḳ ruler of Khurāsān Sandjar had recently taken there, in 511/1118, the full title of sultan. Marw, his capital, was a magnet. Through the good offices of Naṣīr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. al-Muẓaffar al-Marwazī, who was *wazīr* from 521 to 526/1127-31 (see Humā'ī, *ibid.*), al-Shahrastānī was appointed *nā'ib* of the chancellery (*dīwān al-rasā'il*). He even became a close friend of Sandjar and "his confidant" (*ṣāhib sirrihi*). However, al-Shahrastānī ultimately returned to his native village. It is not known when, or why. The fact remains that there was a succession of tragic events in the year 548/1153. The sultan was taken prisoner by the Ghuzz [*q.v.*]. Marw fell six months later, and the Ghuzz advanced on Nīshāpūr. It was then, according to the testimony of al-Sam'ānī related by Ibn Khallikān, that al-Shahrastānī died in his native village "towards the end of Sha'bān 548 [November 1153]".

Al-Shahrastānī was responsible for a score of works. See the precise and detailed study by Nā'īnī, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl*..., also Dānish-pazhūh, *Nāma*..., vii, 72-80, viii, 61-5. The twelve most important works, beginning with those which can be dated, are:

1. *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, which, according to the author, was written in the year 521, i.e. 1127-8 (ed. Badrān, i, 630 (cf. 358) = *Livre*, i, 662 (cf. 503)). There are numerous editions, including two semi-critical ones: W. Cureton, 2 vols., London 1842-6; and Muḥammad Fatḥ Allāh Badrān, 2 vols., Cairo 1370-5/1951-5 (Shaykh Badrān has published, in small format, without critical apparatus but with a thorough introduction, a second edition, 2 vols., Cairo 1375/1956). At least two Persian translations exist: by Turkā-yi Iṣfahānī (in 843/1440), Tehran 1321/1942, 3rd ed. 1350/1972, and by Muṣṭafā b. Khāliḳdād (in 1021/1612), Tehran, 2nd ed. 1358/1979. Turkish translation by Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā (d. 1070/1660), Cairo 1263/1847, then Istanbul 1279/1862. German translation by Th. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, 2 vols., Halle 1850-1, repr. Wiesbaden 1969. French translation with introduction and notes by D. Gimaret, J. Jolivet and G. Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, 2 vols., Louvain 1986-93. There are also partial translations.

This monumental work aspired to present "the doctrinal opinions of all the world's people", i.e. to reveal the entirety of religions and philosophies, past or present. To what extent it succeeded will be seen at a later stage.

2. *Nihāyat al-aḳdām fī 'ilm al-kalām*, later than the *Milal* which it mentions several times (e.g. 5, l. 10; 377, l. 17). The title is given at the end of p. 4. The vocalisation of the second word (and not *al-iḳdām* as Guillaume writes; this has already been noted by P. Kraus) clearly results from the parallellism between *nihāyāt* (note the plural) *aḳdām ahl al-kalām* and *nihāyāt awhām al-ḥukamā' al-ilāhiyyīn* (503-4). English edition and translation by Alfred Guillaume, *The Summa Philosophiae*..., Oxford 1934; Arabic text alone repr. Baghdād n.d. The edition is mediocre; the "translation" is not always worthy of the name.

The book is divided into 20 chapters, each of which examines discussions of one of the "foundations" (*ḳawā'id*) of theological science. This classic work has been understood as reviewing the attainments of Muslim theology. In fact, it sets out to show its limits. "The furthest steps of the people of *kalām*" cannot be exceeded. Should the sum total of theology not be an admission of failure?

3. *Mas'ala fī ithbāt al-djawhar al-fard*. A brief monograph on the concept of the atom (*al-djuz' alladhī lā yatadjazza'*), edited by Guillaume at the end of the *Nihāya* (505-14).

4. *Muṣāra'at al-falāsifa*, ed. Suhayr Muḥammad Mukhtār, Cairo 1396/1976. Explicitly posterior to the *Milal* (14), this little book is dedicated to Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī b. Dja'far al-Mūsawī, chief (*naḳīb*) of the Imāmī Shī'ī community of Tirmidh. This is a thorough criticism of Avicennan philosophy. It is supposed to comprise seven "questions", but at the end of the fifth (118), the author bemoans thc serious troubles of the time and comes to an abrupt end. The circumstances evoked could be the defeat of Sandjar by the Ḳara Khiṭāy in 536/1141.

5. *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa-maṣābīḥ al-abrār*, edited facsimile of the *unicum*, with introduction and index, 2 vols., Tehran 1409 A.H./1368 A.H.S./1989. The text comprises 434 folios, or 868 pages with 25 lines. It is a Ḳur'ānic commentary. After an autobiographical preface come the 12 chapters of an introduction to the study of the Ḳur'ān, then a complete commentary on the first two sūras. The first volume (up to II, 122) of the lost autograph manuscript had been composed between 538 and 540. It is not known whether, as is probable, the author continued beyond *Sūrat al-Baḳara*.

6. *Madjlis* on the Creation and the Order (*al-khalḳ wa 'l-amr*). This remarkable set speech, in Persian (whereas all the other known works of this author are in Arabic) was delivered in Khwārazm; it is not known when. It was edited (in 38 pages) by Nā'īnī at the end of his *Sharḥ-i ḥāl* and then in his *Dū maktūb*, Tehran 1369/1990.

7. *al-Manāhidj wa 'l-āyāt*. Mentioned by Bayhaḳī. Apparently lost.

8. *Ḳiṣṣat Mūsā wa 'l-Khaḍir*. Mentioned by Bayhaḳī. Apparently lost.

9. *Risāla* on the knowledge possessed by the Necessary Being, addressed to Sharaf al-Zamān Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāḳī. The latter, a philosopher and physician of renown, died in 536/1141 at the Battle of Ḳatawān, facs. ed. of the *unicum* in Nā'īnī's *Dū maktūb*.

10. *Risāla* to the *Ḳāḍī* 'Umar b. Sahl (or Sahlān?) against Avicenna. Manuscript.

11. *Risāla* to Muḥammad al-Sahlānī. Manuscript.

12. *Sharḥ sūrat Yūsuf*. Mentioned by Yāḳūt. Manuscript.

The contribution of this vast corpus is twofold. In the first place, this author has transmitted and presented to generations of readers a mass of information on previous opinions and doctrines, in numerous domains. First, the doctrines of sects or persuasions internal to Islam. It is with these that the *Milal* begins, at length, to be completed, in quite another way, by the *Nihāya*. The overall picture is impressive, although containing inaccuracies. "In terms of the scale of the text, they represent little that is of importance. But they encourage circumspection" (D. Gimaret). Now the detailed survey of philosophers occupies the longest section of the *Milal*, and great hopes could be placed in it. In fact, it derives principally from two sources: the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* and the *Ārā' al-falāsifa* of pseudo-Ammonius. Above all, he projects on to the majority of articles the religious vision of the Muslim thinkers. At a deeper level, and despite appearances,

al-Shahrastānī is hostile to philosophy. But the *Milal* has yet another object. Up to and including the present day, this book owes its immense reputation to the treatment of religions external to Islam: Christians and Jews, Mazdaeans and Manichaeans, hermeticist Sabians, disciples of ancient Arab cults and of Hindu sects, etc. Not one of these chapters is of inferior quality. As a carefully crafted whole, they remained, until the 18th century, totally unique. They represent the high point of Muslim histories of religion. Finally, the rediscovery of the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār* should be taken into account. Each verse, before being clarified by the corresponding "mysteries", is initially the object of a commentary which could be described as classical. This *tafsīr* is situated in the very first rank of Ḳur'ānic commentaries, equal and sometimes superior to those of al-Ṭabarī or al-Rāzī in terms of precision, breadth, antiquity and variety of sources quoted; lists of the sūras in pre-ʿUthmānic collections, Saʿīd b. Djubayr, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, al-Kalbī, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Farrā', al-Zadjdjādj and many others.

Al-Shahrastānī does not only expound the thought of others. He has his own, which is immediately apparent in the refutation of Ibn Sīnā; he devotes numerous monographs to this purpose, attacking the philosopher from every angle. But the full expression of al-Shahrastānī's thought is to be sought elsewhere, sc. in the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār*. Usually, in fact, the above-mentioned long classical commentary is followed by the unfolding of "mysteries" (*asrār*). The author insists on presenting them as received from a tradition, but the manner in which they are set forth bears the distinct mark both of his personal genius and of his deep-rooted conviction. These, scattered amongst consistent passages, written in a compact, sometimes vehement style, permit the reconstruction of a vision of the world.

At the summit is God, the One, of Whom we know nothing of the qualities except the ipseity (*huwiyya*). The world of the Divine Order is prior to the world of Creation, and traverses it, in seven cycles, passing from the universe of Laws (domain of the inchoative, *musta'naf*) to that of Resurrection (domain of the concluded, *mafrūgh*). The divine and eternal letters and names, the origin of everything, set out their manifestations (*maẓāhir*) according to two parallel lines: verbal allocutions (*kalimāt ḳawliyya*), meaning the text of the Scriptures, and active allocutions (*kalimāt fiʿliyya*), meaning the corporeal individuality (*ashkhāṣ*) of the prophets, the *imāms* and their heirs. This dynamic vision is dominated by two principles: the hierarchy (*tarattub*) of beings, and the opposition (*taḍādd*) which pits the side of evil against the side of good.

This is evidently a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī doctrine. Al-Khʷārazmī and al-Samʿānī, contemporaries of al-Shahrastānī, had already accused him of Ismāʿīlism. But later, he was generally considered to be a spokesman for Ashʿarism. In recent times, Nā'īnī has re-opened the debate. Decisive clarification is finally given by the *Mafātīḥ al-asrār*. Al-Shahrastānī fully adheres there to the positions described above, and some more particular points establish beyond doubt that his thought was at that time Ismāʿīlī. He does not confine himself, either to recognising the prerogatives of the *Ahl al-Bayt* with regard to the Ḳur'ān, or to integrating Ismāʿīlī elements into a Sunnī theology. He propounds a global religious view, which he has received and accepted. Since when? A long time ago. It is not only the *Madjlis* and the *Muṣāraʿa* which are impregnated with Ismāʿīlism, but the *Milal* and the *Nihāya* also bear subtle hints of it.

Should our author therefore be seen as a secret but licensed member of the Alamūt organisation? Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, in a pro-Ismāʿīlī monograph (*Sayr al-sulūk*, in *Madjmūʿa-yi rasā'il*, Tehran 1335/1956, 38), writes that his great-uncle must have been a pupil of the "*dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* Tādj al-Dīn Shahristāna-ī". But this title does not seem to have been employed by the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia (cf. Daftary, 227, 336, 394). The incidental and belated statement of Ṭūsī is thus to be treated with caution.

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(G. MONNOT)

AL-SHAHRASTĀNĪ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī, known as HIBAT AL-DĪN al-Shahrastānī, ʿIrāḳī Shīʿī religious scholar and politician. He was born at Sāmarrā' on 20 May 1884. His pedigree, reaching back to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, is given by Khāḳānī (see *Bibl.* below), 65. The *nisba* al-Shahrastānī is that of his mother's family and was adopted by Hibat al-Dīn's father (Ṭihrānī, 1414). Both of his parents descended from families with a long tradition of religious scholarship, with branches in ʿIrāḳ (including the Āl Ḥakīm), Persia and elsewhere. Two works by Hibat al-Dīn concerning the history of his family apparently remained unpublished (Ṭihrānī, 1413; Khāḳānī, 78, nos. 39 and 64).

After the death there, in 1894, of the famous Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī, Hibat al-Dīn's father left Sāmarrā' and returned with the family to his native town, Karbalā'. Hibat al-Dīn began his religious studies there, but left Karbalā' for Nadjaf following the death of his father in 1902. In Nadjaf, he studied with some of the most prominent *mudjtahids* of the time, such as Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Yazdī and Shaykh al-Sharīʿa al-Iṣfahānī, and especially with Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Khurāsānī [*q.v.*], known as Ākhund. In addition to the traditional fields of study, Hibat al-Dīn soon developed a special interest in the modern natural sciences and in the inter-

pretation of its recent findings according to some Muslim modernist writers in India and Egypt. The first and most important fruit of his endeavours in this respect was a book on astronomy [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA] called *al-Hayʾa wa ʾl-Islām*. It was published in Baghdād in 1910, went into several re-editions and was translated into some other languages (for the genesis of this book see Ḥusaynī, *taḳdīm*, 13-14; for a list of translations, *ibid.*, 7). In March 1910, Hibat al-Dīn started the publication, in Nadjaf, of a monthly periodical called *al-ʿIlm*, the first Arabic journal to appear in that town (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *Taʾrīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-ʿirāḳiyya*, i, ³Sidon 1971, 30). During the short period of its publication (the number of its issues reaching only 21 in total), it became an important platform for the reformist ideas and proposals which were discussed in the circle around Khurāsānī. Among these topics was that of *naḳl al-djanāʾiz*, i.e. the transfer of corpses to the Shīʿī shrine towns and their burial there. This practice was sharply criticised as a *bidʿa* by Hibat al-Dīn in *al-ʿIlm* (on the background of his criticism and on the ensuing controversy over this issue, see Nakash, esp. 192-7). Being ardently in favour of the constitutional movement in Persia [see DUSTŪR. iv], he became involved in the factional strife between its supporters and critics in Nadjaf (see Khāḳānī, 79-90; Luizard, 243 ff.).

Shortly after Khurāsānī's death in December 1911, Hibat al-Dīn stopped publication of his journal and, in 1912, set out on a long journey to Syria and Lebanon, Egypt, the Ḥidjāz (where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca), Yaman and India. He returned to ʿIrāḳ in 1914. Already before the time when, in November 1914, Turkey entered the First World War, Hibat al-Dīn as well as a number of other Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* had been approached by Ottoman officials in order to find support for the common, pan-Islamic *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the Allies. Hibat al-Dīn responded with enthusiasm (Khāḳānī, 69). It is in this connection that he produced, in 1915, a special *fatwā* [*q.v.*] concerning the friendship between the Muslims and the Germans (German tr. H. Ritter, in *WI*, iv [1916], 217-20; for the background, see W. Ende, *Iraq in World War I*, in R. Peters (ed.), *Proceedings of* the *Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, 57-71.)

After the British had taken Baghdād in March 1917, Hibat al-Dīn settled again in Karbalāʾ. He soon became involved in the resistance against the British occupation, which culminated in the revolt of 1920 (for his role there, see, e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *al-Thawra al-ʿirāḳiyya al-kubrā*, ³Sidon 1972, index 302; Luizard, 403 ff.).

In September 1921, Hibat al-Dīn became Minister of Education in the second cabinet of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naḳīb. His term of office was marked by serious tensions between him and the Director-General at the Ministry, Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī (see the latter's *Mudhakkirātī fi ʾl-ʿIrāḳ*, i, Beirut 1967, esp. 147-155, and Heine, 57-65). These tensions, together with a number of other factors, led to his resignation in August 1922 (see ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *Taʾrīkh al-wizārāt al-ʿirāḳiyya*, ⁷Baghdād 1988, 74-115). From 1923 to 1934, Hibat al-Dīn served as president of the *Djaʿfarī* Court of Cassation (*maḥkamat al-tamyīz*), in spite of the fact that soon after his taking over this position he had lost his eyesight. In 1934-5 he was a deputy (for Baghdād) in the Parliament of ʿIrāḳ. After its dissolution, he chose to withdraw to Kāẓimiyya, where he established, in the early 1940s, the *Maktabat al-Djawādayn*, a rich scholarly library. On a few occasions, Hibat al-Dīn later on voiced his opinion in political matters. Thus his visit to Persia in 1955, where he was received by many *ʿulamāʾ* and a number of high government officials, was generally seen as an attempt to further strengthen the consolidation process between the Shīʿī clergy and the Shah after the ousting, in 1953, of the Muṣaddiḳ government (see Sh. Akhavi, *Religion and politics in contemporary Iran*, Albany 1980, 75-6). He died in Baghdād on 2 February 1967.

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(W. ENDE)

SHAHRAZĀD, a figure in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

As E. Cosquin has shown, the motif of the wise young woman who tells stories in order to put off, and at length remove a danger, comes from India. The name, confirming Ibn al-Nadīm's statement about the Iranian source of the *Nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA], is Persian, derived from *čihrāzād* "of noble appearance/origin." In Ibn al-Nadīm's report, Shahrazād is of royal blood; in al-Masʿūdī's, she is the daughter of a vizier. Of greater interest are the variations at the end of the frame story. In Ibn al-Nadīm, as in the Būlāḳ and Second Calcutta editions of the *Nights*, Shahrazād becomes a mother, thus securing the goodwill of the king who already admires her mind. In the Breslau edition and in several mss. which date from the period between the 10th/16th and 12th/18th centuries, Shahrazād's last tale is, or includes, a compressed version of the prologue. The king, who sees himself in the story, admits that his deeds of blood had been wicked and sinful.

The first and second parts of the prologue to the *Nights* (the deceived royal husbands, their wanderings and seduction by the *djinnī*'s prisoner) appeared in Europe early. In a novella by Giovanni Sercambi of Lucca (d. 1424), the *djinnī* has turned into a Sienese burgher carrying his young wife in a box. Ariosto uses the first theme (*Orlando Furioso*, xxviii). Shahrazād

herself was only introduced to the Western world by Galland, and remains there, in her appearances in literature (as in Gautier, Poe, and many others) and music (as in the violin solos in Rimsky-Korsakov's symphonic suite) a more or less exotic visitor. Her character is central to a large number of modern Arabic plays and novels.

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SHAHRAZŪR, Shahrizūr (in Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī's *Sharaf-nāma*, Shahra-zūl), a district in western Kurdistān lying to the west of the Awrāmān mountain chain, essentially a fertile plain some 58 x 40 km/36 x 25 miles in area, watered by the tributaries of the Tāndjarō river, which flows into the Sīrwān and eventually to the Diyālā and Tigris. In the wide sense, Shahrazūr denoted in Ottoman times the *eyālet* or province of Kirkūk, a source of considerable confusion in geographical terminology. The district is closely associated with the Ahl-i Ḥakk [*q.v.*], and the initiates of the sect await the Last Judgment which is to take place on the plain of Shahrazūr: "on the threshing floor of Shahrazūr (*Shahrazūlūñ kharmanında*) all the faithful will receive their due".

History. For the epoch of the Assyrians, Billerbeck places at Shahrazūr the centre of the Zamua country, inhabited at the time of Aššurnāsir-pal by the Lullu people. Streck seems to agree with this localisation of Zamua (*ZA*, xv [1900], 284). The Arabs (Abū Dulaf) associated with Shahrazūr (more precisely Duzdān) the biblical legends concerning Saul (Ṭālūt) and David, which suggests the presence in these districts of strong Jewish colonies.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shahrazūr confirm the testimony—of Theophanes as well as of Abū Dulaf—regarding the number of settlements in this region. The most important town bore the name of Nīm-az-rāy (Nīm-rāh), i.e. "half-way" between Ctesiphon and the great fire-altar of Shīz [*q.v.*] (Takht-i Sulaymān in Ādharbāydjān). Čirikov and Herzfeld (on his map) identify Nīmrāh with Gul'anbar, and this corresponds with the indication of Abū Dulaf regarding the proximity of the town to the mountains of Sha'rān and Zalm. The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 199; Mustawfī, 107) attributes its construction to the Sāsānid Kawādh, the son of Pērōz (488-531). The ruins of a Sāsānid bridge on the Sirwān protected by the fort of Shamīrān indicate the line of communications of Nīm-rāh with Ḳasr-i Shīrīn. At this latter point, the route coming from Ctesiphon forked to run towards Hamadān and towards Shahrazūr (Ibn Rusta, 164; Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, 156). On the other hand, according to Rawlinson (*JRAS* [1868], 296-300), the monument of Pāy-kūlī on the right bank of the Sīrwān not far from the ford of Bānkhēlān marked a station on the road from Nīm-rāh, which the great explorer thought was to be found at Yāsīn-tapa to the north-west of the plain of Shahrazūr. As the monument dates back to the epoch of the first Sāsānids, the road, before the construction of Nīm-rāh, might well have followed another direction in the plain. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih (120) the Sāsānids, after their accession to the throne, made a pilgrimage on foot to Shīz. The monument of Pāy-kūlī may mark the road. Finally, the Kurds told Rich (i, 269) that "the ancient town of Shahrazūr" was at Ḳīzḳal'a to the south-east of Arbet (cf. Haussknecht's map).

Shahrazūr, forming part of the diocese of Bēth Garmay (Bā-Djarmaḳ) is often mentioned in the history of the Nestorian Church. The *Synodicon Orientale* (ed. Chabot, Paris 1902, 266) gives the names of its bishops between 554 and 605.

During his third Persian campaign, the Emperor Heraclius spent the month of February in 628 in Shahrazūr "laying waste the district and towns by fire" (*Theophanis Chronographa*, ed. de Boor, 325: εἰς τὸν Σιάζουρον; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i, 730: ἕως τοῦ Σιαρσούρων—the two graphies indicate the pronunciation *-zūr* and not *-zōr*).

The Arabs had reached Shahrazūr even in Sāsānid times (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 130). The remote situation of Shahrazūr frequently attracted rebels and schismatics to it (Khāridjīs, Khurramīs). The district is often mentioned along with Dāmaghān and Dārābād (Kudāma, 232), the exact sites of which are unknown. In the time of Abū Dulaf (338/950), there were in Shahrazūr 60,000(?) tents of Kurds: Djalāli (Rich, i, 280, Ghellali?), Bāsyān, Ḥakamī and Sūlī (Shūlī?).

The same author counts Shīz (perhaps a misreading, cf. Hoffmann, 251) among the towns of Shahrazūr and mentions a little town Duzdān(?) between Nīm-rāh and Shīz. The other names of places in the region of Shahrazūr were Tīrānshāh (Ibn al-Athīr), Ḳinā(?) and Daylamastān (Yāḳūt). Between 400 and 434/1010-43, scions of the Kurdish dynasty of the Ḥasanwayhids ruled at Shahrazūr. In the 6th/12th century the Turkomans and the Zangid Atābegs held the district. In the time of Yāḳūt, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökböri, Atābeg of Irbil, had settled himself there. In 623/1226 an earthquake ruined the district. According to al-'Umarī (d. 749/1348), Shahrazūr "before its depopulation" was inhabited by Kūsa Kurds (Rich, i, 281 notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madīna, Māmenū-Kosa). After the capture of Baghdād by Hūlāgū, these Kurds migrated to Egypt and Syria and their place was taken by the Ḥwsna(?) who "are not true Kurds". The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of Awrāmān, who still occupy the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsa whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the *Zaza* dialect which is not a proper Kurdish one.

Tīmūr crossed Shahrazūr in 803/1411 on his way from Baghdād to Tabrīz (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 370; *az rāh-i Shahrizūr wa Ḳalāghī*(?)).

Shahrazūr played an important part in the Turco-Persian wars. According to the *Sharāf-nāma*, the Ardilān family [see sinna] had been at first settled in Shahrazūr. The local history of Sinna even claims that the fort of Zalm was built by Bābā Ardilān in 564/1158. Sultan Süleymān I about 944/1537 sent the governor of 'Amādiyya to conquer Shahrazūr but although a fortress was built at Gul-'anbar, the Ardilān re-established their authority in the region (*Sharaf-nāma*, 84). Shāh 'Abbās I dismantled this fortress, but it was restored during the Persian campaign of Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1039/1630. The treaty of 1049/1639 allotted to Turkey the western slope of the Awrāmān with the fort of Zalm. Changes, however, must have taken place slowly, for Tavernier on his journey in 1644, seems to place the Turco-Persian frontier much further west. The representative of Sulaymān Khān, *Wālī* of Ardilān, maintained a garrison in a "large town", the situation of which corresponds to that of Gul-'anbar. We may note here that Tavernier seems to mention the town of Altun-

köprü(?) under the name "Shehrazul".

Ardilān being finally removed from Shahrazūr, the district was governed by local hereditary chiefs who received their investiture from Istanbul. At the beginning of the 18th century, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ḥasan Pasha, was allowed by the Porte to have southern Kurdistān placed under his control. The *eyālet* of Shahrazūr was then formed containing the *sandjaḳs* of Kirkūk, Arbil, Kōy-sandjaḳ, Ḳara-čolān (Shārabāžēr), Rawānduz and Ḥarīr, the *mütesellims* of which were appointed from Baghdād (Khurshīd Efendī, 199-262). But soon the Bābān chiefs [see SULAYMĀNIYYA] attained to power, and Shahrazūr was placed under them. After the administrative reforms of 1867 and the creation of the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, the name of Shahrazūr was given to the *sandjaḳ* of Kirkūk (the *ḳaḍās* were: Kirkūk, Arbil, Rāniya, Rawānduz, Kōy and Ṣalāḥiyya), but to complete the confusion, the plain of Shahrazūr proper was included in the *sandjaḳ* of Sulaymāniyya (see Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 764).

From the 18th century, a branch of the tribe of Djāf [see SINNA] had been established on Turkish territory. The plain of Shahrazūr, as well as many villages in Kifrī, Pandjwīn, etc., belonged before the world war to the powerful Djāf chiefs, ʿOthmān Pasha and Maḥmūd Pasha. This family exercised administrative functions, of which the Porte gradually tried to deprive them. For a considerable time, the effective administration of Shahrazūr was in the hands of the widow of ʿOthmān Pasha, the energetic ʿĀdila Khānum, a native of Sinna. Soane has given an interesting description of her little court at Alabča.

After 1920, the district came within the newly-formed Kingdom (after 1958, Republic) of ʿIrāḳ. Today the district is known as the plain of Ḥalabdja, from its main urban and administrative centre, a town which has grown steadily since its repopulation by Djāf Kurds in the 18th century. The plain now includes an extensive irrigation system formed by damming the Tan and Sīrwān rivers.

Finally, one should add that the plain has extensive archaeological remains, including tells and ruined fortresses guarding the plain from invasion from the east.

Bibliography: Rawlinson, *Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana*, in *JRGS*, x (1841), 41-101; Gerland, *Die persischen Feldzüge d. Kaisers Heraclius*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, iii, 1894, 330-70; A. Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio*, Florence 1905, 165.

For the Arabic sources, see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern caliphate*, 190-1, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 694-705. For Abū Dulaf's important information, see Minorsky, *Abu-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, tr. 40-3 (with map), comm. 83-4; and for al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*, see Quatremère's tr. in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, Paris 1838. See also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145, 445 (tr. in Charmoy, *Cheref-nameh*, i/1, 127, 423); Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1692, i, 197; Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, i, 107, 269, 290-391; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*², iii (events of 1630); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 442-7, 459; F. Jones, *Narrative of a journey to the frontier of Turkey and Persia*, in *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, N.S. xliii, Calcutta n.d., 204; Čirikov, *Putevoi zhurnal*, St. Petersburg 1875, 438, and *passim*; Khurshīd Efendī, *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi ḥudūd* (Russ. tr. 1877): *Shahrazūr eyāleti*, 199-262; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 354 and *passim*; E. Soane, *In disguise to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, London 1912, ²1926; Admiralty Handbooks, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 262-3, 265, 372, 532-3, 541.

Cartography: Map by F. Jones; Haussknecht-Kiepert, *Routen im Orient*, iii, Kurdistan and Irak; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli, Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian Empire*, Berlin 1924, map 1: 200,000. (V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ, the *nisba* of four distinguished dignitaries, great-grandfather, grandfather, father and son, originally from Mawṣil and occupying important offices under the Saldjūḳs, Zangids and Ayyūbids.

The latest in date of the members of this prestigious line of Shāfiʿī *fuḳahāʾ* was Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn Abi ʾl-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shahrazūrī. He was a disciple in *fiḳh* at Baghdād of Abū Manṣūr Ibn al-Razzāz. He entered the service of Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (d. 569/1174 [*q.v.*]) at Damascus, replacing his father as minister in Ṣafar 555/February-March 1160, and was subsequently *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo and then Mawṣil. He achieved fame and influence there, having, like his father, the reputation of being a generous and enlightened maecenas; according to Ibn Khallikān, one day he gave the *fuḳahāʾ*, writers and poets a gift of 10,000 dīnārs. Whilst acting as chief *ḳāḍī* at Mawṣil, it is related, he never imprisoned anyone who had not paid a debt of two dīnārs or less, preferring, if necessary, to pay the debt himself. His biographers attribute to him a certain number of verses judged competent, and among his poetic descriptions is that of a bat and of abundantly-falling snow, whilst other poems treat such varied themes as friendship, fidelity, etc.; on his father's death, in 572/1176-7, he composed an elegy upon him.

The author of *maḳāmāt*, Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī (who seems to have lived towards the end of the 6th/12th century), dedicated 30 *maḳāmāt* to the chief judge of Mawṣil, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī, who died at Mawṣil in Djumādā I 586/June 1190 aged 62 (but al-Ṣafadī places his death in Djumādā II 584/August 1188).

Bibliography: ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, 3rd part, iv-v, Damascus 1955-9; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 379, no. 571; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, i, 210-12, no. 138; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 287. (A. BEN ABDESSELEM)

AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD, Illuminationist philosopher of the 7th/13th century.

He has suffered by an ironical stroke of fate, in that, although he wrote a substantial work on the biographies of thinkers, sages and scholars of the times preceding his own, his own life is totally unknown. Hence neither his birth nor his death date are known; only a copyist's note indicates that he was still alive in 687/1288 (cf. H. Corbin's introd. to his *Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques d'al-Suhrawardī*, ii, Tehran-Paris 1976, p. lxxi). His own written œuvre was nevertheless considerable. His *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ* (*fī taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ wa ʾl-falasifa*) gives 122 biographies of philosophers of Antiquity and the Islamic period, of which the notice on Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (ed. S.H. Naṣr in his Persian introd. to *Œuvres philosophiques*, ii, 13-30) remains our main source of information on this principal *shaykh* of the Ishrāḳīs. His *Rasāʾil al-shadjara al-ilāhiyya*, dated 680/1282, are a real encyclopaedia of philosophy and the sciences, in which al-Shahrazūrī's own Illuminationist beliefs do not affect at all his objectivity in setting forth the various doctrines concerned (résumé and analysis by Ḥusayn Ḍiyāʾī, *Muʿarrifī wa barrasī-yi*

nuskha-yi khaṭṭī-yi Shadjara-yi ilāhiyya ..., in *Madjalla-yi Īrānshināsī*, ii/1 [1990]). His *K. al-Rumūz wa 'l-amthāl* is a treatise on noetics concerning the modalities of metaphysical knowledge by the Illuminative Way. But paradoxically, al-Shahrazūrī seems to have revealed his most inner personal beliefs in his commentaries on the two basic works of al-Suhrawardī, the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* and the *Talwīḥāt*, commentaries which have done much to reveal the *shaykh* of the Illuminationists' thought, and which inspired other later commentators such as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] on the first work and Ibn Kammūna [*q.v.*] on the second—at least, in the opinions of Corbin and Ḍiyā'ī. Al-Shahrazūrī seems to have been totally taken up by al-Suhrawardī's Illuminationist philosophy—possibly as the result of a sudden conversion, in Corbin's conjecture, since there are no references to the *shaykh* in the *K. al-Rumūz*, ostensibly the oldest of al-Shahrazūrī's works (cf. *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1971, ii, 347). In his commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*, he goes so far as to describe himself as the *ḳayyim* "upholder" of the science of that work, thus claiming a hierarchic function in the chain of Illuminationist theosophists which remains somewhat mysterious to us now (*ibid.*, 348).

At all events, one should stress the independence of mind of a scholar who proclaimed loudly the necessity of studying the philosophy of Aristotle (and of the Greek sages in general) at a time when the anti-rationalist Ash'arī reaction was gaining ground everywhere. Nevertheless, al-Shahrazūrī, in his commentaries, stands out as much more than a servile glosser on Aristotle or on al-Suhrawardī; he displays there the work of a true thinker, dialectician and philosopher.

Bibliography: Al-Sharazūrī's works, despite their great interest for the history of Islamic thought, have only been partially edited so far. There is an ed. of his *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* by Khurshīd Aḥmad, Ḥaydarābād Dn. 1976, a Persian tr. by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Durrī, as *K. Kanz al-ḥikma*, Tehran 1937, and, under its original title, by M.'A. Tabrīzī, ed. M.T. Dānish-Pazhūh and M. Sarwar Mawlā'ī, Tehran 1986. His comm. on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* also has a critical ed. by Ḍiyā'ī, Tehran 1993, with a Fr. tr. of the Preface by Corbin in his *Le Livre de la Sagesse orientale*, Paris 1986, 75 ff. (P. Lory)

SHAHR-I SABZ [see kish].

SHAHRĪR [see ta'rīkh].

SHAHRISTAN (p.) "province", "provincial capital", "[large] town". The word continues Middle Persian *shahrestān*, which has the same meanings, though it is certainly possible that it goes back even further to an unattested Old Persian **xšaça-stāna-*. In any case, it is derived from *shahr* [*q.v.*]—or its ancestor—and *-stāna* "place" (in compounds); a *shahristān* is thus literally a "place of kingship", i.e. the seat of the local representative of royal power (the provincial capital) and then also the region over which that representative exercised his authority (the province itself). The semantic background is similar to that of Aramaic *mdīntā/mdītta* (the source of the Arabic loan-word *madīna*), etymologically "place of judgment", then both "town" (as the seat of a judge) and "province" (the area under the authority of a judge). There is a little Middle Persian text, put together (at least in its extant form) during the 'Abbāsid period, listing the *shahrestāns* of the Sāsānid empire with brief remarks, mostly of mythological content, on each one of them (see the edition, with translation and very extensive notes, by J. Markwart, ed. G. Messinna, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931).

In Islamic Persia, "Shahristān" is frequently used, in effect as a place name, to distinguish the principal town of a given region from the eponymous province, or else to single out that part of the provincial capital in which the seat of government was located. Among the places mentioned in classical texts that were known alternatively, or even exclusively, by this name one can mention:

(1) Sābūr (older: Bīshābuhr) in Fārs is often referred to as Shahristān, whereby al-Muḳaddasī specifies that it is the provincial capital (*ḳaṣaba*) of Sābūr which is known by this name, as opposed to the other towns (*mudun*) in the vicinity, such as Kāzarūn. See al-Muḳaddasī, 30, 424, 432; Yāḳūt, 342.

(2) The city of Iṣfahān (Sipahān) consisted of two parts, Shahristān (also called al-Madīna and Djayy, evidently the seat of the governor) and Djahūdhān (Arabicised: al-Yahūdiyya, i.e. the old Jewish quarter). See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 131; al-Iṣṭakhrī 198-9; Yāḳūt, 343.

(3) The city of Djurdjān (Gurgān) also consisted (according to the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 133) of two parts, Shahristān and Bakrābād, separated from one another by the river Hirand. See also al-Muḳaddasī, 30, 354, 357; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 330.

(4) Kāth, the new capital of Khwārazm, was, according to al-Muḳaddasī (30, 287), also known as Shahristān.

(5) Al-Muḳaddasī (360) says that Shahristān was the name given to the seat of government in *Brw'n* (Barwān?), the capital (*ḳaṣaba*) of Daylam.

(6) Shahristāna (al-Muḳaddasī, 51), Shāristāna (idem, 300-1 n. 1; 320) or Shahristān (Yāḳūt, 343-4) was the name of a town in Khurāsān, three days' journey from Nasā, the birth-place of the celebrated al-Shahrastānī [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt says that he was present when it was sacked by the Mongols in 617/1220.

Modern Īrān is divided into 43 *shahristāns*, or sub-provincial administrative districts.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F.C. de Blois)

SHAHRIYĀR, Sayyid (or Mīr) Muḥammad Ḥusayn, a modern Persian poet. He was born about 1905 at Tabrīz as the son of a lawyer, and belonging to a family of *sayyid*s in the village of Khushgnāb. In his early work he used the pen name Bahdjat, which he later changed to Shahriyār, a name chosen from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, who was his great model as a writer of *ghazal*s. He read medicine at the Dār al-Funūn in Tehran, but left his studies unfinished to become a government clerk in Khurāsān. After some time he returned to Tehran, where for many years he was employed by the Agricultural Bank, living a sober and secluded life devoted mostly to poetry and mysticism. In the 1950s he married and settled down in Tabrīz. Shahriyār died on 18 September 1988 in a Tehran hospital. His literary success came very early; already in 1931 a volume of collected poems was published with introductions by influential men of letters like M.T. Bahār, Pizhmān Bakhtiyār and S. Nafīsī. His *Dīwān* was repeatedly reprinted in amplified editions.

Shahriyār's work consists of lyrical poetry in various forms as well as a number of larger narrative compositions. Although he was essentially a neo-classical poet, there are frequent references to the modern world both in the choice of subjects and imagery. He was a great master of the traditional literary language, but also wrote in a simple contemporary idiom. Love poetry in the classical *ghazal* was his most important genre, which he revitalised with fresh psychological nuances and realistic settings, without changing much the formal rules and conventions. During a short period in the 1940s he tried his hand,

not without success, on modern poetical forms as they were propagated by his friend Nīmā Yūshīdj [*q.v.*], but soon he returned to classical prosody. In spite of his deep involvement in mysticism, he committed himself from time to time to political and social issues. During the Pahlawī period, he wrote nationalistic poems, like *Takht-i Djamshīd*, an evocation in a *mathnawī* of the ancient glory of Persia as symbolised by the ruins of Persepolis (*Dīwān*, 626-54). In *Ḳahramānān-i Istalingrād* he sang the praise of the heroes of the Red Army during the Second World War (*Dīwān*, 528-36). In many poems he expressed a great devotion to the Shīʿī imāms, especially during his later years. Shahriyār also gained renown as a poet in Azeri Turkish by the long poem *Ḥēyder Babaya selām* (part I, Tabrīz 1953, part II, Tabrīz 1966; Persian translation of the first part only, in *Dīwān*, 655 ff.), which celebrates the countryside of his youth.

Bibliography: *Kulliyyāt-i Dīwān-i Shahriyār*[6], n.p. n.d.; Sayyid Muḥammad-Bāḳir Burḳaʿī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1329 *sh.*/1950, 139-44; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 194-6; Ahmet Ateş, *Şehriyâr ve Haydar Babaya Selâm*, Ankara 1964, Nuṣrat Allāh Fatḥī, *Yādī az Shahriyār*, Tehran 1341 *sh.*/1964; F. Machalski, *La littérature de l'Iran contemporain*, ii, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967, 111-19; Muharrem Ergin, *Azeri Türkçesi*, Istanbul 1971, [2]1981 (with the text of *Ḥēyder Babaya selām* in Azeri Turkish and in the Turkish of Turkey); Sakina Berengian, *Azeri and Persian literary works in twentieth century Iranian Azerbaijan*, Berlin 1988; *Yādbūdnāma-yi Shahriyār*, in *Āyanda*, xv/6-9 (1368 *sh.*/1989), 626-33. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SHAHRIYĀR b. al-**ḤASAN**, an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* in Fārs and Kirmān, who lived during the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*]. Nothing is known about his life except the fact that he went to Yemen during the heyday of the Ṣulayḥid [*q.v.*] dynasty and was subsequently sent by al-Mukarram b. ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī as his envoy to Cairo, where he became acquainted with al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*]. An official letter of al-Mustanṣir (*al-Sidjillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid, Cairo 1954, 202; cf. H. Hamdani, *The letters of al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh*, in *BSOS*, vii (1934), 323-4) to al-Mukarram dated 15 Ramaḍān 461/1069, states: "As for your inquiry about Shahriyār b. Ḥasan, [we have to state that] al-Muʾayyad will deal with the matter as he sees fit." He is the author of the following treatises: refutation of those who deny the existence of the spiritual world; about the meaning of the verse of the Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 1 (composed in reply to a query by al-Sulṭān ʿĀmir b. Sulaymān al-Zawāḥī, a powerful dignitary at the Ṣulayḥid court of queen Arwā); and understanding [the meaning of] the prophets' sins.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 125-6.

(I. Poonawala)

SHĀHSEWAN (p. and Tkish.), literally, "Friend of the Shāh", a designation of certain groups in Persia since Ṣafawid times. The name originated in appeals by the early Ṣafawid Shāhs to personal loyalty and religious devotion to the dynasty. In the 20th century it is the name of a number of tribal groups located in various parts of north-western Persia, notably in the region of Mūghān [see mūḳān] and Ardabīl [*q.v.*], and in the Kharaḳān and Khamsa districts between Zandjān and Tehran. Most of, if not all the latter groups also came from Mūghān, where ancestors of the present Shāhsewan tribes were located some time between the 16th and the 18th centuries. The tribes of Mūghān and Ardabīl were formed into a confederacy during the 18th century. Their history since then is fairly well-documented, but their origins remain obscure.

The Shāhsewan pursued a pastoral nomadic way of life, wintering near sea-level on the Mūghān steppe and summering 100 miles or so to the south on the high pastures of the Sawalān and neighbouring ranges, in the districts of Ardabīl, Mishkīn and Sarāb. By the late 20th century, most Shāhsewan were settled villagers or townspeople and preserved little of their former tribal organisation or pastoral nomadic culture, but some 5-6,000 households (40,000 people) still lived a nomadic or semi-nomadic life. The Shāhsewan *el* (tribal confederacy) was loosely organised in a series of some 40 *ṭāyfa*s, "tribes", containing from as few as fifty to several hundred households. Shāhsewan nomads formed a minority of the population in this region, though like the settled majority, whom they knew as "Tāt" [*q.v.*], they were Shīʿī Muslims, and spoke Ādharbāydjānī Turkish.

(i) *Origins and history.*

Although the ancestors of several component tribes were of Kurdish or other origins, Turkic identity and culture were overwhelmingly dominant among the Shāhsewan. Many features of their culture and way of life were found among other Turkic groups in Persia and elsewhere, and they can often be traced to the Ghuzz [*q.v.*] tribes of Central Asia which invaded south-western Asia in the 11th century A.D.

There are three rather different versions of the origin of the Shāhsewan tribe or confederacy. The most widely known is that recounted by Sir John Malcolm in his *History of Persia* (1815): Shāh ʿAbbās I (1857-1929 [*q.v.*]) formed a special composite tribe of his own under the name of Shāhsewan, in order to counteract the turbulence of the rebellious Ḳïzïl-Bāsh [*q.v.*], who had helped his ancestor Shāh Ismāʿīl to found the Ṣafawid dynasty a century earlier. Vladimir Minorsky, in his article *Shāh-sewan* for *EI*[1], noted that "the known facts somewhat complicate Malcolm's story" and that the references in contemporary Ṣafawid chronicles did not amount to evidence that "a single regularly constituted tribe was ever founded by Shāh ʿAbbās under the name of Shāh-sewan." In later readings of Malcolm's account, the Shāhsewan appear as a personal corps or militia, a royal guard, and there is some evidence for the existence of a military corps named Shāhsewan in the mid-17th century. Recent research has failed to produce any documentation for Malcolm's story of Shāh ʿAbbās's formation of a tribe, and has shown how it was based on his misreading of the chronicles. Most historians, however, have adopted Malcolm's story, which has thus been assimilated through modern education into Iranian and even current Shāhsewan mythology. Among recent writers on the Ṣafawids, only a few acknowledge the doubts that have been expressed about Malcolm's story; some refrain from comment on Shāhsewan origins, others, while referring to Minorsky's and sometimes the present writer's previous investigations, nevertheless ignore the conclusions and reproduce the old myth as historical fact.

Minorsky drew attention to the writings of a number of Russians who recorded the traditions of the Shāhsewan of Mūghān with whom they were in contact towards the end of the 19th century. These traditions—which differ from but do not contradict Malcolm's story—vary in detail, but agree that Shāhsewan ancestors, led by one Yūnsür Pasha, immigrated from Anatolia; they present the Shāhsewan tribes as

ruled by *khāns* appointed as *el-beys* (paramount chiefs) descended from Yūnsür Pasha, and as divided between *bey-zāda* (nobles) and *hāmpā* or *rāyat* (commoners), and they refer to an original royal grant of the pasture lands of Ardabīl and Mūghān, and to the contemporary royal appointment of the chiefs. These legends, presumably originating with the nobles, thus legitimate their authority over the commoners, and their control of the pastures, the most important resource for all their nomad followers. The present author heard similar legends in the 1960s from descendants of former *el-beys*.

A third version of Shāhsewan origins, commonly articulated in the 20th century among ordinary tribespeople and in writings on them, states that the Shāhsewan are "32 tribes" (*otūz ikī ṭāyfā*), all of equal status, and each with its own independent *bey* or chief, and makes no mention of nobles or of *el-beys*. The basis of this story is obscure, but it may refer to the presumed origin of the Shāhsewan from among the 16-17th century Ḳizil-Bāsh tribes, which in several sources also numbered 32.

Contemporary sources record groups and individuals bearing the name Shāhsewan, often as a military title in addition to Ḳizil-Bāsh tribal names such as Afshār [*q.v.*] and Shāmlū (and Shāmlū components such as Beydili, Īnāllu, Adjirli), in Mūghān and Ardabīl in the late 17th century. Other prominent tribes in the region were the Ḳizil-Bāsh Takile/Tekeli, and the Kurdish Shaḳāḳī [*q.v.*] and Mūghānī/Mūghānlu. But there is no evidence of the formation of a unified Shāhsewan tribe or confederacy as such until the following century, in the time of Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*].

In the 1720s, with the rapid fall of the Ṣafawid dynasty to the Afghāns at Iṣfahān, and Ottoman and Russian invasions in north-western Persia, for several crucial years Mūghān and Ardabīl were at the meeting-point of three empires. Records for those years, the first that mention in any detail the activities of the Shāhsewan and other tribes of the region, depict them as loyal frontiersmen, struggling to resist the Ottoman invaders and to defend the Ṣafawid shrine city of Ardabīl, especially in the campaigns of 1726 and 1728. Ottoman armies crushed the Shaḳāḳī in Mishkīn in autumn 1728, and then in early 1729 cornered the other tribes in Mūghān. Leaving the Īnāllu and Afshār to surrender to the Ottomans, the Shāhsewan and Mūghānlu crossed the Kur river to Sālyān to take refuge with the Russians, under the leadership of ʿAlī-Ḳulu Khān Shāhsewan, a local landowner. They returned to Persian sovereignty in 1732, when Nādir Afshār recovered the region. Thereafter, he appears to have formed the Shāhsewan into a unified and centralised confederacy under Badr Khān, one of his generals in the Khurāsān and Turkistān campaigns. Possibly a son of ʿAlī-Ḳulu Khān, Badr Khān is linked by 19th-century legends with Yūnsür Pasha, and there is strong evidence that Badr Khān's family, the Sārī-khānbeyli, were from the Afshārs of Urmiya. Former *beyzāda* (noble) tribes such as Ḳodjabeyli, ʿĪsālu, Bālābeyli, Mast-ʿAlībeyli, ʿAlībābālu, Polātlu and Damīrcīlī, traced cousinship with the Sārī-khānbeylī Afshār, whereas many commoner tribes bear names indicating Shāmlū origins.

The Shaḳāḳī, Īnāllu and Afshār from Mūghān who had been defeated by the Ottomans were probably among the numerous tribes whom Nādir exiled to his metropolitan province, Khurāsān. After his death (1747), the Shaḳāḳī returned to settle around Miyāna, Sarāb and Khalkhāl, and the Īnāllu and Afshār (both now bearing the name Shāhsewan too) to the Kharaḳān, Khamsa and Ṭārīm regions south and south-west of Ardabīl. One of Nādir's assassins, Mūsā Bey Shāhsewan, was apparently from the Afshār who settled in Ṭārīm.

In the turbulent decades after Nādir's death, Badr Khān's son (or brother?) Naẓar ʿAlī Khān Shāhsewan governed the city and district of Ardabīl. Towards the end of the 18th century the Sārī-khānbeylī family split, dividing the Shāhsewan confederacy into two, associated with the districts of Ardabīl and Mishkīn. Shāhsewan *khāns* participated actively in the political rivalries and alliances of the time, with the semi-independent neighbouring *khāns* of Ḳara Dāgh, Ḳara Bāgh, Ḳubba, Sarāb and Gīlān, the Afshār, Afghān, Zand and Ḳādjār tribal rulers of Persia, and agents and forces of the Russian Empire.

Under the early Ḳādjārs, two wars with Russia raged across Shāhsewan territory and resulted in the Russian conquest of the best part of their winter quarters in Mūghān, and considerable movements of tribes southwards. The *khāns* of Ardabīl, notably Nadhr ʿAlī Khān's(?) nephew Faradj Allāh Khān and grandson, also called Nadhr ʿAlī Khān, despite deposition from the governorship in 1808, generally supported the Ḳādjār régime; their cousins and rivals, the *khāns* of Mishkīn, especially ʿAṭāʾ Khān and his brother Shukür Khān, accommodated the Russian invaders.

For some decades after the Treaty of Turkmančāy (1828), Russia permitted Shāhsewan nomads limited access to their former pasturelands in Mūghān; but they failed to observe the limitations. The Russians wished to develop their newly-acquired territories, and for this and other more strategic reasons found Shāhsewan disorder on the frontier a convenient excuse for bringing moral and political pressure to bear on the Persian government, insisting that they restrain or settle the "lawless" nomads. Persian government policy towards the tribes varied from virtual abdication of authority to predatory punitive expeditions, and an attempt in 1860-1 at wholesale settlement.

The mid-19th century is the first period for which there is any detailed information on Shāhsewan tribal society; the main sources are the reports of Russian officials, especially Mūghān Frontier Commissioner (from 1869) I.A. Ogranovič and the Tabrīz Consul-General E. Krebel, though British Consul-General Keith Abbott is also informative. By the time of the Russian conquest of Mūghān, most of the Ardabīl tribes, like their *khāns*, were already settled. Despite the settlement of 1860-1 and the famine and bad winters of 1870-2, most of the Mishkīn tribes remained nomadic and their *el-beys* active, especially ʿAṭāʾ Khān's son Fardī Khān (*el-bey* until 1880) and his son ʿAlī-Ḳulu Khān (until 1903), but they too had settled bases and in their turn lost overall control of the tribes. No longer a unified confederacy with a dynastic central leadership, Shāhsewan tribal structure reformed on new principles. Clusters of dependent tribes formed around the new élite of warrior *beys* of the Ḳodjabeylī (notably Nūr Allāh Bey), ʿĪṣālu, Ḥādj-khodjālu and Geyikli in Mishkīn, and the Polātlu and Yortči in Ardabīl. A shifting pattern of rivalries and alliances extended into neighbouring regions, involving the powerful *beys* of the Alārlu of Udjārūd (who soon came to be counted as Shāhsewan), the Shatrānlu (an offshoot of the Shaḳāḳī) of Khalkhāl, and the Čalabīānlu and Ḥādj-ʿAlīlī of Ḳara Dāgh.

The Russian frontier in Mūghān was finally closed to the Shāhsewan in 1884. Although the winter pasturelands in Persia were redistributed among the tribes, the region of Mūghān and Ardabīl and the nomads confined there underwent a drastic social and eco-

nomic upheaval, whose causes were to be found not simply in the closure but also the behaviour of administrative officials. The S̲h̲āhsewan, numbering over 10,000 families, for nearly four decades were virtually independent of central government. Although some, such as Mūg̲h̲ānlu, the largest tribe of all, pursued their pastoral life peacefully as best they could, for most nomads life was dominated by insecurity and the increasing banditry and vendettas by the warriors of the chiefly retinues; the period was known as *k̲h̲ān-k̲h̲ānlīk̲h̲* or *as̲h̲rārlīk̲h̲*, the time of the independent *k̲h̲āns* or rebels.

Russian officials give a detailed and depressing picture of the upheaval, though without appreciating or admitting the degree to which Russian imperialism and 19th-century rivalry with Britain were largely responsible for both the frontier situation and the abuses of the Persian administration. V. Markov, concerned only to justify Russian actions and their benefits to the inhabitants of Russian Mūg̲h̲ān, having narrated in detail the events leading up to the closure, does not consider its effects on the Persian side. L.N. Artamonov, however, who visited the region to make a military-geographical study in November 1889, a year after Markov, was shocked at the poverty and oppression of the peasantry and the obvious distress and disorder suffered by the nomads as a result of the closure; his observations were mainly of the Mis̲h̲kīn tribes. In 1903, Col. L.F. Tigranov of the Russian General Staff carried out an investigation of the region and published an informative and perceptive account of the economic and social conditions of the Ardabīl province and of the nomad and settled S̲h̲āhsewan. The detailed reports of Artamonov and Tigranov, although clearly to an extent influenced by political bias, are corroborated by other sources, including accounts recorded by the present writer among elderly S̲h̲āhsewan in the early 1960s.

The S̲h̲āhsewan tribes reached the heydey of their power and influence in the first decades of the 20th century. They were involved in various important events in this critical period of the Constitutional Revolution [see DUSTŪR. iv] and the years leading to the rise of Riḍā K̲h̲ān. In spring 1908, border incidents involving S̲h̲āhsewan tribesmen and Russian frontier guards provided the Russians with a pretext for military intervention in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān on a scale which hastened the fall of the Constitutionalist government in Tehran. During the winter of 1908-9, a few S̲h̲āhsewan joined the Royalist forces besieging Tabrīz. In late 1909, while the new Nationalist government struggled to establish control of the country, most of the S̲h̲āhsewan *beys* joined Raḥīm K̲h̲ān Čalabīānlu of Ḳara Dāg̲h̲ and Amīr ʿAs̲h̲āyir S̲h̲atrānlu of K̲h̲alk̲h̲āl in a union of tribes of eastern Ad̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, proclaiming opposition to the Constitution and the intention of marching on Tehran and restoring the deposed Muḥammad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]. They plundered Ardabīl, receiving wide coverage in the European press, but were defeated soon after by Nationalist forces from Tehran under Yeprem K̲h̲ān. Subsequent S̲h̲āhsewan harrying of Russian occupying forces at Ardabīl led to a major campaign against them in 1912 by 5,000 troops under General Fidarov, who after many reverses succeeded in rounding up most of the tribes and depriving them of half their property. Despite this catastrophe, remembered in the 1960s as *bölgī īlī*, the year of division, S̲h̲āhsewan warriors continued their guerrilla resistance. During World War One, they were wooed in turn by Russian, Turkish and British forces. Until the restoration of central government authority under Riḍā K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*], the S̲h̲āhsewan *beys* usually controlled the region, pursuing their local ambitions and rivalries, focused on the city of Ardabīl and smaller urban centres, and uniting only to oppose Bolshevik incursions in 1920 and 1921. Prominent among the *beys* (those of Ḳara Dāg̲h̲, Sarāb and K̲h̲alk̲h̲āl were now generally talked of as S̲h̲āhsewan too) were Bahrām Ḳod̲j̲abeyli, Amīr Aslān ʿĪṣālu, D̲j̲awād Ḥād̲j̲-k̲h̲od̲j̲ālu, Ḥād̲j̲ Farad̲j̲ Geyikli, Nad̲j̲af-ḳulū Alārlu, Amīr Ars̲h̲ad Ḥād̲j̲-ʿAlīli, Naṣr Allāh Yortči, Amīr ʿAs̲h̲āyir S̲h̲atrānlu, and his sister ʿAzamat K̲h̲ānum, leader of the Polātlu.

During the winter and spring of 1922-3, the S̲h̲āhsewan were among the first of the major tribal groups to be pacified and disarmed by Riḍā K̲h̲ān's army. Under the Pahlavīs, the tribes were at first integrated within the new nation-state as equal units under recognised and loyal *beys*; they then suffered economic and social destitution (though less than some other groups in Persia) as a result of the enforced settlement of the 1930s. In the 1940s they resumed pastoral nomadism and revived a loose, decentralised, tribal confederacy, causing trouble to the Soviet occupation forces and the subsequent Democrat régime of 1946. A disastrous winter in 1949 led to the construction of an irrigation scheme in the Mūg̲h̲ān steppe; settlement of the nomads remained an axiom of government policy. From 1960 on, a series of measures broke down the tribal organisation, while pastoralism suffered a sharp decline: the *beys* were dismissed, and the S̲h̲āh's Land Reform not only deprived many *beys* of their power base but nationalised the range-lands and opened them to outsiders. Forced to apply for permits for their traditional pastures, and increasingly using trucks in place of camels for their migrations, the pastoralists were drawn into national and wider economic and political structures. More extensive irrigation networks were constructed in Mūg̲h̲ān, and the promotion of agro-industry there in the 1970s seemed likely to provide settled bases for most if not all the nomads.

The Islamic Revolution of 1978-9 was largely an urban phenomenon, and S̲h̲āhsewan nomads themselves played little part. Settled tribespeople did participate in events in towns such as Mis̲h̲kīn-S̲h̲ahr and in strikes at the Agro-Industry Company in Mūg̲h̲ān, and there were a number of S̲h̲āhsewan "martyrs". A few former *beys* were killed, others went into exile. The S̲h̲āhsewan were officially renamed "Elsewan", literally "those who love the people (or tribe)", but they themselves never accepted the new name, and by 1992 it was no longer widely used officially. Pastoral nomadism experienced a modest revival among the S̲h̲āhsewan, as elsewhere in Persia, such that in the Socio-Economic Census of Nomads of 1986 the S̲h̲āhsewan nomads numbered nearly 6,000 families, as they had around 1960. At the same time, settlement has continued, following the inexorable spread of various government-supported developments, notably the agro-industrial schemes started in Mūg̲h̲ān under the last S̲h̲āh. In the mid-1990s, with extensive encroachments on S̲h̲āhsewan pasturelands in both Mūg̲h̲ān and the mountains, pastoral nomadism did not seem likely to survive much longer.

(ii) *Economic and social organisation of the Mūg̲h̲ān S̲h̲āhsewan.*

Apart from their frontier location and history, the S̲h̲āhsewan differ from other nomadic tribal groups in Persia in various aspects of their culture and social and economic organisation. Most distinctive is their dwelling, the hemispherical, felt-covered *ālāčīg̲h̲*. In each *ālāčīg̲h̲* lives a household of, on average, seven to eight people. In the 1960s, groups of three to five

closely related nomad households co-operated in an *obā*, a herding unit that camped on its own in the mountain pastures between June and early September, but joined with one or two others to form a winter camp of 10 to 15 households during the period November to April. Two or three such winter camps, linked by agnatic ties between the male household heads as a *göbak* "navel" or descent group, would form a *tira*, tribal section. The *göbak/tira* was usually also a *djāmāhāt* (from Ar. *djamāʿa*) community, which moved and camped as a unit during the autumn migration in October and the spring migration in May, and performed many religious ceremonies jointly. Every group, from herding unit to community, was led by a recognised *āḳ sāḳāl*, "grey-beard" or elder. The *ṭāyfā* or tribe, comprising from two to over 20 *tira* sections, was a larger community, members of which felt themselves different in subtle ways from members of other *ṭāyfās*, and few contacts, and only one in ten marriages, were made between *ṭāyfās*. After the abolition of the *beys*, the government attempted to deal directly with the *tiras* and their *āḳ sāḳāls*; as a result, the "grey-beard" was often a younger man from the wealthiest family in the community, with the skills and resources to deal with the authorities. But the *ṭāyfā* continued to be important, and remained the main element in Shāhsewan identity, nomadic or settled.

Perhaps the most important feature distinguishing the Shāhsewan from other nomadic tribal groups in Persia was their system of grazing rights. Where other nomads operated some version of communal access to grazing, the Shāhsewan developed an unusual system whereby individual pastoralists inherited, bought or rented known proportions of the grazing rights to specific pastures, though in practice members of an *obā* would exploit their rights jointly. This system was invalidated by the nationalisation of the pastures in the 1960s, but still operates clandistinely.

Shāhsewan nomads traditionally raised flocks of sheep and goats, the former for milk and milk products, wool, and meat, the latter only in small numbers mainly as flock leaders. Camels, donkeys, and horses were used for transport. Most families raised chickens for eggs and meat, and a few kept cows. Every family had several fierce dogs, for guarding the home and the animals against thieves and predators. Bread was their staple food. Some nomads had relatives in villages, with whom they co-operated in a dual economy, sharing or exchanging pastoral for agricultural produce. Most, however, had to sell milk, wool and surplus animals to tradesmen in order to obtain wheat flour and other supplies. Some worked as hired shepherds, paid 5% of the animals they tended for every six-month contract period. Others went to towns and villages seasonally for casual wage-labour. Every camp was visited most days by itinerant pedlars, but householders went on shopping expeditions to town at least twice a year, for example during the migrations. Most purchases were made on credit, against the next season's pastoral produce. The wealthiest nomads raised flocks of sheep commercially, and owned shares in village lands as absentee landlords.

Women too had their elders, *āḳ birčak* "grey hairs", comparable to male *āḳ sāḳāls* and consulted privately by them; among the women they exercised their influence in public, at feasts attended by guests from a wide range of communities. At feasts, men and women were segregated. While the men enjoyed music and other entertainment, in the women's tent the *āḳ birčaks* discussed matters of importance to both men and women, such as marriage arrangements, disputes, irregular behaviour among community members or broader subjects bearing on economic and political affairs. Opinions were formed and decisions made, which were then spread as the women returned home and told their menfolk and friends. This unusual information network among the women served a most important function for the society as a whole.

Shāhsewan women produced a variety of colourful and intricate flatwoven rugs, storage bags and blankets, and some knotted pile carpets, but these were all for domestic use, and figured prominently in girls' trousseaux on marriage. After about 1970, however, the international Oriental Carpet trade recognised that a whole category of what had previously been regarded as "Kurdish" or "Caucasian" tribal weavings were in fact the product of Shāhsewan nomads. Meanwhile, hard times and escalating prices forced many nomads to dispose of items never intended for sale. Since the Islamic Revolution, however, Shāhsewan weavers have increasingly produced for the foreign market, adjusting their styles accordingly.

(iii) *The Shāhsewan of Kharaḳān and Khamsa.*

In the 19th century there were five major Shāhsewan groups in these regions: Īnāllu, Baghdādī, Ḳurtbeyli, Duwayran and Afshār-Duwayran. These descend from groups moved from Mūghān in the 18th century, except for the Baghdādī, who have a separate history: Nādir Shāh Afshār brought them from northern ʿIrāḳ (Kirkūk) to Khurāsān, and later they joined Karīm Khān Zand in Shīrāz before being brought to their present location (Sāwa and Kharāḳān by Agha Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār). Most of these tribes were settled by 1900; the Īnāllu and Baghdādī provided important military contingents for the Ḳādjār army (Tapper, *The king's friends*, Appendix 2).

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On Shāhsewan dwellings, see P. Andrews, *Alachikh and küme: the felt tents of Azarbaijan*, in R. Graefe and P. Andrews, *Geschichte des Konstruierens*, iii (Konzepte SFB 230, Heft 28), Stuttgart 1987, 49-135.

On Shāhsewan textiles, see Jenny Housego, *Tribal rugs: an introduction to the weaving of the tribes of Iran*, London 1978; Siyawosch Azadi and P. Andrews, *Mafrash*, Berlin 1985; Parviz Tanavoli, *Shahsavan: Iranian rugs and textiles*, New York 1985.

(R. Tapper)

SHAʿĪR (a.), barley (*Hordeum* L., Gramineae family, the Arabic term being applied to several different species), one of the major cereals cultivated throughout the Middle East from earliest times. Mediaeval medical texts classify it among the numerous "grains" (*ḥubūb*, which, naturally, included wheat but also pulses like lentils and beans) which, in bread preparation, formed an essential part of the diet of all but the most well-off of the population. The semantic association between bread (of whatever substance), sustenance, and life itself is found in several Semitic vocabularies. Even if more widely consumed than the scarcer (and hence more expensive) and less hardy wheat cereal, barley was judged less nourishing than wheat. The term occurs in the Traditions, suggesting its use both in the baking of inexpensive bread as well as in other popular dishes like *khaṭīfa, talbīna, tharīd* and *sawīḳ* [see ghidhāʾ].

By nature it was said to be moderately cold and dry (in contrast to wheat, which was hot and moist), which made it suitable for persons of hot complexion in summer, or with a fever. Hence medical opinion held that barley bread was also convenient for young persons but not for the elderly. The medical texts describe the benefits of certain barley preparations: flour, or barley water applied to the skin was said to remove blemishes as well as providing protection against leprosy. A preparation of barley and milk (called *kishk*) was an antidote to fever, and washing the body with it opened the pores, a treatment also for exhaustion and for travellers. Barley water had the properties of a diuretic and emenagogue. Barley *sawīḳ* was good for fever.

These and other preparations are also found in the mediaeval cookbooks as purely food for pleasure. One barley water recipe is designated especially for Ramaḍān. Barley flour was also the chief ingredient in the famous condiment *murrī*. A recipe for the beverage *fuḳḳāʿ* (apparently intended to be alcoholic) employs barley flour, while in another similar preparation it is advised against as being harmful; it was also used in the popular drink *aḳsimāʾ* and in the condiment of pickled garlic. Finally, a recommended means of preventing bunches of grapes from rotting is to bury them in barley.

Bibliography: Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī, *K. al-Aghdhiya*, facs. ed., Frankfurt 1986, ii, 61-78; Ibn al-Ḳuff al-Karakī, *Djāmiʿ al-gharaḍ fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa wa dafʿ al-maraḍ*, ed. S. Hamarneh, Amman 1989; *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*, ed. M. Marín and D. Waines, Bibliotheca Islamica, xl, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993, index; D. Waines, *Cereals, bread and society*, in *JESHO*, xxx/3 (1987), 255-85; idem, *Murrī: the tale of a condiment*, in *Al-Qantara*, xii/2 (1991), 371-88.

(D. Waines)

SHĀʿIR (a.), poet.

1. In the Arab world
   A. Pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods
   B. From the ʿAbbāsid period to the *Nahḍa* [see Suppl.]
   C. From 1850 to the present day
   D. In Muslim Spain
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1. In the Arab world.

A. Pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods.

Among those endowed with knowledge and with power in ancient Arabia stands the figure of the *shāʿir*, whose role is often confused with that of the *ʿarrāf* (*shaʿara* and *ʿarafa* having the same semantic value: cf. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i, 3 ff.) and of the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]. They were credited with the same source of inspiration, the djinns (Goldziher, *Die Ǧinnen der Dichter*, in *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 685 ff.). However, the *shāʿir* was, originally, the repository of magical rather than divinatory knowledge; his speech and his rhythms were directed towards enchantment. *Hidjāʾ* and *rithāʾ*, satire and elegy respectively, were the primordial expressions of his magical power (T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 117, where, under n. 4, the principal references are to be found).

Like the *kāhin*, the *shāʿir* "guided the tribe on the ways of booty and of war". Both of them "advised, arbitrated, judged, decided, to the extent that, either their roles were blended with that of the tribal chieftain or they became the latter's advisers, flatterers or instigators" (*ibid.*). Their functions often coincided with that of the *khaṭīb* (Goldziher, *Der Chaṭīb bei den altern Arabern*, in *WZKM*, vi [1892], 97-102, summarised in French in *Arabica*, vii [1960], 16-18).

Kāhin and *shāʿir* expressed themselves in *sadjʿ* and in *radjaz* [*q.vv.*], a rhythmic style originally used for the enunciation of the oracle of the *kāhin* and for the chanting of verses of the *shāʿir* at the head of a column of troops setting out for war. The two functions, united at the outset, became progressively differentiated, as their sources of inspiration diversified. Thus *radjaz* was the basis of secular poetry and *sadjʿ* remained the mode of expression of the *kāhin*. This distinction appears clearly in Ḳurʾān, LXIX, 40-3 (cf. LXXXI, 19-25), where the text reads: "This is the word of a respected Prophet and is not that of a poet (*shāʿir*), men of little faith; nor is it that of a soothsayer (*kāhin*), men of little memory. It is a revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Master of the Universe" (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 156, 64).

The functions of the *kāhin* and the *shāʿir* were frequently assumed by the *sayyid* [*q.v.*]. This resulted from the fact that "in the Central Arabia of the 6th century, a *sayyid* was chosen who, among the members of the tribe, was distinguished by his qualities of elocution, of decision and of persuasion. The desert Arab was determined to defend his liberty and would only be induced to submit to the chief's authority through reasoning and conviction; furthermore, the *sayyid* was entrusted with no powers of coercion and his prerogatives were limited. His prestige depended on his ability to influence his fellow-tribesmen with wisdom, with prudence, with informed advice, on his connections with the chiefs of neighbouring tribes, on his wealth and generosity" (*ibid.*, 118-19).

The first reference to the role of the *shāʿir* in the tribe is found in the *Ecclesiastical history* by Sozomenus (vi, 38, ll. 1-9), who was writing between 443 and 450. This author, born in a small village near Gaza, takes up what had previously been written by Rufinus, a contemporary of St. Jerome, who completed the *Church history* by Eusebius of Caesarea and translated it into Latin after 402, and Socrates, another historian of the Church (*Ecc. hist.*, iv, 36, ll. 1-12). These authors speak of a "queen of the Saracen tribe (Arabs)" (*saracenorum gentis regina*), called Mawia, who led a stub-

born war against the Romans on the borders of Palestine and Arabia (*vehementi bello Palaestini et Arabi limitis*/var. *limites*), defeated them and imposed her conditions on Valens (Emperor 364-78). According to Sozomenus, Mawia, widow of a chieftain killed in battle, played a very important role at the head of her tribe. After repudiating the accords (σπονδαί) concluded between her husband and the Romans, which were followed by excessive taxation demands, she set out to raid villages between Palestine and Egypt. Her victories and her courage were celebrated among the Arab tribes with popular songs (ᾠδαί). These songs were adaptations of poems in *radjaz* (see on this subject F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, iii, Berlin 1966, 101 ff.; Fahd, *Mawia et Ḍudjʿum aw al-ʿArab wa ʾl-Rūmān fī awākhir al-karn al-rābiʿ*, in *Actes du Congrès International sur l'histoire de Bilād al-Shām*, ʿAmmān 1983). The connections which have always linked song and poetry are well known (cf. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 357 ff.). It is also well known that poetic talent was widely distributed among both nomadic and sedentary Arabs (*ibid.*, 331 ff.).

Poets may be divided into two categories: the poet of the tribe and the poet of the court.

i. *The poet of the tribe.*

In a series of concisely written pages (*ibid.*, 238 ff.), R. Blachère has painted a vivid and very detailed portrait of this poet, the heir to a prestigious tradition. He is the quintessence of his tribal group, to which he is viscerally attached, even when he breaks his links with the latter (as in the case of the *ṣaʿālīk* or outlaws); as the spokesman of this group he participates in the essential manifestations of collective life (festivities, battles, delegations, etc.).

His verbal talents sometimes lead him to take on the role of *sayyid* (as in the case of Ibn ʿAdjlān among the Nahd, Zuhayr b. Djanāb among the Kalb, Muhalhil b. ʿAdī, ʿAmr b. Kulthūm and Durayd b. al-Ṣimma among the Djusham, Bisṭām b. Ḳays among the Shaybān, Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra among the Dārim, Mālik b. Nuwayra among the Thaʿlaba, al-Mukhabbal among the Tamīm, ʿAwf b. ʿAṭiyya among the Taym, Ḥātim and Zayd al-Khayl among the Ṭayyiʾ, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās among the Sulaym, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl among the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib and ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Ṣalāʾa among the Madhhidj, Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ among the Aws, Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf among the Naḍīr, etc.). Such talents enhance the prestige of the entire group. "The biographical accounts teem with anecdotes where the poet manifests himself by means of his incomparable renown and the unique power of his speech. Such an image could not be an imaginary invention. It must have corresponded to observed facts" (*ibid.*, 338).

We have here a being passionately devoted to the cause of his clan; he espouses its conflicts, he attacks its enemies, he replies to invectives (*hidjāʾ*) of which it is the object, he praises its past and present glories, he is the repository of its achievements. "Poetry", the caliph ʿUmar was supposedly told, "is the *dīwān* (the register, the memory) of the Arabs". Poets and poetesses often contributed to victory, with their presence at the head of armies, and to the comfort of survivors, with praise of the courage and valour displayed by those who had fallen in the course of the battle.

His public—it is hard to imagine him without a public—consists of his family and of his tribe, a whole world which "places its hopes in him, urges him on in his contests, praises him when he wins, turns to others when his inadequacies endanger the honour of the group" (*ibid.*, 339). His source of inspiration is found in his public, but this does not prevent him withdrawing into himself and expressing his own opinions and his disappointments regarding the human condition (for a selection of verses of this type, cf. Fahd, *L'homme vu par les poètes préislamiques*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, x [Venice 1992], 3-19). A tribe without a poet of renown was considered inferior (as was the case of the Murād and the Khathʿam). It was usually in the context of fairs, generally organised in the vicinity of pilgrimage routes, the most celebrated being ʿUkāẓ and Dhu ʾl-Madjāz near Mecca, that poetic competitions were held between tribes or between poets of the same tribe. "These competitions could exert the same attraction as duels: a day was appointed, the participants arrived in their finest garments, mounted on sumptuously appointed beasts; the audience formed a circle round them and, at the conclusion of the contest, congratulated the winner" (Blachère, *op. cit.*, 341).

The foregoing account constitutes the permanent core of the conception which may be held of the poet of the tribe. This core will be found in a more or less explicit fashion throughout the periods of evolution of the function of the poet in Arab society, as the latter glides imperceptibly from nomadism to sedentarisation, by way of a long period of semi-sedentarisation.

ii. *The poet of the court.*

Attracted by the glamour of urban or semi-urban society, the nomad poet, without leaving his group and without renouncing its defence, attached himself to a patron whose panegyrist he became, at the risk of losing a part of his liberty and sometimes his life. Becoming peripatetic, he had occasion to transfer his allegiance from one patron to another (as in the cases of al-Mutalammis, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and Ḥassān b. Thābit). Lakhmids and Ghassānids competed in the collection of poets (as in the case of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, Ṭarafa, al-Aʿshā Maymūn, Abū Zubayd b. Ḥarmala b. al-Mundhir, al-Ḥuṭayʾa, etc.): they demanded of them that they celebrate their achievements and their munificence in long poems. Generous towards those poets whom they considered the best, they could be cruel and despotic towards the others. The poets who frequented their courts brought with them their tribal quarrels; "their fury was fanned there by the game of covetousness, of personal quarrels, of sentimental intrigues, of the vanity peculiar to the *genus irritabile poetarum*" (cf. the quarrel of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and al-Munakhkhal, *ibid.*, 299, 346).

Poetic circles were formed around Ghassānid and Lakhmid phylarchs at Djillīḳ in the vicinity of Damascus and at Ḥīra (around ʿAdī b. Zayd), by means of which Bedouin poetry began a process of evolution in contact with Syro-Mesopotamian civilisation. "At Ḥīra the personality of the poet was forged in the form in which it was to flourish at Baṣra or at Kūfa when ʿIrāḳ became the intellectual centre of Arabo-Islamic civilisation" (*ibid.*, 347).

iii. *The poet (of the tribe and of the court) after the advent of Islam.*

Following the disappearance of the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids, the poet of the court returned to his role as poet of the tribe, confronted by the hostility of nascent Islam towards poetry, considered decadent and a survival of Arab paganism. Dubbed a "djinn-inspired poet" by his Meccan adversaries (Ḳurʾān, XXI, 5; XXVI, 224-28, XXXVII, 35-36; LII, 29; etc.), Muḥammad denounced poets and poetry. As a result of this, the production of poetry declined. However, on arriving in Medina, he was unable to ignore the effective instrument of propaganda constituted by poetry. In the manner of a *sayyid*, he took

into his service an eminent poet who had been a protégé of the Ghassānids and of the Lakhmids, Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], who became his accredited panegyrist. Other poets rallied around the founder of Islam, seen as a head of state unlike any other in the Arab world (as in the case of Kaʿb b. Mālik, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, Abū Ḳays b. al-Aṣlat, Bashīr b. Saʿd); others opposed him at the cost of their lives (as in the case of the Jewish poet of Medina Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf and others).

Under the first four caliphs, there was a gradual return to the appreciation of poetry, on condition that it upheld a certain ethic (*makārim al-akhlāḳ*). The poet Suḥaym was put to death, under ʿUmar, on account of his amorous escapades. This was not unaccompanied by a degree of embarrassment, "a sort of bad conscience paving the way for a process of rehabilitation" (*ibid.*, 355). Some went so far as to show the Prophet allowing improvisation and even improvising himself on the *radjaz* metre (al-Bukhārī, ed. Cairo, iv, 51) or reciting a fragment from a pagan poet (*ibid.*, iv, 52).

It was in the Umayyad period that the poet was to regain his place in his tribal group and as client of numerous patrons, caliphs, governors and prosperous merchants enriched by the wealth accruing from the tide of conquests. This was the age of prestigious poets such as al-Akhṭal, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. In accordance with the attachment of the Umayyad princes to Bedouin tradition, the poet returned to his original function as representative of his tribe and champion of its interests. He spoke of its past, of its glories, of its merits, either in eulogistic poems addressed to his patrons, or in contests of *fakhr* (boasting) or *hidjāʾ* (satire) in which he engaged with his rivals. All this was done with the aim of gaining credit for himself or for his tribe in the estimation of the one who was the subject of the eulogy. The poet of the court, in the terms previously described, was superseded by the poet of the tribe, even though his role was essentially played in the court. The vast majority of the poets who achieved eminence in this period were natives of the desert; throughout their careers, they remained in close contact with their tribes, to which they returned after the completion of their tasks in the court and in the presence of their patrons. Al-Akhṭal, a Christian of the great tribal confederation of the Taghlib, began with the celebration of local *sayyids* in the region of Kūfa. His career as "cantor of the Umayyads" started when Yazīd I, still the heir presumptive, commissioned him to satirise the Anṣār of Medina who claimed to be of "Yemeni" descent; he unleashed a poetical campaign which was to earn him vehement ripostes on the part of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr and al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī. Thus he found himself embroiled in the perpetual dispute between the Arabs of the South (Yemenis) and Arabs of the North (Ḳaysīs), the dispute which was to wreak such damage in all the phases of Arab history.

For his part, Djarīr also began his career with his tribe (the Tamīm); throughout his life, he remained attached to his ancestral desert, the Yamāma, returning to it after brief periods in Baṣra or in Damascus; he, too, was the spokesman of the Ḳaysīs against the Yemenis. Al-Farazdaḳ (also of the Tamīm), born like Djarīr in the Yamāma, began his career as a tribal poet, then served a number of patrons before succeeding in becoming official poet of the court, under the reign of al-Walīd I. It was in Baṣra that he spent the major part of his life; it was also there that he died.

Not one of these three poets resided in the caliphal court at Damascus. While politico-religious controversies (Ḳaysīs and Yemenis, Sunnīs and Shīʿīs) appear in their eulogistic and satirical poems, there is no echo to be found there of the life of the court. The sumptuous palaces of Damascus could not make them forget the desert in which they had been brought up; their poetic art, which is that of the great poets of pre-Islam, bears witness to this.

Hence the poet of the Umayyad period remained in the service of his tribe, like his predecessor in the pre-Islamic era. But his audience had changed. Conquests had fragmented the tribes and caused the proliferation of urban centres, colonised by segments of peninsular tribes; it was in these "colonies" that young poets were accepted and helped to make their way in this evolving society. The poet, usually of modest background, sought to exploit his art as a means of acquiring wealth and distinction. On the way he encountered rivals and competitors, and also risked making deadly enemies. Hence the important role of *hidjāʾ* in this period (in particular between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ). There would also be instances where he was caught in a vice between his ancestral group and the central or local power; it was then incumbent on him to attempt to serve the interests of both (for example, al-Farazdaḳ reminding the caliph of the support given him by the Tamīm at the time of the suppression of the Yemenis, in revolt at the instigation of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Blachère, 544 n. 4). There were instances where the poet refused to submit and appealed to his group for assistance; then, following a trivial incident, the issue grew in importance and "fire engulfed the tribe" (for example: a Sulamī poet, insulted by al-Akhṭal in the presence of the caliph, left in fury and incited his people to attack the Taghlib, *ibid.*, 544 n. 6).

Two factors contributed greatly to the popularity of the poets in the Umayyad period. On the one hand, the large number of patrons emerging from the governmental and military aristocracy, enriched by the acquisition of large estates (as in the case of Djunayd, governor of Sind, eulogised by Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ); on the other, the return of the same aristocracy to its desert origins and to the chivalrous values of its ancestors. Also, panegyric (*madḥ*) and glorification (*fakhr*) occupied an important place in the poetry of this period.

From the point of view of the court, the poet was considered to be "an auxiliary of the central power and a link with the peninsular world, the upheavals in which should not be ignored" (*ibid.*, 546); he was "an element, if not permanent then at least influential", of the court. His talent, initially exploited politically under the Marwānids, was ultimately recognised in artistic terms, from the time of al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15 [*q.v.*]), himself a poet. For this caliph, the art of versification was not only a recreation; it was also "the instrument of expression of the 'self' and the source of intense emotions" (*ibid.*, 548).

The governors of provinces (Ziyād, al-Ḥadjdjādj, Khālid al-Ḳasrī, etc.) also employed poets for their propaganda, keeping them in a state of dependence as a means of avoiding conflict. Those opposed to the Umayyad régime themselves had recourse to the talents of poets (al-Aʿshā of the Hamdān paid with his life for his attachment to Ibn al-Ashʿath); numerous poets supported al-Muhallab as a supporter of the régime; others applauded his son Yazīd when he rebelled against the caliphal authority, but abandoned him immediately after his defeat. The same applied to the secessionist Zubayrids.

In this way the Umayyad poet, like the poet of the tribe in the pre-Islamic period, served the cause of his tribe and the politics which it espoused. Among the poets of the time, two themes often appear in their *dīwāns*; the quarrel between Ḳaysīs and Yemenis and the taking of sides in the conflict then in progress between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ. The dominant ideology remained the tribal affiliation which linked the two generations, that of pre-Islam and that of the Umayyad period.

An exception to this dominant current is constituted by the poetical school of the Ḥidjāz. The very rigid society which had formed in the urban centres of the region (Mecca, Medina and Ṭāʾif) under the first four caliphs, allowed no place for the poet, still regarded as representing the customs of pre-Islamic times and denounced by the Prophet. But as a result of the wealth which abounded in these cities, on account of the conquests and of the isolation in which they had lived for ten years, following the uprising of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, a perceptible evolution of customs and behavior led towards a sophisticated society in which song and poetry, favoured and cultivated by new patrons, underwent a striking development. Thus the poet was once again in service. But, remote from the centre of power and from tribal quarrels, he devoted himself to renewing an almost forgotten ancestral lyricism. So a type of literal "romanticism" was born, the hero being the poet himself, an amorous poet, deprived of his loved one on account of the rigidity of tribal morals (as in the cases of Ḳays b. Dharīḥ, Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman, Madjnūn and Djamīl). Thus the poet became a character of romance.

A certain degree of female emancipation is evident in this period. Some women enjoyed a social promotion such that they were enabled to maintain literary "salons" and to receive poets (as in the case of ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Ṭalḥa, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr, the first caliph; Zaynab, daughter of Muʿayḳib; Zaynab, daughter of Mūsā; and most notably, Thurayyā, daughter of a wealthy family of Ṭāʾif, and Sukayna, grand-daughter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the fourth caliph). These women exerted considerable influence over the poets who entertained them, in particular, over ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Kuthayyir and Nuṣayb.

The greatest poet of this period was undoubtedly ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*], a man of wealth and independence. He made a name for himself with his countless affairs with aristocratic ladies (including Fāṭima, daughter of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, and Umm Muḥammad, daughter of the caliph Marwān). His *dīwān* abounds with poems recounting his tempestuous loves, inspired by "a violent and mutual passion, coupled with estrangements and reconciliations" (*ibid.*, 631). Singers both male and female borrowed his poems, and storytellers made him a legend in his own lifetime, hence his considerable renown, which eclipsed that of the other poets of his time. He opened up a new direction in courtly poetry, a direction denounced by the moralists of the time (in particular by the Shīʿī circles of Medina) but much appreciated by the new poetical movement which came into being at the end of the Umayyad period. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa is far removed from the poet of the tribe, although retaining a few of the clichés, just as he is far removed from the poet of the court. More than any other poet of the time, he is the poet of the "self".

Bibliography: The principal source of material for this article is R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XV^e^ siècle de J.-C.* (of which all that has appeared is *La littérature et la poésie archaïque des origines jusque vers 107/725*), Paris 1952, 1964 and 1966, 3 vols. in continuous pagination (865 pp.); Arabic tr. Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī, Damascus 1973, repr. 1984, 983 pp. In this writer's opinion, this is the only work which provides a comprehensive and accurate survey of the period in question. It is based on a vast bibliography, taking into account *dīwāns*, anthologies, commentaries and recent studies. It would be inappropriate to list all these here, since they have not been directly consulted.

To this magisterial work, which replaces everything that has gone before it, may be added this writer's own *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, repr. Paris 1967, where the poet is observed in his most archaic role. The reader is further referred to the work of Francesco Gabrieli on *La poésie religieuse de l'ancien Islam*, Paris 1974 (= *REI*, special edition, no. 8), since the limitations of this article have made it impossible to dwell for long on this period of transition. (T. Fahd)

B. From the ʿAbbāsid period to the *Nahḍa* [see Suppl.].

C. From 1850 to the present day.

The role of the Arab poet in society during the second half of the 19th century was a natural continuation of the low status of the Arab convivial poet (*al-shāʿir al-nadīm*) [see NADĪM], who composed panegyric poetry to earn his living by entertaining and celebrating his patron's generosity and "noble" character, and used his versification for celebrating his friends and society on their happy and sad occasions. The poet's role continued to be that of a platform orator celebrating, rejoicing, lamenting, inaugurating private and public buildings, criticising political and economic problems in conventional style and metaphors. Even in their panegyric poetry dedicated to the Prophet Muḥammad (*muwashshahāt* and *madāʾiḥ nabawiyya*) there was no serious attempt at metaphysical or spiritual expression.

However, an insight and an eyewitness to the condition of the role of the Arab poet in society is given in detail in the biographies written by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī [*q.v.*] in his *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*. In fact, al-Djabartī is a rare example of Muslim scholar who classified the status of the poet in society as more important than that of the rulers, and below the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*), because of the critical and intellectual role which the poet played in the Arab society.

According to al-Djabartī, the poet's role ranges from composing a verse to be engraved upon a seal in a finger-ring up to elegies. Verses and poems were ordered to be engraved on marble and plated with gold upon the vault of a reception room (*madjlis*) or upon the entrance of the mosques, on the walls of the sleeping room and on tomb stones, with blessings for good omen and the last verse denoting the date of the building and the name of the owner.

Al-Djabartī distinguished between the poor poets who earned their living by composing panegyrical poetry and the high-ranking scholars who wrote poetry to honour their friends as well as for social purposes and entertainment. The poorer poets used to attend ceremonies or to visit their generous patrons in their *madjlis* "near lunch hour" in order to get two presents, "a good lunch and a gift" in cash, sometimes of gold money. They used to recite their panegyrics standing before their patron or would hand him a written copy of their poem after kissing his hand or the edge of his attire, a custom which continued to

Aḥmad Shawḳī's time among conventional poets. High-class scholars like Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār (1766-1835), who later on became the Shaykh of al-Azhar, composed elegies to honour his deceased friends, scholars or rulers, and his poems were recited in the funeral by a special reciter (*munshid*) after the prayer. In his old age, he composed poetry to honour influential people, "only when necessary, and in order to show dissimulation towards them (*illā bi-ḳadr al-ḍarūra wa-nifāḳ ahl al-ʿaṣr*). However, a poet endowed with the ability of improvisation on subjects of discussion or in praise of his patron, and who was able to answer his patron or his friends in debate by improvised verses, was admired and considered of greater poetic talent.

During the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, poets continued to serve as an effective mass medium for the rulers, rich patrons, merchants and religious scholars. Some poets were asked to compose poetry for the purpose of encouraging common people by their praise-poems (*madāʾiḥ*) to visit the shrines of Muslim saints (*walī*, pl. *awliyāʾ*). According to al-Djabartī, when al-Sayyid ʿAlī the dull-witted one (*ablah*), who was believed to be a saint, died on 16 Rabīʿ I 1214/17 September 1799, his brother brought poets and reciters of poetry (*shuʿarāʾ wa-munshidūn*) to sing his praise and enumerate his miracles and blessings in order to encourage people to visit his tomb and thereby to offer their donations and offerings to the saint in order to secure the income of the shrine.

Both patrons and poets were in need of each other: the patrons for the purpose of prestige and esteem and the poets for the purpose of living and for contacts with the ruling class and social connections. The generous Mamlūk *amīr* Murād Bey Muḥammad (d. 1215/1801) used to encourage poets to join his *madjlis* and lavished presents on poets who composed poems in his honour and increased his notability. When he died, poetesses and women singers composed elegies and sang them accompanied by music to lament his death. During revolts against oppressive Ottoman pashas and other officials, poets composed critical poems and versified slogans and taught them to children to chant them in the streets and in front of the rulers' palaces.

These conditions continued as late as the beginning of the 1920s. The Greek Orthodox poet and writer Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma (1889-1988 [*q.v.*]), under the influence of his Russian education and Romanticism, criticised in his book *al-Ghirbāl* the role of the poet in the Arab society. He accused contemporary poets of being platform orators and convivial poets who were engaged in the communal and festive life of his society. He unconsciously summarised al-Djabartī's description of the role of the poet in society, saying that they only deal with subjects such as *tahānī* (congratulations), *ikhwāniyyāt* (exchanging friendly poems), *musādjalāt* (debates) which were dedicated to other poets, *madīḥ* (eulogy), *rithāʾ* (elegy) for his patron, *ghazal* (erotic poetry), *wasf* (description) and celebration of a memorable occasion, an official or religious holiday, a public, political or military event, or the inauguration of public and private buildings. Nuʿayma attacked conventional poets, calling them "versifiers and craftsmen who versified every aspect of communal life, such as birth, death, wine-drinking, greeting friends. Thus everything is versified in Arab cultural life, except feelings and thought" (*al-Ghirbāl*, 122).

With the renaissance of the Arabic language and culture during the 19th century under the reforms of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā [*q.v.*] in Egypt and the Christian missionary activities in Syria and Lebanon, a class of secular officials who were endowed with poetic talents sought to revive the classical Arabic rhetorics, style and themes, and used the method of *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*] (imitation of classical poems) for this purpose.

The semi-independent rulers in North Africa and the Middle East, the courts of such rulers as Amīr Bashīr II al-Shihābī (1767-1850) in Lebanon, the Egyptian Khedives from the accession of Ismāʿīl Pasha (1863-79) onwards, the court of King Fayṣal I in ʿIrāḳ (1921-33), and King ʿAbd Allāh (1921-51) in Jordan, looked for an entourage of poets and men of letters to speak their praise and merits as well as for the purpose of entertainment and social activities. In these courts, the status of *al-shāʿir al-nadīm* and/or of the poet laureate (*shāʿir al-balāṭ*) gained great esteem and respect with secured income. The duty of such court poets was to compose a poem to greet the ruler on feasts and holidays, birthdays, write poems of farewell when the ruler departed for a journey abroad and another at the reception on his return, greeting guests as well as on other occasions. The new courts were interested in neo-classical poets for their panegyrics in order to raise the rulers' esteem in the eyes of their people.

With the development of printing and journalism in the Arab world during the 19th century, poetry played an important role. Panegyric poems to the rulers published on the front page opened the gates of the sovereign's courts to these writers. When Fāris al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*] heard of the charitable deeds of Aḥmad Pasha, the Bey of Tunis, in Marseilles and Paris, he composed a panegyric poem on the Bey; the latter was so impressed with it that he sent a naval vessel to London to bring him and his wife to Tunis. This generous gesture made a great impression on al-Shidyāḳ, who praised the famed generosity of the Arabs in his book *al-Sāḳ ʿalā ʾl-sāḳ fī-mā huwa al-Fāryāḳ*, Paris 1855. Al-Shidyāḳ compared the role of the Arab poet in his society to that of European poets. He found that the main difference was that the Arab poets were eulogists who praised their patrons in exchange for their generous presents, and cited the old Arab maxim attributed to the Andalusian poet Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. Wahbān that "presents open the mouth of the poets [to praise their patrons] (*al-luhā taftaḥu al-lahā*).

Subsequently, Fāris al-Shidyāḳ converted to Islam, a step influenced also by revenge for the death of his brother who was tortured to death (1829) by the Maronite clergy because of his conversion to Protestantism. Later on, he established his newspaper *al-Djawāʾib* and devoted most of his poems in praise of the Ottoman sultan and his officials.

The founder of *al-Ahrām* newspaper (Alexandria 1875), Salīm Taklā (1849-92), used to publish on the front page congratulatory poems to the Khedives Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ on their birthdays and the anniversaries of their ascension to the throne, as did also Yaʿḳūb Ṣannūʿ [*q.v.*] in his newspaper *Abū Naḍḍāra*, in which he published poems in praise of the Sultan and Prince Ḥalīm.

Aḥmad Shawḳī (1868-1932 [*q.v.*]) is considered the most famous poet laureate in the modern Arab world, and he was proud of his office as a court poet of the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II (1892-1914), who bestowed on him the title of Bey (1905). When the British deposed ʿAbbās II, Shawḳī composed a poem in praise of the Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil (d. 1917) (*al-Shawḳiyyāt*, i, 214-18) and the descendants of the Khedive Ismāʿīl. For this poem, he was exiled by the British to Spain. He became a member of the Senate in the Egyptian Parliament. In 1927 he achieved the

dream of every Arab poet and was honoured by a festival (*mihradjān*) of delegations of poets from all the Arab countries, in which he was declared "prince of poets" (*amīr al-shuʿarāʾ*). Less famous poets in the Arab world such as ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Kāẓimī [*q.v.*] received pensions from the *awḳāf* through the intervention of Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], in compensation for his panegyrics.

In ʿIrāḳ, the poet Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī [*q.v.*], who edited *al-Amal* (1923), published his poems on the front page as his main articles. In consequence of his poems criticising the King and the government, his newspaper was stopped and he was summoned before the court. In order to earn his living, he composed panegyrical odes to the Prime Minister, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saʿdūn, but after the latter's suicide he lost his patron, and in his old age had to sell cigarettes to earn his living and compose verses to publicise Ghāzī Cigarettes. He also received a monthly salary of forty *dīnārs* from his rich patron Muẓhir al-Shāwī, an ex-member of the ʿIrāḳī Parliament, and in gratitude al-Ruṣāfī would send him a panegyric poem as a receipt.

Muḥammad Mahdī al-Djawāhirī (?1900-) was likewise appointed for a short time (1927-30) as poet laureate at King Fayṣal's court. In his successive newspapers *al-Furāt* (1930), *al-Inḳilāb* (1937), *al-Raʾy al-ʿĀmm* (1937) and *al-Awḳāt al-Baghdādiyya* (1951), al-Djawāhirī used to publish his poems on current political events instead of the main articles. When he joined the leftist movement in ʿIrāḳ, he criticised the government in his poems. As a result, his newspapers were closed down and he was put in jail. His brother Djaʿfar joined the demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty between ʿIrāḳ and Great Britain, and ʿIrāḳī poets used to recite poems during the *Wathba* of 1948, i.e. the students' revolt in Baghdād. As was the custom of many other nationalist and leftist poets as early as the ʿIrāḳī revolts against the British in 1920, they used to stand on cars or be carried on peoples' shoulders to recite their poems. Al-Djawāhirī's poems, lamenting the death of his brother who was killed in these demonstrations, were recited with amplifiers from the mosques and attracted a great crowd of mourners. In 1992 al-Djawāhirī recited a panegyric poem in front of King Ḥusayn of Jordan, praising him and the Hāshimite Royal Family; the poem received great attention in the Arab world and was broadcast several times on Jordanian television (S. Djubrān, *Ṣill al-falā*, 32-63).

The Prince, later King, ʿAbd Allāh of Jordan used to admit to his court poets of all ranks, who would recite poems after lunch in his praise written in grammatical Arabic as well as in Bedouin and urban dialects (Khayyāṭ, *al-Takassub*, 95). Even Jewish poets from ʿIrāḳ in Israel continued this Arab tradition, and the poets Salīm Shaʿshūʿ, Abraham Obadya and others greeted their friends and celebrated Israel's Independence Day with poems. They also recited elegies at the graves of the poets Anwar Shāʾūl [*q.v.*] and Dr. Murād Mīkhāʾīl and on the anniversaries of their deaths.

Under the influence of Western thought and poetry, a new generation of Arab poets (from 1850 up to 1920, the year when al-Rābiṭa al-Ḳalamiyya was established, and later with the establishment of the *al-Dīwān* group headed by al-ʿAḳḳād, al-Māzinī and Shukrī [*q.vv.*], and of the *Apollo* magazine by Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī in 1932), began to break completely with the tradition of *al-shāʿir al-nadīm*, seeing poetry as a serious and creative art. They were convinced that poets have a great responsibility towards their nation, country and culture, and can bring a moral, cultural, national, and spiritual revival to their countries. The young secular generation, especially, the Mahdjarī poets of al-Rābiṭa (1920-31) strove to revive the old function of the poet-prophet by claiming that the poet is not a beggar or a convivial companion, but something greater. Indeed, he is a creative artist, a prophet, a philosopher, a painter, musician and priest, who might have to sacrifice his life for his ideals and principles (see Abū Māḍī, *al-Djadāwil*, n.d., 73; Nuʿayma, *al-Ghirbāl*, Cairo 1946, 73-4; Djibrān, Muḥyī al-Dīn Riḍā (ed.), in *Balāghat al-ʿArab*, 55). There are no eulogies or elegies in the anthologies of the new generation of poets. Many poets since the 1920s have specialised in such topics as nationalism (*ḳawmiyya*), patriotism (*waṭaniyya*), social affairs, erotic poetry (*ghazal*), feminine affairs, etc.

All the revolutions and grave events in the Arab world, such as the female liberation movement, the events of World War II, the rise and fall of Nazi Germany, the Palestinian Question and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Algerian uprising against France, the Civil War in Lebanon, the *Intifāḍa* in the Occupied Territories in Ghazza and the West Bank, all have had their own poets and poetry. Poets such as Ibrāhīm Ṭūḳān of Nābulus and his sister Fadwā Ṭūḳān, who started her poetic activities with elegies on her friends and relatives, have defended the Arab Palestinian question (F. Ṭūḳān, *Riḥla*, 72, 87-113), whilst leftist poets such as Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī and Kāẓim Djawād have recited their poems at demonstrations in defence of their liberal political views.

Although nowadays, due to the spread of printed and electronic mass media, the role of the Arab poet has become limited to a more confined audience, famous poets such as Nizār Ḳabbānī, Maḥmūd Darwīsh, Samīḥ al-Ḳāsim, etc., are still able to attract great Arab audiences during their poetry evenings, when they recite their poems concerning political, national and social subjects in many Arab and European capitals.

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(S. Moreh)

D. In Muslim Spain.

The power of tradition in the Arabo-Muslim world

is such that the typology of the Andalusian *shāʿir* seems to have barely undergone any major transformations, in spite of a quite eventful political and military history. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that this typology follows, except in a few details, its eastern model; whatever may be said regarding this point, the fact is that the Orient, cradle of the Arabic language and of Islam, remained, for this distant province, the supreme cultural and spiritual reference. It may be recalled that the conquest of Spain was undertaken by Arabs, in 92/711, during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd I, who ruled from 86/705 to 98/715, and that al-Andalus was administered, until the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 132/715, by a score of governors who successively headed this country, on behalf of the caliphs of Damascus [see AL-ANDALUS. vi]. According to the sparse information which is available, poet-soldiers participated more or less directly in this expedition. Others, arriving from Syria or elsewhere, subsequently joined them. All played, to varying degrees, a not insignificant political role. By means of their poetic talents, they contributed to the consolidation of the authority of local governors and to the reinforcement of the prestige of the central power in Damascus. After the arrival of the ʿAbbāsids in the east and the profound political upheavals which ensued, the official Andalusian poets remained faithful to the "Syrian tradition".

In fact, very soon after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, a Marwānid prince, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, nicknamed al-Dākhil (the Immigrant), secretly arrived in Spain and succeeded in reviving the Umayyad dynasty, having himself proclaimed *amīr* of al-Andalus in 138/756. In order to confirm his authority and restore the grandeur of his escutcheon, he enlisted to his cause a number of propagandists and poets who celebrated the glory of his family and his own in return for favours, money or rank. All his successors adopted the same line of conduct.

It is to be noted that the majority of these poets were of Arab origin, in most cases emigrants from Syria who remained closely attached to the traditions of this country. Furthermore, many of them ultimately became absorbed into the Arab aristocracy, the ruling caste of al-Andalus. But, following the start of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), Spain was "ʿIrāḳised" and gradually broke its links with the "Syrian tradition". The principal proponent of this "ʿIrāḳisation" was the eminent ʿIrāḳī poet Ziryāb (173-243/789-857 [*q.v.*]), who arrived in Cordova and introduced into the Iberian Peninsula the fashions of the ʿAbbāsid court (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Civilisation*, 69 ff.). Henceforward, Damascus was also replaced by Baghdād as a model.

Another phenomenon, perhaps not unrelated to the afore-mentioned "ʿIrāḳisation", came into existence at about the same period, at any rate during the 3rd/9th century. After what was in fact a long period of mutual ignorance, the two very different ethnic elements populating Muslim Spain began to come closer together, in a process which gradually culminated in a kind of fusion particularly favourable to the birth of an original literature. These two phenomena had major repercussions regarding the typology of the Andalusian poet who, from the 3rd/9th century onward, freed himself to some extent from the hegemony of the "Syrian tradition" on the one hand, and showed greater awareness of what was fashionable in the ʿAbbāsid court of Baghdād, or what was developing before his very eyes, in his own country, on the other.

Very little information is available regarding the Hispano-Muslim poets who lived in the first centuries of Arab domination. One of the first anthologies, the *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* of Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī (d. *ca.* 366/976) has not survived. That of Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. *ca.* 440/1048) contains a selection of texts devoted to gardens and to the springtime, and gives information exclusively regarding floral poetry and the bucolic poets.

For the end of the 4th/10th century, and in particular the 5th/11th century, dearth of material is less of a problem, since there is access to a number of valuable documents and, in particular, two anthologies: *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān* and *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* by Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān (d. 529/1134 [*q.v.*]), and especially *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Djazīra* by Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147 [*q.v.*]) (on the value and the importance of these anthologies, see Afif Ben Abdesselem, *La vie littéraire dans l'Espagne musulmane sous les Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* (*Ve/XIe siècle*), unpubl. thesis, Sorbonne-Paris 1992). The very existence of these Andalusian anthologies proves that during this period, poets were quite numerous.

The latter were highly esteemed by Umayyad sovereigns and ʿĀmirid *ḥādjibs*, who engaged their services in exchange for all kinds of favours. But after the collapse of the power of the Banū ʿĀmir (*ca.* 399/1009) and the outbreak of the civil war, the *fitna* which was to bring fire and bloodshed to the land, the poets were dispossessed, enduring these troubled times without the support of patrons. Some were obliged to leave the capital, Cordova, to seek out patrons elsewhere, and to live a peripatetic life similar to that of the troubadours (see Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 67). "During this turbulent period," writes Ibn al-Khaṭīb, "the poets of the ʿĀmirids and the [last of the] Umayyads, on whose mouths and whose meeting-places spiders had spun their webs, lived in acute destitution; their natural dispositions were ruined. They were like lonely and famished falcons, forced by extreme necessity to subsist on a diet of grasshoppers" (see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 122; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, 80).

But the most favourable period for the Andalusian poets was undoubtedly that of the Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif [*q.v.*], who succeeded in building on the ruins of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova principalities, some of which were particularly dynamic and prosperous. In the interests of propaganda and for reasons of prestige, all these sovereigns made it a point of honour to attract to their courts the best artists, writers, and poets in particular. Thus poetry became a highly esteemed product. This extraordinary fascination with the rhyming game was shared—no doubt for the same reasons—by the most varied classes and levels of the population. At the summit of the social scale, were princes, *wazīrs*, senior dignitaries, etc. Marwān al-Ṭalīḳ, a descendant of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, may be said to have found his true royalty in poetry, after the model of the ʿAbbāsid Ibn al-Muʿtazz, to whom he is often compared (see Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, i, 221). It would be tedious and unnecessary to list here all the Andalusian poet-princes and to analyse their poetical works. Suffice it to say that, in aristocratic circles, the composition of verse was learnt at a very early age. It constituted an essential element of the education of the young aristocrat. Occasional courting of the muses was a popular pastime, practised most often for personal gratification, or in order to conform to a fashion, or to advertise a certain art of living. The poetic themes most often tackled were *fakhr* [see MUFĀKHARA] and descriptions. The most mundane incidents of daily life were recounted in verse. The prince of Seville al-Muʿtamid

Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] whose life was "pure poetry in action" (see E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 70), addressed himself in verse to his father al-Muʿtaḍid, asking for a bay horse or a shield, requesting his permission to go hunting, or begging his forgiveness in the wake of his unsuccessful attempt to seize Malaga (see *Ḳalāʾid*, 21-2; *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 47-8; *Bayān*, iii, 275).

The circle of the élite (*khāṣṣa*) was not limited to the prince and to his family; it also included dignitaries of all kinds and members of the middle classes who, having received a similar education, shared the same passion for poetry and the same ideals of culture and refinement as were demonstrated by their masters. Also belonging to this social category were numerous poets who, as scions of prosperous families, were not obliged to market their talent in order to make a living. However, in the interests of maintaining good relations with the prince, such poets would from time to time address verse to him, with the aim of assuring him of their devotion and fidelity. A wealthy aristocrat of Seville, Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Maslama (d. after 441/1049) compiled, for the ʿAbbādid king al-Muʿtaḍid, *Ḥadīḳat al-irtiyāḥ fī waṣf ḥaḳīḳat al-rāḥ*, a collection of choice fragments in praise of wine. This collection includes extracts from Andalusian authors, as well as texts composed by Ibn Maslama himself (see *Maṭmaḥ*, 203-6; *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 105-12; *Mughrib*, i, 96-7; *Nafḥ*, iii, 544-5).

It is altogether remarkable that, in the time of the Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif, the number of poets belonging to the lower orders (*ʿāmma*) was considerably greater than the number belonging to the upper classes. These multitudinous versifiers were in the majority from the original population of Spain (*muwalladūn*) and of modest extraction. Most were of peasant origin, which would explain their intense love of nature and their passionate attachment to the land. They practiced the most diverse professions, but teaching was the commonest occupation for them. It was also the least well remunerated. Thus their living circumstances were not enviable. At the same time, they knew that generous patrons were not in short supply and that the profession of poetry could shield them from need and provide them with self-respect—and money. Also, the number of professional poets was never so great, and the career never so popular, as in this period. The multiplicity of princely courts and their constantly-growing need for ceremonies, talents and abilities of all kinds, encouraged the proliferation of rhymers for hire. In this period, poetry was subject, in fact, to the law of the market, which was particularly ebullient, since, to quote an expert judge of Andalusian poetry, E. García Gómez, "an improvisation could be worth a vizierate". To varying degrees, all the Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif left behind them a reputation as protectors of literary men and of poets in particular. But in giving aid and protection to the latter, their actions were not altruistic or disinterested. On the contrary, their motivations were very precise. They reckoned that it was in their interest as well as their duty to perpetuate a tradition which appreciated the value of the role of poets in Arabo-Muslim society. Born with Arabic literature, patronage became in effect "a mode to which one must conform or risk falling from high estate" (see R. Blachère, *Aboû ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 6).

Furthermore, it is said that there was established, between the patron and the hired panegyrist, a relationship in which the former enjoyed a net advantage, imposing on the second the choice of language and of themes. Poetry thus became a domain reserved for the aristocracy, the inspirers and consumers of this culture, in which the role of the creator was considerably reduced (see *Yatīma*, ii, 285).

The objective sought by the above-mentioned prince-patron was probably the political exploitation of the poet, whose role resembled that played today by the press. Following the fall of the Umayyads of Cordova, certain panegyrists attempted to legitimise the claims to the caliphate of the first Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif by inventing an Arab genealogy for them, although it was common knowledge that they were ethnically Berbers.

Political circumstances required that the Andalusian poetry of the 5th/11th century should be principally a poetry of the court and that the vast majority of poets should be panegyrists. Despite their impressive number, living in thrall to princes and other powerful individuals brought them mixed fortunes. But without such patronage, they stood little chance of making themselves known and pursuing a successful career. If Ibn Bassām, the author of the *Dhakhīra*, is to be believed, a literary person must always put his talent to the service of a prince or else his works will be disparaged and he will never acquire renown. In this regard, he mentions the case of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn al-Labbāna (the brother of Abū Bakr al-Dānī Ibn al-Labbāna) who, in spite of his erudition and his talent, having refused to use his poetry as a means of gaining a livelihood, or a device for seeking the protection of a king, fell into total obscurity, his poetry not surviving him (see *Dhakhīra*, iii/2, 667; *Muʿdjib*, 93, tr. Fagnan, 126; Ben Abdesselem, *ibid.*, 356).

If an attempt is made to sketch the *curriculum vitae* of an average Andalusian poet, typically of humble origin, it may be noted that, after more or less thorough studies in his native village and then in a large town, he launches himself upon an errant life, offering compositions in praise of a wealthy bourgeois person, a senior official or a generous prince with the object of obtaining from him gifts in money or in kind. But success is not always assured, and the apprentice-poet must demonstrate modesty and patience if he is to surmount the obstacles liable to be placed in his path. At the outset of his career, Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], making his way to Silves [see SHILB], addressed some verses to a dignitary of this town, who sent him the princely reward of a small bag of barley (see *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 369-71; Ben Abdesselem, *ibid.*, 350).

The ideal situation for the poet was to be taken into the service of a prince and included in the list of pensioners (*dīwān*) (see al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 148; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ii, 71). But in order to be placed on this list, it was necessary first to pass successfully a kind of examination. The candidate presented himself at the court, where he was put into the charge of a functionary who had the responsibility of arranging accommodation for the sovereign's guests and for itinerant poets in the precincts of the palace. This accommodation officer, called *ṣāḥib al-inzāl*, did not always have the best of relations with his charges, who tended to be hard to please, even unconventional (see Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 72 ff.). Subsequently, the candidate was obliged to wait his turn to be heard by the prince, who usually set aside one day each week for the reception of poets. This day varied from one prince to another. Under the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville, it was normally a Monday (see *Nafḥ*, iv, 243-4). Historians have supplied detailed accounts of some of these receptions, including that of Ibn Djākh who so impressed al-Muʿtaḍid that, having heard him, he allowed no others to mount the rostrum that day. At this time, patrons were both men of power and men of letters. They applied meticulous commentaries

and criticisms to the compositions of their poets, who were obliged constantly to take account of their literary preferences. Even after his inclusion in the list of pensioners, the official poet was almost always under pressure, since the relationship linking him to his benefactor was in fact that of master and servant. He supplied the echo to the deeds and achievements of the prince, celebrating in particular his political, diplomatic and military exploits. He was at the mercy of the smallest caprice on the part of his patron. At any moment, he might receive the order to compose a piece regarding such-and-such a subject. The poet Abu 'l-Walīd al-Naḥlī was required to be constantly at the disposal of al-Mu'tamid, the king of Seville (see *Nafḥ*, iii, 234). On one occasion, the latter summoned Ibn Ḥamdīs, one of his official poets, in the middle of the night, requiring him to complete some verses which he had begun drafting himself (*Nafḥ*, iii, 616-17). The majority of patrons enjoyed putting their client-poets to the test in such ways.

But the most skilful and the luckiest acolytes found it was to their advantage to show themselves particularly demanding, going so far as to determine in advance the price to be paid for a panegyric. Abū 'Alī Idrīs Ibn al-Yamanī composed his eulogistic poems to order and at a fee of 100 dīnārs per composition (see *Dhakhīra*, iii/1, 336-7). These professional poets acknowledged without the slightest scruple that it was "presents which loosened tongues" (Pérès, *ibid.*, 36 n. 2, 81). Furthermore, their demands were in their view amply justified, since princes found difficulty in doing without their services. In this regard, 'Abd al-Djalīl Ibn Wahbūn, addressing al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, said "O you who hold the glory! This would be as a beast astray were it not upheld by poetry" (see *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 502). When his abilities permitted, the poet of the court was not content with playing the role of a hired flatterer; he could rise to high office and become an ambassador, governor, minister or even chief minister (*dhu 'l-wizāratayn*). Such was the case with Abu 'l-Walīd and Abū Bakr Ibn Zaydūn, Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammār, Abū Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdūn, among others (see Pérès, *ibid.*, 84 ff.). Furthermore the word *wazīr* (vizier), which had the meaning of *kātib* (secretary), became, in the 5th/11th century, a synonym of "poet". A good prose-writer was, most often, a poet as well. "Al-Mu'tamid," says al-Marrākushī, "appointed as viziers only men of letters, poets versed in all kinds of expertise, so that he had around him an assembly of minister-poets such as never had been seen before" (see *Mu'djib*, 65, tr. Fagnan, 90).

But even if all his hopes were realised, the court poet could not be sure of keeping his acquired privileges indefinitely. Disgrace was just as likely an outcome as was promotion, and the occasions of risk were not lacking. Often, he was the victim of jealousy and treacherous attacks on the part of his colleagues, who baulked at no calumny in their efforts to dislodge him. An example of this would be the intense and prolonged rivalry between the two 'Abbādid ministers Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*] and Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammār (see *Dhakhīra*, ii/1, 429).

The Andalusian poets were not only hired panegyrists or shameless mendicants. The majority of them had occasions at some time or other in their lives to act as the spokesmen of their community and as interpreters of public opinion. Certain disasters which entailed collective grief did not leave them indifferent. Events which had a traumatic effect on their compatriots, such as the capture of Barbastro by the Normans in 456/1064, or that of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, inspired them to compose verse suffused with profound emotion. The poem of al-Sharīf al-Rundī (9th/15th century) lamenting the fall of the last Muslim metropolises of al-Andalus into the hands of the Christians, was especially influential (see Mustapha Hassen, *Recherches sur les poèmes inspirés par la perte ou la destruction des villes dans la littérature arabe du III^e/IX^e siècle à la prise de Grenade en 897/1492*, unpubl. thesis, Sorbonne-Paris 1977).

Relatively reticent and few in number until the end of the era of the Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if, the *washshāḥūn* and the *zadjdjālūn* subsequently acquired some eminence in those minor poetic genres, *muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal*, which they practised successfully until the end of the Arab presence in the Peninsula. It may be noted that the compositions of these popular poets were principally addressed to the general public, unlike the "standard" poetry, conforming to the taste of the élite.

Although considerably more numerous than in other countries of the Arabo-Muslim world, Andalusian poetesses were decidedly less numerous in Spain than their male counterparts. In all periods there had been, in the entourage of the prince, educated women who were capable of writing in verse and in prose; but there were never court poetesses playing the role of accredited panegyrists. Women capable of composing verse belonged to several major categories. Some lived in harems, where most existed in servile conditions, bought in exchange for gold, having been instructed by experienced professionals. Others were wives or daughters of princes, such as I'timād, the favourite legitimate wife of the king of Seville, al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, or Umm al-Kirām, the daughter of al-Mu'taṣim Ibn Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria. Others displayed great independence and frequented literary societies and salons. Such was the case of Wallāda, the daughter of the caliph al-Mustakfī, who, after the death of her father, maintained a salon which attracted the most renowned of writers. In the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, al-Makkarī supplies biographical notes and quotations concerning twenty-five Andalusian poetesses, whose poetry is generally personal and small in quantity: al-Makkarī quotes only a hundred or so of their verses (see *Nafḥ*, iv, 205-11).

At first sight, it would be tempting to believe that the typology of the Andalusian poet is a carbon copy of that of his Syrian, Egyptian or 'Irāḳī counterpart. There is an impression that there is a single type of standard poet, unaffected by place or time, so striking is the similarity between these different types of poets. However, on closer inspection it becomes clear that beyond a certain undeniable similarity, it is impossible not to recognise the existence of a local colour and a typically Andalusian flavour, creating an integral element of the world of the Hispano-Arabo-Muslim poet.

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(A. Ben Abdesselem)

E. The folk poet in Arab society.

Arabic folk poetry and song exhibit a far greater formal diversity than the written tradition of Arabic poetry. In contrast to the strict monorhyme structure of the classical ode, *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the multi-rhyme strophic *muwashshaḥ*, and *zadjal* [*q.vv.*], or even modern free-verse, local genres of folk poetry and song exhibit a multitude of distinct forms. In addition, the composition, transmission, and performance of these forms

varies from genre to genre across different regions and even within particular communities; some genres are entirely pre-composed and are typically preserved, transmitted, and performed with little change, while others are improvised in performance with little or no attempt at preservation, and still others may be the combined work of several individuals, being initially composed by one person, set to music by another, and publicly performed by still another. As the terminology and social characteristics attributed to poets, the act of poetry-making, and the performance of poetry, contrast sharply from one area to the next, regional conceptualisations of the figure of the folk poet and his or her role in society are quite diverse.

The performances of folk poets are a widespread form of expressive art found in rural and urban areas throughout the modern Arab Middle East. The repertory of these performances is primarily oral, composed in traditional forms, often improvised, and produced in colloquial Arabic rather than literary Arabic or *fuṣḥā*. Much of Arabic folk poetry exists as song rather than as declaimed or recited verse. Among some social groups such as the Banī Ḥalba of Sudan, for example, poetry exists only as song, is identified directly with singing, and may be additionally associated with dance and/or other forms of coordinated movement such as Ṣūfī *dhikr* [*q.v.*]. In contrast, among tribesmen of the Khawlān al-Ṭiyāl region of North Yemen, it is considered undignified for a man to raise his voice in song, and men's poetry is instead recited or chanted, unless presented by professional male performers who sing publicly.

Folk poets and poetry have survived in an ambiguous and at times conflicted relationship vis-à-vis the poetic traditions of Arab "high" culture. Part of this ambiguity lies in their intimate association with music, which has held a disputed place in Islamic religious thought since the early centuries of Islam, and part in their connection to colloquial Arabic as a medium of expression, which historically has been denigrated in contrast to literary Arabic. The first known public defence of colloquial poetry as an art form possessing aesthetic merit is that penned by Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] in the 8th/14th century in the final sections of his *Muḳaddima*. Many of these literary and religious tensions have indirectly affected perceptions of the status and function of the folk poet; despite the negative views espoused by both literary figures and religious scholars over the centuries, Arabic folk poetry has survived as a vibrant and rich force in Arab culture.

In many communities a significant portion of the adult population is expected to display competence as composers and/or participants in various common genres of folk poetry. Such is the case with the *bāla* for men in North Yemen tribal areas, the women's *ghināwa* among the Awlād ʿAlī Bedouin of Northern Egypt, the *sāmir* or *sāmrī* of the Arabian Gulf, and the *ḥawfī* and *zindāna* song forms among women in western Algeria, among other examples. General participation in singing genres such as wedding and work songs, which include the composition of spontaneously improvised verses, is widespread in rural areas of Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen and elsewhere. In many cases, these poetic/song genres are specific to one gender or one social group. These communal forms of poetic composition and performance, however, do not usually confer the title or status of "poet" upon participants, but rather are regarded as basic social activities within the community.

The concept of *shāʿir* as a distinct social category in different traditional communities is delineated by various combinations of social, economic, ethnic, and literary considerations. The term *shāʿir* may refer to an ordinary individual with a particular talent, a specialised but non-professional social function within the community, a professional artisan of either high or low status, an ethnically marginal and even predatory figure, or the paid performer of a single particular genre. Depending upon the genre and the region, *shāʿir* may indicate primarily a transmitter of previously composed poetry, a figure who pre-composes set pieces which are then performed by himself or others, or an extemporising performer whose spontaneous creations are rarely preserved except anecdotally. In addition, in almost all rural areas and in lower-class urban settings of the modern Arab Middle East, the literary concept of "poet" exists alongside the concept of the local, traditional folk poet. To label an illiterate older man a *shāʿir* in village conversation may indicate a proficiency in composing and singing a colloquial, improvised form of folk poetry; to apply the term *shāʿir* to a young college-educated man from the same community may indicate an entirely different ability to compose written poetry in literary Arabic which is recited but not sung.

The distinction drawn between poet (*shāʿir*), reciter (*rāwī*), and singer (*mughannī* or *muṭrib*) in literary histories is often blurred within the domain of folk poetry and song; in many communities, however, this division of labour is maintained in a highly articulated system. Such is the case in North Yemeni tribal poetry of the Khawlān al-Ṭiyāl region. A spectrum of poetic forms exists there ranging from widely-practised genres such as the improvised *bāla* performed at weddings and other celebrations by most adult males, to the *ḳaṣīda* which is pre-composed by an individual poet (*ḳaṣṣād* or *shāʿir*) and then usually passed on to a *dōshān* (town crier) or a *mulaḥḥin* (composer/singer) or *ṣayḥa* (declaimer of tribal poetry) who performs it publicly.

In Lebanese colloquial poetry, a poet of *zadjal* [*q.v.*] verse may be referred to as a *zadjdjāl* (a composer of *zadjal* vernacular poetry), a term which implies a lack of ability to spontaneously or extemporaneously compose when contrasted with a *ḳawwāl* (a performer or "speaker" of *zadjal*) or *shāʿir*. The latter term in modern times has also come to connote a literate composer of written *zadjal*. Amongst the Sinai and Negev Bedouin, a composer adept at spontaneous improvisation is termed a *baddāʿ* rather than a *shāʿir*. Such contrasting sets of terms gloss gradations of ability, social origin, performance roles and even gender in various regions of the Arab Middle East.

In those regions where the function of performer is distinct from that of composer, the public performers of poetry are often accorded far less respect than the original poet and are in many cases from marginal social groups. Alois Musil's brief but now classic description of poets among the Rwala Bedouin in Northern Arabia from the early 20th century presents such a bifurcation in the status of the tribal poet. Musil documents the Rwala's intense love of poetry and poetry-making alongside their belief that a poet cannot be trusted, as expressed in the proverb: *ḳaṣṣād kadhdhāb* "a poet is a liar" (Musil, 283). In addition, he notes the general lack of esteem with which Rwala men regarded itinerant or beggar poets, who are deemed predatory social figures often suspected of lying and stealing. In North Yemen, the performing figures of *dōshān*, *mulaḥḥin*, or *ṣayḥa* mentioned above, are all granted considerably less status than the composer of a *ḳaṣīda*. This respect for the art of poetry-making coupled with widespread distrust

of those persons who are either paid or seek remuneration for their public performance of that art is found in many communities of the Arab Middle East.

However, the opposite situation is also found, even among neighbouring Bedouin tribes; among these groups it is considered honourable to recite poetry, but not to compose it. Among the Balḳāʾ tribes of Jordan, for example, the term *s̲h̲āʿir* was traditionally applied to men who sang to the accompaniment of the *rabāba* (Arabian one-string spike-fiddle) for pay and who composed praise poetry for men of noble lineage or for political patrons of their clan. All men can recite poetry without having their reputation tainted, but to compose poetry implies socially subservient, even slave, status and a lack of political power. The preferred situation is to have others compose poetry about you and your family, poetry which may then be recited by one and all. To compose poetry means that a man is either not powerful enough or noble enough to be the recipient rather than the producer of poems.

A social function filled by folk poets in many areas is that of oral historian. A large portion of the poetry of a community may be devoted to the preservation of historical knowledge concerning lineages, conflicts, heroic deeds, and other defining elements of the group's present identity. The folk poet may be considered a poet not primarily for his/her ability to compose new poetry, but rather for the ability to memorise and transmit a body of poetry from the past. As communal identies are in constant flux, a folk poet may serve the key function of maintaining and performing one specific view of history, one local identity, in a market place of competing poetic traditions which document other constructs of the same historical events. Where such historical poetry is widespread, it is almost always linked to prose narratives recounting the events touched upon in the poem; indeed, it is common for the main historical information to be embedded in the accompanying narrative while the poem itself may provide only a rather clichéd description of battle or some other common motif. The two parts function as a single discursive unit each lending the other validity. The poem is thus rendered comprehensible and meaningful when performed along with its narrative; the story is given authority and historical substance by the presence of the poem. This view is documented by a statement from the Balḳāʾ Bedouin of Jordan: "A story without a poem is a lie" (*al-guṣṣa illī mā ʿindhā gaṣīda kid̲h̲ib*). The interactive role of poetry and narrative in the functioning of the poet as historian is also documented in the Arabian peninsula and the Sinai and Negev deserts.

In many regions, the division between professional and non-professional poets lies not only in the financial realm but also in the musical aspect of the performance. Those genres of poetry which are performed in full singing voice and/or to the accompaniment of instrumental music are nearly always the domain of professional performers. The term *s̲h̲āʿir* is often applied within a community to either the musical or non-musical performer, but rarely to both.

In areas where genres of poetry, song and/or dance are an integral part of social occasions and celebrations, folk poets at times exist as respected specialised artisans whose status as recognised craftsmen is untainted by the fact that they are professionals who perform for pay. Such is the case with performers of various genres of Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian folk poetry common to weddings and other festivities. Performers of the Palestinian *ḳṣīdih, ḥidā* and *ḳarrādī*, for example, are virtuoso performers of improvised verse who perform as solo singers or in poetic duels pitting one poet's skill against other poets or audience members. Poetic duelling involving two or more poets improvising spontaneous verse is found in many other regions, including Arabia, Lebanon, Palestine and Turkey. Poetry of these genres is thus a discourse which emerges through the figure of poet in competition and contest. These exchanges may take the form of insult matches or be based upon other themes including sharp political and social commentary on local affairs. Non-professional participants at times enter into the competition, but if a regional class of recognised, professional poet-singers exist, they usually dominate the performances.

The term *s̲h̲āʿir* may refer to an ordinary person who happens to compose poetry or it may gloss a whole complex of social marginality and outsider status. In the example of North Yemen, the composing poet is understood to be an ordinary individual with a particular talent or poetic inspiration (*hād̲j̲is*). He plays a role not only in maintaining tribal honour and identity through the composition of praise poetry but may also play a political role in local dispute resolution, which is conducted in poetry, and occasionally even at the level of national politics. Similarly, in the Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian traditions, a poet is a gifted individual. In some communities, however, professional poets may be viewed as possessing different social or even ethnic origins. Such is the case of the professional singers of the oral folk epic *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* in Egypt, the Ṣlubba of the Arabian peninsula, and to a lesser degree, the slave-poets of Jordanian Bedouin tribes.

Egyptian performers of the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* are hereditary professional performers most often from marginal social groups grouped together under the rubric of Gypsies (*g̲h̲ad̲j̲ar*). The epic singers are perceived as both the source of an appreciated art form, the epic itself, and a source of public praise or blame due to their ability to insert social commentary aimed at individuals, groups, or local political situations into their performances. This power is frequently a source of anxiety and tension in small communities and the poet is therefore often accorded great displays of respect in performances, while often denigrated and shunned outside that context. In the Nile Delta region of northern Egypt, almost all epic singers are ethnically from the Ḥalaba or Wilād Ḥalab groups commonly recognised as Gypsies. Since the terms Ḥalaba and *g̲h̲ad̲j̲ar* are considered derogatory, the epic singers and their families are referred to as *s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* (pl. of *s̲h̲āʿir*) whether or not the individual in question is a performing poet and whatever their current occupation; the term carries an almost ethnic significance. Performers of other genres of folk poetry are referred by other terms such as *muns̲h̲id, maddāḥ* [*q.v.*], *mug̲h̲annī* or simply *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* [*q.v.*] to avoid the locally-stigmatised status of the term *s̲h̲āʿir*, which has come to mean Gypsy poets who perform on the *rabāb* [*q.v.*] (the Egyptian two-string spike-fiddle). The Egyptian *muns̲h̲id* and *maddāḥ*, by contrast, are also folk poets, associated primarily with a religious repertory; neither, however, are commonly referred to as a *s̲h̲āʿir*.

Although most forms of folk poetry are oral in both composition and transmission, in some forms of folk poetry the boundaries between the written and the oral are not distinct. This is the case of the Egyptian *muns̲h̲idīn*, who utilise both fragments of classical poetry and improvised sections in colloquial Arabic, as well as performers of the folk *mawwāl* [*q.v.*] and the religious song-tales, *ḳiṣaṣ dīniyya* or *ḳiṣaṣ al-mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* ("religious stories" or "stories of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s"), who

often rely upon literate ghost-writers and written forms of transmission for the content of their partially-improvised performances. Whether or not these are to be treated separately as "popular" rather than purely "folk" poetry, this interactive process is not a purely modern innovation but rather has been going on for centuries.

Performers of religious folk poetry transmit a body of traditional lore which greatly shapes the views of many believers in rural and lower-class urban areas about their religion, whether they be Christians or Muslims. Though the repertory itself may at times be referred to as poetry or song, the purveyors of these traditions are rarely if ever referred to as "poets".

The use of the female form *s̲h̲āʿira* appears to be quite limited. In most folk cultures of the Arab Middle East neither the male nor the female form of the term "poet" are applied to the composition or performance of genres of communal singing or poetry-making but rather only to individual public performance or composition, and within that realm the term is most often used for the composition of pre-composed rather than improvised genres. (The *s̲h̲āʿir* as performer of Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian improvised *zad̲j̲al* and *ʿatāba*, however, is a notable exception to this rule). Since the majority of women's poetic genres are not public performance genres, the term finds little usage. There is still, however, regrettably little documentation of the terminology used among women for performers of women's poetry.

In the classical Arabic literary tradition, *s̲h̲āʿir* has most commonly been contrasted to the term *rāwī*, indicating respectively a poet who actively composed new poetry versus a reciter who primarily performed the work of other poets, alive or dead. Both, however, were expected to be capable of performing a large repertoire of memorised poems; the additional ability to compose was the feature which distinguished the *s̲h̲āʿir*. This distinction is still maintained in some communities of the modern Arab world. It is, however, far more common in traditional communities to find *s̲h̲āʿir* applied to a specific type of performer distinguished by the financial remuneration given to a performer with professional status, the musical dimension of the performance in the form of either the use of instrumental accompaniment or simply by the use of full singing voice (in contrast to recitation or chanting), or to a specific class of performer marked by a different social origin or status. Despite the overall respect accorded literate poets and both literary and oral poetic traditions, *s̲h̲āʿir* in Arab folk society just as often indicates a suspect or ambiguous social figure as it does a respected artist.

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(D.F. Reynolds)

2. In Persia.

In pre-Islamic Persia, secular poetry was almost exclusively an oral art. This ancient tradition was carried on by minstrels who were called *gōsān* during the Parthian period and later, in Middle Persian, *huniyāgar* (New Persian *k̲h̲unyāgar*). They were performing artists in the first place: storytellers, singers and musicians as well as improvising poets. Their répertoire already included several of the lyrical and epic genres known from Islamic times. However, the virtual absence of a written transmission of poetry, which became the cause of the almost complete loss of pre-Islamic poetry, determined the type of secular poet known in Persia prior to the coming of the Arabs. As M. Boyce has remarked, the Persian language lacks a proper indigenous term for "poet" as the term was understood in the classical tradition: "Presumably Arabic *šāʿir* was adopted for 'poet' when the conception of separate, literary composition came to develop after the conquest" (*The Persian gōsān*, 21).

When in the course of the 3rd/9th century an Islamic literature in Persian emerged in the eastern parts of the caliphate, the model for this new type of poet was already available. The earliest Persian poets were quite familiar with Arabic poetry, by then a well-established literary tradition based on philological principles. Already Ḥanẓala Bād̲h̲g̲h̲īsī, who probably still belonged to the Ṭāhirid period (205-59/821-73), left a *dīwān* of his poetry (mentioned by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 42), and it cannot be doubted that similar collections were made of the works of other Persian poets living before the 5th/11th century, though none of these have survived.

The minstrels did not disappear altogether from the literary scene. As a performing artist, increasingly referred to by *rāmis̲h̲gar* or the Arabic *muṭrib* rather than by any of the pre-Islamic terms, they retained a position of their own within the framework of convivial entertainment. Scenes from G̲h̲aznawid court life in the early 5th/11th century, as depicted by Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*], show their presence at various occasions including hunting parties and other outings as well as the usual "pleasure-making and drinking" (*nas̲h̲āṭ wa s̲h̲arāb*). However, a specialisation developed within the literary profession between poets on the one hand and minstrels on the other. In the context of the small courts where Persian poetry was first cultivated, this may not have led immediately to a personal division of roles. Our sources show that Rūdakī [*q.v.*], the most prominent poet of the Sāmānid period (4th/10th century), still acted as a minstrel; also Farruk̲h̲ī Sīstānī, who lived in the early 5th/11th century, was an accomplished musician as well as a court poet. A sharp distinction between the two functions was made by Kay Kāwūs [*q.v.*] in his *Ḳābūs-nāma*, written in 475/1082-3, where they are discussed separately. In his advice to would-be poets (ch. xxxv, 189-92; *dar āyīn-u rasm-i s̲h̲āʿirī*) the emphasis is on the technical skills and the knowledge writers of poetry should command. The few remarks added on the proper behaviour in their dealings with a patron of their art picture the poets as participants in social life

on an equal footing with other courtiers. Together with physicians, astrologers and other scholars, one finds poets mentioned among the *nadīms* [*q.v.*], the personal circle of people with whom a royal patron would spend his leisure time. The Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān even preferred the company of poets (Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 69). To Kay Kāwūs the profession of the poets was a branch of learning, not a craft like that of the minstrels (*op. cit.*, 157). He strictly limits minstrelsy to the serving role of a performing art and consequently does not allow the performers to mix freely with their audience. The minstrel should also act as the interpreter of the poems written by others and avoid his own compositions in his répertoire (ch. xxxvi, 193-7: *dar āyīn-u rasm-i khunyāgarī*).

Another classic statement of the professional qualities of poets is the second discourse in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī's *Čahār maḳāla* (42-86: *dar māhiyyat-i ʿilm-i shiʿr wa ṣalāḥiyyat-i shāʿir*). In a terse description of the profession, he stresses the social function of poetry as a means to establish a lasting reputation, not only for the poet himself but also for the patron to whom his panegyrics are addressed. The preparation for the profession consists of getting a good education, not merely in prosody and rhetorics, but also generally, "as every branch of knowledge is useful in poetry". The young poet should also strive to become well acquainted with the literary tradition by learning a large quantity of lines from the works of ancient and modern poets by heart. He should further subject himself to the supervision by an accomplished master (*ustād*) of the art. The ability to improvise poems (*badīha guftan*) was regarded as the poet's greatest asset in social life. Equally interesting are the examples which Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī gives of incidents and situations characteristic of the profession in a series of anecdotes about the lives of famous poets. They exemplify the effects of poetry on the mind and the acts of a patron, the ways to get entrance to a court and the strategies for gaining a handsome reward, but also the mishaps in the careers of poets.

In these early reflections on the ways and conditions of the poet (often referred to by the abstract noun *shāʿirī*), it is always understood that he was primarily a professional encomiast. To the anthologist ʿAwfī [*q.v.*], the literary scene was occupied by only two protagonists: on one side there were the panegyrists (*mādiḥān*) and on the other the patrons, the "praised ones" (*mamdūḥān*), who "with perishable goods bought themselves lasting remembrance" (*Lubāb*, i, 7). At least until the 6th/12th century, the courts of local Persian and Turkish rulers provided the normal environment for poets, who could make a living by providing these courts with poetry, both for ceremonial purposes and entertainment. The relationship between poet and patron was therefore one of mutual advantage. The idea that poetry was an important means to enhance reputations gave it a great political value, not only to rulers but to everyone who held a position of influence near the seat of power. The mechanism by which this kind of publicity could work was specifically the mentioning of a patron's name in a panegyric discourse which was most often written in the form of a *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]. The effectiveness of this depended on the survival of such poems and their distribution after they had fulfilled their original function. The artistic reputation of the poet was, therefore, also a matter of great advantage to his patron. Through the copying, collecting and transmission of poems in *dīwāns* and anthologies, the products of the poet's art could overcome the barriers of time and space.

To become a court poet one should not only have had the prescribed education and training; it was equally necessary to find the proper way to get introduced. The mediaeval courts, which attracted many aspiring talents, seem to have used the institution of the poet laureate (*malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*]) for the selection of candidates, but this was only one of the possible approaches to the favour of a royal patron (see, e.g. the anecdote about Muʿizzī's entrance to the court of Sandjar as related by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 65-9). The obligations of the court poet included first of all the presentation of ceremonial poems at a number of fixed occasions like the Persian seasonal festivals Nawrūz and Mihragān [*q.vv.*] and the Islamic *ʿīd al-fiṭr* ending the month of fasting, as well as every other event where formal odes were in order: at birth or death, in war or at hunting parties, at the foundation of buildings and of pleasure gardens. In addition to these occasional poems, he also wrote compositions which were meant to entertain the court. They consisted of short lyrics, from which eventually the classical Persian *ghazal* developed, and narratives in *mathnawīs* [*q.v.*]. The heroic and romantic stories presented in the latter form exemplified codes of behaviour both to rulers and courtiers. Besides, the poet was expected to provide food for thought through wisdom formulated in poetry. In a gibe at a fellow poet the Sāmānid poet Shahīd-i Balkhī [*q.v.*] reproached him for not having the necessary wisdom, pleasure and elegant wit (*čam*) (G. Lazard, *Premiers poètes*, ii, 31). A poet should therefore be able to handle the entire range of forms and genres which the literary tradition put at his disposal. The rewards he could expect were of an incidental nature and depended very much on the whims of the patrons. Lavish remunerations, mentioned in anecdotes, were usually spontaneous reactions to improvisations and show the great appreciation of verbal virtuosity and sharp wit. The gifts requested by poets in their poems consisted not only of money but also of kind, among which pieces of clothing are conspicuous. A *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*] could hope to receive the more regular income usually attached to an official post (cf. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, 66). It was not uncommon that poets fulfilled other duties at a court. By doing this they ran the normal risks of an official career, as the example of the disgrace of Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*], caused by his association with a rebellious Ghaznavid prince, showed in a manner which has remained exemplary. Professional rivalry was a common thing in court life. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī (73-5) gives the example of the struggle between the poets ʿAmʿaḳ [*q.v.*] and Rashīdī for the first position at the court of the Ḳara Khānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*]. Fraternal animosity within the profession gave rise to a huge corpus of satire in Persian literature. The weapon of poetical invective was also effective against patrons who did not fulfill the expectations of poets.

It is too narrow a view to restrict the Persian poet, even of the earliest period, to his role as a court poet. Poetry, which was highly appreciated because of its association with eloquence [see further, SHIʿR], belonged to the erudition of every educated person. Many anthologies have special sections with poems composed by kings, viziers, scholars, *shaykhs* and other dilettante poets (see, e.g. ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 22 ff.). As is often emphasised in handbooks of poetics, prose writers were also expected to have a critical knowledge of poetical techniques and to be able to use poems in Arabic and Persian in their writings. The value attached to wisdom in poetry, a legacy from pre-Islamic Persia, gave the poet the additional dignity

of a sage whose maxims and epigrams provided spiritual food to patrons and other readers alike. Already Rūdakī, who in the 4th/10th century was the first successful court poet in the history of Persian literature, was also a poet of wisdom, representing the type of poet which the tradition used to honour with the epithet *ḥakīm*. Among his contemporaries were the philosopher-poet Shahīd-i Balkhī and Abū Shakūr, who wrote the earliest didactic poem in Persian known to us. During the 6th/12th century, when a display of learning and knowledge of Arabic vocabulary became fashionable in Persian poetry, the type of the *poeta doctus* appeared more clearly. Anwarī and Khāḳānī [*q.vv.*] were particularly representative of this trend, as was Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] of Gandja who applied it to narrative poetry. Whereas the first two had to resign themselves to the traditional role of a court poet, whether voluntary or not, Niẓāmi seems to have been able to keep a certain distance from the patrons to whom he dedicated his *mathnawī* poems.

The use of Persian poetry for religious purposes is for the first time attested in the Ismā'īlī propaganda, to which the philosopher Abu 'l-Haytham Gurgānī, a contemporary of Rūdakī's, was attached. Kisā'ī [*q.v.*], whose religious denomination remains uncertain, seems to have combined the ways of a court poet with an ascetic orientation of his poetry. In the 5th/11th century the prime example of a poet distancing himself from the conventional framework of the art was Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], another follower of the Ismā'īliyya. In strong terms he scolded the court poets for their venality and insincerity (cf. S.Ḥ. Tāḳīzāde, *Dīwān*, introd., pp. *lw-lz*). These incriminations of the established ways of *shā'irī* are the earliest instances of a *topos* which was further elaborated by many later poets, to begin with, in the early 6th/12th century by Sanā'ī [*q.v.*]. The remarkable turn Sanā'ī made from a probably not very successful career as a court poet to the service of patrons belonging to the religious classes, both preachers and mystics, is the first well-documented case of such a change in practice. Subsequently, dependence on secular patronage was not a matter of course any more in a poet's life, although for centuries to come the courts continued to provide poets with the best opportunities for a professional career. Among the great mystical poets following in Sanā'ī's footsteps there were many who dispensed with secular patronage altogether, like Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār [*q.v.*], whose poems are free from any panegyrical references. In the case of Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Rūmī, the community of his pupils took the place of the courtly environment, the expression of a mystical bond with one or the other of his favourite adepts replacing the *mamdūḥ*'s praise in the poems of the secular encomiast. Notwithstanding the considerable impact Ṣūfism had on the further course of Persian poetry, this did not always entail a quite uncompromising attitude with regard to the ways of the world. The local court of Shīrāz in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries gave a clear example of a symbiosis of spirituality and courtly panegyrics both in the works of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ [*q.vv.*].

In later centuries, the various shapes which the profession of poetry had taken during the Middle Ages continued to exist side-by-side, most often interacting with each other. There were poets both at the courts and outside. In either case, it was possible that they gave expression to mystical and moral ideas, and increasingly devotion to the Shī'ī Imāms, but they could also be mere entertainers and encomiasts. This situation did not change essentially under the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*], even if the best prospects for professional poets came to lie outside Persia, particularly at the Indian courts. In the early 19th century, the Ḳādjār Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh brought to life again the practices of ancient court poetry, as they had existed in the days of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in his *andjuman-i khāḳānī*, translating thus into forms of social life the neo-classicist style which prevailed in contemporary poetry.

A fundamentally new concept of the poet did not emerge before the outbreak of the Constitutional Revolution in Persia during the first decade of the 20th century. Under the impact of this upheaval, poets who had been raised as traditional panegyrists, like Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*] and Adīb al-Mamālik Amīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], almost overnight abandoned the ancient ways of a court poet and took a stand in the political struggle of the day. The new role of the poet in Persian society, as an advocate of the people's rights and a critic of social injustice, entailed a change in the economics of the profession. With the ending of the old autocracy, the mediaeval tradition of patronage, to which the Ḳādjārs had clung till the end of the 19th century, also disappeared and for good. Poets had to rely on other sources of income, among which journalism and the editing of publications were the most important. Magazines and even newspapers provided the means for the propagating of their works. In more recent times, the cassette provided another medium which has made it possible to reach a wide and anonymous public.

Even after the rise of the Pahlawī dynasty, when the free expression of political views was curtailed, there was no return to the old ways. Poets found employment in government offices, at the newly-founded universities or in the modern news media. In their art, they took their models from contemporary Western literature rather than from the classical Persian tradition. As lyricists they used poetry as a means for expression of personal emotions and ideas, whether in only slightly modernised classical forms, or in the new poetry which was introduced by Nīmā Yūshīdj [*q.v.*]. In numerous manifestos and essays, reflections on the role of the poet, both as an artist and as member of society, can be found. They show that a commitment to social and political causes has remained a generally accepted part of the modern Persian poet's self-image. Although the democratisation of literature is an avowed aim of all modern poets and prose writers, the modernisation of style and idiom which has dominated Persian poetry since the Second World War, has created a serious problem of communication with readers, to whom sophisticated modernisms are difficult to understand. Together with the negative effects of censorship or the alienation caused by living in exile, this tends to isolate the modern Persian poet from his public. Attempts to organise literary artists professionally, such as the First Congress of Iranian Writers held in 1946 or the short-lived Writer's Union of the 1970s, have not led to permanent institutions.

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3. In Turkey.

Since poetry constituted the principal literary genre in the Turkish experience from its earliest times until the latter part of the 19th century, and still holds a significant place in Turkish culture, the role of the poet in pre-Islamic Central Asia, during the period of nomadic life and migrations into Asia Minor, throughout the Saldjūḳ era and the Ottoman centuries, was a dynamic, interactive, and influential one.

The term *shāʿir* (spelt *şair* in modern Turkish) probably came into use no later than the middle of the 11th century. Earlier, Central Asian Turks employed several different terms for "poet", e.g. *ozen, olun, bakshî* (*bahşı*), and others. Poets who functioned as shamans and performed thaumaturgy were known as *shaman* or *ḳam* (the latter among the Uyghur Turks). In Central Asia, a larger and more precise vocabulary emerged in time, corresponding to minstrel, bard, folk poet, singer of epics, etc.

Among the Turks of Asia Minor, *shāʿir* became established, and continues to be employed, as the generic term meaning "poet", especially in reference to the educated poets in the urban areas. For folk poets, the Central Asian Turkic word *ozan* still applies; however, the minstrels of the countryside who compose (or often extemporise) their poems as lyrics of songs as they accompany themselves on a simple string instrument are called *saz şairi* or *âşık* [see ʿĀSHIḲ; SĀZ]. The Ottomans, however, called their city poets *shāʿir*. The term is still in extensive use, although supporters of the *Öztürkçe* ("pure Turkish") movement, dedicated to the cause of ridding the language of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian, employ *ozan* in lieu of *şair*.

In pre-Islamic settled and nomadic Turkish society, poetry played a focal role in communication and entertainment, and strengthened solidarity and cultural cohesion. Unable to create works of architecture and other genres produced by secure sedentary nations, most Turkic communities concentrated on poetry, music and dance. Given the dominance of the spoken word among them, shamanistic poets enjoyed a special influence. Poetry was an integral part of religious experience and secular ritual; pre-hunt ceremonies (*sïgïr*) and post-hunt feasts (*shölen*) as well as weddings and funeral services (*yug*) featured poetry.

The Book of Dede Korkut [*q.v.*], generally recognised as the Turkish national epic, with more than a third of it in poetic form in the transcriptions made several centuries after its gradual evolution in the oral tradition, has as its narrator (as well as a principal character) the sagacious religious leader as well as a poet. He stands at the wellspring of the traditional perception in the Turkish countryside of the poet as a revered figure who combines in himself such functions as moral guidance, conveying of communal values, entertainment and education, and heightened verbal communication. Many bards were close to the leadership of the community, and some leaders were poets themselves.

The first major written poetic work in Turkish (*ca.* 1070), a mirror for princes, is the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*] (Eng. tr. R. Dankoff, *Wisdom of royal glory*) by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib, a Ḳarakhānid chancellor-poet. Emphasising the importance of speech ("Human beings attain happiness through language. But it can also demean man and cause heads to roll. It is on words that man can rise, and acquire power and prestige"), Yūsuf advises the prince to pay attention to "poets, wordsmiths, eulogists, and satirists", because "their tongues are sharper than swords ... When they praise a man, his good name spreads, but when they poke fun at him, his reputation is damaged for good."

In Anatolian Saldjūḳ society (late 11th century-late 13th century), many of the urban and rural poets were engaged in propagating the values and culture of Islam, to which the Turks were newcomers. In the 13th century, the mystical faith of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207-73 [*q.v.*]), who composed the vast majority of his poems in Persian rather than the Turkish more extensively spoken in Anatolia, achieved considerable spiritual authority. His ideas and ideals were to have an enduring impact on a broad spectrum of intellectuals and creative artists in later centuries; and his humanitarian and universalist themes have provided inspiration to an impressive number of poets in the 20th century. Rūmī maintained an ambivalent stance toward poetry. Although he employed it as his principal vehicle of expression and occasionally lauded it, there are passages in his work, especially in *Fīhi mā fīhi* written in prose, which denigrate it ("God knows I detest poetry. Nothing is worse as far as I am concerned").

This ambivalence parallels the paradoxes revealed in the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* in regard to poets. Sūras XXVI and XXXVI present poets in a negative light [see SHIʿR. 1. A], but the Prophet, who also offered his animadversions, said in a *ḥadīth* considered *ṣaḥīḥ*, "God has Treasures beneath his Throne, the Keys of which are the Tongues of the Poets." The same ambivalence has been true of the attitudes of the *ʿulamāʾ*, many of whom approved of verse as an effective medium for the dissemination of the faith, but remained wary of its non-religious themes and seductive powers.

The gulf between doxological verse and mystical poetry, which had started in the Turkish tradition with the *Dīwān* of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] in the 12th century, was to continue through the Saldjūḳ and Ottoman periods.

Combining these two categories, as well as serving as a wellspring of both Anatolian folk poetry and the burgeoning Ottoman élite poetry, the work of Yūnus Emre (*ca.* 1241-*ca.* 1321 [*q.v.*]), echoing some of Rūmī's themes of mystical humanism, established new prospects for poets to serve as critics of society, religion and government. Many of his verses, kept alive in the oral tradition of the countryside, came to constitute the basis for Turkey's secular humanist literature in the second half of the 20th century, with Yūnus Emre hailed as the paragon of the poet dedicated to progressive ideals of social justice and the ecumenical spirit.

As a whole, poetry served through the course of Ottoman history both as a cohesive force for continuity and a vehicle of criticism to stimulate change. Although most of the classical poets, as well as the rural minstrels, produced lyrical verses dealing with such universal themes as love, natural beauty, etc., some of them openly or cryptically challenged the authorities or the political system itself. Through panegyrics or by adhering to themes acceptable within the established canon, numerous classical poets were able to lead a calm and comfortable life. Loyalty to the existing order usually brought rewards—and most panegyrists reaped excellent benefits.

Dīwān poetry, composed by poets close to the court

and by independent authors who stayed within this tradition of the educated élite's classical verse, often enabled its practitioners to enjoy prestige and influence. As E.J.W. Gibb pointed out in his *A history of Ottoman poetry*, two-thirds of the sultans wrote poetry. As patrons, they were favourably disposed to rewarding the poetic works presented to them. Süleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566), whose personal *dīwān* contains nearly 3,000 verses, had a close relationship with numerous poets, especially with Bākī (d. 1600 [*q.v.*]), who held an esteemed position, referred to as *sulṭān al-shuʿarāʾ* ("sultan of poets"), comparable to "poet laureate", although no such title existed in the Ottoman system.

Various prominent poets occupied important positions: Shaykh al-Islām Yaḥyā (d. 1644), one of the greatest lyric poets of the *Dīwān* tradition, served for four decades as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* and *shaykh al-Islām*. It is difficult, however, to determine whether Yaḥyā and others rose to high positions thanks to their poetry, or if they qualified for other reasons but also happened to write verse as well. By the same token, no definite determination can be made about the awarding of the honorific title of *pasha* to such poet-statesmen as Rāghib Pasha (d. 1763) and Ḍiyāʾ Pasha (d. 1880).

Among the Ottoman educated élite, composing verses was virtually a *sine qua non* of being an intellectual. Poetry not only held a privileged place, but often served in ways that are normally in the realm of prose (verse chronicles and histories, internal rhyming in many prose works, even a few dictionaries and text books in verse form, etc.). Occasionally, sultans, princes, grand viziers, commanders and other notables sent or exchanged communications composed in metre and rhyme. Such occasional verse, especially in retrospect, is disqualified as poetry, which, in its proper sense, was written by the *shāʿir*, a professional poet with a firm commitment to the art and with established credentials as a creative artist.

Satire and other types of criticism frequently entailed deprivation and punishment. Poetry could be a matter of life-and-death in many stages of Ottoman history. Because of their unorthodox, heretical or rebellious attitudes expressed in verse, Nesīmī (d. 1404 [*q.v.*]) was flayed alive, and the folk poet Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl was hanged (at some point in the 16th century). For satire directed against high-ranking officials, Nefʿī (d. 1635 [*q.v.*]), the great classical poet, was condemned to death, and was either strangulated or drowned. Due to their poems of protest or criticism, Sheykhī (d. *ca.* 1431) suffered injustice; ʿIzzet Molla, Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.vv.*], and many others, were penalised, imprisoned or sent into exile in the last century of the Ottoman state.

Inasmuch as poetry was a principal means of communication and criticism, many poets were taken very seriously and punished as dissidents or subversives not only for their outright objections, but sometimes even for their allegorical or subtly metaphorical statements. Some classical poets renounced their own credibility: One of the foremost poets of the 16th century, Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*], wrote the famous line "Do not be deceived, the poet's words are surely lies."

In a sense, mystical poetry expressed a continual opposition to mainstream Islam, and often endeavoured to undermine the theocratic establishment. Through a three-level disguise, whereby they extolled the "darling-king-God", the *shāʿirs* complained of the cruelties inflicted by the "beloved". The *ʿāshiḳs* and the *ozans* of the countryside, embodying their regeneration of a pantheistic, Turkic, rural value-system, seemed to maintain a frontal opposition to the Empire's central authority as well as offering a quasi-secular challenge to Islamic culture. *Tekke* or dervish convent poetry, abundantly produced by poets linked with the various Anatolian sects, often functioned as an expression for the heterodoxy.

Consequently, the instance of rewards, high positions and financial gains notwithstanding, Ottoman poets were, on the whole, outside the religio-political system, often opposed to it, and sometimes in rebellion against it. Especially in the Empire's closing decades, some foremost poets, for example, Nāmiḳ Kemāl (d. 1888) and Tewfīḳ Fikret (d. 1915 [*q.v.*]), played a forceful role in mobilising public opinion against the Ottoman régime.

Under the influence of accelerating Europeanisation of Turkish culture, the concept of the poet, held by the Ottoman élite, as virtually divinely-inspired or as possessing spiritual and visionary powers of an extraordinary nature, gave place to the idea that, although an apolitical stance is natural for many lyric poets, it is a respectable mission for politically-conscious poets to give expression to ideological convictions. Tewfīḳ Fikret championed social and governmental reforms, taking a stand against many aspects of Islam, whereas Meḥmed ʿĀkif Ersoy (d. 1936 [*q.v.*]) propagated the Islamic faith as a panacea for the decline of the Ottoman state. Ḍiyāʾ (Ziyā) Gökalp (d. 1924 [*q.v.*]) and Meḥmed Emīn Yurdakul (d. 1944 [*q.v.*]), in their verse written in a simple, colloquial vocabulary, furthered the cause of Turkish nationalism.

The strongest voice for revolution based on Marxist-Leninist ideas came from Nāẓim Ḥikmet Ran (d. 1963 [*q.v.*]) who also introduced brave new innovations to the formal structure, prosody, and tenor of 20th century Turkish poetry. Proclaiming that he conceived of art as "an active institution in society" and that "the poet is the engineer of the human soul," he assigned to himself and other poets the task of "organising life". As a romantic revolutionary with superlative creative talent, as a result of which he achieved extensive fame not only in Turkey but in scores of other countries as well, Nāẓim Ḥikmet was probably the most potent Turkish voice for Communism in the 20th century. For his combative ideological poems, he spent about thirteen years of his life in prison and lived in exile for a dozen years.

Following the path opened by Nāẓim Ḥikmet, hundreds of modern poets in Turkey, including leftists and non-leftists, produced a huge corpus of verse dedicated to political themes, social ills and evils, peace and justice. Some poets virtually functioned as journalists, frequently commenting on socio-economic problems. By the end of the 20th century, the role of the poet was established as a champion of democratic ideals. Non-political verse, however, continues to flourish as well.

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4. In Muslim India.

One of the major cultural contributions resulting from the Muslim conquest of India was the origin and development of Persian poetry in the sub-continent. From the ascendancy of Muslim rule in the 13th century till its decline in the 18th century, there was a continuous flow of poets into India from Persia

and from the neighbouring regions where the Persian language represented the dominant cultural influence. In the beginning, the number of poets who came to India was comparatively small, but it multiplied sharply after the establishment of the Mug̲h̲al rule in the 16th century. The Mug̲h̲al court was famous for its munificence and attracted poets keen to seek their fortune outside their native land. This resulted in the influx of many gifted poets, and the centre of Persian poetry gradually shifted to India.

Persian poetry in India was an object of interest and entertainment for the Muslim upper class. The social and political conditions in which it developed made the royal court a focal point towards which the hopes and energies of most poets tended to gravitate. Gaining access to it signified for the poet the highest recognition of his achievements and talents. Muslim rulers, generally speaking, were men of taste and showed their appreciation for literature by surrounding themselves with poets and writers. Thus the historian Abu 'l-Faḍl gives a list of 51 poets who were in the service of Akbar (r. 963-1014/1556-1605). However, it was not easy to obtain admission to the royal court. The poet Kalīm (d. 1061/1651 [*q.v.*]), for instance, came to India during D̲j̲ahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-27), but had to wait for a long time until he secured entry to the court of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān (r. 1037-68/1627-57). Very often the poet needed the help of some influential nobleman for his access to the royal court. It was customary for important noblemen, and even lesser dignitaries, to keep poets and other literary men in their employment. The name of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān (d. 1036/1627), Akbar's principal dignitary, stands out in this connection. His generous patronage benefited a large number of poets and has been praised by every writer. Another source of patronage consisted of the provincial courts, some of whose rulers, such as the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs [*q.v.*] of Bīd̲j̲āpūr (895-1097/1490-1686) and the Niẓām S̲h̲āhīs [*q.v.*] of Aḥmadnagar (895-1046/1490-1636), were noted for their liberal support of art and letters.

The poets were paid a monthly allowance and could receive a robe of honour and a monetary reward for their performance on special occasions. Some poets became recipients of land grants, and some were made holders of military or civil command (*manṣabdār*). Among the poets who came to India, several returned home after their fortunes were made, while others, such as Naẓīrī (d. 1021/1612-13), Ṭālib Āmulī (d. 1036/1626-7) and Kalīm, stayed on till the end, and found their permanent resting place in the soil of their adopted country. There are several instances where a poet was called upon to perform duties unrelated to his vocation. Ātis̲h̲ī of Ḳandahār (d. 973/1565-6) was a chronicler in Bābur's (r. 932-7/1526-30) service, and later held high offices in the government; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Gadāʾī of Dihlī (d. 976/1568-9), who was a scholar and poet of Humāyūn's reign (r. 937-47/1530-40 and 962-3/1555-6), occupied the high position of *ṣadr* (director of religious affairs [see ṢADR. 5. In Mug̲h̲al India]), under Akbar; Fayḍī (d. 1004/1595-6 [*q.v.*]) was appointed tutor to Akbar's son Dāniyāl, and led government embassies to the Deccan rulers; and D̲j̲ahāngīr's court poet Ṭālib Āmulī acted initially as the seal-keeper of Iʿtimād al-Dawla (d. 1621), the father-in-law of the emperor and a leading dignitary of the empire.

The court poet was supposed to dedicate his art to the service of his patron. In return for the wages received by him, or in the hope of obtaining further rewards, he composed praise poems eulogising his benefactor. This promoted the development of the *ḳaṣīda*, whose main exponents in India were ʿUrfī (d. 999/1590), Ṭālib Āmulī, Ḳudsī (d. 1056/1646), Kalīm and Muḥammad Ḳulī Salīm (d. 1057/1647-8). Some poets were also assigned the task of writing dynastic histories in verse—a tradition that started already with the Dihlī Sultanate (1206-1526). Amīr K̲h̲usraw (d. 725/1325) composed the *Tug̲h̲luḳ-nāma*, which sheds light on the latter part of the K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī rule (689-720/1290-1320) and the early period of the Tug̲h̲luḳ régime (720-816/1320-1413). Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ's (r. 725-52/1325-51) poet Badr-i Čāč (d. 747/1346) wrote a *S̲h̲āh-nāma* describing the military expeditions of the sulṭān. ʿIṣāmī (b. 711/1311) was the author of a verse account of Muslim India from the G̲h̲aznawids up to the mid-8th/14th century, entitled *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* "Victories of the sultans", which he completed in 750/1349-50 for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar (d. 759/1358), the first ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty of Deccan (748-934/1347-1528). Also from the same period came the history of the Bahmanī dynasty named *Bahman-nāma*, which was started by Ād̲h̲arī, the court poet of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Bahmanī (r. 822-39/1422-36), and subsequently expanded by Naẓīrī and other poets. To the Mug̲h̲al period belongs Kalīm's *S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān-nāma*, which deals with the Mug̲h̲al rulers and their Tīmūrid ancestry down to the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān. Another work dealing with S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's reign is the *Ẓafar-nāma* "Book of victory", by Ḳudsī, which gives a verse account of the emperor's exploits.

A common practice among the court poets was the composing of poems with a chronogram commemorating an event of special importance. By the time of Humāyūn, the making of chronogram poems became steadily popular. They treated of such events as the births, deaths and weddings of the members of the royal household; imperial coronations; victories in battles; hunting exploits; and launchings of building projects and their completion. An interesting example of this kind of verse is a poem by Saʿīdā Gīlānī [*q.v.*], of which only a fragment has survived. This poem is said to have comprised 134 couplets, of which each hemistich represented a chronogram.

It was the duty of the poet to defend and uphold the dignity of his royal patron as and when the need arose. Illustrative of this tendency are two examples, one by Fayḍī and the other by Kalīm. In the first, Fayḍī is represented as improvising a poem of two couplets, which eulogised Akbar, and was intended to be a rebuttal of a similar poem written in praise of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I of Persia. The second example shows Kalīm defending S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, who had been reproached by the sultan of Turkey for the audacity of calling himself the "king of the world" when he was only "king of India". "Since Hind (India) and *d̲j̲ahān* (world)," wrote Kalīm in his reply, "are equal in their numerical value, the right of the ruler to be called 'king of the world' is well-established" (*Hind u d̲j̲ahān zi rū-yi ʿadad har dū čūn yakīst s̲h̲ah-rā k̲h̲iṭāb-i s̲h̲āh-i d̲j̲ahānī mubarhan ast*).

The highest rank among court poets was held by the *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, an institution established in the Mug̲h̲al period. The designation of the *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* was perhaps a title more than anything else, and did not constitute a regular post in the government. However, it involved a number of duties. As a member of the royal train, the *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* accompanied the ruler wherever he went. He was supposed to attend all the functions, feasts and celebrations at the court, and to present his poem for the occasion. Every new poet sought his favour and good offices

for gaining entry into the court. He chose the poets who were to recite their verse in the royal presence, as well as those to be rewarded and honoured. His appointment was made by the ruler, and implied an official recognition of the poet's superiority over his colleagues. The tradition of appointing the *malik al-shu'arā'* was started by Akbar and survived until Awrangzīb's time (1656-1707), when it was discontinued by the orders of the emperor. During this period, four poets served thus: Ghazālī Mashhadī (d. 980/1572-3), followed by Fayḍī, under Akbar; Ṭālib Āmulī under Djahāngīr; and Kalīm under Shāh Djahān.

Apart from the court, Ṣūfism was the next most important platform for the poet's activity. After the conquest of northern India by the Muslims, various Ṣūfī orders were established, such as Čishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Naḳshbandiyya and Ḳādiriyya [*q.vv.*]. In India, poetry was the chief vehicle through which Ṣūfī ideas were disseminated. The preoccupation of the poet with Ṣūfism went beyond mere intellectual interest; very often poets had a practical involvement with the Ṣūfī way through their affiliation either with a Ṣūfī centre (*khānaḳāh*), or as members of an order, or as disciples of some spiritual director. Amīr Khusraw, the most eminent Persian poet of India, though serving under successive sultans, was the favourite disciple of the Čishtī *shaykh* Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā (d. 723/1323 [*q.v.*]), and so was the poet's contemporary, Ḥasan Sidjzī Dihlawī (d. 736/1336), who compiled his master's utterances (*malfūẓāt*) under the title *Fawā'id al-fu'ād* "Things beneficial to the heart". In the time of Fīrūz Tughluḳ (1351-88) flourished the poet Mas'ūd Beg (d. probably in 800/1397), a relative of the ruling family, who gave up wealth and fortune to join the Čishtī order under the guidance of his spiritual mentor Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 769/1367). The reign of Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517) saw the poet Ḥāmid b. Faḍl Allāh Djamālī (d. 943/1536), who was also a Ṣūfī hagiologist, and is said to have met Djāmī in his travels to foreign lands. It is reported that Akbar's poet Fayḍī courted the company of dervishes and spiritual leaders, and some of the poems he composed suggest his devotion to the Ṣūfī luminary Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar (or Shakar Gandj, d. 664/1265 [*q.v.*]). In later times, we find Muḥammad Sarmad (d. 1071/1660-1 [*q.v.*]), a writer of mystical quatrains, who was a distinguished Ṣūfī, and suffered execution on the alleged charge of heterodoxy. In brief, it is safe to assume that the interaction of the poets with Ṣūfism was a fairly widespread phenomenon which made poetry increasingly receptive to Ṣūfī influence.

With the decline of the Mughal empire in the 12th/18th century, and the emergence of Urdu as a rival to Persian, the latter lost its place of importance, and was supplanted by Urdu as a medium of literary expression. Already in the 11th/17th century, Urdu (known as Dakanī) had won acceptance at the courts of Golkondā and Bīdjāpūr, whose rulers were generous in their patronage to men of letters. The identification of the poet with the court continued in the 12th/18th century first under the Mughal kings at Dihlī and subsequently in Lakhnaw under the Nawwābs of Awadh. Together with the court, Ṣūfism continued to play a contributory role in the life of Urdu poets. Among those who were practising Ṣūfīs, one may include Walī (d. 1119/1707), Shāh Mubārak Ābrū (d. 1145/1733), Shāh Ḥātim (d. 1197/1783), Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān (d. 1195/1781), and Mīr Dard (d. 1199/1785 [*q.v.*]). In the 19th century, *marthiyas*, or elegies on the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and those who died at Karbalā', became a popular subject for the poets at Lakhnaw. The growth of the *marthiya* in Urdu [see MARTHIYA. 4.] was associated with the influence of Shī'ism, professed by the Nawwābs of Awadh who patronised this kind of composition. Under them, there appeared a host of *marthiya* writers, headed by Anīs (d. 1874) and Dabīr (d. 1875).

The failure of the Indian Revolt of 1857-8 dealt a serious blow to the existing social and political order, and laid the basis for the future emergence of a new Muslim middle class trained in Western thought and motivated by ideas of social justice. It also foreshadowed a change in the direction of Urdu literature, which was to be guided by a fresh alignment of social attitudes. Whereas the poet's material and spiritual concerns were hitherto identified with court patronage and Ṣūfism respectively, he now turned his artistic loyalties to the middle class, which was destined to play a leading part in the evolving situation. This development demanded the involvement of the poet in the affairs of the society at large—a view illustrated vividly in the writings of Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (d. 1915 [*q.v.*]), who sought to define poetry as an instrument of social reform.

The widening scope of the *mushā'ira* (correctly *mushā'ara* [*q.v.*]) also had its impact upon the poet in bringing him closer to a large segment of the society. These poetic assemblies, which were formerly held in the court or at the house of some nobleman, and were restricted to the élite, now acquired a more democratic character with the participation of the general public. Occasionally, they were sponsored by some social or political organisation, which used the appeal of the *mushā'ira* to advance its own cause.

During the early part of the present century, Iḳbāl (d. 1938 [*q.v.*]) became the most prominent figure to symbolise the new role of the poet in Muslim society. Not only did he express in his poems the aspirations and feelings shared by the majority of Indian Muslims, but he also formulated the concept of India's partition on a religious basis, which eventually materialised in the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

5. In the western and central Sudan.

The poetry of the societies of the western and central Sudan, both that of religious and that of secular inspiration, may be expressed in Western languages but equally in Arabic and Negro African languages. Whilst the first type is the product of the colonial influence, that in African languages and Arabic is attested over several centuries.

Introduced into the *bilād al-Sūdān* with Islam, Arabic has served since the 13th century as a language of expression for West African poets. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al-Kānemī, one of the first known West African poets using Arabic, was received at Marrakesh by the Almohad sultan Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (r. 580-95/1184-99) and improvised in his presence some verses which did not fail to impress the monarch. Kanem-Borno, which was Islamised very early, produced some poets of considerable fame. As well as the al-Kānemī just mentioned above, the Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barnāwī became celebrated by his poem *Shurb al-zulāl*, on the subject of *fiḳh* and of a didactic character, written towards the end of the 17th century and the object of a commentary written in Egypt.

The surrounding Hausaland became the centre for the diffusion of Islam in the central Sudan after the *djihād* of ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] (Usuman dan Fodio), not to mention various previous Arabised poets. One might cite Dan Marina, Arabic name Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (18th century). He was a famous *ʿālim* and the author of numerous works in various disciplines, and acquired the stamp of nobility in poetry with his *mazdjarat al-fityān*, a didactic poem exhorting the pursuit of Islamic knowledge and enumerating the essential bases of the sciences taught in his time (philology, metrics, exegesis, *ḥadīth*, morphology, syntax, numerology, law, etc.).

Timbuctu (in modern Mali) was from mediaeval times onwards reputed for the teaching of Arabic language and the Islamic sciences, which were to enjoy a relatively important diffusion over the last two centuries.

The *djihāds* of the 18th-19th centuries in Fūta Djallon [*q.v.*] and Fūta Toro, in Masina and in Hausaland, to cite only these, contributed at the same time to the spreading of Islam and of the Ṣūfī orders, to the diffusion of centres of teaching in the Islamic sciences and to the considerable increase in the number of scholars, various factors which were to contribute to the development of Arabic poetry of Islamic religious inspiration.

In order to render the Word of God and the Islamic religious precepts accessible to illiterate populations, the Sudanese *ʿulamāʾ* went on to translate and comment upon in their own languages the Ḳurʾān and its exegesis, as well as the Arabo-Islamic classical texts. They produced glosses, but also, like their counterparts in the Arab lands, composed poetry. Without monopolising poetic activity, these *ʿulamāʾ* formed, without any doubt, the greater part of the poets, since it was rare to find a scholar worthy of the name who could not handle the art of producing a *ḳaṣīda*. There were likewise numerous poets engaged in didacticism, exhortation, eulogy, the exchange of civilities, and veneration for the Prophet and the leading figures in the *ṭuruḳ*. Virtually all the great scholar-poets wrote panegyrics (*madḥ*, *madīḥ* [*q.v.*]) on Muḥammad. Ahmadu Bamba (d. 1927), founder of the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*] confraternity, was the author of thousands of poems of this type, many of them in acrostics of Ḳurʾānic verses. There are also many eulogies with opening sections constructed on the model of the *Muʿallaḳāt*, such as the *Badīʿ* of the Senegalese Madior Malick Cissé (d. 1907), which also recalls to mind the *Burda* ode of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

A substantial part of religious poetry is devoted to the veneration of saints, reflecting Ṣūfī inspiration coming from the Maghrib, in which one of the modalities in the very important cult of saints was certainly the composition of poems. Veneration for the founders of the two most popular West African orders, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] for the Ḳādiriyya and Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (d. 1815) for the Tidjāniyya, but also for more recent Ṣūfī order leaders such as the Senegalese Ibrāhim Niasse (d. 1975), has led to a poetry expressing this veneration, mainly in Arabic but also occasionally in indigenous African languages.

If certain poets respect rigorously the rules of Arabic metre, others sacrifice this rigour for didactic considerations. *Naẓm*, the versifying of an existing prose text, is a current procedure in poetic production. Some poets compose entirely out of their own invention, but many others proceed by extending an earlier, original poem. There are various ways here, the most common being the *tarbīʿ*, the addition of two hemistichs after each pair of hemistichs of the original poem; the *takhmīs*, the addition of three hemistichs; and finally, the *tashṭīr*, the intercalation of two hemistichs between the first two of an existing poem. In West Africa, Hausa and Pular or Fulani dominate in writing in African languages, although there is some religious poetry in other languages, such as in Mandingo, Wolof, Songhay, etc.

It is known that even renowned Islamic religious scholars composed secular verse. Hence Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānemī, on his return from a military campaign in Bagirmi [*q.v.*] in 1821, expressed his nostalgia for his favourite wife in details recalling amorous poetry, whilst the Senegalese Dhu 'l-Nūn Ly (d. 1927) in his love poetry sang the praises of the gracious charmers of Saint-Louis in Senegal.

With the spread of the Arabic language, a large number of literate herdsmen and peasants are also writing poetry which, unlike that of the scholars, finds its inspiration in the folklore of the land and the pastoral horizons of the Fulbe or Fulani peoples. And if, from the fact of colonisation, more and more African poets are writing in French or English, one still finds in the lands from Senegal to Dārfūr, traversing the Niger bend, Hausaland and Borno, poets who are writing religious verse, in particular, but sometimes also secular verse, in Arabic or in *ʿAdjamī*.

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(OUSMANE KANE)

6. In Hausaland.

The Hausa Muslim poet (*mai wallafa wakoki* or sometimes *mai waka*) belongs to the wider category of *malamai* (sing. *malam*), that is, "Muslim scholar" or "literate person" (< Ar. *ʿālim*). He, and less frequently she, performs the role of Muslim teacher, moralist and guardian of Islamic social norms. He is likely to specialise in one or more of the categories of Hausa Islamic verse listed in the articles HAUSA iii. and in SHIʿR, which are associated with certain Islamic institutions and festivals.

During the colonial period, the Hausa poets increasingly concerned themselves with the innovations brought in by the Europeans. Thus an anonymous writer of *ca.* 1920 inveighs against such features of Western life and activity as electric torches, shirt buttons, cabin biscuits and an assortment of other items which aroused his ire. More recently, such poets have written against prostitution and the adoption by Hausa women of European dress styles, which they tend to regard as immoral. It seems probable that this tradition of Islamic puritanism has been influenced by a wider anti-modernist trend consequent on the Wahhābī movement beginning in Arabia [see WAHHĀBIYYA]. Islamic marriage is also a favourite topic [see NIKĀḤ. 6].

Since the introduction of modern, Western-style democratic political parties into Nigeria [*q.v.*], the Hausa Muslim poets have taken on the role of political propagandists. Thus a poet will claim the Islamic virtues for his own party e.g. the Northern People's Congress (NPC), whilst attributing the betrayal of Islam to the other main Northern Nigerian party of the pre-independence period, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). The NEPU poet will riposte with the accusation that the NPC falsifies Islam and that only NEPU deserves the allegiance of Muslims. Such political verse has, however, much diminished in Northern Nigeria since it was banned by the military administration [see NIGERIA].

One interesting development is the emergence since Nigerian independence of women poets. The composing of verse by Hausa Muslim women has a precedent in the work of the 19th century writer Nanan Asma'u, the grand-daughter of ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*], but it was infrequent in subsequent decades. However, the spread of feminism within Islam [see MARʾA] has caused such compositions by women, interpreting women's issues in an Islamic context, to flourish.

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(M. HISKETT)

7. In Malaysia and Indonesia.

In Malay and modern Indonesian the Arabic loan word *syair* refers to an extended verse form, which may run to hundreds of stanzas, each of which consists of four lines with the same end rhyme, with every line carrying four stresses and divided by a caesura. The author or creator of this form of verse is referred to as *penyair*.

In pre-modern Malay society the role of the poet was functional, that is, to provide material in a pleasant form, for instruction or for entertainment, or both. Poets had to have specialised knowledge of their topics, because central to their work was the expression of values or information, not the outpouring of individual emotion for its own sake. The earliest evidence of the use of the form in the Malay world is from the late 16th century, and *syair* were still being composed up until World War II. The form was popular in all Malay-speaking regions and was both oral and written. The traditional mode of delivery was by singing the verses to set tunes in a way which enhanced the verbal message. Verse was considered easier to compose than prose, easier to memorise and recite, and easier for an audience to follow. The language of verse was closer to colloquial Malay in grammar and syntax, and its units brief and predictable.

A comparison of the earliest *syair* with those written during and after the 19th century suggests that the earlier poets were specialists and professionals, but that as literacy became more widespread so too did composing, and *syair* became no longer solely the domain of professionals.

(a) *Pre-19th century*. The first poet whose name is known is (Hamzah) Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*], indicating that he came from Fansur (or Barus, an entrepôt on the northwest coast of Sumatra) and who lived in the second half of the 16th century. The *syair* identified as being composed by Hamzah are poems of worship in the mystical tradition of Ibn al-ʿArabī, which affirm the unity of the Creator and the Created, and yearn for ultimate union with the Godhead through the seven stages of mystical ascent. Great Ṣūfī poets such as the Persian Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], who was undoubtedly read by Hamzah, believed in the doctrine of the Divine Word embodied in the sacred text of Revelation (the Ḳurʾān) and reflected in symbolically conceived and interpreted poetry (see Braginsky, 1993). In the act of creating a poem the poet became a channel through which the energy of the Creator flowed into the poem, and from the poem reached out to and inspired readers or listeners, and through which, in the reverse process, they could ascend the seven stages to unity with Him.

The poems of Hamzah are both acts of worship and instructional texts in the Ṣūfī mode. There are reports that *syair* are still used by members of mystical brotherhoods in Malaysia as chants after the recitation of *zikr* or *dhikr* [*q.v.*] in order to regain a sense of reality after intense meditation. Hamzah's poems may also have been used in this way in earlier times. Examples of written Malay before the 19th century are all too rare. One text which has survived is the long *Syair Perang Mengkasar*, composed in the mid-17th century, by Encik Amin. In 534 verses this *syair* describes the wars between the Dutch and Makassarese for control of the spice trade in Eastern Indonesia, and indicates that poets were not restricted to religious topics. The background of Encik Amin provides further detail about the poet's function in the pre-modern period. Encik Amin was a professional writer, who served as clerk or secretary to the Sultan of Goa in Sulawesi. His duties included the drafting of treaties, official correspondence, copying of manuscripts and the recording of events of significance for his patron. In his *syair* which relates Makassarese resistance to Dutch attacks, Encik Amin quotes verses from Hamzah Fanṣūrī's poems, indicating the regard in which they were held even outside their area of composition. If Hamzah and Encik Amin are in any sense representative of pre-modern poets, their works suggest that poems in written form were the result of specialist training, and that literacy set them apart from their peers and provided the basis of their livelihood.

It is very likely that non-literate Malays used the *syair* form when reciting or singing for a variety of

audiences and purposes. We know, for example, that rhythmical and rhymed verse was sung or chanted by puppetmasters (*dalang*), shamans, curers, diviners, story-tellers and young men and women during courting rituals, as an essential part of traditional social life.

(b) *The 19th century and after.* In contrast to the earlier period, an impressive number of written *syair* have survived. During the 19th century it became the form for popular improvisation, although it could still be used for religious topics. There are surviving examples of religious handbooks on prayer, basic duties and obligations, marriage law, the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the realm of the supernatural, *syair* on divination and the interpretation of dreams.

The greatest number of surviving *syair* texts are lengthy adventure romances, which were primarily for entertainment but were also didactic. Much of the material in these texts was adapted from Persian, Egyptian, Turkish, or Indian stories. The 19th-century Malay-Bugis court at Riau [*q.v.*] provides an example of an active literary centre. Prose and poetry was written by both men and women, only a few of whom, for example Raja Ali Haji, were "professional" writers. Raja Ali Haji, a religious scholar and historian, used the *syair* form only rarely, but his relatives wrote copiously in verse about their travels, local wars, current happenings and romances. These writers were not specialists in the sense of writing for their livelihood, and so did not need patrons. They were literate and leisured, and wrote to entertain as well as to provide material that would bring moral benefit to themselves and their audience.

In urban centres, especially where there were printing presses, *syair* appeared in lithographed and print form, from the late 19th century into the early 20th. There are numerous instances of *syair* versions of popular prose narratives, the verse forms going into more reprintings than the prose originals. However, as the numbers of secular educated Malays and Indonesians grew, western influenced verse forms gradually replaced the *syair* as the preferred form for poetry. Although he did not use the *syair* form, the Sumatran poet Amir Hamzah (1911-46) is one of the few from the early modern period who wrote verse with a religious theme. Inspired both by emotion and religion, his two volumes of verse echo the intensity and depth of the *syair* of Hamzah Fanṣūrī. In the late 20th century, poetry in this spirit is still being composed by the Javanese poet Emha Ainon Nadjib, and being received with acclaim.

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(Virginia Matheson Hooker)

SHAKĀK, a large Kurdish tribe on the Turkish-Iranian border, in the mountainous districts to the west and northwest of Lake Urūmiyya (Somāy [*q.v.*] Brādōst, Čahrīḳ and Ḳuṭūr). In the 1960s it was estimated that the tribe numbered 4,400 households in Iran alone; smaller numbers are based in Turkey. The Shakāk are Sunnī Muslims and speak the northern (Kurmāndjī) dialect of Kurdish. In the literature, the Shakāk are frequently confounded with the Shaḳāḳī [*q.v.*] Shiḳāghī, a Turkish-speaking Shīʿī (Ḳizilbāsh) tribe of Kurdish origins presently living to the east and northeast of Tabrīz. Although presently distinct, the relationship between both tribes appears to consist of more than just the similarity of names. Two sections of the Shakāk, the Fanak/Finik and the Būtān, bear the names of districts in the Djazīra. The *Sharaf-nāma* of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] (late 16th century) does not mention Shakāk, but it describes the Shaḳāḳī as a (Kurdish-speaking) nomadic tribe in the district of Finik in the Djazīra. Ottoman documents of the same period also mention Shaḳāḳī in Mārdīn and Vān provinces. It appears that sections of the Shaḳāḳī, Ḳizilbāsh by religious affiliation, migrated eastward from the Djazīra to Ādharbāydjān, where they became turkicised. On their way east, they passed very close by the districts presently inhabited by the Shakāk; conceivably the latter incorporate sections of the Shaḳāḳi that settled in their midst and lent them their name.

The Shakāk consist of a large number of named sections (*tīra* or *ṭāʾifa*); lists of these sections, compiled at different times, show great variation, indicating considerable flux in the composition of the tribe. Certain sections were at other times listed as separate tribes. The paramount chieftains of the tribe's known history belonged to one of two chiefly lineages (*Pisāḳā*), the ʿAbdovī/ʿAvdōʾī and the Kārdār. Other important sections in Iran include the Māmadī, Hanāre, Aṭmānī, Īwerī, Fanak, Būtān, Mūḳurī, Shapīrān, Gawrik and Nīsānī. On Ottoman soil, Sykes lists the said Mūḳurī and Būtān besides three other sections named Shakiftī, Shavalī and Shakāk. In the late 19th century, the Mūḳurī and Shakiftī, each numbering around 1,200 households, provided the Ottoman government with a Ḥamīdiyye regiment each (Kodaman 1987, 54). So did two other tribes of the same region, the Shamsikī and the Takūrī, which were sometimes also considered as sections of the Shakāk. The semi-nomadic Shakāk of Somāy and Brādōst dominated a non-tribal, Kurdish-speaking peasant population (named *Kirmāndj*) that was three times more numerous than themselves; similar relations probably prevailed on the Ottoman side of the border.

The earliest remembered paramount chieftain of the Shakāk was Ismāʿīl Āghā of the ʿAvdōʾī Pisāḳā, who flourished in the early 19th century. Under Ismāʿīl's son ʿAlī, the Shakāk first established themselves in Somāy, expelling the Turkish lords who had until then controlled the district. Later, the ʿAvdōʾī established their headquarters even further north, at Čahrīḳ. In the first quarter of the 20th century it was Ismāʿīl Āghā's great-grandsons Djaʿfar and especially Ismāʿīl, nicknamed Simkō, who caused the Shakāk to acquire a certain fame or notoriety. Djaʿfar Āghā established his control of the entire tribe by, on the one hand, offering his services to the provincial government and, on the other, carrying out daring raids on the surrounding districts. He was finally captured and publicly hung in Tabrīz in 1905. The career of Ismāʿīl Āghā "Simkō" owed much to the vicissitudes of the First World War and its aftermath. He was in contact with the Ottomans and Russians as well as the local Christian communities and the Persian authorities, and by keeping equal distance from all he maintained wide room for manoeuvre. In the power vacuum resulting from the withdrawal of Russian and Ottoman troops, Simkō brought a large area under his control. In 1918 he murdered the Nestorian patri-

arch, Mār Shimūn, who was perhaps his most serious local rival. (The Nestorians had fled their mountain fastnesses in Ḥakkārī during the war, and settled in the fertile plain of Urūmiyya, with the clear intention to stay there.) During the following years, Simkō gradually extended the area under his control, and by early 1922 he *de facto* governed most of the Kurdish-inhabited parts of Ādharbāydjān as well as the (Turkish-inhabited) Urūmiyya plain. Although begun as a traditional tribal rebellion, Simkō's movement acquired Kurdish nationalist overtones. He was in contact with Kurdish leaders in ʿIrāḳ and Turkey, nationalists from other parts of Kurdistan joined him, and he had a Kurdish newspaper published in Ṣāwūdj-Bulāḳ (Mahābād [*q.vv.*]). In August 1922 a strengthened Iranian army finally defeated Simkō, who fled to ʿIrāḳ. After a final, unsuccessful, bid to establish himself as a local powerholder in 1926, he was ambushed and killed by Iranian government forces in 1929.

Paramount leadership of the Shakāk passed to Simkō's rival ʿAmr Āghā of the Kārdār Pisāḳā, who had acted as Simkō's deputy as long as the latter was in a strong position but had in time transferred his loyalties to the central government. His control of the tribe was less complete than Simkō's had been, and some sections, notably the ʿAvdōʾī under Simkō's son Ṭāhir and the Māmadī under their own leading family, often acted independently. Under ʿAmr Āghā, the Shakāk took a half-hearted part in the short-lived Kurdish republic of Mahābād (1946). ʿAmr Āghā was one of the founding members of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, and both he and Ṭāhir Āghā contributed cavalry regiments to the republican army (800 and 500 men, respectively). However, these tribal regiments never took active part in the military defence of the republic against the Iranian army, and ʿAmr Āghā again in time made diplomatic overtures to the central government. The same cautious relationship with Kurdish nationalist politics has been characteristic of the Shakāk for most of the following half-century. Even in 1979, when following the Islamic revolution central authority was temporarily absent and the Kurdish nationalist cause briefly appeared successful, only a few urban-educated Shakāk became involved in it. Ṭāhir Āghā, who had by then become the paramount chieftain, ruled the Shakāk territories as an independent lord, unwilling to cede authority to the Kurdish political parties. In the following years, the tribe soon again reached an accommodation with the central government.

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(M.M. van Bruinessen)

SHAḲĀḲĪ or shiḳāghī, a tribe of Kurdish origin centred on Ādharbaydjān. According to Yūsuf Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, the word *shiḳāḳī* means in Kurdish a beast which has a particular disease of the foot. According to Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī's *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 148), the Shaḳāḳī were one of the four warrior tribes (*ʿashīrat*) in the *nāḥiya* of Finik of the principality of the Djazīra. According to the Ottoman *sāl-nāmes*, there were Kurdish Shaḳāḳī in the *nāḥiye* of Sheykhler in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ḳillīs in the *wilāyet* of Aleppo (cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, i, 744). The *nāḥiya* Shaḳāḳ of the *Djihān-numā* (between Mukus and Djulāmerg) is certainly only a mis-reading for Shatākh. As a result of certain movements, probably in the time of the Turkmen confederation of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], we find the Shaḳāḳī leading a nomadic life on the Mughān river on the frontier of Transcaucasia [see shāhsewan]. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were 8,000 families on Russian territory. Dupré speaks of 25,000 hearths of Shaḳāḳī among the tribes speaking Kurdish. About 1814, J. Morier numbered them at 50,000 grouped along the Tabrīz-Zandjān road in the districts of Hashtarūd, Garmarūd and Miyāna as well as at Ardabīl. The Ḳādjār prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā drew from this tribe the main cadres of his infantry drilled in European fashion. According to Morier, the Shaḳāḳī spoke Turkish. Shīrwānī puts the summer and winter quarters of the 60,000 families of Shaḳāḳī in the region of Tabrīz-Sarāb (on the road from Ardabīl) and adds that it is a Kurdish tribe whose language is Turkish, which forms part of the Ḳizil-bash (*min tawābiʿ-i ḳizil-bash*), which evidently means that the tribe is Shīʿī, as is also suggested by its association with the Shāhsewan. The importance of the tribe may be judged from the fact that, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Ḳādjār government recruited four regiments from the Shaḳāḳī; we do not know the connections that may exist between the Shaḳāḳī and the Kurdish Shakāk, but all indications point to their being a Turkicised Kurdish tribe (like the Kurds of Gandja). In the toponymy of the region south of Lake Urmiya [see sāwdj-bulāḳ], we find traces of the passage of the Shaḳāḳī (the village of Ḳishlaḳ Shiḳāḳī at Suldūz).

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(V. Minorsky)

SHAKAR GANDJ [see farīd al-dīn masʿūd].

SHAKARKHELDĀ, a village of the pre-modern Indian province of Berār [*q.v.*] situated on an affluent of the Pengangā river. Its main claim to fame is that it was the site of the battle in 1137/1724 when Niẓām al-Mulk Čīn Ḳilič Khān [*q.v.*] defeated the deputy governor of Ḥaydarābād Mubāriz Khān and thereby established the virtual independence of the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād from the Mughal empire. Niẓām al-Mulk changed the village's name to Fatḥkheldā, and this is now a small town in the Buldāna District in Marāshtra State of the Indian Union (lat. 20° 13' N., long. 76° 29').

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xii, 86; and see ḥaydarābād, at III, 320a and map at 321.

(Ed.)

SHAḲĀWA (a.) means misfortune or misery; equivalents are *shakwa*, *shaḳāʾ* and *shaḳan*. The concept is the opposite of *saʿāda* [*q.v.*]. According to Ḳurʾān,

XX, 122, he who follows God's "right guidance" (*hudā*) escapes from the situation of unhappiness and "does not become unhappy". Accordingly, in the story of the Fall, Adam's expulsion from Paradise is described as "misfortune", into which he ended up for not having followed God's admonition (XX, 117 ff.). But in the Ḳur'ān the derivations from the root *sh-ḳ-w* (*shaḳāwa* itself is not found) are mainly used eschatologically: the "unhappy one" (*shaḳiyy*) will find himself in the fire of Hell, in contrast to the "blissful" (*saʿīd*), who will stay in Paradise (XI, 105/107 ff.).

In the *ḥadīth*, this eschatological usage is taken up in the doctrine of God's predestination; following a prophetic tradition, "the blissful are placed [by God] in a position in which they are able to act as the blissful do, but the unhappy ones can only act as the unhappy do" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-ḳadar*, no. 6).

The deterministic usage of *shaḳāwa* is also taken up by Islamic theology, where distinction is made between the divine attributes *al-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar* [*q.v.*], which determine the contents of the "preserved table" (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* [*q.v.*]) on the one hand, and "what is written down" (*al-maktūb*) on the "preserved table" on the other; the latter is a human attribute "in the form of bliss or misfortune" (*saʿadat^un aw shaḳāwat^un*) which can be changed into its opposite by the acts of man (see Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī, *Sharḥ al-fiḳh al-absaṭ li-Abī Ḥanīfa*, ed. H. Daiber, *The Islamic concept of belief in the 4th/10th century*, Tokyo 1994 [= Studia culturae islamicae], Arabic text, ll. 301 ff., 319 ff.).

In his commentary on the Ḳur'ān, the scholar al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 5th/11th century [*q.v.*]) connects the concept of *shaḳāwa* in analogy with *saʿāda* (cf. Daiber, *Griechische Ethik in islamischem Gewande*, in *Historia philosophiae*, ed. B. Mojsisch and O. Pluta, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1991, 184-5), with the hereafter and with this world, and he divides the "unhappiness of this world" into three kinds: unhappiness of the soul (*nafsiyya*), unhappiness of the body (*badaniyya*) and external (*khāridjiyya*) unhappiness (see *Muʿdjam mufradāt alfāẓ al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Nadīm Marʿashlī, (n.p. 1972, 271, *s.v.*).

To sum up, the term *shaḳāwa* is used both in the meaning of a situation in this world and also of the situation in the hereafter, which is determined by God but for which man is responsible through his behaviour. The term does not therefore play a role in the Islamic discussions on theodicy (see E.L. Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic thought*, Princeton 1984).

In astrology, the concept of "misfortune" is described by *naḥs*, pl. *nuḥūs*. The question is discussed whether unlucky stars (such as Saturn and Mars [see AL-MIRRĪKH]) dominate the hour of birth, and whether they are able to exercise their calamitous influence (*nuḥūsa*). See *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, ed. Ziriklī, iii, Cairo 1928, 341, tr. S. Diwald-Wilzer, *Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie* Kitāb Ihwān aṣ-ṣafā' (*iii*), Wiesbaden 1975, 468. See also Abū Maʿšar, *The Abbreviation of the Introduction to astrology*, ed. and tr. Ch. Burnett, Keji Yamamoto and Michio Yano, Leiden 1994 (= IPTS, XV), index of Arabic terms. s.v. According to Abū Maʿshar, the (evil as well as good) influence of the planets does not exclude chance or freedom (see R. Lemay, *Abu Maʿshar and Latin Aristotelianism in the twelfth century*, Beirut 1962, 125 ff.).

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(H. DAIBER)

SHAKHṢ (A.), lit. "bodily form, shape". The noun form does not occur in the Ḳur'ān, although verbal and adjectival forms of its root, here denoting a different range of meaning, that of staring fixedly (of the eyes), do occur (XIV, 43/42, XXI, 97).

1. In philosophy.

Here, *shakhṣ*, pl. *ashkhāṣ*, is equivalent to the Greek ἄτομον meaning an individual, a person. Philosophically, the *ashkhāṣ* are to be distinguished from *adjnāṣ* (genera) and *anwāʿ* (species), as well as Arabic words which may have connotations of the particular or individual such as *khāṣṣ* and *adjzā'*. Individuation may be rendered in philosophy by the term *tashakhkhuṣ*. The term *shakhṣ* and its plural is used not only in Islamic philosophy (e.g. by al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Rushd) but also in Arabic theological commentary. When Christian theologians like John of Damascus, talking of the Trinity, held that every hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) was an individual (ἄτομον), al-Kindī believed that the Greek word ὑποστάσεις was best rendered by the Arabic *ashkhāṣ* (Wolfson, 321-2). Here then, specifically and theologically, *shakhṣ* bore the sense of Trinitarian "Person". More usually, however, in Islamic philosophy the term was a mainly neutral one simply rendering such terms as "individual" (see Booth, 112). It is worth noting that, while the great Neoplatonist Porphyry of Tyre (A.D. 234-*ca.* 305) in his *Eisagōgē* identified five "voices" or "predicables" (species, genus, difference, property and accident), the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] added a sixth term, the individual (*al-shakhṣ*), to the standard list of five. In this they may have followed al-Kindī, who was the only other Islamic philosopher to espouse a sixfold list. Alternatively, and depending of course on when the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* are believed to have been written, it is possible that the Ikhwān were inspired to add and use the term *al-shakhṣ* after becoming familiar with al-Khʷārazmī's definition of this term (141) as one used "by logicians to designate Zayd and ʿAmr and this man and that donkey and horse".

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(I.R. NETTON)

2. In law.

The term *shakhṣ* is employed in modern law in some Muslim countries such as Egypt, Syria, Libya, and ʿIrāḳ, where it would appear to have been coined under the influences of western legal systems. It means either the natural person (*shakhṣ ṭabīʿī*) or the assumed person (*shakhṣ iʿtibārī*). The life of a natural person starts with the formation of the embryo, providing it is born alive or even assumed to be alive (*taḳdīr^an*). The Ḥanafīs, however, give the living status to a "human" once most of it is born alive. They also assume a personality for the embryo even if its life is taken prior to the birth. Accordingly, the baby is

treated as having a legal entity that can inherit and be inherited from. Syrian Law, both the civil code (art. 31) and the law of personal status (art. 236/1, 2360/2) have incorporated an opposing legal view to that of Ḥanafīs. It stipulates that an embryo can only be considered a person if separated from his mother's body. The natural personality normally ends by natural death. Legally, it can be ended by a court injunction that assumes a missing person to be dead by estimating his life in comparison to his age when he disappeared. The legal responsibility (*d̲h̲imma*) of a deceased person can remain after his death until all his rights and duties are cleared.

Although the concept of *s̲h̲aḵh̲ṣiyya*, legal personality, does not exist in Islamic law, at least historically, its meaning was subsumed under the heading of *ahliyya* or the legal capacity of an individual to be a subject of the law. *Ahliyya* can be either a right-acquiring capacity (*ahliyyat wud̲j̲ūb*) or execution capacity (*ahliyyat idā'*) which involves the ability to contract, to dispose, and therefore also validly to fulfil one's obligations. In Islamic law, the assumed personality (*s̲h̲aḵh̲ṣiyya iʿtibāriyya*) seems to have been synthesised during the discussions by the *fuḳahā'* regarding the capacity of a "person" for obligation (*ahliyyat wud̲j̲ūb*). Ownership also poses a problem when an endowment or legacy is made to non-living establishments and institutions; does it own that endowment or not? The Ḥanafīs appear to restrict the status of ownership to living persons, although the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Mālikīs grant the right of ownership to assumed persons.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 124-6; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, iv, 10-12, 119; Ḥusayn K̲h̲alaf al-D̲j̲ubūrī, *ʿAwāriḍ al-ahliyya ʿind al-uṣuliyyīn*, Umm al-Ḳurā University, Mecca 1988, 103-8. (Mawil Y. Izzi Dien)

S̲H̲AKĪB ARSLĀN (1869-1946), a Durūz [*q.v.*] notable from the S̲h̲ūf region of Lebanon and polemicist. During the first fifty years of his life, he established a reputation as an accomplished Arab poet and journalist and as an Islamic-oriented activist dedicated to the preservation of the Ottoman Empire. In the period between the two World Wars he became an anti-imperial agitator and a relentless spokesman for the cause of Islamic solidarity. His voluminous writings, his well-connected network of associates, and his knack for attracting publicity made him one of the most visible Arab figures of the interwar era.

The Arslāns were a powerful Durūz family whose members had the right to bear the title of *amīr* [*q.v.*]. Educated at Maronite and Ottoman secondary schools, Arslān at first eschewed the family tradition of politics in favour of literature. He published his first volume of poetry at the age of seventeen and continued to engage in literary pursuits for the next several years, earning the honorific title *amīr al-bayān* ("the prince of eloquence") by which he was known for the rest of his life. Eventually, he assumed the role expected of an Arslān *amīr* by serving as *ḳā'immaḳām* of the S̲h̲ūf [*q.v.*] on two different occasions (1902; 1908-11). He was elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1914 and devoted the war years to defending the Ottoman cause.

With the Ottoman defeat and the imposition of the mandate system, Arslān became an exile, barred by British and French authorities from entering the states under their control. Instead of becoming marginalised by his changed circumstances, Arslān emerged as an international figure during the interwar period. His residence in Geneva served as a gathering point for Arab and Muslim activists, and his position as the unofficial representative of the Syro-Palestinian delegation to the League of Nations afforded him opportunities to present the Arab case to the European community. His influence was expanded through the journal *La Nation Arabe* (1930-8), that he founded and edited with his Syrian associate, Iḥsān al-D̲j̲ābirī. *La Nation Arabe* attacked all aspects of European imperialism in the Arab world, but devoted special attention to French policies in North Africa and Zionist activities in Palestine.

Notwithstanding his Durūz origins, Arslān made his reputation as a staunch defender of Sunnī Islam. He contributed regular articles to Islamic-oriented Egyptian journals such as *al-Fatḥ* and wrote several books on Islamic subjects. The purpose of his writings was to awaken among Muslims an awareness of their shared Islamic heritage and to summon them to political action against European imperialism in the name of Islamic unity.

More than any other figure of the era, Arslān endeavoured to bring together the leaders of the North African and Eastern Arab independence movements. He played an especially important role as political strategist and personal mentor to the group of young Moroccans associated with the Free School movement, and his orchestration of their international Islamic propaganda campaign against the French decree known as the Berber *ẓahīr* (1930) was one of the most successful interwar Arab protest movements.

Arslān's final reputation was diminished by his association with the Axis powers. At the peak of his popularity, he endeavoured to coordinate an Italian-German alliance with the Arab world in order to generate leverage against Britain and France. His efforts generated much publicity but few results, and his continued pro-Axis stance during World War II discredited him. His death in Beirut in 1946 attracted little notice.

Bibliography: 1. Works by Arslān. *Dīwān al-amīr S̲h̲akīb Arslān*, ed. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, Cairo 1935; *Li-mād̲h̲ā ta'aḵh̲ḵh̲ar al-muslimūn wa-li-mād̲h̲ā taḳaddam g̲h̲ayruhum?*, ³Cairo 1939, tr. M.S. Shakoor as *Our decline and its causes*, repr. Lahore 1962; *al-Sayyid Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā aw iḵh̲ā' arbaʿīn sana*, Damascus 1937; *S̲h̲awḳī aw ṣadaḳat arbaʿīn sana*, Cairo 1936; *Sīra d̲h̲ātiyya*, Beirut 1969.

2. Studies. Aḥmad S̲h̲arabāṣī, *Amīr al-bayān S̲h̲akīb Arslān*, 2 vols., Cairo 1963; J.P. Halstead, *Rebirth of a nation: the origins and rise of Moroccan nationalism, 1912-1944*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967; Ch.-A. Julien, *L'Afrique du nord en marche: nationalismes musulmans et souveraineté française*, ³Paris 1972; W.L. Cleveland, *Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the campaign for Islamic nationalism*, Austin, Texas 1985 (full bibl.) (W.L. Cleveland)

S̲H̲AḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN (A.) is the anemone. It flourishes in the lands around the Mediterranean and in Asia Minor. The *Anemone coronoria L.* or the *Anemone hortensis L.*, Ranunculaceae, qualify as mother plants. Both *s̲h̲aḳīḳat* (*s̲h̲aḳā'iḳ*) *al-nuʿmān* and the words *s̲h̲aḳā'iḳ* and *nuʿmān* taken separately are in general synonymous. Other synonyms are *s̲h̲aḳir*, Persian *lāla*, Berber *ṭīkūk*, in Spanish Arabic *ḥababawar* < Castilian *hamapola* < *papaver*, Greek *arg̲h̲āmūna* (= ἀργεμώνη, the poppy, instead of ἀνεμώνη). So far a satisfactory explanation of the name has not been given. Many scholars have wished to derive ἀνεμώνη from *al-nuʿmān*, while others prefer the opposite explanation. In ʿIrāḳ the anemone was called *ḵh̲add al-ʿad̲h̲rā'* "virgin's cheek", which already existed as a by-name of Kūfa. The Laḵh̲mid king al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mund̲h̲ir (II) (r. towards the end of the 5th century A.D.) is said

to have been so much enraptured by the beauty of the anemone that the flower was called *al-nuʿmān* after him, while *shaḳīḳa* is said to have preserved the name of his mother *Shaḳīḳa*. The *nuʿmān* is described as being similar to the poppy (*khashkhāsh*); the difference is said to be recognisable from the fact that the edges of the petals of the *nuʿmān* are laciniated (*kathīr al-taḳṭīʿ*), while those of the *khashkhāsh* are only slightly dentated (*ḳalīl al-tashrīf*). The anemone exists in two kinds: a cultivated one, whose petals are red, white or purple and which spreads out on the ground with long stalks, and a wild one, which is bigger and more solid than the cultivated one, has larger petals and longer tops (*ruʾūs*), and is scarlet-coloured. It opens during the day, turns towards the sun and shuts at night. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Bayṭār's teacher (see Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, ii, 159), rightly recognised that anemones cannot belong to the species of the poppy plants (Papaveraceae), the nearest related family. On superficial inspection, the petals of some species of the Ranunculaceae show similarity with those of the Papaveraceae.

In medicine, the anemone at present seems hardly to be used any more. In the drug bazaar in Cairo, pulverised petals of the anemone are sold as decoctions against ailments of the eye. According to the Arab authors, the anemone is above all useful against skin diseases, and it dissolves ulcers and supports their ripening. Its juice blackens the pupil, cuts off an incipient cataract, strengthens the eye and sharpens the eyesight. Boiled together with their stalks, anemones further the formation of milk. If a woman inserts the anemone with the help of a woollen tampon (*ṣūfa*), she increases the flowing of the menstrual blood (i.e. if an abortive effect is aimed at). Ibn Riḍwān (in Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iii, 65, 25-7) is even of the opinion that seeds of anemones, if taken during several consecutive days, would cure leprosy.

On the anemone in Arab poetry, see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 281-5, who gives many examples.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djazzār, *K. al-Iʿtimād fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, 9-10, Frankfurt 1985, Ibn Samadjūn, *Djāmiʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada*, Frankfurt, 1992, iv, 240 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291/1874-5, iii, 64, ll. 24-65, l. 27 (Leclerc no. 1329); Ibn al-Ḳuff, *K. al-ʿUmda fi 'l-djirāḥa*, Ḥaydarābād 1356/1937-8, i, 244 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud-Colin, Paris 1934, no. 441; M.A.H. Ducros, *Essai sur le droguier populaire arabe*, Cairo 1930, no. 135; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, ii, 159, iv, 56, with many source references.

(A. Dietrich)

SHĀKIR, AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD (1892-1958), well-known Egyptian scholar and editor of classical Arabic texts dealing with poetry, *adab* [*q.v.*] and especially *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. He received his religious education at al-Azhar [*q.v.*], whereafter he was appointed *ḳāḍī* in Zagazig. Already during his lifetime Shākir was considered as the foremost *ḥadīth* expert of his generation. He was particularly famous for his alleged expertise in the relationships between transmitters featuring in *isnāds* [*q.v.*]. He died just before a stormy controversy on the value of Muslim tradition broke out which was to upset religious circles in Egypt first and then, in later years, to cause ripples also in other countries of the Middle East. Already in the period leading up to this event, in the course of which a certain *ḥadīth* scholar, Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, had been airing his intention to publish several most unorthodox ideas on various vital *ḥadīth* issues, Shākir had occasionally made his strictly orthodox point of view on the matter very clear. For an analysis of this controversy, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of Muslim tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, 38-46, and idem, *Muslim tradition* etc., Cambridge 1983, 190-1, 204-6.

Shākir's main editorial enterprise comprised a new edition of the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. M. b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]), which he did not complete: only some two-fifths of the work were eventually printed, vols. i-xv, Cairo 1946-56, with a posthumously published vol. xix of 1980. For a survey of other texts which Shākir edited, some of them in cooperation with his brother Maḥmūd or with ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, see *Madjallat maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, iv/2 (1378/1958), 356-8; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, [4]1979, i, 253. Beside these editions he published a number of assorted monographs on subjects dealing with (often Shāfiʿī) *fiḳh* and religio-political issues raised by the Salafiyya reform movement [*q.v.*] and the doctrines of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], several of which contained polemical treatises in which he grappled with fellow-scholars, e.g. *al-Sharʿ wa 'l-lugha*, Cairo 1944 (on the undesirability of introducing modern western legislation into Islamic countries and on his disapproval of writing Arabic with the Latin alphabet proposed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī) and *Baynī wa-bayna al-shaykh Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī*, Cairo 1955 (on a putative misconception attributed to Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the mediaeval scholar who is so revered by the Wahhābiyya). For more polemics between him and al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, see Shākir's edition of Ibn Ḳutayba's *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, [2]Cairo 1966, 5-35. He also seems to have fallen out with another Egyptian *ḥadīth* expert, Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, at whose contacts with western scholars he looked askance. In his newly initiated edition of *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]), Shākir therefore declined to conform with Wensinck's proposed chapter numbering of the canonical collections for the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, which was then in the process of being printed, this much to the chagrin of ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, who saw the future utility of that work gravely impaired, cf. vol. iii of al-Tirmidhī, 3-4. For more details on Shākir's life, his criticism of mediaeval and contemporary oriental scholars and westerners, as well as an extensive analysis of his work as a 20th century orthodox Muslim *muḥaddith*, see Juynboll, *Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (1892-1958), and his edition of Ibn Ḥanbal's Musnad*, in *Isl.*, xlix (1972), 221-47.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

AL-**SHĀKIRIYYA** (A.), a term denoting private militias fighting under the patronage of princes from the ruling dynasty, or commanders belonging to the class of military nobility, during the reign of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. Classical Arabic lexicography does not provide a satisfactory explanation for this term, correctly associating it with the Persian term *Čākir*; for a discussion of possible etymologies, see C.E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 179 and n. 506. The institution of the *shākiriyya*, from the historical standpoint, probably existed in the Iranian lands of Central Asia during the Sāsānid period and into the period after the Islamic conquest. According to Narshakhī, the Shākiriyya in Bukhārā were not a field military unit, but rather, a bodyguard at the court of Khātūn, the queen of Bukhārā in the late 7th century A.D. (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. M. Riḍawī, Tehran n.d. [1939], 46, tr. R.N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 39).

After the Arab invasions of Transoxania, the Arab commanders and governors in the eastern province

followed in the footsteps of the local princes and established their own units of *shākiriyya*, who served as bodyguards, and then combattants.

This was the result of growing pressure on the part of the Türgesh toward the end of the 7th century and the first and second decades of the eighth, when the Arabs in Central Asia were compelled to enlist the aid of the *shākiriyya* which were under the command of the local nobility. Prominent among the latter were two brothers, Thābit and Ḥurayth, sons of Ḳuṭba. The phenomenon did not remain limited to the eastern provinces; it also spread westward to ʿIrāḳ and Syria, where *shākiriyya* units operated as private militias under the command of Arab commanders and princes for the purpose of putting down the insurrections of the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] alongside the semi-regular army of the Arab *muḳātila*. The struggle for power and disputes within the dynasty toward the end of the Umayyad period, encouraged and expedited the existence of such private units.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, the institution of the *shākiriyya* flourished, thanks to the growing tendency of the caliphs to eliminate their dependency upon Arab tribesmen and to rely more heavily upon the *mawālī* element. Decisive steps in this direction were taken by al-Maʾmūn, and also al-Muʿtaṣim, during whose reign the *shākiriyya* became a national military institution which, along with other ethnic groups, replaced the classical structure of the Arab tribal fighters. This was expressed in the establishment of a separate office, the *dīwān al-shākiriyya*, and the *shākiriyya* troops received monthly salaries which were quite high in comparison with those received by their colleagues, the Turkish troops and the *Maghāriba*.

Because they were subordinate to the caliphs, the *shākiriyya* forces were stationed in the capital Baghdād, and later in Sāmarrā. But the establishment of the *dīwān al-shākiriyya* did not change the nature of the *shākiriyya* as a private militia; military commanders, *ḳuwwād*, of both Arab and non-Arab origin, continued to keep *shākiriyya* as their own private militias, as witness the existence of *shākiriyya* militias in such cities as Kūfa, Medina, Raḳḳa and Malaṭya, as well as in such provinces as Ahwāz, Fārs, Ḥidjāz and Egypt.

In contrast to other militias, Arab sources do not indicate the ethnic identity of the *shākiriyya*, a fact which may point to their having belonged to a variety of ethnic groups, seen in traditions which speak of *shākiriyya* of Arab origin as well as *shākiriyya* from various nations and ethnic groups which lived within the borders of the former Sāsānid Persia. Whatever their origin, their loyalty to their patron the caliph was the common denominator which united them; manifestations of this loyalty could be seen after the murder of al-Mutawakkil (247/861) by Turkish commanders, and also in the loyalty toward the deposed caliph al-Mustaʿīn in 252/866 and the *shākiriyya*'s support of al-Muhtadī in his struggle against the Turkish commanders in 256/869.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 180; J. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*; Djāḥiẓ, *Manāḳib al-Atrāk*, in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 30; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indices; idem, *Tanbīh*, 361-2; Ṭabarī, index; Fayrūzābādhī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīt*, ²Cairo 1344, ii, 63; *TA*, s.v. *sh-k-r*. (KHALĪL ʿATHĀMINA)

SHAKK (A.) "perplexity", "uncertainty", "doubt" in the philosophical sense (though not the vernacular English sense of "being suspicious, dubious"). In ritual, *shakk* signifies uncertainty over the effective performance of an act. In epistemology, it is part of an epistemic ranking from *yaḳīn* (certainty) to *ghalabat al-ẓann* (likelihood), to *ẓann* (presumption), to *shakk* (uncertainty), to *shubha* (suspicion).

1. In Islamic legal and religious practice.

In the Ḳurʾān there are 15 usages, all in noun form, often in a formulaic combination with *murīb*, e.g. XI, 110; XXXIV, 54. Ḳurʾānic usages taken together suggest that *shakk* is hesitation in response to a summons (*daʿwa*) (XI, 62; XIV, 9-10). *Shakk* occurs despite a clear sign (XL, 34) and as a result of difference (*ikhtilāf*). Chastisement would resolve the uncertainty (VIII, 38), which is a kind of lack of seriousness (*yalʿabūna*) (XLIV, 9). It is a state opposed to knowing (*ʿilm*), and usage suggests a holding back from commitment (*īmān*) (XXXIV, 21). In the clearest (and perhaps latest) Ḳurʾānic usage (IV, 157), the entire epistemological ranking system is laid out, from errant supposition, to wilful pluralism as a cause of uncertainty: "Those who are errant have no knowledge, no certainty, but at best only supposition; it is said that those who assert that they killed the Messiah Jesus, son of Mary, the Messenger of God, are in error, and those who disagree are uncertain about it (*la-fī shakkⁱⁿ minhu*)".

In ritual, the term refers to uncertainty whether some condition of a ritual has been properly performed, e.g. when performing a specified number of *rakaʿāt*, if one loses track of the number completed, this uncertainty is called *shakk*. For the Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, the person who has lost track must begin again from whatever point he is confident he completed. For the Ḥanafīs, one is enjoined to try to recall how many had been done. If, upon reflection, one still cannot recall, then, like the other Sunnīs, Ḥanafīs are enjoined to begin at the point of certainty. The Zaydīs generally follow the Sunnī *madhhab* in this (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, ii, 337-9). Imāmī Shīʿīs hold that if the uncertainty occurs either during a *ṣalāt* for which the stipulated number of *rakaʿāt* is only two—as with the prayer of the two festivals—or during the first two of a *ṣalāt* for which four is stipulated, such as the *ʿishāʾ*, then the entire effort is voided and one must begin again from the beginning. If the uncertainty arises in the second pair of the *ʿishāʾ*, only the latter part must be repeated. For all schools, the completion of the ritual renders irrelevant any subsequent doubts about its performance.

In epistemology, *shakk* refers to a state of uncertainty resulting from the equipollence of beliefs or evidence. It is a sub-species of ignorance (al-Tahānawī, 780). In a commonly cited definition, Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015 [*q.v.*]) says that *shakk* is the judgment of possibility (*tadjwīz*) of two matters with no advantage to one over the other (*K. al-Ḥudūd*, 34).

This definition, however, al-Ghazālī criticises, arguing that, "*shakk* refers to contradictory beliefs grounded on two [different] motivations to belief (*sababayn*). Something which has no motivation to belief cannot be affirmed by the soul so that one thereby equipollates the contrary belief and it becomes uncertain. Thus we say: if one is uncertain whether one has prayed three or four [*rakaʿāt*], choose 'three' since the basic principle is 'no additional.' But, if one were asked whether the noon prayer which he performed ten years before was three or four, he cannot verify absolutely that it was four, so he cannot eliminate the possibility that it was three. This judgment of possibility (*tadjwīz*) is not *shakk*, since he has no motivation that would oblige him to believe it was three. Let us therefore understand the precise meaning of *shakk* so that it is not conflated with fancy (*wahm*), or judgment of possibility (*tadjwīz*) without motivation" (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 99; see also Jabre, *Lexique de Ghazālī*, 131).

Al-Tahānawī (*Kashshāf*, 780-1) is proof, however, that al-Ghazālī's distinction did not completely find favour, since he says, quoting al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī (*al-Mufradāt*, i, 388) "*shakk* is judging equal two antithetical notions and equipollating them. This may be from the presence of two equivocal signs (*amāratayn*) ... or from the absence of signs." Al-Nawawī (676/1278 [*q.v.*]) confirms this understanding, saying, "*fukahā'* apply the word *shakk* in many books of *fikh* to wavering (*al-taraddud*) between two sides, whether they are equal or one is preferred, as one says 'uncertainty about the *ḥadīth*, or concerning impurity, or one's *ṣalāh* or one's circumambulation, or intention, or divorce'" (*Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, ii, 166-7; Abu 'l-Baḳā', *Kulliyyāt*, iii, 63).

There is some suggestion that *shakk* refers to the objective fact of uncertainty and another word, *rayb*, to the state of perplexity consequent to that fact. Abu 'l-Baḳā' says in his *Kulliyyāt*, iii, 63, that "*shakk* is the cause of *rayb* ... *shakk* is the basis (*mabda'*) of *rayb*, as knowledge is the basis of certainty"; and al-Nawawī (*ibid.*) says that *shakk* is "a wavering of the mind" (*taraddud al-dhihn*).

Bibliography: Ibn Fūrak, in M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, *Early Islamic theological and juristic terminology; Kitāb al-Ḥudūd fī 'l-uṣūl by Ibn Fūrak*, in *BSOAS*, liv (1991), 5-41; Abū Ya'lā al-Farrā' al-Ḥanbalī, *al-'Udda fī uṣūl al-fikh*, ed. Aḥmad b. 'Alī Sayr al-Mubārakī, Beirut 1980/1400, i, 83; Bādjī, *K. al-Ḥudūd fī 'l-uṣūl*, ed. Nazīh Ḥammād, Beirut and Ḥimṣ 1392/1973, 29; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Beirut n.d.; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lughāt*, Cairo 1927; al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Kur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalafallāh, Cairo 1970, i, 388-9; Djurdjānī, *K. al-Ta'rīfāt*, Leipzig 1845, 134; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār al-djāmi' li-madhāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, ed. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Djurāfī, Beirut 1394/1975, ii, 337-9; Abu 'l-Baḳā', al-Kaffawī, *al-Kulliyyāt, mu'djam fī 'l-muṣṭalaḥāt wa 'l-furūk al-lughawiyya*, ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, Damascus 1974, iii, 62-3; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1854, 780-2; Farid Jabre, *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazālī. Contribution à l'étude de la terminologie de Ghazālī dans ses principaux ouvrages à l'exception du Tahāfut*, Beirut 1970, 131; Muḥammad Djawār Mughniyya, *al-Fikh 'alā 'l-madhāhib al-khamsa*, Beirut n.d., i, 116-19; Sa'dī Abū Djayb, *al-Kāmūs al-fikhī lughat^an wa-iṣṭilāḥ^an*, Damascus 1402/1982, 200-1.

(A.K. Reinhart)

2. In philosophy.

In one of its senses, *shakk* is an appropriate rendition of the Greek ἀπορία (defined by Liddell and Scott as "want of means or resource, embarrassment, difficulty, hesitation, perplexity"). However, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' in their *Rasā'il* considered "doubt" (*al-shakk*) more starkly as a sickness of the soul while its opposite "certainty" (*al-yakīn*) constituted that soul's health. For al-Djurdjānī, *shakk* was a hesitation between two antitheses. It is also useful to go behind such snap definitions and examine what "doubt" meant in terms of the *development* of Islamic philosophy. While no formal school of Islamic sceptics ever established themselves after the manner of a Pyrrho or a Timon, it is clear that monolithic "certainty" was no more to be observed in Islamic philosophy than it was in theology. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, indeed, gained a reputation as a doubter and a critic of both philosophers and theologians. Al-Ghazālī's method has been described as one of doubt or scepticism with antecedents both in the reductionist atomism of the Ash'arīs and the thought of such Mu'tazilīs as al-Naẓẓām and Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.vv.*] for whom knowledge began with doubt. As M. Saeed Sheikh puts it, "The most important thing about al-Ghazālī's system of thought is its method which may be described as that of the courage to know and the courage to doubt. The best expression of it is given in his famous autobiographical work, *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*." However, the archetypal paradigm of "doubt" in the whole of Islamic philosophy must surely be the eponymous hero of Ibn Ṭufayl's [*q.v.*] *Ḥayy b. Yakẓān*. The philosopher presents his hero intellectually "naked", free from all presuppositions, free to accept or *doubt*. Sami S. Hawi puts it in a nutshell: "By removing Ḥayy from the social situation, Ibn Ṭufayl had done what Descartes, Hume and Husserl did. *He was attempting a hypothetical destruction of and universal doubt in the surrounding world of tradition and early education.*"

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(I.R. Netton)

SHAKKĀZIYYA (a.), the name given to the markings of a universal stereographic projection which underlies a family of astronomical instruments serving all terrestrial latitudes.

The standard astrolabe [see asṭurlāb] contains a series of plates for different latitudes. Originally, on Greek astrolabes and the first Islamic astrolabes, these served the seven climates of Antiquity [see iklīm]. However, already in the 3rd/9th century specific latitudes were selected and sometimes lists of localities served by these would also be engraved on the plates. In al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century two astronomers, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibn al-Zarkāllu and 'Alī b. Khalaf, developed instruments in which these plates for a series of latitudes were replaced by a single plate (*ṣafīḥa*), essentially an astrolabic plate serving the latitude of the equator, but more precisely a stereographic projection of the celestial sphere from the vernal point on to the plane of the solstitial colure. This had the technical advantage that it could be used for any terrestrial latitude. It also had aesthetic advantages: the markings, which consist of two families of orthogonal circles (for, say, meridians and parallels of declination, or for longitudes and latitudes), are symmetrical with respect to both axes (in other words, they are the same in all four quadrants) and they do not crowd together in any place.

The *ṣafīḥa zarkālliyya* (see below) became known to modern scholarship through the researches of J.M. Millás Vallicrosa. But the meaning and significance of the term *shakkāziyya* was unknown when Willy Hartner published his masterly study of the theory of the astrolabe in Pope's *Survey of Persian art* (1939) and the summary thereof in the article asṭurlāb [*q.v.*]. In the latter he wrote (vol. I, 727a): "Another early variety of al-Zarkālī's astrolabe is the *ṣafīḥa shakāziyya* (or *shakāriyya*), about which we do not possess any accurate information." We now possess a great deal of information about this, but have still not solved some of the basic problems.

In spite of the research of various scholars over the past two decades, the details of the development of the various universal devices associated with Ibn al-Zarḳāllu and ʿAlī b. Khalaf, the relationship between them, as well as the nature of their respective contributions, remain somewhat unclear. What is clear is that Ibn al-Zarḳāllu wrote treatises on two different universal instruments, both plates, and that ʿAlī b. Khalaf wrote a treatise on a universal astrolabe.

The *ṣafīḥa shakkāziyya* bears a set of *shakkāziyya* markings with a graduated straight line drawn across it at an angle to the equator equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic [see MAYL] to represent the projection of the ecliptic. The circles of longitude for the beginning of each pair of signs are drawn for this second coordinate system. The ensemble can be used, together with a diametral rule attached at the centre, to solve various problems of spherical astronomy, although the solution of the most important of these, the determination of time from celestial altitude, can only be achieved approximately. In other words, the instrument has some limitations. On the back are scales for finding the solar longitude from the day of the solar year and others for finding shadow lengths.

The *ṣafīḥa zarḳālliyya* consists of two sets of *shakkāziyya* markings superposed one upon the other, with their axes inclined at an angle equal to the obliquity. This results in a somewhat cluttered ensemble and these markings have but one use: to convert celestial coordinates from the ecliptic to the equatorial system and *vice versa*. The back of this *ṣafīḥa* was marked with a trigonometric grid bearing an orthogonal meridian projection. This allows exact solutions to be found for all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy. There is also a curious small circle offset from the centre (see below).

The universal astrolabe consists essentially of a plate with *shakkāziyya* markings and a rete with the same; the latter can then rotate over the former. The combination can be used to solve any problem of spherical astronomy, since one can consider the two sets of markings as representing a horizon-based or equatorial or ecliptic coordinate grid. ʿAlī b. Khalaf further restricted the *shakkāziyya* grid on the rete to one-half of the rete, leaving the other free for a celestial mapping of both the northern and southern halves of the ecliptic superposed one upon the other. With this problems relating to the sun and various fixed stars could be solved using the *shakkāziyya* plate below. The universal astrolabe is no longer an analogue computer like the standard astrolabe.

Mainly as a result of the influence of the 13th-century *Libros del saber de astronomía*, in which these three instruments were featured, European astronomers learned of the *shakkāziyya* grid and called it *safea* or *saphea* after the Arabic *ṣafīḥa* (see Poulle, 1969). It is found on several European astrolabes after the 14th century. The universal astrolabe of ʿAlī b. Khalaf, called *lámina universal* in Old Spanish, was "reinvented" in England in the late 16th century by John Blagrave of Reading. For details of the various treatises on them, as well as their rôle in the transmission of astronomical knowledge to Europe, the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed below.

The utility and aesthetic appeal of the *shakkāziyya* markings led to their application on a celestial map, contained in a 15th-century manuscript of the *Libros del saber*. On this the coordinate grid is identical with that of the *shakkāziyya* plate (Madrid 1992 exhibition catalogue, 229, listed under Puig, 1992 below).

On the trigonometric grid on the back of the *ṣafīḥa zarḳālliyya* there is a small circle set below the centre. Only recently has the function of this been understood (Puig, 1989). With remarkable ingenuity of conception the apparently simple device serves to calculate the lunar distance and hence the lunar parallax for any position of the moon on its orbit.

The Aleppo astronomer Ibn al-Sarrādj also reinvented the universal astrolabe of ʿAlī b. Khalaf some 250 years before Blagrave. He was clearly aware of at least the single *shakkāziyya* plate, but he stated that he invented the instrument himself and boldly labelled it *al-Sarrādjiyya*. There is no (other) known direct evidence of the influence of ʿAlī b. Khalaf's astrolabe west of the Maghrib. However, Ibn al-Sarrādj then went several steps further and developed a second variety, fitted with additional plates and astronomical markings. In short, he produced an instrument that can be used universally in five different ways. An example of this remarkable quintuply-universal astrolabe, made by Ibn al-Sarrādj himself in 729/1328-29, is happily preserved in the Benaki Museum, Athens. It is the most sophisticated astrolabe ever made, and astronomers in Renaissance Europe would have been hard put to understand all of its functions. Fortunately a treatise on the use of this instrument survives, written by the Cairene astronomer ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Wafāʾī (*ca.* 850/1450), whose mark of ownership is engraved on the Benaki astrolabe. He complained that Ibn al-Sarrādj failed to provide any instructions on its use, and proceeded to provide these himself, admirably completing the task to the very last detail.

Other Mamlūk astronomers in the 8th/14th century wrote on the simpler variety of universal astrolabe, which they called *al-asṭurlāb al-mughnī* [*ʿan al-ṣafāʾiḥ*], "the astrolabe that does not need any plates". They also developed the single and double *shakkāziyya* quadrant. With the former (see Samsó, 1971 and Samsó and Catalá, 1971) the problem of determining time from celestial altitudes is solvable only approximately. With the latter (see King, 1974) the solution is exact for any latitude. No such Islamic instruments survive; they are known only from texts. A double *shakkāziyya* quadrant from late-16th-century Louvain, now in the Adler Planetarium, Chicago, shows that Renaissance European instrument-makers, if only the most ingenious, were interested in the same kind of device.

Closely related to the *shakkāziyya* and *zarḳālliyya* plates, and certainly inspired by their utility, was the more flexible universal plate (*al-ṣafīḥa al-djāmiʿa li-djamīʿ al-ʿurūḍ*) of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Bāṣo of Granada (*fl. ca.* 675/1275). Only recently has it become known how this plate, a common feature on later Andalusian and Maghribī astrolabes, and occasionally also on Mamlūk Syrian and even on one Mughal Lahore astrolabe, functions (see Calvo, 1992 and 1993). The underlying notions reflect an almost incredible skill with the problems of spherical astronomy. Essentially, the plate is used with different arguments (such as terrestrial latitude, solar or stellar declination, and solar or stellar altitudes) entered on different families of circles, and the appropriate operations yield, for example, the time of day or the azimuth of the sun or a given star. A single plate of a similar kind is found on a 15th-century German astrolabe, now in Columbia University, New York City; it proves that European astronomers later approached the same problem in the same way.

The development of these universal instruments in al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century testifies to the remarkable abilities of astronomers there at that time. The interest of Muslim astronomers in universal instruments in general is part of their fascination with and

mastery of universal solutions to diverse problems of spherical astronomy (see King, 1987 and 1988). These, attested from the 3rd/9th to the 10th/16th century, represent a particularly sophisticated tradition in Islamic astronomy.

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(D.A. King)

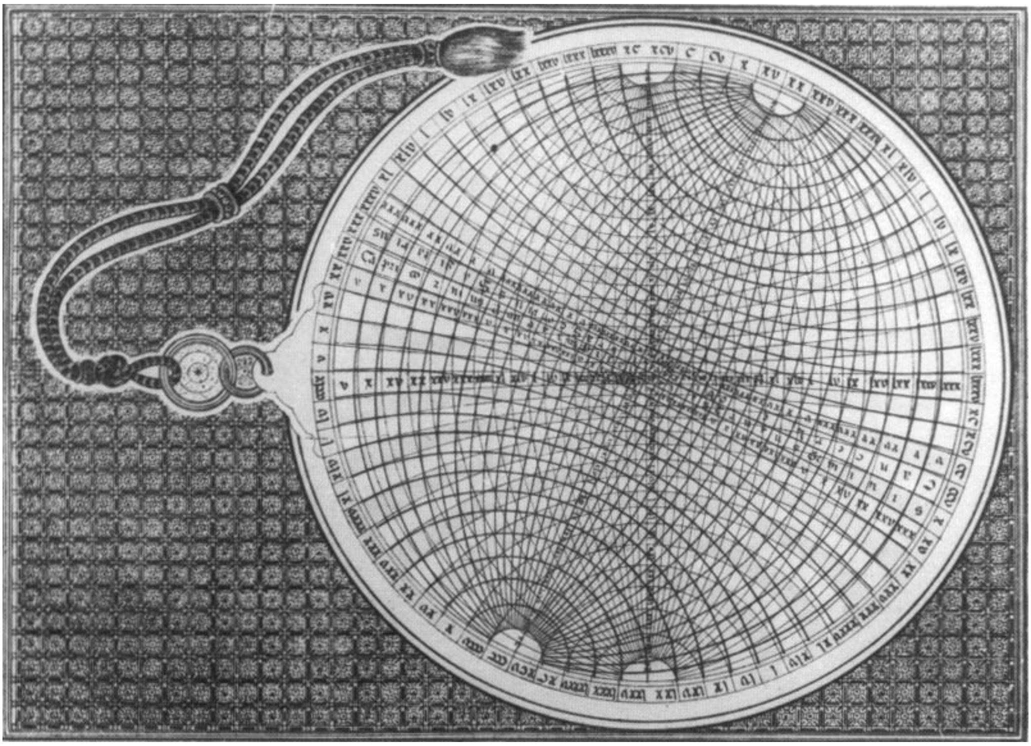
SHAKKĪ, a district in Eastern Transcaucasia. In Armenian it is called Shakʿē, in Georgian Shakʿa (and Shakikh?); the Arabs write Shakkay = Shakʿē (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 123, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 183, al-Balādhurī, 206), Shakkī (Yāḳūt, iii, 311), Shakkan (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 293, al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 194), Shakīn (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 68-9 = § 500).

The usual boundaries of Shakkī were: on the east, the Gök-čay which separates it from Shīrwān [*q.v.*] proper; on the west, the Alazan (Turk. Ḳanïḳ?) and its left tributary the Ḳashḳa-čay, which separates Shakkī from Georgia (Kakhetia) and the Georgian cantons later occupied by the Dāghistānīs (Eli-su, now Zakāt ʿAlī); in the north, the southern slopes of the Caucasus (Ṣalawāt Daghï, the passes of which, however, are within the confines of Dāghistān); to the south the Kura (Kur). Shakkī is watered by the tributary of the Alazan, Ägri-čay ("river running diagonally", i.e. from east to west) and the river Aldjigān (Gīlān) and Tūriyān, which run towards the Kura. Shakkī consists of three regions, one of high valleys covered with forests and orchards; a central one, a treeless and desert plateau; lastly, a fertile plain declining to the Kura.

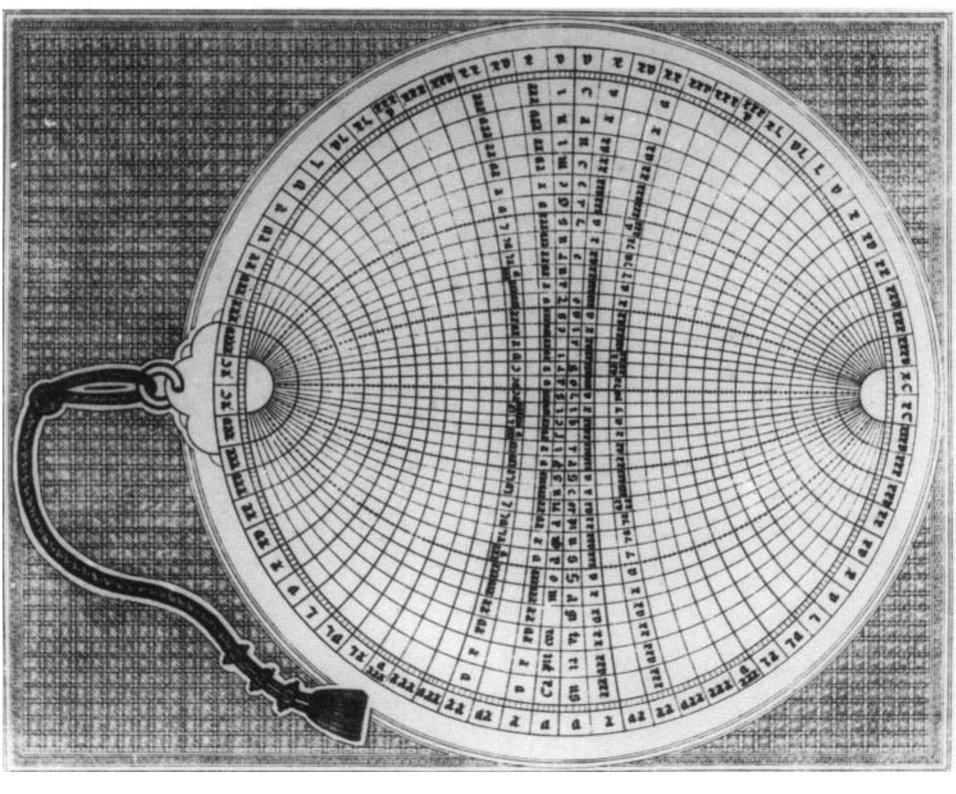
The variety of the factors that have influenced this remote region is responsible for the remarkable character of its local history, in which we see pass before us in succession, the Albanians (Aghowāns), Armenians, Georgians, the people of Dāghistān, Persians, Turks and Russians.

In ancient time it formed part of Caucasian Albania [see ARRĀN], which was a confederation of 26 tribes speaking different languages (Strabo, xi, 4). The remnants of one of these tribes are believed to survive in the Udi, who are still to be found at Shakkī (al-Balādhurī, 203: Ūdh). From their name they must have originally come from the region of Uti (Strabo, xi, 7; Οὐίτιοι; Pliny, vi, 13: Otene) lying on the right bank of the Kura (the modern Gandja, Shamkūr, Ṭāwūs); it at first belonged to Armenia Major but was later occupied by the Albanians (cf. "the Armenian Geography" of the 7th century translated into Russian by Patkanov, 1877, 51). The present language of the Udi is related to the southeastern group of languages of Dāghistān (Khinalugh, Budugh, etc.) and has been subjected to very heterogeneous influences, especially Turkish (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 49). The Albanians were very early converted by the Armenians and, according to the Armenian legend, the church of Gish (now Kīsh) was built by Elishē, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus.

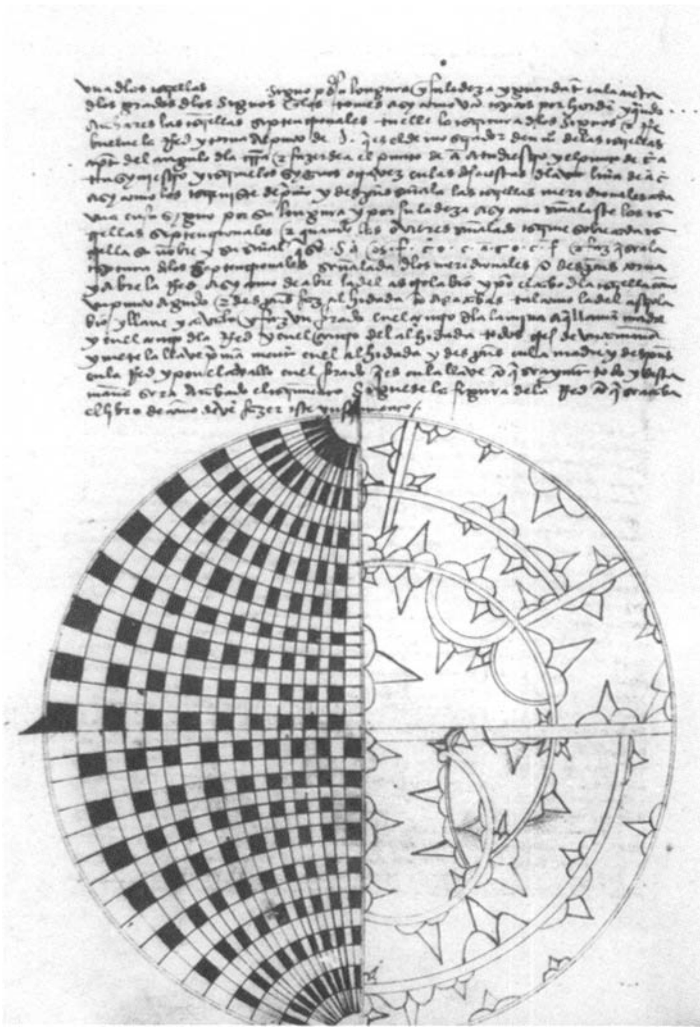
Among the places mentioned in Albania by Ptolemy, Χαβάλα and αἱ Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι occupying the same position, long. 80°, lat. 47°, must correspond to Ḳabala and to the passes which above it give access to the valley of Samūr (Khačmaz and Kutkashen roads). The ruins of Ḳabala lie near the confluence of the two branches of the Tūrīyān čay. Ὄτικα (long. 77° 30', lat. 44° 45') may correspond to the town of Shakkī which has now disappeared (Yanovski places it to the south-west of Nūkhā, near the village of Shekīlī). The other identification (Νίγα = Nīž) has still to be examined carefully. The present chef-lieu Nūkhā or Nūkhī (on the river Kīsh) is said to have taken its name from a village more to the east (Sulṭān Nūkhā near Nīž); its name is only found from the 18th century



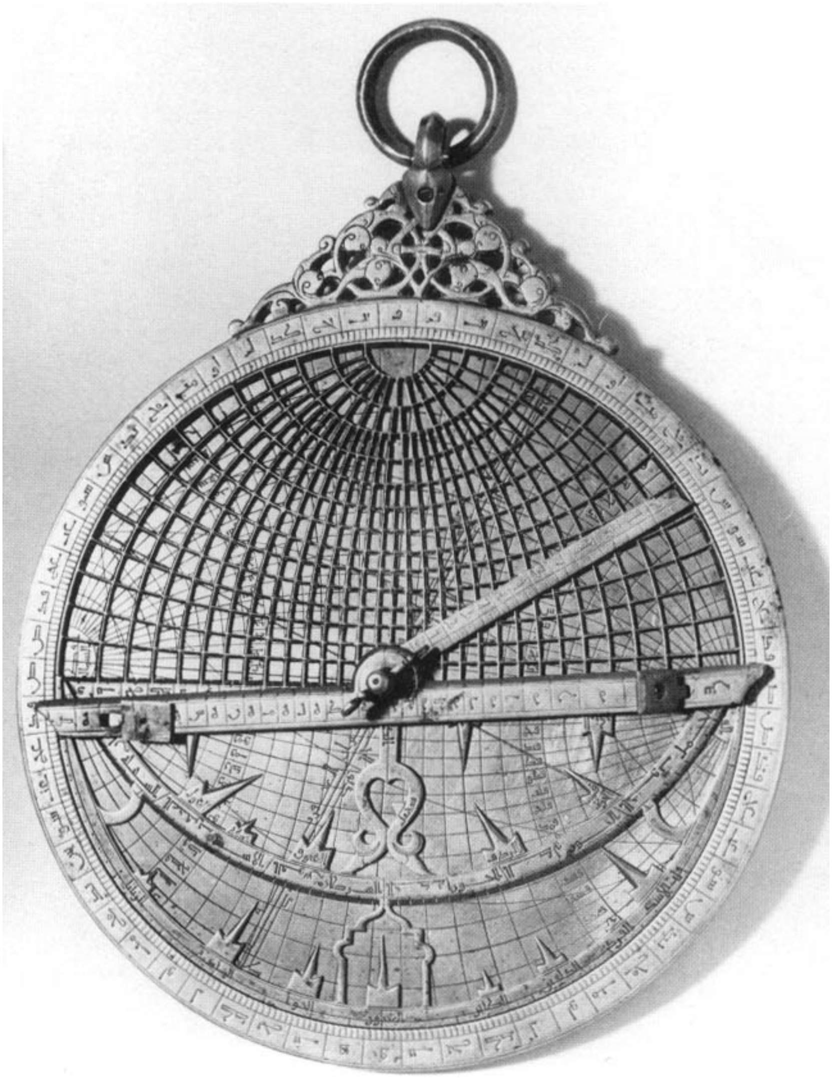
2. The *zarḳālliyya* plate illustrated in the *Libros del saber*.



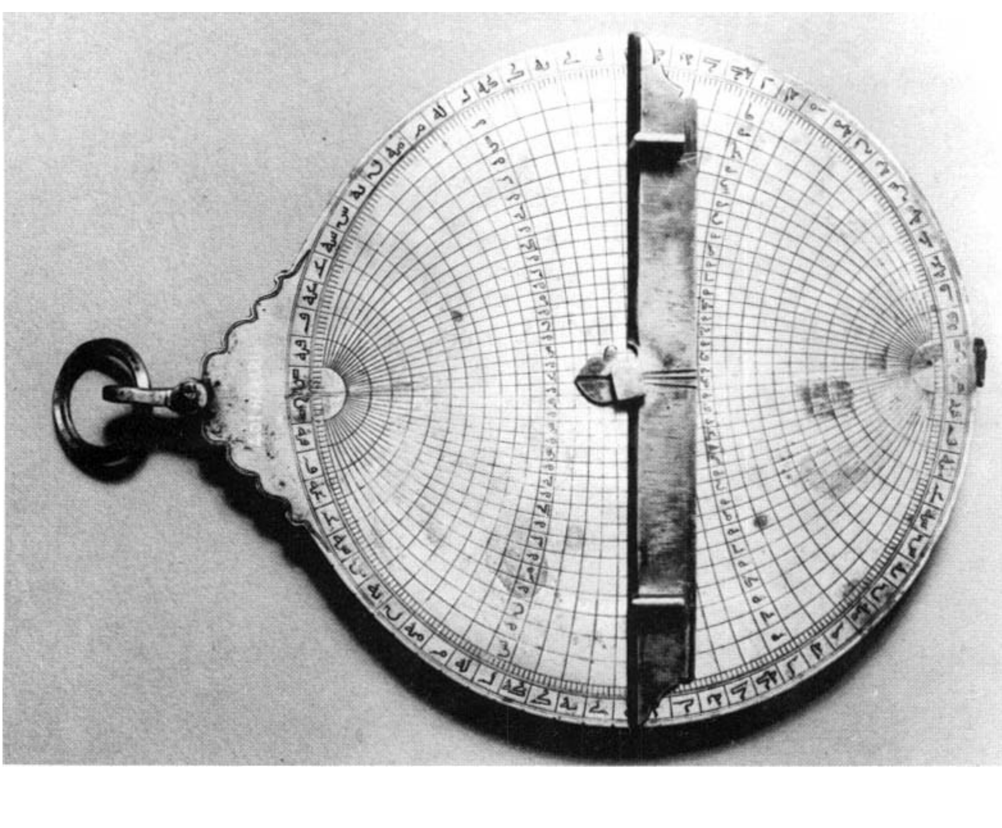
1. The *shakkāziyya* plate illustrated in the *Libros del saber* (ed. D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas, Madrid 1873).



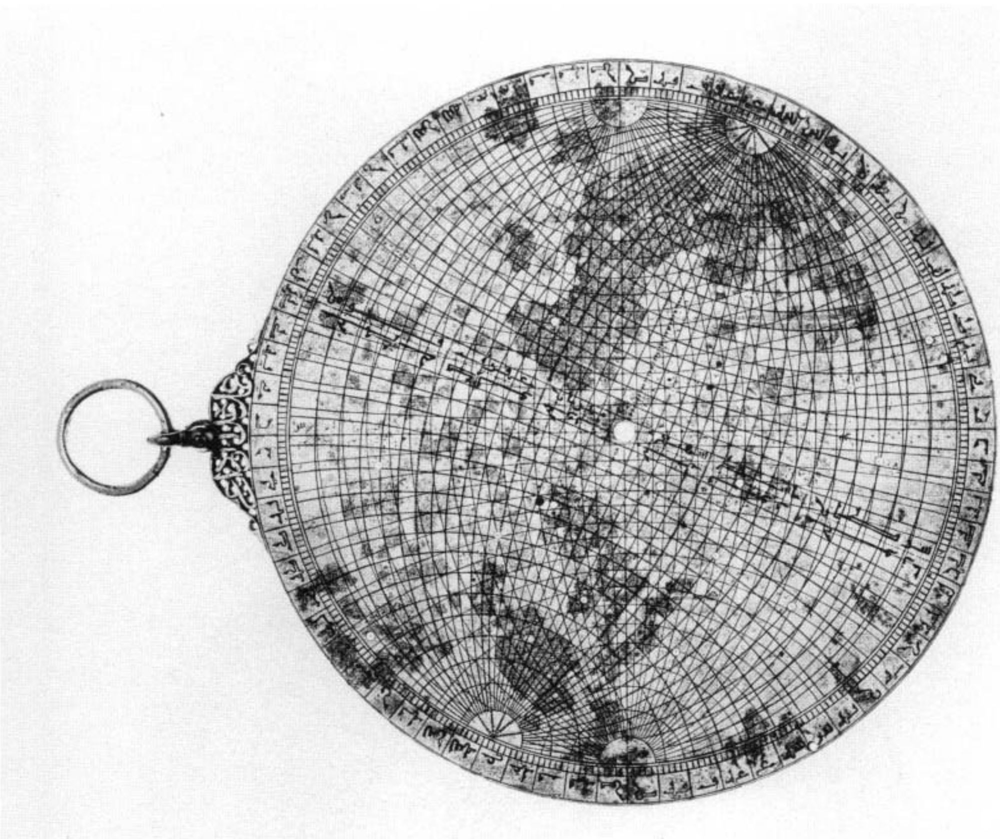
3. The rete of ʿAlī b. Khalaf's universal astrolabe in the *Libros del Saber* (reproduced from ms. Madrid Biblioteca Nacional L97).



4. The front of the quintuply-universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrādj, showing a semi-circle of *shakkāziyya* markings laid over the *shakkāziyya* plate. (Courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.)



5. The back of an unsigned astrolabe in the tradition of Shams al-Dīn al-Mizzī from 8th/14th-century Damascus. The *shakkāziyya* markings are here without the scale for the ecliptic. (Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, photo from the archives of Alain Brieux, courtesy of Dominique Brieux.)



6. The *zarkālliyya* markings on an astrolabic plate by ʿAlī al-Wadāʿī (Syria, *ca.* 650/1250). (Time Museum, Rockford, Ill., photo courtesy of the late Alain Brieux, Paris.)

onwards, unless it is connected with Iekhni (name of an Albanian canton, according to the Armenian geographers).

When the Arabs talk of towns of Arrān built by the Sāsānids, they probably only refer to the rebuilding of ancient sites; thus Ḳubād b. Fīrūz (488-531) is credited with the building of Ḳabala (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 288; Yāḳūt, iv, 32) and his son Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79) with Abwāb-Shakkan, Ḳambīzān (Καμβυσήνη, K'ambēč'an in Kakhetia) and Abwāb al-Dūdāniyya (al-Balādhurī, 194).

Under the caliph ʿUthmān, Salmān b. Rabīʿa, having crossed the Kura, conquered Ḳabala, but confined himself to concluding a treaty of peace with the chiefs of Shakkan and Ḳambīzān. Later, al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī halted at Shakkī on his return from the Dāghistān campaign.

We have a certain amount of information on Shakkī in mediaeval Islamic times from an anonymous history of Darband, the *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb*, known from citations in the late Ottoman historian Münedjdjim Bashī's [*q.v.*] *Djāmiʿ al-duwal* (gathered together, with translation and detailed commentary, by Minorsky in his *A history of Sharwān and Darband*). From this, it is clear that Arab control in the first centuries was only light. A revolt in 205/820-1 killed the deputy of al-Maʾmūn's governor. At this time, Arrān and Shakkī were controlled by the vigorous Armenian prince Sahl b. Sunbāṭ, who surrendered the fugitive Bābak al-Khurramī [*q.v.*] to al-Muʿtaṣim (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1222-6, tr. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. xxxiii. Storm and stress along the northern frontiers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1991, 76-80; Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, xv [1953], 505-10).

The Christians of Shakkī remained for a long time in the majority. According to al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*, the principality of Shakīn, adjoining that of Ṣanārī (Ptolemy, v, 9; Σάναροι, Dzanar in the valley of the river Samūr), was inhabited by Christians and Muslims, who worked as merchants and artisans. The king was called Adarnarsē b. Humām. The next district on the east was Ḳabala, "a haunt of robbers and bad characters", the town of which had a Muslim population while the environs were inhabited by Christians. The king (*Malik*) of Ḳabala was called ʿAnbasa al-Aʿwar (the "one-eyed"). The identity of these is still uncertain. Towards the end of the 7th century, Georgian and Armenian sources mention a mysterious Adarnarsē the Blind (Brosset, i/1, 249); in the 9th century, the name of Atrnarse was fairly common in the family of Mihrakān (Albanian princes of Sāsānid origin, Brosset, i/2, 480). According to al-Muḳaddasī, 51, Ḳabala and Shakkī were only little towns.

Shakkī later belonged to the Shīrwānshāhs [*q.v.*], with whom, however, the Georgians disputed its possession. In 1117 King David conquered Gishi (Kīsh above Nūkhā on one of the tributaries of the Ägri čay). This little town was the residence of the governor (*eristʿaw*) of Tsukʿetʿ (district to the north-east of Alazan), and of the bishop whose diocese comprised Elisen (Eli-su), Tsukʿetʿ and Shakikh. Brosset, i/1, 250, thought the latter name identical with Shakkī.

In 622/1225 we again have the Shīrwānshāh Farīburz complaining to the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn of the loss of Shakkī and Ḳabala, which had been taken by the Georgians. Towards 626/1229, Djalāl al-Dīn established his authority over both towns simultaneously (al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, i, 146, 176).

In the time of Tīmūr we find Sīdī ʿAlī of the Arlāt tribe acting as *wālī* of the *wilāyet* of Shakkī. (Arlāt is the name of one of the four chief tribes of the Ulūs of Čaghatāy.) A punitive expedition sent by Tīmūr (796/1393) drove him from his office. Although a "good Muslim", he joined the Georgians and perished in a skirmish under the walls of the fortress of Alindjaḳ (near Nakhčiwān). About 801/1398, through the intercession of Amīr Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān (who had originally been a humble landowner in Shakkī), Sīdī Aḥmad, son of Sīdī ʿAlī, was re-established as chief of tribe and governor of Shakkī. Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad afterwards acted in concert (Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-9, i, 731, ii, 204, 218, 222).

To judge from the dates upon tombstones found by Yanovski in the cemetery of Ḳabala (890-901/1474-85), this town must have no longer existed towards the period of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasties.

At the beginning of the Ṣafawid period, Shakkī was ruled by the hereditary chief Ḥusayn Beg, a scion (according to the *Gulistān-i Iram*) of the Shīrwānshāh dynasty. Hard pressed by the Georgians, he appealed for help to Shāh Ismāʿīl, but was killed in a battle against Lewan I, king of Kakhetia (1520-74). When Shīrwān was conquered by Shāh Ṭahmāsp (in 945/1538), Darwīsh Muḥammad, son of Ḥusayn, aided the last Shīrwānshāh against the Persians. In 958/1551 Shāh Ṭahmāsp, with the help of King Lewan, besieged Kīsh and the fort of Gelesin-göresin ("come and see it") near the modern Nūkhā. Shakkī was then annexed by Persia.

When in 984/1578 the Ottoman troops under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] fought a battle at Ḳanïḳ against the Khāns of Gandja, Erīwān and Nakhčiwān, King Alexander II of Kakhetia, an ally of the Turks, occupied Shakkī without striking a blow, and it became an Ottoman *sandjaḳ*. The Turks re-established at Shakkī the son of the former governor Aḥmad Khān (Hammer, *GOR*², ii, 484) but an Ottoman governor (Ḳayṭās Pasha) was placed in Āresh.

When the Ṣafawids again became masters of Transcaucasia, Shāh ʿAbbās appointed the Georgian prince Constantin Mīrzā (son of Alexander II of Kakhetia) *wālī* of Shīrwān (in 1014/1606). Shāhmīr Khān of Shakkī became his faithful vassal. Later, the Ṣafawids removed their protection from the kings of Kakhetia, who were turning towards Moscow, tried to reduce their possessions and towards 1643, Shakkī fell into the power of local *maliks* and *sulṭāns*. Under ʿAbbās II, Ewliyā Čelebī visited Shakkī (ii, 286-93). At this time (about 1057/1647), the sultan of Shakkī was under the Khān of Āresh. The town had 3,000 houses although he puts the stronghold of Shakkī in the *eyālet* of Shīrwān. Ewliyā adds that it is considered to belong to Georgia, "because the Georgians had founded it". Ewliyā's notes on the tribe of Ḳaytāḳ whom he met near Maḥmūdābād (Ḳabala?) are very curious; these people talked pure Mongol (ii, 291), which has now completely disappeared from these regions.

Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] and his troops several times traversed the territory of Shakkī and Ḳabala (in 1147, 1154). To be able the better to resist him, the local petty chiefs chose as their leader (*Āthār-i Dāghistān: bashči*), the former tax-collector Ḥādjdjī Čelebī, son of Ḳurbān. In 1157/1744 Nādir Shāh besieged the fortress of Gelesin-göresin without success. After the death of Nādir (1160/1747), local dynasties arose again throughout the Eastern Caucasus. Ḥādjdjī Čelebī consolidated his position and only allowed authority to the sultans of Āresh and Ḳabala. On two occasions he inflicted defeats on King Irakli of Georgia. This energetic man, whose character is not without chivalrous features, played a considerable part in Transcaucasia (Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, ii, 2, 131). Ḥādjdjī

Čelebī, a grandson, we are assured, of the priest (Ḳara Ḳashīsh) of the former church of Kīsh, was a zealous Muslim and converted to Islam forcibly a large number of his Christian subjects. He died in 1172/1759. His descendants (Agha Kishi, Ḥusayn, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir), relying alternately on their neighbours in Darband (Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān) or Ḳarabāgh (Ibrāhīm Khān), expended their energies in intrigues and internal struggles. Finally, on 21 December, 1783, Muḥammad Ḥasan, son of Ḥusayn Khān, established himself at Nūkhā after having massacred the whole family of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (who had murdered Muḥammad Ḥasan's father). He proved an able administrator. He annexed to Shakkī the cantons of Āresh and Ḳabala, colonised the open lands and drew up a written canon of laws (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) by which the population were divided into five classes: the begs (3 categories; in all 1,550, of whom 51 were Armenians); the monks; the *maʾaf* (= *muʿāf*), 700 men-at-arms excepted from taxation; the *raʿiyyat* (peasant proprietors); and the *randjbar* (peasants).

About 1209/1795 Salīm Khān, brother of Muḥammad Ḥasan, seized Shakkī and transferred the seat of government to Gelesin-göresin. Muḥammad Ḥasan, taking refuge with Agha Muḥammad Ḳādjār, was blinded by his orders and ended his days in exile in Russia. In May 1805 Salīm Khān submitted to the Russians and promised to pay tribute, but soon rebelled against his new suzerains. On 10 December 1806, the Russians invested Djaʿfar Ḳulī Khān Dumbulī, the former governor of Khoy [*q.v.*], who had been expelled by the Persians, with the governorship of Shakkī. By the treaty of 1813 Persia recognised Russian suzerainty over Shakkī and the other neighbouring khānates. After the death in 1819 of the unpopular Ismāʿīl Khān, son of Djaʿfar Ḳulī, General Yermolov incorporated Shakkī as a separate province in the Russian empire. At this date (1824), the khānate covered 7,600 square miles, contained 200 villages and had a population of 98,500, of whom 80,000 were Ādharbāydjān Turks, 15,300 Armenians, 1,500 Udi and 1,000 Jews.

After 1846, Shakkī, divided into two districts (*uyězd*), Nūkhā and Āresh (capital Aḳ-dash), was under the Imperial Russian governor of Elizavetpol (Gandja). According to the census of 1896, the district of Nūkhā (1,600 square miles) had a population of 94,767, of whom 66,000 were Turks, 14,800 Armenians, 7,400 Udi, 4,400 Lezgīs and 1,800 Jews. The town of Nūkhā had 25,000 inhabitants (81% Turks and 18% Armenians). Among the villages of Nūkhā may be mentioned the two last refuges of the Udi: Wartashen (majority Jewish; the Udi half-Armenian-Gregorians and Orthodox), and Nīž or Než (5,000 Udi, Armenian-Gregorians).

After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the old khānate briefly formed part of the independent Azerbaijan Republic, affiliated to the Transcaucasian Federation, and then, after 1920, came within the Soviet Union and the Azerbaijan S.S.R. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, it has been part of the independent Azerbaijan Republic.

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(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SHAḲŪBIYA, the designation in Arabic of the Spanish town of Segovia, an important and ancient centre, now the capital of the province of the same name, situated in Old Castile, 100 km/60 miles to the north-west of Madrid, 998 m/3,300 feet above sea-level, on an isolated rock near one of the last spurs of the Sierra de Guadarrama. This town is famous for its Roman (aqueduct) and Christian (alcazar) remains, and was only under Muslim rule for a short time. It was recaptured in 140/757 by Alfonso I of Astuvias or his son Fruela I at the same time as Zamora, Salamanca and Avila. It was, like those towns, recaptured, but only for a very brief period, by the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir in the second half of the 4th/10th century.

After the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, Shaḳūbiya, in a rearguard position facing the Muslims, was "re-peopled" by the Castilians in 1088, although recent Spanish historiography has called into question whether the region had previously been completely depopulated. It then became the seat of a small Muslim community subject to the Christian ruling power as Mudéjares [*q.v.*], shown, in the mid-15th century, by ʿĪsā b. Djābir (*Içe de Gebir*), author of the *Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de la Ley y Çunna*, the first attempt at Muslim literature in the Spanish language.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[J.-P. MOLÉNAT])

SHAḲUNDA, arabicised form of Secunda, name of a little town opposite Cordova on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. According to al-Maḳḳarī and Ibn Ghālib, it was originally surrounded by a rampart. It was here that a decisive battle was fought in 129/747 between the Maʿaddī clan under Yūsuf al-Fihrī [*q.v.*] and al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*] and the Yamanī clan commanded by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, who was defeated. Later, at the zenith of the Umayyad caliphate, Secunda became one of the richest suburbs of Cordova and was also called the "southern suburb" (*al-rabaḍ al-djanūbī*). The celebrated Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Shaḳundī [*q.v.*], the most famous man of letters in al-Andalus in his day, was born in Secunda; he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Baeza and Lorca by the Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr and died in 629/1231-2. It was he who wrote the famous epistle (*risāla*) on the merits of his native country as a companion piece to that which the author Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Muʿallim of Tangier had composed on the excellence of North Africa. The text is given almost in full by al-Maḳḳarī in his *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SHAKUNDĪ, ABU 'L-WALĪD ISMĀʿĪL b. Muḥammad (d. at Seville, 629/1231-2), scholar of al-Andalus, originally from the village of Shakunda, which faced Cordova, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, and who functioned as *kāḍī* of Baeza, Lorca and Ubeda. He was at the court of the Almohad al-Manṣūr, and addressed to him a poem of congratulation on his victory at Alarcos (591/1195). He was a great friend of the father of Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī [*q.v.*], who sought out his company and transmitted the sparse biographical information which we possess on him. He is above all known for his *Risāla* (see below).

His works comprise:

1. *R. fī faḍl al-Andalus*, an epistle on the merits of his land and its superiority over the Maghrib. The text is cited by Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, and by al-Makkarī, *Nafḥ*, and there are mss. at Tunis (Aḥmadiyya, *madjmūʿ*, 4551) and the National Library there (Ṣādikiyya, 8845, under the title of *R. fī tafḍīl barr al-Andalus ʿalā barr al-ʿidwa*); at Madrid (Acad. de la Historia, 29); and in the Mingana collection, 1379 (same title as the preceding). Ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Faḍāʾil al-Andalus wa-ahlihā li-Ibn Ḥazm wa-Ibn Saʿīd wa 'l-Shakundī*, Beirut 1967. Partial tr. in P. de Gayangos, *The hist. of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain*, London 1840-3, i, 32-3, 44-5, 48-9, 52-4, 57-9, 66-9, 72-3, 123-5. Tr. with introd. E. García Gómez, Madrid-Granada 1934 (review by I. Guidi in *RSO*, xv [1935], 108), repr. in his *Andalucía contra Berbería*, Barcelona 1976, 44-141. M. al-Ḥabīb, *Ḥaḍārat al-Andalus min khilāl risālatay Ibn Ḥazm wa 'l-Shakundī*, in *Le patrimoine hispano-mauresque*, Rabat 1993, 47-88.

2. *K. al-Ṭuraf/Ṭuraf al-ẓurafāʾ/ẓaraf al-ẓurafāʾ*, a poetic anthology cited by al-Makkarī and Ibn Saʿīd (in *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, 19 citations).

3. and 4. *Manākil al-durar wa-manābit al-zuhar* and *al-Muʿdjam*, according to the very dubious attribution of al-Ziriklī.

5. A few verses from his poems preserved by Ibn Saʿīd.

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SHAKŪRA, a Spanish Arabic place-name corresponding to the Spanish Segura. This last name is now only applied to the river which waters Murcia and Orihuela and flows into the Mediterranean near Guardamar. In the Muslim geographers, this river is usually called the "white river" (*al-nahr al-abyaḍ*). It rises, like the Guadalquivir, in the range called Djabal Shakūra, but on the eastern slope. The mountains to which this name was given are of considerable extent. They were, according to the Arab geographers, covered with forests and had no fewer than 300 towns and villages and 33 strongholds. They corresponded apparently not only to the Sierra de Segura, still called on the maps Sierra de Segura, but also to those called del Yelmo, de las Cuatro Villas, de Castril and de Cazorla. The highest points are the Yelmo de Seguar (1,809 m/6,000 feet) and the Blanquilla (1,830 m/6,100 feet).

Shakūra was also the name in the Arab writers of a fairly important town in the district, clustered round a castle reputed to be almost inaccessible. It was here that Ibn ʿAmmār, the vizier of the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtamid, came to seek refuge with Ibn Mubārak, lord of the town, who handed him over to his master. At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Segura was the usual residence of Abū Isḥāk Ibrāhīm b. Hemoshko, lieutenant and vassal of the famous king of Murcia, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*].

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHALAMANKA or SHALAMANTIKA, the modern Salamanca, provincial capital in the autonomous Commune of Castile and León and the seat of a famous university since the close of the Middle Ages.

We have no information on what happened in the ancient Roman, then Visigothic town and its region at the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain. One may posit the establishment there of Berber groups, as in other parts of the Meseta of the north, who must then have fallen back southwards after 740, leaving the region depopulated, at least substantially so, if not totally. The policy of leaving a desert zone practised by the nucleus of Hispano-Christian resistance in the Asturias must also have contributed to this. Salamantica appears amongst the *civitates* taken and cleared of their population by Alfonso I (739-57); *omnes quoque Arabes gladio interficiens, Xpianos autem secum ad patriam ducens*, according to the chronicle of Alfonso III.

Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn confirm the Christians' conquest of Segovia, Salamanca, Zamora and other towns of the north-west of the peninsula in the course of the 8th century, but attribute this not to Alfonso I but rather to his successor Fruela (757-68), a divergence possibly explicable by mention in the Christian texts of a Fruela, brother of Alfonso I, who is not his successor of the same name; the Arabic texts have doubtless mixed the two up. Then there is total silence about Salamanca for a century and a half; a notice in the text of the *Cronica Abeldense* according to which Ordoño II (850-66) is said to have seized Salamanca probably results from a confusion with Talamanca, in the modern province of Madrid.

Although we have a series of names of the bishops of the town for the 9th and 10th centuries, we cannot assume *a priori* that they effectively occupied their see, as in the case of Dulcidius, captured in 308/920 at the battle of Valdejunquera in Navarre and brought in captivity to Cordova. However, for much of the 10th century, it is clear that the town existed and was in Christian hands, with inhabitants and with a Leonese count. After his victory of 327/939 over ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III at Simancas and Alhándega in 327/939, Ramiro II (930-51) led an expedition on the banks of the Tormes, and repopulated its deserted towns: *et civitates desertas ibidem populavit*, amongst which Salamanca figures prominently. In 942 Bermudo Núñez, count of Salamanca, was defeated, with 300 knights, by the Muslims when he attacked the Berber town—whose site remains uncertain—of Saktān, at a

place called Fadjdj al-Masādjid, clearly one of the entries to the Middle Marches. In 953, Ordoño III, king of León, gave to the bishop of his capital the churches of the region of Salamanca built, in Ramiro II's time, by colonists from León: *ecclesias in alhauce de Salamantica quantas hedificaverunt ibidem populatores patris mei qui fuerunt de Legiones.* In 360/971 the envoys of Fernand Flaínez, "son of the count of Salamanca", were received at Cordova. In the time of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr, several expeditions were launched at Salamanca by him. In 367/977, the Muslims entered the town and seized its suburbs (*arbāḍ*), and 373/983 there was a second attack. In 376/986, al-Manṣūr conquered (*fataḥa*) the town, as well as Alba (de Tormes), León and Zamora. However, no more than in other places, does it seem that a garrison remained there to assure its reintegration in the Islamic sector. Although there is a fleeting mention of *Shalamantiḳa* in the 5th/11th century author al-Bakrī, one which does not necessarily relate to the author's own time, it is possible that al-Manṣūr's campaigns led to an abandonment of the town, a "second depopulation", which would explain why the Christians had, at the very end of the 11th century, to undertake a new repopulating of the town, when the capture of Toledo had repelled towards the south the danger of a Muslim counter-offensive. Whilst the authors speaking of this repopulating (Jiménez de Rada, Lucas de Tuy) give no date, the award in 1102 by Count Raymond of Burgundy to the church of Salamanca, for its restoration, which involved also the repopulation of a quarter of the town, *ut populetis ilium*, is a useful reference point. The gift involved mills, fisheries and fields of which the Count held seisin (*aprendiwimus, accepimus*), and has been variously interpreted. Sánchez-Albornoz saw in this *presura* proof of a preceding depopulation; Barvero and Vigil have retorted that already the existence of these installations and agricultural workings proves the existence of a prior population, which is said precisely to have been expropriated, whilst neglecting the fact that the mills and fisheries were to be constructed (*pro facere*) and the fields to be ploughed and sown (*pro arare et pro seminare*).

The *fuero* of Salamanca attests the presence of Mozarabs [*q.v.*] in the town after the begining of the 11th century. But the origin of these "Arabised" Christians cannot be established with certainty, and there are on the question almost as many opinions as scholars: some supposing a local origin, and others an immigration from Andalusia or the adjacent part of Extremadura before the arrival of the Almoravids and then Almohads, or then from the Sharḳ al-Andalus [*q.v.*] at the time of the fall of the Cid's principality at Valencia, or an arrival from the Mozarab centres of the León region, as part of a movement of Christian colonisation. The traces left by the Mozarabs of Salamanca are, moreover, minimal, and not to be compared with their equivalents in León or above all in Toledo, amounting only to a few toponyms, often of dubious interpretation, the clearest apparently being Coreses and Cordovilla, evoking a migration from the south, from the nearby Coria and from the more distant Cordova. One theory sees in the *Serranos*, known as an element in the repopulation of Salamanca, as also of Ávila, not Castilians from the *sierras* around Burgos, Soria and La Rioja, but people from the *sierras* of the Middle March, who had remained in place. This accords ill with the texts' distinction between them and the Mozarabs.

Salamanca was henceforth a town and military base for the Christians, the departure point for expeditions against the remaining part of al-Andalus to the south of the Middle March, until the conquest of the modern Spanish Extremadura and the definitive union of León and Castile in 1230. Thereafter, the development of the university, laboriously established in the 13th century, plus the consolidation of a nobility, gave Salamanca its constitution lasting till the verge of modern times. The subjugated Muslims (Mudéjars [*q.v.*]) do not figure there any more than in all the northwestern sector of modern Spain, in contrast to the Castilian lands and the modern Extremadura. But Arabic was taught at the University of Salamanca at the beginning of the 16th century.

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AL-**SHALAWBĪN**, ABŪ ʿALĪ ʿUMAR B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī al-Ishbīlī al-Naḥwī (562-645/1166-1247), Andalusī grammarian.

He was known as al-Shalawbīn, a *laḳab* derived by some biographers from Shalawbīniyya, today Salobreña, which would have been his place of origin (so that he is also called al-Shalawbīnī). Others, however, explain that *al-shalawbīn* is a word which in the language of the Christians of al-Andalus means *al-ashkar*

al-azraḳ (another version *al-abyaḍ al-ashḳar*), i.e. of a ruddy complexion combined with fairness. He is also known as al-Shalawbīn al-kabīr to distinguish him from another grammarian, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī al-Mālaḳī, also called al-Shalawbīn (d. 660/1262). ʿUmar al-Shalawbīn was born in Seville, where his father was a baker, and from childhood devoted himself to the study of grammar. At the age of 22 he had mastered Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. Al-Marrākushī records a complete list of his teachers, two of whom, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ḥubaysh and Abū Bakr b. Khayr, gave him the *idjāza*, together with his only non-Andalusian teacher, Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī of Alexandria. Al-Shalawbīn is described as *raʾīs al-nuḥāt* and *imām fī ʿilm al-naḥw* in al-Andalus, and his mastery of the Arabic language was such that it was said none of his contemporaries could rival him. His work and fame reached Syria and ʿIrāḳ in his own lifetime. He started teaching at a very young age, around the year 580/1184, and continued until 640/1242, stopping not only because of his advanced age but, especially, owing to the serious political circumstances of the moment, with the advance of the Christians, who had conquered Cordova, Valencia and Murcia. He died in Seville during the siege of the town, which fell into Christian hands a year later (646/1248). During his life he seems to have won the favour of the Almohad rulers (he visited Marrākush in the times of al-Manṣūr), and also had a close relationship with the Banū Zuhr. His works comprise *al-Ḳawānīn fī ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayhi*, two *Sharḥs* called *al-Muḳaddima al-Djazūliyya* (one large, the other small), *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā Sharḥ Mufaṣṣal al-Zamakhsharī li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, *al-Tawṭiʾa fī 'l-naḥw*, and a *Mashyakha*. He also wrote poetry, some of a homosexual nature. He was also an important transmitter of grammar works, Ḳurʾānic readings and poetry. Surprisingly, he also held *idjāzāt* from Ibn Rushd and Abū Bakr Ibn Zuhr and may have kindled the philosophical interests of his student, the poet and literary theorist Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī [*q.v.*] (al-Ruʿaynī, 84-5). His contemporary Ibn al-Ḳifṭī believed that al-Shalawbīn's dedication to grammar was just a means of earning a living rather than a genuine vocation, because of a report from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Mufarridj Ibn al-Rūmiyya al-Ishbīlī (d. 637/1239) that al-Shalawbīn had sold him a rare and valuable work (the *Kitāb al-ʿālam fī 'l-lugha* written by Aḥmad b. Abān al-Ishbīlī in the 4th/10th century) which no real lover of the *ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya* would have sold.

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(MARIBEL FIERRO)

SHALBAṬARRA, the modern Salvatierra, a fortress of mediaeval Spanish al-Andalus, in the Sierra Morena, in the territory of the modern commune of Calzada of Calatrava (Ciudad Real province). It was re-conquered in 1198 by a surprise attack of the Knights of the Order of Calatrava, after the Christian defeat of al-Arak/Alarcos in 591/1195, which had brought the loss of the whole of this sector. However, it was regained by the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir in 608/1211, the year before the campaign of al-ʿUḳāb/Las Navas de Tolosa, the organising of which ended up, in large degree, on the Christian side, with the fall of Salvatierra. The nearby fortress of Dueñas became, after 1212, Calatrava la Nueva, replacing the earlier seat of the Order, the former Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ, known today as Calatrava la Vieja.

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(J.-P. MOLÉNAT)

SHALLA, current form CHELLA, an ancient town of Morocco, whose ruins are to be found on a height which dominates the Bouragrag river to the north-east of Rabat at some 3 km/2 miles from the sea. The site, its situation, the presence of an abundant and perennial spring, and fertile land, explain the antiquity of habitation there. Archaeological excavations have shown traces of several occupations (Mauretanian, Phoenician, Roman and Islamic), and the site has yielded artifacts going back to the 7th century B.C. Shalla was a Phoenician port between Lixus and Mogador before becoming a Roman town. As the capital of Juba II, the town was given a rampart in the year A.D. 140 and seems to have formed part of the fortified line of the *limes* before being abandoned in the 4th century.

It is difficult to follow its evolution over succeeding centuries. Often confused with Salā [*q.v.*] or Salé, Shalla figures in the succession of Idrīs II; ʿĪsā b. Idrīs inherited it before rebelling against the ruler of Fās. Once the Idrīsids were eliminated, Shalla became the capital of the Maghrāwa Banū Ifran [*q.v.*], but we know nothing of its role in the warfare against the Barghwāṭa [*q.v.*]. After the foundation of Salé,

Shalla was partially abandoned before being destroyed by the Almoravids.

At the end of the 7th/13th century, the Marīnids [*q.v.*] transformed Shalla into a royal necropolis. The princess Umm al-ʿAzīz, wife of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb and mother of Yūsuf, was the first to be buried there in 682/1284, and when he died at Algeciras two years later, Yūsuf was brought back there. The first edifice was confined to a simple mosque with the tombs. It was the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan who undertook vast works there and created the monumental necropolis; the protective wall, with its three gates, was completed in 739/1339. The whole ensemble included funeral chapels, two mosques (one of whose minarets, still surviving, is decorated with polychrome tiles), a *madrasa* and a library; substantial *aḥbās* were allotted for its upkeep. After he died in the mountains of the Hintāta, Abu 'l-Ḥasan was buried at Shalla, where his tomb became an object of a curious popular veneration. He was the last monarch to be buried in the necropolis.

Some Ṣūfīs installed themselves there, and Sīdī al-Ḥādjdj ʿAbd Allāh al-Yabūrī founded "a *zāwiya* inside the necropolis of Shalla to the left, as one enters" (P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1956, 58). It was there that Ibn ʿAshīr [*q.v.*] settled when he arrived in the region. But economic crisis seems to have preceded a political one, and according to Ibn ʿAbbād, commercial activity at Shalla, which had had two famous fairs each year, was only a memory (*al-Rasāʾil al-kubrā*, lith. Fās 1320). The necropolis was plundered during the anarchy after the end of the Marīnids. Al-Liḥyānī seized some works from the library, which he stripped of their precious ornamentation. Its royal *aḥbās* were the subject of a legal consultation, giving some idea of their importance (al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār*, vii, 18-21). In the 17th century, the Sabbāḥ tribe transformed Shalla into a fortress and used it as a base for plundering the region.

It was not till the beginning of the 20th century that excavations were undertaken at Shalla. The Roman town has largely been revealed, and the Marīnid monuments, which partially cover the classical ruins, have been identified. In a remarkable article, H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal described the necropolis, brought to light its inscriptions and gathered together the legends and accounts of the cults, of varying degrees of orthodoxy, which have grown up around Shalla (*Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris* (1922), 1-92, 255-316, 385-425). Despite its age, this study has never been surpassed.

At the present time, Shalla, with its gardens and its ruins inhabited by storks, has become an important tourist spot.

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(Halima Ferhat)

AL-**SHALMAGHĀNĪ** [see muḥammad b. ʿalī].

SHALṬĪSH, Saltés, a town of southwestern Spain (lat. 37° 12' N., long, 6° 59' W.), opposite Huelva, in the marshes of the mouths of the Tinto and Odiel rivers. The Island of Saltés is made up of three zones of lands and sands (El Amendral, El Acebuchal and La Cascajera), covered with low vegetation and pine trees, of a quality emphasised by al-Idrīsī. The highest point (15 m) is on El Acebuchal; El Amendral is no higher than 7 m—at the site of the Almohad fortress—despite the man-made accumulations of the Islamic town.

Shalṭīsh is not mentioned by Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Mukaddasī or Ibn Ḥawkal, although all three mention the nearby *ḥiṣn* of Gibraleón (Djabal al-ʿUyūn) or the neighbouring town of Niebla (Labla); al-Rāzī no longer mentions the site. However, the place name appears in al-ʿUdhrī in the story of events during the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's reign (3rd/9th century), in regard to the campaign of 219/834, during which the Norsemen, after a raid on Seville (Ishbīliya), "swept down ... as far as the Island of Saltés" (*Fragmentos*, 100, 175). From the end of the 4th/10th century, the position of the island and the site are known from the Arab geographers (J. Vernet, *España en la geografía de Ibn Saʿīd al-Magribī*, in *Hespéris* [1958], 314; al-Idrīsī, *Los caminos de al-Andalus en el siglo XII*, ed. and tr. J. Abid Mizal, Madrid 1989, 139, 141-2, 145). In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī (see E. Molina López, *Una descripcion anonima de al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. of *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, Madrid 1983, i, 178-216) mentions the island site of the town, but also the existence of a well-used port, a market, a dense urban pattern and an iron-working industry; whereas Yākūt and Ibn Saʿīd (early 7th/13th century) mention it only as a small town (Yākūt, *Buldān*, iii, 359) and an important centre for fishing, where fish was salted before being sent to Seville and other towns of al-Andalus (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 104; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 342-3, 346, 357). A little later, al-Ḥimyarī gives us a more detailed picture of the town, its agricultural hinterland and its economic life: the urban area was built up, without any empty space between buildings, but the town, which had an arsenal, lacked any protective wall (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 44, 135-6). Shalṭīsh is still mentioned in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries.

At the opening of the 5th/11th century there was constituted a principality of Saltés-Huelva, which Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Ayyūb (399-402/1008-12) governed, followed by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (403-43/1012-51). When the latter abdicated, his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, the great geographer, who was born at Saltés, was 30 years old [see abū ʿubayd al-bakrī]. In the ʿAbbādid kingdom of Seville, Saltés was merely an administrative district (M. Alarcón and C.A. González Palencia, in *Miscelanea arabe*, Madrid 1915, 459-60). It was during the Almoravid period that the town saw its most splendid growth, according to al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī. From 539/1144-5 onwards, Saltés became part of a new geopolitical complex which embraced, as well as Niebla and Huelva, the *mudun* or *ḥuṣūn* of Silves, Mértola, Évora and Beja, which became in Almohad times the economic bases for the new power. After a period when Saltés was closely linked with the Portuguese Algarve (6th/12th century and the first half of the succeeding one), there followed a phase of about a century (1151-1257) during which Saltés and Huelva were districts of the province of Niebla (A. Huici Miranda, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, Tetuán 1956, i, 240-2). However, Christian pressure increased. The Portuguese took the town in 1179 and captured numerous prisoners. It was partly destroyed, but again became active and prosperous in Almohad times, before being attached to the principality of Niebla towards 655/1257; at the time of the Christian reconquest, it became rapidly depopulated and was never re-occupied.

From 1945 to 1970, Saltés was the object of excavations aimed at discovering the site of Tartessos. Little has been published; the oldest ceramic fragments are apparently of Punic type, but most are of "Arab" type, mixed up with some Roman *tegulae*, the

latter recalling the fact that, according to Strabo, III. 5. 5, confirmed by al-Ḥimyarī, there was a sanctuary dedicated to Hercules. F. Wattenberg put forward the hypothesis, after several visits there, that Saltés was possibly the mythical Tartessos, and there have been found traces of activity stretching over several hectares. At the northern point of El Almendral, the Islamic town of Shalṭīsh shows traces of its last phase of occupation (end of the 6th/12th century and first half of the 7th/13th). A *ḳaṣaba*, of quadrangular plan (70 m by 40 m), with six bastions, including four at the angles, covers 3,500 m². Excavations made since 1988 confirm al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī on the urban structure, with streets and alleys—1.30 m to 1.60 m wide and with a sub-orthagonal orientation—marking out the "islands" of houses; this regular urban pattern gives the lie to the "traditional" view of the anarchic structure of the Hispano-Muslim town.

In the high period, the pottery shows two phases of occupation, one 9th-10th century and the other at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. Then traces of later building, with the Almohad houses built upon foundations of the older levels, silos, rubbish-filled ditches and workings where earth was extracted for *ṭābiyas*, mark the active period of the 11th and 12th centuries. The final stage, Almoravid and Almohad, is well preserved: a symmetrical, almost square plan, 12th and 13th-century houses built round a patio on to which open at least two large rectangular rooms with alcoves, which seem to correspond to an oriental mode of habitation. There is also a tendency towards the specialised use of space (kitchens, storerooms, latrines); brick paving and wells of sweet water and channels for running off surplus, waste dirty water complete the arrangements. Construction materials include, predominantly, earth, used in shuttering on stone bases. The Almohad level shows much re-use of earlier materials and foundations. All over the site there are numerous deposits of metallic slag and ashes showing the existence of metal-working; the workshops were situated slightly to one side (the north-east) of the *madīna*, where the prevailing winds could carry away smoke and sulphurous emissions. The island location of Shalṭīsh facilitated the transport of materials and fuel.

The Christian conquest of the mid-13th century meant the disappearance of the Muslim population, and texts are henceforth limited to mentioning the *ḳaṣaba*; as for the town, it was not even used for building material. To explain this abandonment, it has been suggested that there might have been an earthquake (L. Torres-Balbás, *Ciudades yermas de la España musulmana*, in *Bol. de la Real Academia de la Historia*, cxli [1957], 167-8). In the excavations, there has been noted the relative evenness of the terrain which seems, on the contrary, to bear witness to a departure which was neither urgent nor violent. Perhaps one should also take into account, in order to explain this 13th-century decline, the growing and irreversible salinisation of the water in the wells of Shalṭīsh .

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(A. Bazzana)

SHALTŪT, MAḤMŪD, Egyptian Sunnī religious scholar, rector (*shaykh*) of al-Azhar [*q.v.*] from October 1958 until his death on 13 December 1963, an influential author of Islamic reform [see IṢLĀḤ. 1.] in the tradition of Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] and his school of thought.

He was born on 23 April 1893 in Minyat Banī Manṣūr, a village of Lower Egypt, in the province of Buḥayra [*q.v.*]. In 1906 he was enrolled at the *maʿhad dīnī* of Alexandria, a religious institute founded in 1903 and affiliated to al-Azhar (for details see Lemke, 34-46). He received his diploma (*shahādat al-ʿālimiyya*) in 1918, and early in 1919 started teaching at the *maʿhad dīnī*. In 1927, he was transferred to Cairo in order to lecture at the Higher Division (*al-ḳism al-ʿālī*) of al-Azhar.

Having developed some ideas of a reform of al-Azhar (including steps to achieve greater independence from the state) as early as 1924, Shaltūt fervently supported Shaykh Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī and his reform programme when the latter became rector in 1928. After Marāghī's resignation and the appointment of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī al-Ẓawāhirī as rector in October 1929, Shaltūt was one of those who resisted the new *Shaykh al-Azhar* and his course of action, which he considered to be more or less reactionary. This led to his dismissal in September 1931. Until 1935, when he was reinstated following Marāghī's second appointment as rector (1935-45), Shaltūt worked as a lawyer in the *Sharīʿa* courts. Back at al-Azhar, he became Vice-Dean (*wakīl*) of the *Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿa* and, in 1939, inspector of the religious institutes (*mufattish bi 'l-maʿāhid al-dīniyya*).

In 1937 Shaltūt was one of three scholars representing al-Azhar at the Deuxième Congrès International de Droit Comparé held at The Hague. The lecture he gave there on civil and criminal liability in Islamic law was well received, not only by many participants of the congress but also in Azhar circles. It paved the way for him to become, in 1941, a member of the *Djamāʿat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ* (see Lemke, 116-20, and Aḥmad Fatḥī Bahnasī, *Sharḥ wa-taʿlīḳ ʿalā risālat al-marḥūm al-imām al-shaykh Shaltūt ʿan al-masʾūliyya al-madaniyya wa 'l-djināʾiyya fī 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1407/1987).

In 1946, he was elected to the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo (see the obituaries by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ and Muḥammad Mahdī ʿAllām in the Academy's journal, *Madj. Madjmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, xix [1965], 147-53 and 155-62, respectively). In November 1957, he was appointed by presidential decree to the position of Vice-Rector (*wakīl*), and in October 1958 to that of *Shaykh al-Azhar* (Zebiri, 12). Soon after taking up office, Shaltūt announced his determination to work for a far-reaching reform of al-Azhar. He praised the Reform Law passed by the National Assembly in June 1961 (for an analysis and evaluation of that law, see Lemke, 166-232), but as a result of what he saw as constant interference in Azhar affairs by the government, he became increasingly dissatisfied with its implementation (ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, 202 ff.; Zebiri, 28-31). During the last two years of his life, poor health forced him more and more to withdraw from public life. His funeral on 14 December 1963 was attended by huge crowds of mourners.

To a considerable extent Shaltūt's popularity was due to his outstanding oratorical skills. He is said to have been the first Azhar scholar to use broadcasting regularly for religious sermons and for answering

queries (partly printed as *Aḥādīth al-ṣabāḥ fī 'l-midhyā'*, with Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Madanī, i, Cairo 1947, and *Yas'alūna*, published by the Ministry of National Guidance in its series *Mukhtārāt al-idhā'a*, ²Cairo 1958). From among his works especially two are widely used: (1) *al-Islām, 'aḳīda wa-sharī'a*, ¹Cairo 1959, ¹⁷1991; (2) *al-Fatāwā, dirāsa li-mushkilāt al-muslim al-mu'āṣir fī ḥayātihi al-yawmiyya al-'āmma*, ¹Cairo 1964, ¹⁶1991. In both publications Shaltūt amply discussed problems of contemporary Muslim society such as family law (strongly defending the principle of polygamy), birth control, private property etc. (for a commentary on the first work, see the review article by Y. Linant de Bellefonds, in *Orient*, Paris, no. 19 [1961], 27-42; for details, Zebiri, index). His booklet on *djihād* [*q.v.*], *al-Ḳitāl fī 'l-islām*, written in 1940 and published in 1948, has been translated into English (R. Peters, *Jihad in mediaeval and modern Islam*, Leiden 1977, 26-79). Shaltūt's Ḳur'ān commentaries, especially his *Tafsīr al-ḳur'ān al-karīm: al-adjzā' al-'ashara al-ūlā*, Cairo 1959, ¹¹1988, and its characteristics, are described by Zebiri, 150-80. For further titles of Shaltūt's books, see Dāghir, 388-9, and Lemke, 261-2, who in addition lists articles which appeared in *Madjallat al-Azhar* or elsewhere (see also Zebiri, 188).

Especially among Shī'īs, Shaltūt is well remembered for his zeal to promote a rapprochement between the Muslim schools of law in general and between Sunnīs and Shī'īs in particular, i.e. to overcome misunderstandings, avoid polemics and establish a basis for discussion and cooperation—without, however, merging all the *madhāhib* into one (Zebiri, 24-6). In this connection, he actively supported the *Djamā'at al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya*, founded in Cairo in 1947, and its institute there, the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*. He kept up a correspondence with Shī'ī religious leaders such as Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In summer 1959 Shaltūt issued a *fatwā* to the effect that worship according to the doctrine of the Twelver Shī'a was valid and that this school was a recognised *madhhab* within Islam (for the Arabic text, see, e.g. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm, 188; for translations into other languages, Ende, 312, n. 13). The *fatwā*—originally an answer cut out from a newspaper interview and distributed by the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*—was greeted with enthusiasm in the Shī'ī world, but also kindled sharp criticism on the part of certain circles of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*]. Its effect at al-Azhar and elsewhere, however, was soon counteracted by both internal and external opposition as well as by international developments, such as the outbreak of a crisis between Persia and Egypt in summer 1960 (Ende, 314 ff.). For all Muslims striving for a rapprochement, however, Shaltūt's *fatwā* remains a source of inspiration [see further, TAḲRĪB].

Bibliography: In addition to the titles mentioned in the text, see the following: *Madjallat al-Azhar*, xxx (1958-9), special issue (*'adad mumtāz*) on the occasion of Shaltūt's appointment as rector, preceding nos. 4-5 (October-November); 'Alī 'Abd al-'Aẓīm, *Mashyakhat al-Azhar mundhu inshā'ihā ḥattā 'l-ān*, 2 vols., Cairo 1979, ii, 181-243; Yūsuf As'ad Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsā al-adabiyya*, iv, Beirut 1983, 387-9; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, ⁷Beirut 1986, vii, 173. In Western languages: Midhat David Abraham, *Mahmud Shaltut (1893-1963), a Muslim reformist. His life, works, and religious thought*, diss. Hartford, Conn. 1976; Wolf-Dieter Lemke, *Maḥmūd Šaltūt (1893-1963) und die Reform der Azhar*, Frankfurt a.M.-Bern-Cirencester 1980; W. Ende, *Die Azhar, Šaiḫ Šaltūt und die Schia*, in *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Ausgewählte Vorträge*, ed. W. Diem and Abdoldjavad Falaturi, Stuttgart 1990, 308-18; Kate Zebiri, *Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Islamic modernism*, Oxford 1993.

(W. ENDE)

AL-SHĀM, AL-SHA'M, Syria, etymologically, "the left-hand region", because in ancient Arab usage the speaker in western or central Arabia was considered to face the rising sun and to have Syria on his left and the Arabian peninsula, with Yaman ("the right-hand region"), on his right (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 140-1 = § 992; al-Muḳaddasī, partial French tr. A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, Damascus 1963, 155-6, both with other, fanciful explanations). In early Islamic usage, the term *bilād al-Shām* covered what in early 20th-century diplomatic and political usage became known as "Greater Syria", including the modern political entities of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel and the West Bank of Palestine, in the north spreading into the modern Turkish *ils* or provinces of Hatay (the former *sandjak* of Alexandretta [see ISKANDARŪN]), Gaziantep [see 'AYNTĀB] and Diyarbakır [see DIYĀR BAKR]. As often happened in the earliest Islamic times (cf. Miṣr = both Egypt and its capital), al-Shām could also denote the historic administrative capital of the region, Damascus [see DIMASHḲ].

For the modern component countries of this Greater Syria, see FILASṬĪN, LUBNĀN, AL-URDUNN. The modern Syrian Republic is known as Sūriyā or Sūriya. The geographical section 1. below deals with the region of modern Syria. The historical section 2. necessarily deals with the Greater Syrian region as a whole for the earlier Islamic centuries, when the modern political divisions had little distinctive history as such until the approach of modern times. By then, however, such a region as Lebanon, with its own long-standing separate cultural, religious and political traditions, began to pursue a historical role of its own; this is considered in LUBNĀN.

1. Geography.

Modern Syria falls naturally into a western, Levantine section bordering on the Mediterranean, characterised by mountain ranges and hills with valleys and depressions between them, and with a maritime climate; and an eastern one, in which these hills and valleys gradually subside into a table-land, steppes and deserts, naturally bounded by the Taurus Mountains to the north, crossed by low ridges of hills and having a more continental climate. In its north-east, it is crossed by the Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT] and Khābūr [*q.v.*] rivers.

The western section contains rivers running into the Mediterranean like the Orontes or al-'Āṣī [*q.v.*], the Nahr al-Kabīr, the Nahr al-Sinn and the river of Ḥimṣ. Inland from the narrow coastal plain are mountain and hill ranges running roughly north-south. In the far north are the Amanus Mountains or Gavur Dağ and the Djabal al-Akrād or Kurt Dağ, then the Orontes river valley, and then the classical Casius or Djabal al-Aḳra' ("bald mountain", from its white appearance). To the south of the Nahr al-Kabīr valley is the gently-folded limestone plateau of the Djabal al-Anṣāriyya (highest point, Nabī Yūnus, 1,583 m/5,194 feet). To the south of the River of Homs the Djabal 'Akkār marks the beginning of the much higher Lebanon Mountains (highest point, al-Ḳarna al-Sawdā', 3,086 m/10,131 feet).

To the east of these ranges lies the northernmost section of the depression of the Great Rift Valley of East Africa, the Red Sea, the Dead Sea and its Syrian continuation: in the north, the 'Amḳ depression [see AL-'AMḲ], with its lake, the classical Islamic Buḥayrat Anṭākiya, modern Amuk Gölü; the long valley of the Orontes, forming the Ghāb, regulated by the Lake of

Homs, and south of Ḥimṣ forming the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] or Bekaa between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. Finally, to the east of this series of valleys and depressions lies a further line of hills and mountains: the Dj̲abal al-Zāwiya to the east of the Gh̲āb (highest point, Dj̲abal Ayyūb, 935 m/3,068 feet), and then south of Ḥimṣ, the much higher Anti-Lebanon range, al-Dj̲abal al-Sh̲arḳī, culminating at its southernmost tip in Mount Hermon or Dj̲abal al-Sh̲ayk̲h̲ (2,814 m/9,232 feet).

From the eastern slopes of these hills and mountains begin the steppes and deserts, with the great cities of Syria—Aleppo [see ḤALAB], Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ [*q.vv.*] and Damascus—lying in the agricultural zone of the foothills and with cultivable lands in their rain shadow. The steppelands run eastwards to the Euphrates banks and beyond, with a purely artificial frontier separating Syria and ʿIrāḳ. There are various low, broken ridges within the northern part of these plains, such as the series of low hills stretching north-eastwards from Damascus and ending in the Dj̲abal al-Bis̲h̲rī. Here in this semi-arid steppeland, crops have for long been possible where springs and wells can be found; but extensive dams and irrigations works along the course of the middle Euphrates have made possible a great extension of agriculture there at the present time. South of the ancient desert caravan station of Palmyra [see TADMUR], however, is the true Syrian Desert, the Ḥamaḍ, where springs are almost unknown and the few wells have only a limited supply of water. To the south of the agriculturally rich Damascus basin (the classical Islamic Gh̲ūṭa [*q.v.*]), there runs from the base of Mount Hermon and the Golan Heights [see AL-DJ̲AWLĀN] a basaltic, volcanic zone, with such lava-fields as the Lad̲j̲āʾ [*q.v*], classical Trachonitis, to the south of Damascus; the Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*] to its south-east; and then, running southwards beyond Ṣalk̲h̲ad [*q.v.*] into modern Jordanian territory, the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], classical Auronitis, or Dj̲abal al-Durūz (highest point, 1,734 m/5,687 feet).

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 14 ff.; V. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine. Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonée*, Paris 1896; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Syria*, London 1943, 11 ff.; W.C. Brice, *A systematic regional geography. VIII. South-West Asia*, London 1966, 200 ff.; W.B. Fisher, *The geography of the Middle East*[7], London 1978, 398; E. Wirth, *Syrien: eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1971.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. History.

(a) To 1918.

Syria had become a Roman province in 64-63 B.C., when Pompey annexed it after the decline of the Seleucids. It became one of the most important provinces of the Roman empire, as the key to the defence of the empire's Asiatic territories. Administratively, it was divided by Septimius Severus into the two provinces of Syria Coele in the north and Syria Phoenice in the south, but by the early 5th century, various local, hitherto autonomous principalities had been brought under direct rule, and Syria was subdivided into at least five provinces. The land frontiers of Roman and Byzantine Syria were under continuous pressure from formidable military powers of the east, first the Parthians and then, from the 3rd century onwards, the Sāsānids [*q.v.*]. Hence the importance of the *limes* there, an elaborate system of defences in depth, with strongholds connected by a network of roads across the country, running roughly from Bostra (Boṣrā [*q.v.*]) in the Hawrān northeastwards to the Euphrates, crossing the river at Circesium (the later Islamic Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*]) and then on to the Singara (Dj̲abal Sind̲j̲ār [see SINDJ̲ĀR]).

For the manning of this broad defensive zone, the Romans and Byzantines relied on native auxiliaries as well as their own professional troops. These auxiliaries were in a treaty relationship with the empire, hence called *foederati* or *symmachoi*, and included various Arab tribesmen who figure in the Islamic accounts of the Arab conquests as the *Mustaʿriba*. Tribes represented in their ranks included the Kalb, Balī, Dj̲ud̲h̲ām, Lak̲h̲m, Tag̲h̲lib, Tanūk̲h̲, Iyād, etc., many of whom became at least superficially Christian. Especially notable here was the Arab kingdom of Gh̲assān, of South Arabian origin but from *ca.* A.D. 500 enthusiastic Monophysite Christians, who promoted and controlled much of the economic and cultural prosperity of the rural and desert fringes of Syria [see GH̲ASSĀNIDS]. Their florescence was bound up with that of Byzantium, and they went down with the Byzantine cause in the Arab-Islamic conquests period, fighting in the Emperor Heraclius's forces at the Battle of the Yarmūk (see below) under their last king Dj̲abala b. Ayham [*q.v.*], in his last years a fugitive in Byzantium. For the detailed history of the relations between the Arabs of Syria and the Romans and Byzantines, see the works of Irfan Shahid, including his *Rome and the Arabs*, Washington D.C. 1984; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century*, Washington D.C. 1989; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, i, Washington D.C. 1995.

The caravan route up the west coast of Arabia, connecting Mecca with Syria, was familiar to the Prophet Muḥammad and the first Muslims. The youthful Muḥammad's trading trip with his uncle Abū Ṭālib to Boṣrā and his alleged meeting with the Christian monk Baḥīrā, who recognised him as a future prophet, figures in the accounts of the *Sīra* (see, e.g. Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. in W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 36-8, and BAḤĪRĀ). It should also be recalled that Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS] was a city of Syria and, as the original *ḳibla* of the new faith and traditionally identified with the *masd̲j̲id al-aḳṣā* of the Ḳurʾānic *isrāʾ* or night journey [see MIʿRĀDJ̲], was of great religious significance to Muḥammad and the early Muslims. The whole province of Syria was in fact to be famed in subsequent Islamic times for its innumerable *mas̲h̲āhid*, holy sites, tombs and places of pilgrimage, identified above all with the Old Testament prophets and patriarchs, a Holy Land *par excellence* (see the eulogies of al-Muḳaddasī, tr. Miquel, 117-20, 145-52, 228; the minor genre of the *kutub al-ziyārāt*, such as the *K. al-Ziyārāt* of ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī [*q.v.*], French tr. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 6-78; and the extensive *faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* literature [see AL-ḲUDS. II.11.]).

Hence military probes in the direction of Syria began in the Medinan period of Muḥammad's prophethood, but a large-scale expedition to Muʾta [*q.v.*], to the east of the later Karak, in 8/629, was decisively defeated by Byzantine defence forces. Hence the definitive onslaught on Syria by the Muslims did not begin until the last months of Abū Bakr's caliphate and the beginning of ʿUmar's one, after the safety of the Arabian peninsula for Islam had been assured by the suppression of the Ridda [*q.v.* in Suppl.] outbreaks against the political control of Medina. At the outset, there seem to have been four main Arab leaders operating against Syria, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] in southern Palestine, Sh̲uraḥbīl b. Ḥasana in Jordan,

Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in the Balḳā' [*q.v.*] to the east of the Jordan, and Abū 'Ubayda [*q.v.*] in the Djawlān, and from the information in such sources as Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn 'Asākir, it seems that the Muslim forces numbered some 24,000, mainly settled Ḥidjāzīs, from Mecca and Medina, nomads from the Ḥidjāz and tribesmen from Yemen. The real breakthrough came with the arrival of a fifth group, via 'Irāḳ, under the Meccan general Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*]. The first major battle took place at Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] between Ramla and Bayt Djibrīn in Palestine (Djumādā I 13/July 634 or Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 13/January 635). The defeated forces tried to reform behind the marshes of Baysān. Dislodged, they crossed the Jordan, to be again defeated at Fiḥl or Faḥl [*q.v.*] (Pella). Palestine was definitely lost to the empire.

In Muḥarram 14/March 635, the Arabs took up their position under the walls of Damascus. Abandoned by the Greek garrison, the citizens capitulated in the following Radjab/September. The army collected by Heraclius to raise the siege arrived too late. The Arabs established themselves in Djābiya [*q.v.*], then retired to entrench themselves behind the Yarmūk, an eastern tributary of the Jordan. Although some of the Armenian troops may have been disaffected, this does not seem to have caused the Emperor problems, and for a long time to come, Armenian troops continued to form an important proportion of the Imperial army. More serious was the flight of some of the Christian Arab troops, as a result of which the imperial forces were completely routed. This battle (Radjab 15/August 636) settled the fate of Syria. The conquest of the north and of the Phoenician coast was simply a route march. Everywhere the towns, abandoned by their garrisons, paid contributions. Nowhere was a serious resistance encountered. This was literally the *fatḥ yasīr*, easy conquest, as al-Balādhurī tactfully calls it. Nevertheless, Jerusalem did not surrender till the end of 16 or beginning of 17/early 638, and Caesarea or Ḳayṣariyya [*q.v.*] after more or less continuous siege of seven years, in 19/640. After the surrender of the last coast towns of Palestine, the conquest could be regarded as complete.

The reasons for such a speedy collapse of Byzantine authority in Syria, which had seemed to have recovered after the Persian invasion, were complex. It had, as noted above, been part of the Roman east for some seven centuries, but the impact of Graeco-Roman civilisation had been greatest in the coastal zone, where lay the permanent military and naval garrisons and where the cities had a Roman-Byzantine official class; the rural and desert interior of Syria had remained essentially a Semitic, ethnically and linguistically Aramaic and Arab region, where resistance to Hellenism expressed itself in a strong attachment to the Monophysite theology of the Jacobite Church, hence opposed to the theology of the Imperial Orthodox or Melkite official creed. Byzantine policy in the empire's later years seems to have been—at least in retrospect—faulty. The Emperors Tiberius and Maurice had in the later 6th century undermined the position of their Ghassānid allies, whilst the Sāsānid invasion of 613-14, which penetrated as far as Egypt, showed that the Byzantine position in the Levant was far from impregnable. Heraclius may have underestimated the numbers and the bellicosity of the invading Arabs, but the religious fervour of the Muslims—whose faith seemed at the time to be only yet another Christian heresy arising from the east—could not be foreseen. Recently, Walter F. Kaegi has stressed that there was nothing inevitable about the Arab conquests in Syria and the Djazīra. He has suggested that the Byzantine defeat was the result, to some extent, of unwise military decisions and the effects of contingent events, but that, above all, Heraclius had not had enough time to repair the financial situation and the frontier defences devastated by the Persians, so that he had serious problems in paying both his professional troops and the Arab auxiliaries, the *Musta'riba*, on which the empire had traditionally relied for the defence of the *limes*. See, amongst an extensive literature on the conquests in general, D.R. Hill, *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquests A.D. 634-656*, London 1971; F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, ch. 3; I.M. Lapidus, *The Arab conquests and the formation of Islamic society*, in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill. 1982, 49-72; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, ch. 1; Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992.

Shortly before the capitulation of Jerusalem, the caliph 'Umar arrived in Syria, to preside over the congress or "Day of Djābiya" [*q.v.*]. The question of the organisation of Syria was debated. The year 18/639 was marked by the plague of 'Amwās [*q.v.*]. Abū 'Ubayda died, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Damascus, perished in the epidemic and was replaced by his brother, Mu'āwiya. 'Umar rigorously maintained the political inequality of the conquerors and conquered. The latter, the Ahl al-Kitāb [*q.v.*] or Dhimmīs "protected peoples" [see DHIMMA], formed the majority of the population. The privileged race of Arabs, the *muḳātila* or warriors, was to furnish the framework of a military and salaried aristocracy. Syria was divided into *adjnād* or military districts: Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Palestine and al-Urdunn or the province of Jordan. Yazīd I later added the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn for the north of Syria. From their military cantonments—the chief of which was Djābiya—the conquerors controlled the country and collected the taxes. Besides the land tax or *kharādj* [*q.v.*], the *Dhimmīs* paid a personal or poll-tax, the *djizya* [*q.v.*]. In Syria, as in the other conquered provinces, "organisation was confined to a military occupation for the exploitation of the natives. The Arab government was confined to finance; their chancellery was an audit office" (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich u. sein Sturz*, 20, Eng. tr., *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, 32).

At the beginning of his administration, which under 'Uthmān extended over all Syria, Mu'āwiya realised the necessity of getting the support of the Arab tribes of Syria, politically more developed than the Bedouins of the Arabian peninsula. For his policy and military operations, see MU'ĀWIYA.

'Alī, 'Uthmān's successor, wanted to dismiss him, but the Syrians took the side of their governor. The encounter between Syrians and 'Irāḳīs on the battlefield of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] being indecisive, arbitrators were appointed to decide between the two parties. The conference at Adhruḥ [*q.v.*] between Ma'ān and Petra did not reach a clear decision, but the outcome was clearly unfavourable for 'Alī. Profiting by this diplomatic success, Mu'āwiya sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, his lieutenant, to conquer Egypt. On 17 Ramaḍān 40/24 January 661, 'Alī fell victim to a Khāridjite dagger, and the field was left clear for his rival.

Umayyad Syria. The field was now clear for Mu'āwiya to found a dynasty, that of the Umayyads [*q.v.*].

He was acclaimed as caliph at Jerusalem by the troops and *amīrs* of Syria. By taking up his residence in Damascus, he made it the capital instead of Medina or Kūfa. Whether deliberate or not, this step dis-

placed the centre of gravity of the caliphate to the advantage of Syria, and the Islamic capital never returned to the Arabian peninsula. Muʿāwiya made the Syrian Arabs, and especially those of the South Arabian or Kalb group, supreme, and under the early Umayyads they held all the principal offices. He twice tried to besiege Constantinople. For a verdict on the policy and character of the sovereign, who was with ʿUmar I the real founder and organiser of the caliphate, see MUʿĀWIYA. He died at Damascus in Radjab 60/April 680, aged 75.

His son and successor, Yazīd I, had to face a rebellion, which the ability of his father had been able to prevent breaking out. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.vv.*], nephew of ʿĀʾisha, the prophet's widow, refused to recognise Yazīd and took refuge in the inviolable territory of Mecca. Al-Ḥusayn renounced allegiance and left the sanctuary, to fall in the massacre of Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*]; in 61/680 Medina quarrelled with Syria, and its inhabitants proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After futile negotiations, recourse was had to arms. Victorious on the day of al-Ḥarra [*q.v.*], the Syrians marched on Mecca, where Ibn al-Zubayr had declared himself independent. His headquarters were in the great mosque. A scaffolding of wood covered with mattresses protected the Kaʿba from the Syrian catapults. The carelessness of a Meccan set it on fire (Rabīʿ I 64/November 683). The news of the death of Yazīd at this point decided the Syrian army to retreat. Yazīd was not a worthless sovereign, still less the tyrant depicted by anti-Umayyad, pro-ʿAbbāsid and Shīʿī annalists. He continued his father's policy. The patron of artists and poets, and himself a poet, he completed the administrative organisation of Syria by creating the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn (see above). He perfected the irrigation of the Ghūṭa of Damascus by digging a canal which was called after him. The *Continuatio Byzantino-Arabica* calls him *jucundissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus gratissime habitus ... cum omnibus civiliter vixit.* "No caliph," says Wellhausen, "ever had such praise; it comes from the heart."

His younger son, the valetudinarian Muʿāwiya II [*q.v.*], had but a transitory reign. He was apparently carried off by the plague which was raging in 684. His brothers were all equally very young. The fact that they were minors compelled the Syrian chiefs of the Kalb to give their support to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], first caliph of the Marwānid branch (June 22, 684). The Ḳaysīs of northern Syria and the Djazīra, having refused to recognise him, were defeated at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*]. His reign was a continual series of battles. A rapid campaign secured him Egypt. Exhausted with his exertions, the septuagenarian caliph returned to Damascus to die in Ramaḍān 65/May 685. His eldest son ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] succeeded him. He had to retake the eastern provinces and Arabia from the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr, and at the same time repel an invasion of the Mardaïtes or Djarādjima [*q.v.*]. In Jerusalem, we owe him the building of the mosque of al-Aḳṣā [see AL-MASDJID AL-AḲṢĀ].

ʿAbd al-Malik's reign sees a shift to a more centralised form of government and uniformity in its execution, after the Second Civil War had shown the fragility of loyalty to the Umayyads even amongst the tribesmen of Syria and the Djazīra, and after there was taking place an acceleration in the numbers of the Syrian population converting to Islam and becoming *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] or clients of the ruling class of Arabs. For the first time, something like a standing army of loyal Syrian troops appears during the Marwānid period, additional to the older tribal contingents. At the same time, a certain process of Arabisation in the state is observable, with the *naḳl al-dīwān* or change from local languages, Greek in the case of Syria, to Arabic as the chief administrative language, although the process was not completed till some decades later [see DĪWĀN. I]. Similarly, there was the appearance of a specifically Muslim, purely epigraphic form of coinage after earlier reliance, in the case of Syria and Egypt, on the older Byzantine gold coinage pattern [see SIKKA. 2], and a decisive proclamation of the triumph of Islam, seen in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS. I, and ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA], perhaps as part of the building-up of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage centre at the side of Mecca and Medina. All in all, it now becomes possible to speak of the emergence in Syria of a distinctive Arab-Islamic state rather than what had been, in many respects, a successor-state to Byzantium.

His successor in Shawwāl 86/October 705, al-Walīd I, brought to the throne an autocratic temperament and a display of religious fervour unknown in his predecessors. He was the great builder of the dynasty. According to the earliest evidence, it seems that the Christians of Damascus had been allowed to retain the splendid Basilica of St. John the Baptist. Al-Walīd purchased it from them and turned it into a mosque. In his reign, the Arab empire attained its greatest extent. Al-Walīd was singularly successful in his enterprises. His autocratic mood revealed itself in a diminution in tolerance to the conquered peoples. The great administrative offices were definitely taken from the Christians. By his fondness for magnificence, al-Walīd secured undisputed popularity with the Arabs of Syria. He died in Djumādā II 96/February 715.

His brother, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], founder of al-Ramla [*q.v.*] in Palestine, succeeded him. He perished on the way back from the disastrous siege of Constantinople. He was succeeded by his cousin ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] who was replaced by the incapable Yazīd II. From the time of al-Walīd I, the Umayyads had begun to forsake Damascus and to reside more and more on their rural estates [see BĀDIYA in Suppl.]; although Damascus remained the official capital, it ceased to be the caliph's residence. Hishām, who succeeded Yazīd II, did much to revive the prestige of the Syrian caliphate. The conquests, however, had by now slowed down. In France the Arabs suffered the disastrous defeat of Poitiers in Ramaḍān 114/October 732 [see BALĀṬ AL-SHUHADĀʾ]. Hishām allowed the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch to reside in Syria. He was the last successful Umayyad caliph, and was even praised by the following ʿAbbāsids for his knowledge of statecraft, his industriousness as a ruler and his frugality, though his later years, which he passed largely on his desert estate of al-Ruṣāfa near the Euphrates [see AL-RUṢĀFA. 3], were clouded by succession troubles.

He was succeeded in 125/743 by his nephew, Walīd II, son of Yazīd II. This prince, an artist and poet, lived contentedly in the desert, where he began the building of the splendid palace of Mshattā [*q.v.*]. He died at the hands of an assassin before finishing it (126/744). His successor, Yazīd III, was the first caliph born of a slave. He died five months later, having designated as his successor his insignificant brother, Ibrāhīm, who did not succeed in getting himself acknowledged.

In the midst of the general anarchy, there came on the scene the energetic governor of Mesopotamia, Marwān b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], grandson of the caliph Marwān I. The victory of ʿAyn al-Djarr [*q.v.*] or ʿAndjar in the Biḳāʿ broke the resistance of his adver-

saries, the Syrian Yemenīs. Becoming caliph in 127/744, Marwān II moved his capital to Ḥarrān (Mesopotamia), which brought him nearer to the troubled region of the Djazīra but alienated the Syrians from him. He exhausted himself in putting down such rebellions as those of the Khāridjites. The ʿAbbāsids were now secretly conspiring against the Umayyad dynasty. Taking advantage of the disaffection in Syria, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ [*q.v.*] had himself proclaimed caliph at Kūfa (132/749). After his defeat on the Great Zāb (132/750), Marwān had to evacuate Mesopotamia, and then Syria. Abandoned by the Syrians, he took refuge in Egypt, where he died at Abūṣīr in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 132/June 750. The Umayyads were everywhere pursued and exterminated, their tombs desecrated, and their ashes scattered to the winds. The Syrians tried in vain to regain their lost ground. They raised the "white flag" of the Umayyads in opposition to the "black flag" of the ʿAbbāsids. They found too late that by indifference to the fall of the Umayyads they had thrown away the future and supremacy of Syria. They hoped henceforth for speedy, chiliastic coming of al-Sufyānī [*q.v.*], a national hero and champion of Syrian liberty. As his name shows, al-Sufyānī, was to be a descendant of Abū Sufyān and the line of Muʿāwiya. He was to bring back the golden age and the happy days of the dynasty, the memory of which his name perpetuates.

The Umayyad court at Damascus, and the caliphal residences scattered up and down Syria, became lively cultural centres once Arabic literature revived after its period of quiescence during the period of the early Arab conquests [see SHIʿR. 1 (a)]. The Monophysite Christian al-Akhṭal (*q.v.*, and Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 466-74; Salma Jayyusi, in *Camb. hist. Arabic lit.*, i. *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 396-401), of the tribe from the Rabīʿa group of Taghlib [*q.v.*], was the eulogist of the caliphs from Muʿāwiya to al-Walīd I; Djarīr (*q.v.*, and *HLA*, iii, 484-95; Jayyusi, 401-9) was the proponent of the Ḳaysī cause at Damascus under ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd I: al-Farazdaḳ (*q.v.*, and Jayyusi, *loc. cit.*) was likewise the champion of Ḳays and especially of his own tribe of Tamīm, under several rulers from ʿAbd al-Malik to Hishām. Their poetry also reflected the fierce tribal rivalry of South and North Arabs which at times racked the Syrian countryside and was to contribute to the fall of Umayyad power there. The achievements of Umayyad art and architecture, concentrated in Syria, are described in UMAYYADS. Art and architecture.

We also have the first appearance of sectarian currents within the mainstream of the Islam of the time, such as that of the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*], which had representatives in Syria and which came to attract the wrath of Hishām and subsequent caliphs; and Damascus seems to have been a lively centre of Muslim-Christian debate and polemics, even though the correspondence allegedly between ʿUmar II and the Byzantine Emperor Leo III is presumably the work of a Syrian Muslim rather than of the caliph himself.

Agriculture remainded flourishing in spite of the greed of the exchequer. As a result of the war with Byzantium, maritime trade had considerably diminished. On the other hand, the fall of the Persian empire had opened up possibilities in Persia and the east to the Syrians, but they were soon to meet the competition of the commercial cities of ʿIrāḳ, notably Baṣra. Syrian commerce, so active in the time of Justinian, became dormant under the Arabs. When maritime relations were resumed, it was the western peoples who secured the advantage from it, at the time of the Crusades. From the time of the Marwānids, the great towns of inland Syria—Damascus, Ḥimṣ, etc.—began to be Islamised as a result of the abolition of the military cantonments. The subject races learned Arabic, without, however, abandoning Aramaic or Greek. Decimated by epidemics, famine, civil strife and foreign wars, the Arab population of Syria grew slowly. If we neglect local outbursts of fanaticism, there is no evidence of systematic persecution or proselytising encouraged by the authorities. The latter only exercised pressure on the Christians of Arab race, the Tanūkh and Taghlib. The Kalb and other Syrian tribes had adopted Islam soon after the conquest.

In spite of their position as second-class citizens, this was a period of marked tranquillity and tolerance for non-Muslims, if we compare it with the troubles that awaited them under the ʿAbbāsids. For the Arabs, paid and fed by the state, it was a golden age, a continual feast, and their chiefs, growing rich in exploiting the provinces, acquired enormous fortunes.

The history of Syria at this time is essentially that of the Umayyad dynasty. Hence see UMAYYADS, and meanwhile, ʿA.A. ʿAbd Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705, a political study*, London 1971; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg* (*680-692*), Wiesbaden 1982; G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad caliphate A.D. 661-750*, London 1986.

ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid Syria. With the fall of the Umayyads, Syria lost its privileged position, and ceased to form the centre of a vast empire. It found itself reduced to the rank of a simple province, and jealously watched on account of its attachment to the old régime. The capital of the caliphate was moved across the Euphrates. Straining under a power, the hostility of which they never ceased to feel, the Syrians found themselves systematically excluded from all share in government affairs, as they continued to be under the Fāṭimid and succeeding rulers. The caliphs of Baghdād only intervened in Syria to make it feel its position of inferiority by inflicting increased taxation on it. Driven to extremes by the exactions of the caliph's agents, the Christians of Lebanon attempted without success to gain their freedom in 759-60. On the occasion of the Pilgrimage or of the war against the Byzantines, the caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Maʾmūn passed through Syria. In the midst of the troubles that preceded the accession of al-Maʾmūn (813-833), the position of the Christians became intolerable and many of them migrated to Cyprus.

In the later 2nd/8th century and the early 3rd/9th one, Syria became the centre of power of the family of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], uncle of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, who took over the Umayyad estates there and married the widow of Marwān II. He and his descendants were prominent in the frontier warfare with Byzantium in northern Syria, the region of the *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr* [*q.vv.* and ṢĀʾIFA. 1]. Ṣāliḥ's son ʿAbd al-Malik later brought the support of Syrian troops to the side of al-Amīn in the civil warfare with the latter's brother al-Maʾmūn.

The misfortunes of their country, the loss of its autonomy, could not induce Ḳaysīs and Yamanīs to forget their regrettable differences, which ended by weakening the Syrians and dooming to failure their efforts to shake off the ʿAbbāsid yoke. A descendant of Muʿāwiya, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sufyānī, raised the "white standard" which had become the symbol of Syrian independence. But to get the support of the

Kalbīs, he alienated the Ḳaysīs (193-7/809-13). Another rising was no more successful. An Arab of obscure antecedents, named Abū Ḥarb of Yamanī origin, called al-Mubarḳaʿ "the veiled one" [*q.v.*], proclaimed himself the Sufyānī (see above). The indifference of the Ḳaysīs once again brought about his defeat in the reign of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣīm (218-27/833-47). The caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) thought of shifting his capital and living in Damascus. A mutiny in his guard forced him to return to Mesopotamia. His reign was a period of severe trial for the Christians of Syria. From his reign dates, for the most part, the intolerant legislation, which became traditionally but implausibly attributed to ʿUmar I: the wearing of a special dress, the prohibition of riding on horseback, etc. [see GHIYĀR]. Numerous churches were turned into mosques. At this date, there were no longer any Christians of Arab stock in Syria. Under the Umayyads, the Tanūkh had resisted all advances of the government. The caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), however, forced them to convert.

In 293/906 an agitator claiming to be the Sufyānī was arrested. This was the last attempt at an Umayyad restoration; it failed before the apathy of the demoralised Syrians. A Turkish Mamlūk, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], already caliphal governor of Egypt, invaded Syria under pretext of defending it against the Byzantines, and ruled it as an autonomous province. The dynasty which he founded had only an ephemeral existence (254-92/868-905), as had that of the Ikhshīdids (323-58/935-69), who repeated the experience of the Ṭūlūnids. In the interval, the fringes of Syria and Palestine as far as Damascus and Ramla had been devastated by the Carmathians [see ḲARMAṬĪ], who left behind them the germ of Ismāʿīlī doctrines. From the time of the Ṭūlūnids, the country may politically speaking be considered lost to the ʿAbbāsids. Their power was only felt there during a few brief periods of restoration.

In their turn, the Bedouin tribes wished to take their share in plundering an empire in decay. A Taghlibī clan, the Banū Ḥamdān [see ḤAMDĀNIDS], found themselves entrusted with the reconquest of Syria for the Ikhshīdids and checking the Byzantine advance. They installed themselves as masters of the north of the country, without, however, breaking with the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The most famous of these Ḥamdānid *amīrs* was Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who in his court at Aleppo, showed himself an enlightened patron of arts and letters (333-56/945-67). After the fall of the Ḥamdānids (394/1004), in spite of a brief ʿAbbāsid reaction at Damascus (364-6/975-7). Syria fell into and remained for over a century (366-491/977-1098) in the hands of an ʿAlid, or more accurately, Ismāʿīlī, dynasty, that of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*].

Having conquered Egypt, the Fāṭimid armies invaded Syria (358/969), and conquered Palestine and then Damascus, without encountering any particular resistance. In the centre and north it is difficult to say what form the Egyptian conquest took. The direct authority of the Fāṭimids was enforced so long as their troops occupied the region. After their departure, the local *amīrs* did as they pleased without openly breaking with the suzerain in Cairo. Fāṭimid rule was only kept up in Syria by continually dismissing the agents to whom it was forced to delegate its authority, thus perpetuating administrative instability. In Palestine it had to reckon with the Djarrāḥids [*q.v.*]. These *amīrs* of the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ arrogated to themselves for over a century a regular hegemony over the nomad Syrians. In the reign of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]), the Banu ʾl-Djarrāḥ amused themselves by appointing an anti-caliph, and then sending him back to Mecca, whence they had brought him. In Tyre a humble boatman succeeded for a time in declaring himself independent (387/997).

Taking advantage of the anarchy, the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-9) had conquered Northern Syria. His successors, John Tzimisces (969-76) and Basil II (976-1025), easily conquered the valley of the Orontes and the Phoenician coast. Of all these conquests, all that the Byzantines were able to keep for over a century was the "duchy" of Antioch, which included northern Syria, except the amīrate of Aleppo. We have already mentioned the caliph al-Ḥākim with whom is connected the origin of the Druze [see AL-DURŪZ]. This prince quarrelled with the Christians and ordered the Basilica of the Resurrection in Jerusalem to be destroyed. Syria gradually detached itself from Egypt. In the midst of the political disorders, the pernicious influence of the Bedouins increased. In 415-1024, the Banū Mirdās [*q.v.*] of the Ḳaysī tribe of Kilāb established themselves in Aleppo, and held it with interruptions till 472/1079.

By this time the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] had already gained a footing in Syria. The provinces of Syria fell into their power, Damascus in 467/1075. At Jerusalem a Saldjūḳ *amīr*, Artuḳ b. Ekseb, founded a local dynasty (479-80/1086-7). In 477/1084, the Greeks lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. Syria was now divided into two Saldjūḳ principalities, that of Aleppo and that of Damascus. Saldjūḳ *amīrs* more or less independent commanded at Aleppo and Ḥimṣ, all at war with one another [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 4]. At Tripoli, a humble *ḳāḍī* founded the dynasty of the Banū ʿAmmār [*q.v.*]. To the south of this town, the towns on the coast remained in the hands of the Egyptians. Into the midst of this confusion, this piecemeal distribution of territory, came the armies of the Crusaders.

The persistent hostility shown by the ʿAbbāsids to the intellectuals of Syria, the political anarchy, the rule of Turkish adventurers, were all circumstances unfavourable to the progress of literature and learning, but a few poets gathered at the court of the Ḥamdānids and Mirdāsids of Aleppo. The patronage of Sayf al-Dawla encouraged the preparation of the celebrated *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and supported the poet al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*]. Less tolerant than the Umayyads, the authorities began to encourage conversion to Islam. Arabic slowly began to take the place of Aramaic as the spoken and written language of the original inhabitants, who began to speak and write in it. The end of this period coincides with the spread of the *madrasas* [*q.v.*], which appeared under the stimulus of the Saldjūḳs, especially in Aleppo and Damascus. The lack of respect into which the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had fallen adversely affected orthodox Islam; this backlash favoured the growth in Syria of sects practising initiation and following the Shīʿa: the Druze, Ismāʿīlīs, Nuṣayrīs and Imāmīs.

The exactions of the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid agents diminished without, however, destroying the great vitality of the country. In 311/923, a governor of Damascus was sentenced to pay 300,000 dīnārs to the treasury.

The northern fringes of Syria naturally suffered from the effects of the Byzantine-Arab frontier warfare there, and there were additionally the ravages of the Bedouins in northern and central parts of the land, who secured an increased ascendancy in the countryside there after the decline of ʿAbbāsid control and the failure of the Fāṭimids to establish lasting authority there. The ascendancy of the Kilāb in

Aleppo and northern Syria has been mentioned. The exactions and confiscations of the Ḥamdānids in northern Syria and the Djazīra are denounced by the traveller Ibn Ḥawḳal, in particular, those of Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan (317-58/929-69) as causes of agricultural decline. There were, however, compensatory economic trends. Al-Muḳaddasī testifies to the vitality of the Syrian cities and their artisanal activities. Sugar cane cultivation was introduced into Syria in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, and became extensive along the Mediterranean coast and in the Jordan valley, with factories or refineries (*maṭābikh*) springing up there [see SUKKAR]. Syria also became one of the most important manufacturing centres of the Middle East for paper, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] described the paper of Tripoli as even better than that of Samarḳand, the original centre of the industry in the Islamic world [see KĀGHAD]. See in general, Muhsin D. Yusuf, *Economic survey of Syria during the tenth and eleventh centuries*, Berlin 1985. A demographic factor in the history of Syria in mediaeval times was the incidence of plague outbreaks there, and *wabāʾ ʿaẓīm* is mentioned at such times as 469/1076-7, 537/1142-3, 558/1163 and 656-7/1258-9, culminating in the notorious Black Death of the 8th/14th century. See M.W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton 1977, 32-5, 143 ff.

Syria under the Franks. On 21 October 1097, the army of the Crusaders appeared before the walls of Antioch. After a very laborious siege, they entered it on 3 June 1098. Then following the valley of the Orontes through the mountains of the Nuṣayrīs and along the coast, the Franks, now reduced to 40,000 men, debouched before Jerusalem. The city, which the Fāṭimids had just retaken from the Artuḳids, was taken by assault on 15 July 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected head of the new Latin state (1099-1100). But the first Frankish king of Jerusalem was really his brother and successor, Baldwin I. He conquered the towns on the coast, Arsūf, Caesarea, Acre, Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli (1109-10). This brave leader, the most remarkable of the crusading sovereigns, died during an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124; he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute.

It was towards 1130 that the Latin kingdom attained its greatest extent, stretching from Diyārbakr to the borders of Egypt. In Syria its frontier never crossed the valley of the Upper Orontes nor the crest of the Anti-Lebanon. The great cities of the interior, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ, Baʿlabakk and Damascus, while agreeing to pay tribute, remained independent. The kingdom consisted of a confederation of four feudal states: 1. On the east, the county of Edessa lay along the two banks of the Euphrates. 2. In the north the principality of Antioch included in its protectorate Armenian Cilicia. 3. In the centre the county of Tripoli stretched from the fort of Margat (al-Marḳab [*q.v.*]) to the Nahr al-Kalb. 4. Lastly came the royal domains, or kingdom of Jerusalem, strictly speaking. It included all cis-Jordan Palestine and, in Transjordan, the ancient districts of Moab and Edom, which became the seigneury of Crac (Karak [*q.v.*]) and of Montréal [see SHAWBAK] "in the land of Oultre-Jourdain". For a time it had a dependency, the port of Ayla-ʿAḳaba. To defend these possessions, the Crusaders built strong castles: the Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*]), Chastel-Blanc (Ṣāfītha [*q.v.*]), Maraclea (Maraḳiyya), Margat (al-Marḳab) and, in southern Lebanon, Beaufort (Shaḳīf Arnūn). Lastly, in Transjordan, the two massive fortresses of Crac and Montréal.

After the death of Baldwin II (1131), the decline of the Latin state began; it was hastened by the isolation of the Crusaders and their lack of unity. The Byzantines claimed the rights of a suzerain over the north of the kingdom. The Armenians sought to form a national state for themselves in the region of the Taurus. Instead of coming to an agreement, Franks, Byzantines and Armenians only succeeded in enfeebling one another to the advantage of the Muslims, who were gathered round remarkable leaders like Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.vv.*]. Baldwin III (1144-62) resumed the siege of Damascus (23-8 July 1148), without any more success than his predecessors. Already lord of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn installed himself in Damascus. Amaury, king of Jerusalem from 1162, formed the bold project of seizing the heritage of the dying dynasty of the Fāṭimids. He was anticipated by Nūr al-Dīn. The latter sent his lieutenant, the Kurd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, to Egypt. On the death of the last Fāṭimid caliph, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn proclaimed himself independent in Egypt, and founded the Ayyūbid dynasty [*q.v.*] there, then seized Damascus from the sons of Nūr al-Dīn. On 4 July 1187, at Ḥaṭṭīn or Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] between Tiberias and Nazareth, the whole Christian army under Guy de Lusignan fell into the hands of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Jerusalem capitulated on 2 October following. Deprived of their defenders, the other cities, except Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, had to surrender.

The preaching of the Third Crusade brought to the camp before Acre, which the Franks had been besieging for two years, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England. The town surrendered on 19 July 1191. A truce between the belligerents ceded the coast from Jaffa to Tyre to the Crusaders. In default of Jerusalem, which they had been unable to reconquer, Acre was henceforth the capital of the kingdom. The death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn produced dissension among his numerous heirs. The Emperor Frederick II took advantage of the discord to negotiate with al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, for the cession of Jerusalem and other places of no strategic importance. Threatened by the sons of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had made an alliance with the Franks, their uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil called in the help of the Khʷārazmians, who crushed the combined Syrian and Frankish forces near Ghazza (1244) and enabled the Egyptians to occupy Jerusalem, Damascus and Ḥimṣ.

The Seventh Crusade brought St. Louis to Syria after the check to his expedition to Egypt. For four years (1250-4) he was engaged in fortifying the towns of the coast. It was the Mamlūk sultans, Baybars, Ḳalāwūn and al-Malik al-Ashraf, son of the latter, who dealt the last blow to the Latin kingdom. Acre fell (31 May 1291) after a heroic defence. In the course of the next months, Tyre, Ḥayfā, Ṣaydā, Beirut and Ṭarṭūs were taken or evacuated. ʿAthlīth [*q.v.*], the imposing fortress between Ḥayfā and Caesarea, was the last to surrender (14 August 1291). The Frankish colonies in Syria were at an end.

The Crusades introduced into Syria the feudal organisation of contemporary Europe. The elective character of the kingship soon gave place to dynastic succession. The king only ruled directly the Palestinian kingdom of Jerusalem. His authority was limited by the privileges of the three orders: the clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie. "He cannot," notes Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*], "annul the decisions of the Court of Seigneurs." The authority of the great feudatories within their principalities was circumscribed in the same way. Agricultural serfdom was retained, as had

been the custom in Syria. The name "poulains" (*pullani*) was given to the issue of marriages between Franks and natives; the etymology of this word is still obscure. The army was recruited not only from Franks but also from Armenians and Maronites. The Turcopoloi [*q.v.*] were the Muslim auxiliaries. The position of Muslims and Jews recalled that of the *Dhimmīs* in Muslim lands, with this difference that they were not so heavily taxed. According to Ibn Djubayr, his co-religionists did not conceal their satisfaction with Frankish rule.

Every principality had its own silver coin. There were also gold ducats, "besants sarracenats", or "sarrasins" with Arabic inscriptions. Commerce, more or less dormant since the Arab conquest, again became active as a result of maritime relations with the west, which were never greater. The principal ports were Acre, Tyre and Tripoli. In the principalities of the north, the terminus for continental trade was La Liche (Lādhikiyya [*q.v.*]) or Soudin (Suwaydiyya [*q.v.*]), now called Port St. Simeon. We have to go back to the time of the Phoenicians to find a period of so great economic activity.

The state of war hampered, but did not put a stop to intellectual activity among the Muslims of Syria. In Damascus, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī was busy with his history, and Ibn ʿAsākir finished his monumental encyclopaedia, the *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, devoted to individuals who had a more or less remote connection with Syria. At the end of his troubled career, the *amīr* of Shayzar, Usāma b. Munḳidh, produced an autobiography which is very valuable for the study of the relations which existed between Franks and Muslims. Barhebraeus, a Syrian and Mesopotamian, wrote Arabic and Syriac with equal elegance. It was in this last language that the Jacobite cleric wrote a voluminous *Chronicle* [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ]. Muslims, Christians and Jews studied medicine with success. Never, except in the Roman period, had there been so much building. The fortresses built by the Crusaders are wonderful specimens of mediaeval military architecture. Among the churches which they built, we mention that of Djubayl, the monumental basilica at Ṭarṭūs and the graceful cathedral of John the Baptist, now the great mosque of Beirut, with its walls once covered with pictures. Many Crusading lords had adopted Syrian customs (*taballadū*, in the words of Usāma). In the collaboration of Franks and natives was hailed, as by Pope Honorius III, a *Nova Francia*, the dawn of a new civilisation. The destruction of the Latin kingdom destroyed any hopes based on it. The coming of the Turkish slave dynasty of the Mamlūks opened a period of anarchy such as Syria had not yet seen.

Mamlūk Syria. We have already given a resumé of the exploits of the early Mamlūk Sulṭāns against the crusader principalities. Fearing a return of the Franks and the warships of the European navy, which ruled the Mediterranean, the Mamlūks began to lay waste the towns of the coast, not even excepting the most prosperous, Acre, Tyre and Tripoli; they demolished the citadels at Sidon and Beirut, and Tripoli was rebuilt two miles from the coast. See on Mamlūk maritime and naval policy, D. Ayalon, *The Mamluks and naval power. A new phase of the struggle between Islam and Christian Europe*, in *Procs. of the Israel Acad. of Sciences and Humanities*, i (1965), 1-12, also in his *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)*, Variorum, London 1977, no. VI; BAḤRIYYA. II. The navy of the Mamlūks. From the administrative point of view, they retained the old Ayyūbid appanages and divided Syria into six main districts called *mamlakas* or *niyābas*: Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Tripoli, Ṣafad and Karak (Transjordania). See for details, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923.

The past history of Damascus assured its *nāʾib*, or viceroy, not only authority over his Syrian colleagues, but a special prestige of his own. This high official had little difficulty in persuading himself that he had the same rights to the throne as his suzerain in Egypt. To guard against the ambition of the Syrian *nāʾibs*, Cairo took care to change them continually (Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, *Taʾrīkh āl Buḥtur*). Never did instability of government and greed of rulers, uncertain of the morrow, attain such proportions. Lebanon continued to enjoy a kind of autonomy. The dissenting Muslims of the Lebanese highlands—Druze and Imāmīs—took advantage of the troubles of the Mamlūks, occupied with the Franks and Mongols, to proclaim their independence. All the forces of Syria had to be mobilised, and a long and bitter war followed (692-704/1293-1305), which ended in the complete destruction of the rebels and the devastation of central Lebanon.

The Mongol Il Khāns of Persia were burning to avenge the military defeats which the Mamlūks had inflicted upon them. The most energetic of these sovereigns, Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304), in 698/1299 secured the support of the Armenians and Georgians as well as of the Franks of Cyprus, and routed the Mamlūks near Ḥimṣ. The troops occupied Damascus, and advanced up to Ghazza. The Egyptians having again invaded Syria, Ghazan recrossed the Euphrates to meet them, but he was defeated in 502/1303 at Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*] near Damascus. Syria had nothing to gain by the coming of the Burdjīs, who in 784/1382 replaced the Baḥrī dynasty. They "preserved," Ibn Iyās tells us, "the old laws", that is to say the anarchical rule of their predecessors. Sultan Faradj (801-15/1399-1412 [*q.v.*]) had to begin the reconquest of Syria no less than seven times. The year 1401/803-4 coincided with the invasion of Tīmūr [*q.v.*]. After the capture of Aleppo, which they sacked, his hordes appeared before Damascus. The town having agreed to surrender, the Tīmūrid forces plundered it methodically. The majority of the able-bodied inhabitants were carried off into slavery, especially artists, architects, workers in steel and glass. They were almost all taken to Samarḳand. Fire was then set to the city, to the mosque of the Umayyads and other monuments. Tīmūr led back his army and left Syria a prey to epidemics and bands of brigands. Meanwhile, on the plateaux of Anatolia, the power of the Ottomans was gathering. The capture of Constantinople (857/1453) had increased their ambition. Death alone prevented Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ from invading Syria. His successors did not cease preparations. Ḳāʾitbāy (872-901/1468-96) and Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] signed a treaty of peace, but it was only to be a truce.

The destruction of Baghdād by Hülegü and the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had shifted the centre of the Muslim world to the west of the Euphrates, and the cultural and religious pre-eminence within the Arab world of Cairo and, to a lesser extent, Damascus, was irrevocably established. Arabic literature entered into one of its most active and quantitatively significant phases during the Mamlūk period, although this literary production still needs fuller evaluation (as does that also of Turkish writers within the ethnically Ḳipčaḳ Turkish Baḥrī Mamlūk society). See MAMLŪKS. Bibl., section (i) (b). It is, however, true that it tended to be an age of epitomisers, compilers, authors of handbooks and encyclopaedias. They were interested in collecting knowledge and learning it by heart. Among the encyclopaedists a special place must be given to

the worthy Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, author of the *Masālik al-abṣār*, a voluminous compilation of a historical, geographical and literary character for the use of officials of the Mamlūk chancellery. We may next mention Abu 'l-Fidā' [*q.v.*], historian and geographer, and the geographer Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327), markedly inferior to his predecessor al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*]. The versatile al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*] was born in Mesopotamia but lived and died in Damascus (784/1348 or 753/1352). Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450) was the author of a history of Tīmūr. Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) compiled a great biographical dictionary, Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā (d. 839/1436), the author of the *Taʾrīkh Bayrūt*, has left us, in this work on the Amīrs of the Gharb, the best contribution to the history of the Lebanon and a valuable supplement to the annals of the Frankish states. Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.vv.*] were amongst the most original figures of this period. Their writings covered the whole field of Islamic studies. They were eager polemicists and controversialists, concerned with what they viewed as both internal and external threats to Islam; and they are important for transmitting the Ḥanbalī legal and political heritage into later times [see ḤANĀBILA], when it was subsequently picked up by the 12th/18th century Arabian reformer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [see IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB] and by various traditionalist-inclined elements in North Africa [see SALAFIYYA. 1.], Egypt and Syria [see SALAFIYYA. 2.], and Northern India, loosely but not always entirely accurately called Neo-Wahhābī [see MUDJĀHID. 2.].

The departure of the Crusaders marks the end of a period of astonishing economic prosperity. Syrian commerce fell back into stagnation. Little by little, however, necessity forced the resumption of relations with Europe. The decline of Acre, Tyre and Tripoli, ruined by the Mamlūks, and the fall (748/1347) of the Little Armenian kingdom of Cilicia [see SĪS], to which western merchants had first gone, were to the advantage of Beirut. For over a century this town became the principal port of Syria. Near Damascus and opposite Cyprus—the kingdom of the Lusignans and rendezvous of the European shipping—Beirut was every year visited by ships of the Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Provençals and Rhodians. These various communities had henceforth consuls as their representatives, officially recognised by the Mamlūks and receiving a grant or *djāmakiyya*. On the other hand, the Cairo government regarded them as "hostages" (*rahīna*) (Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī); it held them responsible not only for those under their jurisdiction, but also for acts of hostility by corsairs. The consuls protected pilgrims and intervened if required on behalf of native Christians. Thus we already have the system of capitulations which was to be developed in succeeding centuries [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. For trade during this period, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, ²Leipzig 1923, i, 129-426, ii, 23-64; E. Ashtor, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976, 202 ff., 285 ff.; idem, *Levant trade in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1983, esp. 64-102. For the specific connections of Mamlūk Egypt and Syria with the Italian trading cities, see J. Wansbrough, *A Mamluk ambassador to Venice in 913/1507*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 503-30, idem, *Venice and Florence in the Mamluk commercial privileges*, in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965), 483-523; idem, *A Mamlūk commercial treaty concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489*, in S.M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1966, 39-79; idem, *The safe-conduct in Muslim chancery practice*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 20-35.

Syria under the Ottomans. With the opening of the 10th/16th century the rule of the Mamlūks had begun to break up. Their exactions had exasperated the populace. The Ottoman sultan, Selīm I [*q.v.*], resolved to take advantage of the occasion to invade Syria. Taking the initiative, the Mamlūk sultan, Ḳānṣūḥ al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] mobilised his forces, and marched via Damascus and Aleppo towards Anatolia. The two armies met at Dābiḳ, a day's journey north of Aleppo. The Turkish artillery and the Janissary infantry scattered disorder through the Egyptian ranks. Ḳānṣūḥ disappeared in the disaster of Dābiḳ (25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516 [see MARDJ DĀBIḲ]). Aleppo, Damascus and the towns of Syria opened their gates to the conqueror who went on to Egypt and put an end to Mamlūk rule. The Turks retained at first the territorial divisions or *niyāba*. The Mamlūk Ghazālī, *nāʾib* of Damascus, had gone over to the Ottoman camp after Dābiḳ. The renegade was in return given the administration of the country except the *niyāba* of Aleppo, which was reserved for a Turkish Pasha.

On the death of Selīm I (926/1520), Ghazālī had himself proclaimed sultan under the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf. He was defeated and killed at Ḳābūn at the gates of Damascus (927/1521). Before the end of the 10th/16th century, Syria had become divided into three great *pashaliks*: 1. Damascus, comprising ten *sandjaks* or prefectures, the chief of which were Jerusalem, Ghazza, Nābulus, Ṣaydā and Beirut; 2. Tripoli, including the *sandjaks* of Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā, Salamiyya and Djabala; 3. Aleppo, including all North Syria, except ʿAynṭāb, which was included in the *pashalīk* of Marʿash. In the century following, the *pashalīk* of Ṣaydā was created to include Lebanon. In its main outlines, this administrative division lasted till the middle of the 18th century, when the centre of government of Ṣaydā was moved to Acre.

The Imperial *Dīwān* in Istanbul was only interested in Syria in so far as it enabled it to watch Egypt, and to levy upon its resources contributions to the expenses of the palace and for foreign wars. The taxes, which were put up to auction, went to the highest bidder, who became the *multazim* [see MÜLTEZIM]. According to a Venetian Consular report, the *pashalīk* was worth 80,000 to 100,000 ducats (probably the silver ducat, the Venetian *grosso*, whence *ḳirsh* pl. *ḳurūsh*, or piastre = 5 francs). The Pashas only administered directly the important towns and their immediate neighbourhood. The interior of the country was left to the old feudal lords, whose number and influence had increased since the Mamlūks: Bedouin *amīrs*, Turkomans, Mutawālīs, Druze and Nuṣayrīs. The Porte only asked them to pay the tribute, or *mīrī*, without worrying if it saw them fighting with its own representatives. Every year the Turkish Pasha, at the head of his artillery and Janissaries, set out to collect the taxes. The force lived on the country and laid it waste if the inhabitants resisted. It is not therefore remarkable that agriculture, the principal resource of Syria, declined, the population diminished, and the country districts emptied in favour of the Lebanon and mountainous districts, where the harassed people could find asylum.

The instability of their position increased the rapacity of the Turkish functionaries. Damascus saw 133 Pashas in 180 years. This period saw the rise of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*], the champion of Syrian independence (1583-1635), the Mutawālī *amīrs*, the Banū Ḥarfūsh, lords of Baʿlabakk and the Biḳāʿ, the Banū Manṣūr b. Furaykh, Bedouin *shaykhs*, who carved out for themselves an appanage in Palestine and in the

region of Nābulus. These feudal lords were fairly well-organised in spite of their cupidity, and they were able to defend their gains from the arbitrary Turk. By sending round the Cape the traffic of the Middle East, the Portuguese occupation of India adversely affected Syria. The harbour of Beirut remained empty. Tripoli at first, then—thanks to the initiative of Fakhr al-Dīn—Sidon attracted European ships, which came for cargoes of silk and cotton. Aleppo, thanks to its location between Mesopotamia, the sea, and the Anatolian provinces whose market it was, and the situation there of a factory of the English Levant Company, remained the principal depot on the direct route to the Persian Gulf and was for three centuries the chief commercial centre of Northern Syria.

The decay of the Ottoman administrative system in Syria, with its concomitant rapid turnover of governors in Damascus, had the effect of increasing the power of the Janissary garrison troops of the Ottomans there, and subsequently, by the end of the 17th century, in Aleppo also. The Janissaries came in fact to be divided into two groups, the older-established ones being designated *Yerliyya* (< Tkish. *yerli* "local"), whilst new contingents sent out from Istanbul were known by various local corruptions of the Turkish term *Kapî Kullarî* "slaves of the Porte".

The governorship of Naṣūḥ Pasha (1708-14) was a turning point in the history of the Ottoman province of Damascus, in that his was the first of a series of longer tenures of office, giving the province a degree of stability which it had previously lacked. A powerful family, the ʿAẓms, then emerged in the 18th century, and extended its quasi-dynastic power from Damascus as far as Tripoli, Sidon and, at times, Aleppo. The rule in Damascus of Asʿad al-ʿAẓm (1743-57) was an unprecedentedly long governorship, later to be remembered by the people as one of justice and peace.

After the fall of Asʿad in 1757, the power of the ʿAẓms had passed its peak, and the centre of political gravity in Syria shifted westwards to the coastlands, seen in the rise of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī (Syrian pronunciation of the first name, Ḍāhir). Ḍāhir, a Bedouin *shaykh*, lord of the land of Ṣafad, extended his authority over Galilee, and settled at Acre, which he fortified and raised from its ruins. He resisted the Porte (1750-75) with assistance lent by the Egyptian Mamlūks ʿAlī Bey and Muḥammad Bey Abu ʾl-Dhahab and a Russian squadron cruising in Syrian waters. Besieged in Acre by the Turks, he died there in 1775. This marked the end of the autonomous state which he had created, but his benevolent rule had brought order and security and had favoured the revival of Acre, which now superseded Sidon as administrative centre of the *pashalik* or province of that name. It was here that Aḥmad al-Djazzār Pasha, a much more despotic and tyrannical figure than his predecessor, became governor after 1775, striving likewise to make it the centre of an autonomous power. He sought to diminish the authority of the revived ʿAẓms in Damascus, and intervened in Mount Lebanon to undermine the power there of Yūsuf Shihāb and his youthful successor Bashīr II [*q.v.*]. A new factor supervened, however, with the arrival of Bonaparte in Egypt in 1798, but al-Djazzār, with the aid of a British army under Sir Sidney Smith, withstood a French siege of Acre for three months (March-May 1799). The check proved fatal to French ambitions in the Near East. Al-Djazzār then retained power till his death in 1804 [see AL-DJAZZĀR PASHA, in Suppl.]. For the history of Syria during the 18th century, see P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, Ithaca 1966, 102-33.

The years after 1804 saw a rise in the power of Bashīr II Shihāb, who pursued the aim of making himself an autocratic prince, with a strongly centralised government, like Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in Egypt and the Ottoman Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.vv.*] in Turkey. His policies, naturally involving higher taxation, were in 1820 to cause a revolt amongst the common people (the first *ʿāmmiyya*), compelling Bashīr to withdraw temporarily to the Ḥawrān. But in general, Bashīr's influence was felt widely in Syria. Even the great Turkish officials sought his intervention. Yūsuf, Pasha of Damascus (1807-10), implored his help against a threatened invasion of the Wahhābīs. Bashīr presided in Damascus at the installation of Sulaymān, Pasha of Acre and successor-designate of Yūsuf Pasha. In the middle of the general confusion, however, Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt was watching for an opportunity of adding Syria to his governorship of Egypt. ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, who succeeded Sulaymān at Acre (1818), undertook to give it him. He refused to allow the extradition of Egyptian *fellāḥīn* and the repayment of a million piastres. Summoned to contribute towards this sum by the Pasha of Acre, under whom was the Lebanon, the Christians of the Lebanon refused to pay. The rising of the Christians was a new feature in Syrian politics, but it was not to be the only one. Through contact with the Europeans, the Christians were becoming more assertive and enlightened, and they were learning their own strength. Taking as a pretext the refusals of ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, Muḥammad ʿAlī sent his son Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] into Syria at the head of an army trained on European lines. Acre surrendered on 27 May 1832, after a siege of seven months. On 8 July at Ḥimṣ, Ibrāhīm routed the Turks. A little later he forced the pass of Baylān and entered Anatolia. A treaty (May 1833) assured Egypt temporary possession of Syria.

The new rule proved in many ways enlightened and tolerant. It admitted Christians to the communal councils; it favoured the abolition of measures humiliating to non-Muslims. It endeavoured to reform the police and the tribunals. The reclamation of waste and devastated land was encouraged, and agriculture encouraged; a considerable number of trees, especially olive and mulberry, were planted. On the other hand, it provoked discontent by introducing forced labour and conscription, even in the semi-independent regions of the Lebanon. Rebellions broke out among the Druze of the Lebanon and of the Ḥawrān, among the Nuṣayrīs and in the never properly-subjected hill region of Nābulus. Ibrāhīm exhausted himself in suppressing these risings. The Ottomans thought the moment had come for the reconquest of Syria. They were completely defeated (27 June 1839) at Nizib, north of Aleppo. European diplomacy then intervened at the instigation of Great Britain, which was disturbed by the ambitions of Muḥammad ʿAlī. British policy had at this time as its aims the maintenance of the Ottoman empire, the confinement of Muḥammad ʿAlī to Egypt and the extension of its influence in Syria. France had since the 16th century a historic role as protector of the Maronites and Uniate Churches of the Eastern Christians, hence Britain could only try to exert a parallel influence amongst the Druze, a policy which was never, however, very successful. A further element in the Levant was Imperial Russia which, by stretching the provisions of the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Küčük Kaynardjî (1774) [*q.v.*], claimed a protectorate over Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman empire in general, which in Syria meant aid to the Orthodox communities of

the Antioch and Jerusalem Patriarchates.

The European powers banded together. An allied fleet shelled Beirut (September 1840). Acre surrendered in November, and Ibrāhīm Pasha agreed to evacuate Syria, successfully withdrawing his army of 60-80,000 men to Ghazza by January 1841. Ibrāhīm's collaborator Bashīr II Shihāb fell from power at this point, being deposed and sent into exile. A period of some twenty years' internal conflict opened in Lebanon, involving *inter alios* the great Maronite landowners and their increasingly restive peasantry, and a growing tension between the Druze and Maronites who had migrated from Kisrawān in central Lebanon to the Druze areas of southern Lebanon. In 1858-9 there took place the third *ʿāmmiyya*, a Maronite peasant revolt against the landlords in Kisrawān.

From the reign of Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], the Porte had inaugurated a policy of administrative centralisation, and decreed the abolition of local autonomies and feudalities. After the departure of the Egyptians, it moved to Beirut, whose importance was steadily increasing, the administrative centres of the ancient *pashaliks* of Acre and Sidon, in order to prepare for the annexation of Lebanon. With the same object it declared the old line of princes of the Lebanon, the Shihāb Amīrs, deposed. The only result was to perpetuate anarchy there. The Christians who had fought against the Egyptians claimed to be treated on terms of equality to the Druze. In the southern Lebanon, several had acquired the confiscated lands of the Druze chiefs banished by Ibrāhīm Pasha. The latter, coming back from exile, demanded a return to the *status quo* and the restoration of their ancient privileges. In taking their side, Turkey paved the way for new conflicts and sanguinary fighting. The Syrian Muslims showed no less animosity to the Christians, whom Egyptian rule had partly enfranchised. They took no account of the intellectual and material progress made by the Christians, nor of the political equality promised by the rescripts of the sultans as part of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms. The *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*] of Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd [*q.v.*] communicated to the Congress of Paris (1856), and tacitly placed under the guarantee of the Powers, scandalised Muslim opinion, but inspired confidence among the Christians. At Damascus and in the large towns, they took advantage of the occasion to enrich themselves commercially. A secret agitation began to stir up the Druze and Muslims, and waited for the events of 1860 to burst forth.

The Druze of the Lebanon, combining with their co-religionists of the Wādī 'l-Taym and of the Ḥawrān, spread fire and death through the villages of the Maronites, who were at that moment in turmoil in the aftermath of the peasant *ʿāmmiyya* of the previous year (see above). The anti-Christian movement reached Damascus, which the Muslims pillaged and then set fire to the prosperous Christian quarter, after massacring its inhabitants. In this city, in the Lebanon, and in Beirut, the Turkish authorities intervened only to disarm the Christians, and their sympathies were clearly with the Muslim and Druze perpetrators of the massacres. Amongst the Muslims, the only effective protector of the Christians in Damascus was the exiled former leader of resistance to the French in Algeria, the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī [*q.v.*]. Inevitably, there was a reaction from the European powers. France landed troops at Beirut in September 1860, and the Porte sent its Foreign Minister, Fuʾād Pasha to Damascus with draconian powers to suppress disorder. Soon afterwards, an international commission began work in Beirut and then Istanbul; the aim of British and Ottoman diplomacy was now to prevent a permanent extension of Napoleon III's influence in Syria and Lebanon. The outcome was an Organic Regulation/Règlement organique in 1861, which abolished the dual ḳāʾimmaḳāmate of Christians in northern Lebanon and Druze in the south and established an administration for Lebanon under a Christian *mutaṣarrif* directly responsible to the sultan. The system gave Lebanon peace for over half-a-century; for the subsequent history of the region, see LUBNĀN. In Syria, Fuʾād Pasha shot or hanged a considerable number of guilty soldiers and civilians, and a collective fine of £ 200,000 was levied on Damascus and another £ 160,000 on the province at large. After 1864 Syria was divided into two *wilāyets*: Aleppo and Damascus. In 1888 Beirut, the chief port, the centre of the commercial life of Syria, was made a separate *wilāyet*.

Syria now gradually began to enter the modern age. The ports of Beirut and Jaffa were improved; the main ports and cities were in the 1860s linked by telegraph with Istanbul and Europe; a postal system was introduced; carriage roads were constructed between Alexandretta and Aleppo, Beirut and Damascus, and Jaffa and Jerusalem. The improvement in communications made possible increased centralisation of the Ottoman administration, with curbs on Bedouin brigandage and increased security. Such measures as these, plus the opening in 1869 of the Suez Canal, contributed to an increase of commercial confidence and activity, although trade was temporarily affected by the American Civil War and the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian Wars. Eventually, too, railways appeared; with the exception of the north Syrian section of the Berlin-Baghdād railway and the Pilgrimage line from Damascus to Medina, financed by the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and internal Ottoman contributions [see ḤIDJĀZ RAILWAY], these were largely constructed with French capital. Nevertheless, it was in the post-1860 period that emigration—mainly of Christians—above all from Lebanon, and from Syria, grew, a good proportion of it to the New World (for the Arabic literature of this diaspora, see MAHDJAR).

Lebanon and Syria also became the focuses of the Arabic literary revival known as the Nahḍa [*q.v.*]. Since the 17th century, the Christians of Syria had had presses for printing works in Arabic and, for the Eastern Churches, for printing religious and liturgical works in both Arabic and Syriac; a bilingual Psalter appeared in 1610 from the press at the monastery of St. Anthony at Ḳuzḥayya in Lebanon, and a Melkite press started up at Aleppo in 1706 [see MAṬBAʿA. B. 2]. In the 19th century organised Protestant Christian missionary work came to Syria, with American Presbyterians working from Beirut and Anglicans from Jerusalem. The Americans organised their converts into the Syrian Evangelical Church, with an Arabic press at Beirut in 1843, and their activity culminated in the foundation in 1866 of the Syrian Protestant College, after 1923 the American University of Beirut. The Jesuits, for their part, set up the Imprimerie Catholique at Beirut in 1853 and founded the Université de St.-Joseph in 1875. Both Universities were to make distinguished contributions to the revival of Arabic studies and to the training of an Arab intellectual élite throughout the Near East. Towards the end of the century, when Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary efforts amongst the Christians of Syria seemed to be reducing the Orthodox representation there, Russians interested in the Near East and, especially, in Jerusalem, founded in 1882 the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, which functioned until the Russian Revolution of 1917. Its

work included the running of village and urban elementary schools in Christian areas and some colleges; the *Mahdjar* writer Mikhā'īl Nu'ayma [*q.v.*] received his first education at the Russian school in his Lebanese home village of Biskinta, eventually going to study in Russia itself. See on this Russian religious and cultural interest in the Near East, D. Hopwood, *The Russian presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914. Church and politics in the Near East*, Oxford 1969.

Whereas the missions and schools in Syria and Lebanon aimed at making converts from the indigenous Eastern Christian Churches or at educating them, the Anglican Mission at Jerusalem aimed at converting the Jews of Palestine. The Jews of Syria did not, in fact, experience a national, cultural and educational revival as did the Greeks, Armenians and other indigenous Christian Churches of the Ottoman empire during the 19th century, and lost social and economic ground to these last. The emancipation of the Jews in Western and Central Europe did, however, lead to the appearance of protectors for the Oriental Jewish communities. Thus Sir Moses Montefiore visited Palestine several times, and intervened in 1840 to protect the Jews of Damascus after an accusation of ritual murder; and in 1860 the Alliance Israélite Universelle was formed with the aim of promoting Jewish education, primarily in the Islamic lands. Above all, in connection with the Jews, there begin in the last two decades of the century the rise of Zionism and Zionist immigration into Palestine; and even though there were still only about 85,000 Jews in Palestine by 1914, their presence was to make itself felt. See N.A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab lands in modern times*, Philadelphia and New York 1991, 3 ff., 80-91, 231-5.

With the conceding of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 [see DUSTŪR. ii], Syria acquired representation in the newly-established assembly in Istanbul. In this first *Medjlis-i 'Umūmī* it was represented by nine persons: three Muslim Arabs and one Armenian Christian from the province of Aleppo, two Muslim and two Christian Arabs from the province of Sūriyya (the former province of Damascus), and one Muslim Arab from Jerusalem, all of them from leading families of Syria. Midhat Pasha [*q.v.*] was governor of Syria for some twenty months in 1878-80, and it was at this time that the first faint glimmerings of incipient, proto-nationalist Syrian Arab discontent against Ottoman Turkish rule became discernible, with hopes of some sort of autonomy for the region. A number of anonymous, handwritten placards appeared in the main cities of Syria at the end of Midhat's governorship, asserting some basic Arab rights. Such sentiments can nevertheless only have been those of a tiny minority, but were significant for the beginnings of Arab nationalism there, slow though this was to develop [see ḲAWMIYYA. 1]. Not long afterwards, such views were temporarily submerged by Muslim Syrian enthusiasm for 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's promotion of Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*], a movement in which several Syrians were prominent, such as Shaykh Abu 'l-Hudā from Aleppo, who promoted the sultan's claim to the universal caliphate, and the sultan's second secretary, Aḥmad 'Izzat Pasha al-'Ābid, who became involved in the project of the Ḥidjāz Railway. On the other hand, the Syrians 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*], from Aleppo, and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*], from Tripoli, voiced from the safety of Cairo opposition to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's religio-political claims. The Ḥamīdian censorship covered all literary output, including even the textbooks used in foreign mission schools, and caused a considerable emigration of writers to Egypt and elsewhere.

Agitation for the restoration of the 1876 constitution was of course primarily associated with the "Young Turks" and the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEM'IYYETI], but the Syrian Arabs hoped for equal rights in the empire with the Turks, some degree of administrative decentralisation which would give Syria a hand in its own affairs, and recognition of the Arabic language at the side of Turkish in education and administration. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 brought about the deposition of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. The reinstated constitution of 1876 and its parliament were greeted in Syria with enthusiasm as the dawn of a new era, and societies were formed there to promote the Arab course within the Ottoman empire, such as the Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood (*al-Ikhā'*).

This illusion was of short duration. The Young Turks, whom the Syrians had trusted, were not long in resuming once more the process of turkicising begun by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. With more method and continuity, they declared war against all who were Arab by race or language. They insisted everywhere in Parliament and in the government offices on the employment of Turks only, and removed the Syrians from high offices and important military commands. This provocative policy brought together for the first time Muslims and Christians in Syria. It awakened amongst all the desire to come to an understanding in regard to a common policy, and to take joint action. Their demands were limited to reforms of a decentralising nature. They asked that, in the allotment of public offices, regard should be had to the progress which had been made by Syria, the most civilised province of the Empire, and that in the imposition and spending of taxes regard should be paid to the needs of their country. They thought the time had come to grant it a certain administrative autonomy. It was the obstinacy of the Young Turks in rejecting these moderate demands which opened the door to separatist ideas, and finally convinced the Syrian nationalists (the Muslims amongst whom for long had had a lingering sympathy for the Ottoman sultan, especially after the disasters to the Ottoman-Muslim cause of the loss of Tripolitania to the Italians in 1911 and the loss of almost all the Ottoman Balkan provinces after the Balkan Wars) that their aspirations were unlikely to be fulfilled within the Empire.

On 29 October 1914 Turkey entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers. It began by suppressing the administrative autonomy of Lebanon, and imposing on it a Turkish governor. Djemāl Pasha took into his own hands the government of all Syria with discretionary powers. He at once proceeded to hang the principal patriots, whether Syrian Muslim or Christian. Hundreds of others went into exile. Soon afterwards, famine and disease decimated the population, principally of the Lebanon. Energetic but presumptuous, dreaming of the conquest of Egypt, Djemāl proceeded unsuccessfully to attack the Suez Canal (February 1915). He now gave more attention to Arab opposition in Syria, arresting and deporting to Anatolia many notables and publicly hanging eleven Muslim leaders in Beirut, until diplomatic pressure from Turkey's ally Germany brought a relenting in what might well have proved a counter-productive policy. Perhaps as a sop to Arab opinion, Djemāl in 1915 founded the Ṣalāḥiyya College in Jerusalem under the Pan-Islamic enthusiast Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz Shāwīsh. But a second Turkish attack in August 1916 on Egypt failed, and British forces advanced into Ottoman territory as far as Ghazza, but were temporarily checked there. The Ottoman

forces in Palestine were now placed under the command of the German general Von Falkenhayn, but British forces under Allenby broke through at Beersheba.

By November 1917 the British, French and Italian forces of the Allies had become masters of the southern portion of Palestine and on 11 December, they entered Jerusalem, which the Turks had evacuated. The latter defended themselves for a further nine months on a line extending to the north of Jaffa as far as the Jordan. The decisive action took place on 19 September 1918, on the plain of Sarona near Ṭūlkarm. The forces of Allenby broke the Turkish front. It was a rout. At the end of the month the British forces, without meeting with any resistance, arrived in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The advance was delayed for a few days, in order to allow the Amīr Fayṣal, the son of the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, time to hasten from the remote end of Transjordania and to make on 1 October his entry into Damascus at the head of a body of Bedouins. On 31 October, the Turks signed an armistice. A week later, the last of their soldiers had repassed the Taurus.

Bibliography: For the older bibl., see that to Lammens' *EI*[1] art. The more recent references for the pre-1800 period have been given in the text; see also M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, Damascus 1925-8. For a regional bibliography, see I.J. Seccombe, *Syria*, World Bibliographical Series, Oxford, Santa Barbara and Denver 1987. For the 19th and early 20th centuries, see Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Beirut 1921, ii; W. Miller, *The Ottoman empire and its successors 1801-1927*, Cambridge 1936; G. Antonius, *The Arab awakening*, London 1938; F. Charles-Roux, *La France et les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1939; A.H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon, a political essay*, London 1946; idem, *Minorities in the Arab world*, London 1947; P.K. Hitti, *The history of Syria*, London 1951; E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, London 1956; Z.N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish relations and the emergence of Arab nationalism*, Beirut 1958; Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age 1798-1939*, London 1962; Sylvia G. Haim (ed.), *Arab nationalism, an anthology*, Berkeley, etc. 1962; C. Issawi, *The economic history of the Middle East*, Chicago 1966; A.L. Tibawi, *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966; P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, Ithaca 1966; M. Maʿoz, *Ottoman reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861*, Oxford 1968; Tibawi, *A modern history of Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine*, London 1969; M.S. Kalla, *The role of foreign trade in the economic development of Syria 1831-1914*, diss. AUB 1969; R. Owen, *The Middle East in the world economy 1800-1914*, London 1981; Issawi, *An economic history of the Middle East and North Africa 1800-1914*, New York 1982; P.S. Khoury, *Urban notables and Arab nationalism. The politics of Damascus 1860-1920*, Cambridge 1983; Leila T. Fawaz, *Merchants and migrants in nineteenth-century Beirut*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983; M.E. Yapp, *The making of the modern Near East 1792-1923*, London and New York 1987; Y.M. Choueiri, *Arab history and the nation state. A study in modern Arab historiography 1820-1980*, London 1989, 25-54. (H. Lammens-[C.E. Bosworth])

(b) From the end of the First World War to the end of the Mandate.

The Sharīf Ḥusayn's son Fayṣal [see fayṣal i] hoped to establish an Arab kingdom in Greater Syria based on Damascus, on the basis of the exchange of correspondence in October 1915 between Ḥusayn and Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, which had defined how far the British were prepared to go in conceding Arab independence. But this had in effect been superseded by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 16 May 1916, dividing Greater Syria into British and French spheres of influence, with an internationalised Palestine. The publication of the Agreement by the triumphant Bolsheviks in 1917 had not surprisingly caused the Sharīf and other Arab leaders to doubt the sincerity of the British government's undertakings, and assurances had also to be given to Ḥusayn concerning the significance of the Balfour Declaration of November 1917.

With the end of the War, the whole of Greater Syria was occupied by Allied troops, with British troops throughout the area, a small French force on the Levant coast and the Arab army of the Sharīf (now King of the Ḥidjāz) Ḥusayn in the interior. There were already grounds for conflict between the Arabs and the French government, since the latter regarded the whole of the northern half of Greater Syria as lying within its sphere of influence, as provided for in the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and did not consider itself bound by any British promises to its ally Ḥusayn. It was also influenced by the attitude of the Lebanese Christians, who had no desire to become part of an Arab kingdom under a Muslim monarch from the ruling family in the Ḥidjāz. Fayṣal's position in Damascus was affected by the Anglo-French Agreement of September 1919, which provided for the withdrawal of British troops from Greater Syria excluding Palestine. The action of a congress of Syrian notables meeting at Damascus in March 1920 in offering the crown of Syria and Palestine to Fayṣal was repudiated by Britain and France in favour of a mandate [*q.v.*] of Britain over southern Greater Syria (i.e. Palestine) and of France over the northern part (i.e. Syria and Lebanon). French forces under General Gouraud marched on Damascus, defeated the Arabs at Maysalūn [*q.v.*] in the Anti-Lebanon and entered Damascus on 25 July 1920. Fayṣal left for exile and, eventually, a new throne in ʿIrāḳ. The San Remo Conference duly allotted the mandates of Syria and Lebanon to France, confirmed by the League of Nations in July 1922.

In the early years of the French mandate, the frontiers of Syria were gradually delimited: those with ʿIrāḳ, Palestine and Transjordania by two Anglo-French agreements, but the more contentious northern frontier with Turkey, with its mixed population of Arabs, Turks and Kurds, was not finally settled until 1930, and was to have a substantial modification in 1939 when the so-called Sanjak of Alexandretta [see iskandarūn] was ceded to Turkey (see further, below).

Under the *de facto* control of the French High Commissioner Gouraud, Syria was officially proclaimed to be a "federation of Syrian states": the State of Aleppo, with its dependent Sanjak of Alexandretta; the State of Damascus; the "Territory of the ʿAlawīs", sc. Nuṣayrīs [see nuṣayriyya], centred on Latakia [see al-lādhiḳiyya]; and a Druze state in the Djabal al-Durūz with its centre at Suwayda (1921-2). But the system never came to life, and from 1 January 1925 there was established a unitary state of Syria, which was, however, to exclude the ʿAlawī and Druze territories and Greater Lebanon. Meanwhile, a preliminary census was instituted as a basis for the voting groups of the first general elections (to be conducted by indirect voting) planned by the new High Commissioner General Weygand in 1923. Excluding Greater Lebanon, the census revealed the following picture. The nomads in the district of Aleppo and of Damascus were not included in it. The state of Aleppo,

including the independent Sanjak of Alexandretta had 604,000 inhabitants. The number was made up as follows: 502,000 Sunnīs, 30,000 ʿAlawīs, 52,000 Christians of diverse denominations, 7,000 Jews and 3,000 foreigners. The state of Damascus contained 595,000 inhabitants, of which 447,000 were Sunnīs, 8,000 Ismāʿīlīs, 5,000 ʿAlawīs, 4,000 Druze, 9,000 Mutawālīs, 67,000 Christians of different denominations, 6,000 Jews and 49,000 foreigners. In the state of the ʿAlawīs, there were 60,000 Sunnīs, 153,000 ʿAlawīs, 3,000 Ismāʿīlīs and 42,000 Christians of different denominations, in all 261,000 inhabitants. The state of the Djabal al-Durūz was remarkable for the homogeneity of its population. There were 43,000 Druze against 700 Sunnīs, and about 7,000 Greek, Catholic or Orthodox Christians.

It is not easy to draw up a balance-sheet of the achievements and failures of the French mandatory power. On the positive side, there was the establishment of law and order; improvements in communications and harbour facilities; order was achieved in the public finances, with the budget generally balanced and, after 1933, the burden of the share of the Ottoman Public Debt which had fallen upon the mandated territories was at last paid off so that no public debt remained; some tentative steps towards land reform were made through the introduction of a modern system of land registration and a land survey, although the pattern of actual land ownership changed little and there was a very clear continuity in the high level of political and economic power of the Syrian landowning élite from late Ottoman times to the post-Second World War years. A system of state schools was created from almost nothing; the University of Damascus expanded and the Arab Academy in Damascus acquired a solid reputation throughout the Arab world. An Antiquities Service did sterling work in preserving both the ancient and the Islamic sites and monuments of Syria. In agriculture, there were moves to improve crops and produce, with substantial increases in cotton production and the export of citrus fruits. Irrigation works were undertaken, such as the completion of the first phase in 1938 of the Lake of Homs barrage, although achievements here lagged behind those of ʿIrāḳ in the same period. The world depression of the 1930s reduced Syria's potential as an exporter; there was a slowing-down of Lebanese and Syrian emigration as overseas countries closed their doors to immigrants, and remittances home by existing emigrants decreased sharply.

On the debit side, in the early years of the Mandate at least, France ran Syria as a colonial possession, with commercial and financial policies which benefited the mandatory power. French companies, banks and individuals were favoured by the grant of industrial concessions and the provision of subsidies, and the League of Nations' mandatory system requirements of free trade and open competition for the provision of goods and services circumvented, annoying France's European and American trade competitors and frustrating the indigenous population which suffered from the lack of competition. Local Syrian industries were not given adequate protection by the High Commissioner, and French customs policy favoured the import of French goods and furthered the decline of local industry and handicrafts, causing, e.g. unemployment in the towns amongst handloom weavers and silk spinners.

The great failure of French rule—one which was probably inevitable, whatever the mandatory power could have done or not done—was to win the approval of the bulk of the Syrian and Lebanese people. The nationalists, backbone of the movement for independence, were naturally intransigent, resenting what they saw as the encouragement of separatism and what they believed to be French financial dominance through the Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban. Thus it was widely believed that the French deliberately drained the country of gold which it had possessed in Ottoman times. In 1925-6 there were local risings in northern Syria (under Ibrāhīm Ḥanānū) and in the Djabal al-Durūz (under Sulṭān al-Aṭrash), the latter spreading to the Druze areas of southern Lebanon and the district of Damascus as far as Ḥimṣ. The mandatory power had to revise the constitutional arrangements for Syria, although martial law, censorship and the special tribunals were not abolished till 1928, when a general amnesty was issued. An indigenous Syrian government, more acceptable to public opinion, after 1928 under the moderate nationalist Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, was installed, with elections for a constituent assembly. The drafting of a constitution began, one on Western lines and with provision (as in Lebanon also) for the representation of minorities and a unicameral legislative assembly. Because of disagreements between the more moderate majority in the assembly and the more extremist nationalist bloc, *al-Kutla al-Waṭaniyya*, under Ḥanānū, a constitution for the State of Syria was finally refused by the High Commissioner Henri Ponsot.

It was also hoped to institute a Franco-Syrian Treaty, on the lines of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty which had terminated the British mandate over ʿIrāḳ, but the negotiations for this were likewise bedevilled by party disputes in the assembly, until in November 1934 the High Commissioner Comte Damien Charles de Martel adjourned the Chamber of Deputies *sine die*, with provision for rule by decree. As may be inferred from the turbulent politics of the period, there was a proliferation of political parties in Syria in the 1930s; see for these, ḤIZB. i, at III, 522-3. Not until 1936, when there came to power in France a left-wing coalition, the Popular Front, slightly more favourably disposed to Syrian and Lebanese aspirations than the outgoing government, were Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese Treaties achieved, defining what were to be the relations between France and the local Arab powers after the end of the mandate and, in the meantime, handing over certain administrative functions from the High Commissioner to the Syrian government. The National Bloc achieved an overwhelming majority in the 1936 elections. Soon afterwards, the ʿAlawī and Druze regions were annexed to the Syrian State. But difficulties grew as Turkish claims to thc Sanjak of Alexandretta were increasingly pressed; separatist movements grew (in the Djabal al-Durūz, 1937-9; in the ʿAlawī region, 1939; and amongst the Kurds of the Djazīra, sc. in northeastern Syria, in 1937). The accession to power in France in 1938 of a less sympathetic government, which now feared for the long-term safety of the minorities in Syria, above all, of the Christians there, led to the failure of the French Parliament to ratify the 1936 Treaty. Within Syria, confidence in the National Bloc had ebbed, and political instability and insecurity in the country at large made it difficult to find a government acceptable to a broad spectrum of Syrian interests. Hence in July 1939 the High Commissioner Gabriel Puaux suspended the constitution and appointed a council of directors to rule by decree under his own guidance; at the same time, the separate administrations of the Druze and ʿAlawī areas, abolished in 1936, were restored, and a separate

administration created for the restive Djazīra.

The outbreak of the Second World War on 3 September 1939 marks the beginning of the last period in which the French could hope to do more than hold their position in Syria. The fulfilment of any of their aims as the mandatory power had to be abandoned for a policy of survival as a weak outpost of a metropolitan power soon to be largely occupied by the German enemy. The surrender of France in June 1940 found the French Army of the Levant obeying the order from Vichy to cease hostilities. The adroit and circumspect Puaux was recalled from Syria because of his tepid attitude towards Vichy policy, and replaced by the respected but defeatist General Henri Dentz, whose tenure of the High Commissionship was to be uniformly unfortunate. Local Syrian nationalists could not but be affected by contemplation of the French débâcle; some of the more extreme elements, as in ʿIrāḳ, began openly to look for an Axis victory as German propagandists proclaimed in Syria ostensibly pan-Arab and anti-Zionist policies. Economic hardship, involving food shortages and black market, price rises and unemployment contributed to popular discontent, with a general strike in Damascus and Aleppo and similar disorders in Lebanon in February 1941. A leader of the nationalist movement now emerged in the person of Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī.

Meanwhile, the attitude of General Dentz, on orders from Vichy, was made clear to the British High Command in Cairo: that France would not regard the appearance of German forces or aeroplanes in Syria, en route as reinforcements for Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gaylānī's [*q.v.*] pro-Axis régime in Baghdād, as a hostile act, whereas any British intervention would be opposed by force. No message could have been clearer. Britain reluctantly—because its Middle Eastern military resources were already highly stretched in opposing the Axis forces in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean—decided to intervene, once it was clear that the French administration in Syria would not promise, as similar administrations in other parts of France's colonial empire had in fact promised, to remain neutral and to maintain a defensive stance (which would have been in accordance with the terms of the Franco-German Armistice). The Free French movement under General Charles de Gaulle had to be accommodated in any military measures, and forces under General Legentilhomme took part in the invasion of Syria which began on 8 June 1941 and was strenuously opposed by General Dentz's troops. Offers of help from the Germans and Italians were distasteful to Dentz and were refused by the Vichy government. He surrendered on 14 July, most of his troops being repatriated to France.

General Georges Catroux, de Gaulle's Délégué-Général in Cairo, had promised in leaflets dropped by air into Syria on 8 June that the mandate would be terminated and that the peoples there would become free and independent. In fact, it was going to be difficult to say when France's mandate ended; General Catroux did not transfer power to the Syrians till early 1944, and the obligations of the mandate could still be invoked by the French in the protracted negotiations leading to the final withdrawal of French troops in 1945-6 (see below). In these years, there were also to be tensions between the more adaptable Catroux and the intransigent de Gaulle, whose mind was closed to the new political and psychological realities of the Arab world, though both were to remain bitterly critical of what they regarded as British perfidy in encouraging Syrian national aspirations in an area regarded as a purely French responsibility. Britain was regarded by de Gaulle as hopelessly Arabophile, and the French authorities in Syria fought a long-drawn out, but ultimately unsuccessful, battle to concede the minimum towards independence and to retain for France as many rights and privileges there as possible.

Meanwhile, within Syria, there was intense political activity among the parties, in which the Communists (though at this point professedly favourable to the nationalist cause and the war effort) were making their name heard in both Syria and Lebanon. The Druze and ʿAlawī territories were in February 1942 re-transferred to Syrian authority, this time for good. Elections were held in the summer of 1943, entailing the decisive return of the National Bloc to power, and the Assembly elected Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī as President of the Republic of Syria (17 August). From December 1943, the French authorities ceased to challenge any constitutional changes which the governments of Syria and Lebanon might make, and in January 1944 the Assembly members took the oath of allegiance to a constitution which ignored all mandatory ties. Even so, disputes between the two sides continued, especially over Catroux's refusal to cede control of the Syrian Legion, the *Troupes spéciales*, recruited largely from the minorities and from rural Sunnī Muslims, and over the continued existence of French regular army garrisons. The despatch of Senegalese troops by de Gaulle to Beirut in May 1945 was regarded as an attempt to reinforce the French military presence, provoking a general strike, and demonstrations and armed clashes as far as Deir al-Zor, and entailing the French shelling and bombing of Damascus with hundreds of casualties. There followed a threat of British military intervention, since Britain was still at war with Japan and the Levant lay across supply lines to the East. Only in the summer did France begin at last to withdraw troops, a process not completed until April 1946. Inevitably, there was now no hope in the foreseeable future of any Franco-Syrian Treaty favourable to France. The Syrian government had announced its adherence to the League of Arab States [see AL-DJĀMIʿA AL-ʿARABIYYA, in Suppl.], formed in March 1945, and nominally declared war on Germany and Japan. But as events were to show in the post-War years, political stability was to elude the new, faction-ridden state.

Bibliography: See many of the works listed in the *Bibl.* to (a) above, and also R. O'Zoux, *Les états du Levant sous Mandat français*, Paris 1931; I. Lipschits, *La politique de la France au Levant, 1939-41*, Paris 1941; S.H. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French mandate*, London 1958; Ṭūḳān Ḳarḳūṭ, *Taṭawwur al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya fī Sūriyya, 1920-1939*, Beirut 1975; P.S. Khoury, *Syria and the French mandate. The politics of Arab nationalism 1920-1945*, Princeton 1987; M.E. Yapp, *The Near East since the First World War*, London and New York 1991.

(C.E. Bosworth)

(c) Independent Syria.

Syria in its contemporary borders, comprising the central parts of the historic *Bilād al-Shām*, was established under the French Mandate [see MANDATES]. It gained formal independence in 1943 and full sovereignty in 1946, when the last French soldiers left the country. According to its constitution, independent Syria was a parliamentary democracy. *De facto*, power was concentrated in the hands of the landlord and merchant class, and, increasingly, of the military establishment. The ruling élite made Syria stumble into the first Arab-Israeli war, and it largely failed to solve the country's domestic political and social problems.

From 1949, the country experienced a series of military takeovers and attempted coups. In the mid-1950s, Syria became the focus of a regional conflict concerning the establishment of a Western-oriented military alliance, the Baghdād Pact. Syria's neutralist stance made it subject to strong Western pressures. While failing to push Syria into the Pact, these pressures destabilised the country and contributed to its hasty and ill-prepared unification with Egypt in 1958. When the leadership of the so-established United Arab Republic (UAR) embarked on an outspokenly socialist course in 1961, launching a wave of nationalisations that included some of the largest Syrian establishments, a group of conservative Syrian officers assumed power in Damascus and terminated this first unification experiment in contemporary Arab history. Syria re-emerged as a sovereign state, with the political élite of the 1950s back in power for another year and a half.

On 8 March 1963, the *ancient régime* was overthrown by a group of young military officers with strong Arab nationalist and, in a large part, socialist convictions. The faction connected to the Arab Socialist Baʿth Party (*ḥizb al-baʿth al-ʿarabī al-ishtirākī*) soon asserted its power, and the Baʿth party became the ruling party in a quasi-single-party system. The "revolution" of 1963, as it was henceforward called, was followed by an unstable period of army-and-party rule. The régime ventured to put the country on what was understood to be an Arab socialist development path, thereby trying to liquidate the economic basis of the old ruling élite which they had already removed from political power. Land reform, initially introduced under the UAR, was considerably speeded up. In 1964 and 1965, after a series of violent clashes between the régime and conservative oppositional forces, a large number of industrial and commercial establishments was nationalised. The radical social policies of the régime and a no less radical rhetoric confronting both the West and the conservative Arab states left it regionally and internationally largely isolated; only relations with the Soviet Union and the other then socialist countries were expanded.

At the same time, the political leadership was internally divided into different factions, each having their own basis in the army and the party. Internal frictions broke up along both political and sectarian lines. In February 1966, a radical wing of the party, led by officers of mainly middle class, rural and minority, particularly ʿAlawī origin, gained the upper hand by military force. Caught in internal struggles, the régime had to face the 1967 war unprepared; Israeli forces were able to occupy the Golan heights [see DJAWLĀN] without major resistance.

In November 1970, after further years of open conflict within the power élite about internal and foreign policy directions, General Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad (born 1930), an ʿAlawī Baʿthist who had been Commander of the Air Force since 1964 and Minister of Defence since 1966, assumed power in another coup. In 1971, he was elected President of the Republic in an uncontested popular referendum. By the time of writing, he has been re-elected three times, last in 1991 for another seven-year term of office.

Only after Asad's takeover or "corrective movement" (*al-ḥaraka al-taṣḥīḥiyya* as it had since been called) did stable political structures emerge, enabling Syria to develop into a veritable regional power. Thus a parliament (*madjlis al-shaʿb*) was established in 1971; and the Progressive National Front (PNF) (*al-djabha al-waṭaniyya al-takaddumiyya*), an institutionalised coalition of the Baʿth party with a group of tolerated, smaller parties, was set up in 1972. In 1973 a new constitution was promulgated, largely tailored to suit the personal rule of President Asad, who also occupies the positions of Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, President of the PNF, and Secretary-General of the ruling party. The parliament, elected once every four years, has to share its legislative functions with the President. Aside from the PNF parties, only individual candidates are allowed to stand for election; the Baʿth party is guaranteed an absolute majority. Any constitutional amendement needs the approval of the president. The political system is authoritarian; no major policy decision, particularly in the fields of foreign policy and security, can be taken without the President's personal involvement and consent.

Under Asad's rule, the socialist orientation of the first Baʿthist régimes, though maintained as a tenet in the rhetoric of the ruling party, has been gradually abandoned. The state was still supposed to lead economic development, but conditions for the private sector have been considerably improved from the early 1970s onwards. Rapid economic growth rather than social reform has become the main objective of development policies. Both the state economic sector and the bureaucracy, as well as the armed forces, have grown at unprecedented speed. The new régime has also re-arranged the foreign policy orientation of the country. Good relations with the socialist bloc were maintained, but the régime sought to improve its relations with the West and with the conservative Arab states and strengthened its ties with Egypt. In October 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a coordinated military attack against Israel. Though not resulting in a military victory, the October War (*ḥarb Tishrīn*)—proving Arab military capabilities and their ability to coordinate military action with economic pressure, namely the imposition of an oil embargo against Israel's international allies—has generally been viewed as a political victory of the Arab States. Syria was able to regain parts of the occupied Golan heights in the course of the US-sponsored troop disengagement negotiations following the war.

The combination of internal stability, national success, and economic growth made Asad enjoy a high degree of popularity and legitimacy for several years. Only from the second half of the 1970s did the régime have to face veritable domestic threats. General disenchantment with the régime's regional policies, particularly its open military involvement, from 1976, in the Lebanese civil war [see LUBNĀN], the spread of corruption and nepotism, unrestrained behaviour of the security forces, the sectarian composition of the régime's core, and growing social inequalities, all contributed to an increase of tension. Oppositional forces were not able to organise themselves politically and were thus driven into violence. In the years 1979-82 Syria experienced a situation close to civil war. The anti-régime opposition was led by Islamist forces, particularly the Syrian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*]), who tried and partly succeeded in giving the conflict a sectarian (Sunnī majority against ʿAlawī minority) character. The opposition was only crushed after a brutal crescendo in Ḥamāt, where in February 1982 government troops put down a rebellion by military force, destroying large parts of the city. In the summer of the same year, the Syrian army and air force suffered a heavy blow at the hands of Israeli forces in Lebanon. Though not driven out of Lebanon, the Syrian forces were unable to prevent Israel's laying siege on the Lebanese capital Beirut. In late 1983, President Asad suddenly suffered severe

health problems, and the country seemed to face an internal military struggle for his succession.

During the later part of the 1980s, the main threat to the régime and its legitimacy came from a deep economic crisis that revealed the flaws of the country's étatist development orientation. A gradual process of economic policy change began, giving form to a more market-oriented economy and reducing the relative weight of the state sector. A major liberalisation of the political system, as some domestic quarters had expected in the course of economic liberalisation, did not occur. Minor changes included the enhancement of the role of parliament and a relaxation of political repression.

By the mid-1990s (at the time of writing), the economic situation has improved, both as a result of the reform process and of increased oil production (by 1993, Syria's oil production ranged around 550,000 b/d). President Asad's régime no longer faces any domestic opposition worth mentioning. There has been some uneasiness, both domestically and internationally, concerning the eventual succession process and the prospects of a post-Asad Syria, but the régime itself is stable. Internationally, Syria has managed to cope with the loss of its main ally and arms supplier, the Soviet Union. It has considerably improved its relations with the USA both by participating in the US-led coalition against ʿIrāḳ in 1991 and by joining the US-sponsored Middle East peace process. Syria has also asserted its regional position. Its hegemony over Lebanon has been internationally tacitly accepted, and Syria is generally perceived as the key Arab state to a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. By entering into bilateral negotiations with Israel in 1991, Syria clearly stated its preparedness to peace, its main condition for a peace treaty being the full withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Golan heights.

Bibliography: E. Wirth, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1971; T. Petran, *Syria*, London 1972; I. Rabinovich, *Syria under the Baʿth 1963-66. The Army-Party symbiosis*, Jerusalem 1972; P. Seale, *The struggle for Syria: a study of post-war Arab politics*, ²New Haven and London 1987; idem, *Asad of Syria: the struggle for the Middle East*, London 1988; M. Seurat, *L'État de barbarie*, Paris 1989; R. Hinnebusch, *Authoritarian power and state formation in Baʿthist Syria*, Boulder 1990; A. Drysdale and Hinnebusch, *Syria and the Middle East peace process*, New York 1991; V. Perthes, *The political economy of Syria under Asad*, London 1995. (V. PERTHES)

3. The Arabic dialects of Syria.

The *Bilād al-Shām* does not constitute, from a linguistic point of view, a genuine unity. The history of the population of the region has been such that nomadic and sedentary dialects are adjacent there or are in contact there, as is demonstrated by reciprocal borrowings of lexical and grammatical elements. Thus in zones of close contact, sedentarisation, rural exodus and urbanisation have given rise at all times to a range of dialectal varieties, and it is not always easy to determine whether it is a case of "sedentarised" Bedouin dialects, or of "Bedouinised" sedentary dialects. Contacts with the major neighbouring dialectal groups (Egyptian, Arabian, Mesopotamian) are, at least on the external fringes of the domain, no less tight. Today, tourism and above all, the spectacular diffusion of radio and television, promote contacts of a different type, the effect of which is tangible. Finally, the region has experienced the presence of languages which, while they have not in general directly affected the majority of the population, have nevertheless, to decidedly differing degrees, exerted an influence, on vocabulary at least: Turkish, in particular in the Ottoman period; and European languages, in the era of the Crusades (for a long time also through the specific intermediary of the *lingua franca*, at least on the shores of the Mediterranean) and more recently (French and English) during and after the colonial or mandatory period. Among others, these elements explain the wide dialectal diversity of the region; but its history and the emergence of the linguistic crucibles constituted by nation-states, and the augmented role of certain major metropolises, also confer on many Shāmī dialects, sedentary ones in particular, common elements, an intercomprehensibility which varies from mediocre to excellent, and a specificity in general immediately perceptible to those who speak them, as it is to speakers of dialects belonging to other groups.

Since pre-Christian times, and then stimulated by the Muslim conquests, "Arab" populations, admittedly most often linguistically Aramaicised, had been installed in the Fertile Crescent. It was probably from the 7th century onward that this presence became more significant; soon, apparently rapid Arabisation was definitively to establish Arabic as a majority language. Aramaic was to survive, however, in small enclaves, and is still in use today in three villages of the Anti-Lebanon: Maʿlūlā, Bakhʿa and Djubb ʿAdīn (Western Neo-Aramaic). If the influence of this substratum has sometimes been exaggerated, it is nevertheless real (see e.g. W. Arnold and P. Behnstedt, *Arabisch-Aramäische Sprachbeziehungen im Qalamūn (Syrien)*, Wiesbaden 1993; and see, for present-day Neo-Aramaic in Syria, MAʿLŪLĀ).

The dominant position of Arabic should not obscure the existence of other languages, spoken by diverse communities, in some cases long-established in the region: Kurdish and Armenian in particular, Circassian and Turkish. For the populations concerned (in most cases, when they have preserved their own language, bilingual and even trilingual), the relation between this heteroglossia and the components, religious or ethnic, of their identity, is complex, and its configurations diverse and essentially variable. Finally, the presence of Israeli Hebrew has, over several decades, created an unprecedented situation for the Palestinians "of the interior", many of them being bilingual.

Conversely, Shāmī emigrés have transplanted their dialects, into North and South America in particular, where they have thriven to varying degrees [see AL-MAHDJAR]. A particular case is that, currently moribund, of Kormakiti in Cyprus, the last representative of the dialects imported by Maronite communities of Lebanon, in several waves, the most significant dating back to the end of the 12th century. In Turkey, while the majority of the Arabic dialects still spoken belong to the *ḳəltu* group of Anatolian dialects, some are to be associated with Syrian dialects (Adana, Antioch, Alexandretta).

Documentation concerning the dialects of the *Bilād al-Shām* in their ancient form is largely defective; it is possible to gain an impression of them through their traces, direct or indirect, in texts in "Middle Arabic" (see the studies of J. Blau, in particular, *A grammar of Christian Arabic, based mainly on South Palestinian texts from the first millennium*, Louvain 1966), also by means of documents of various kinds: correspondence, archives, etc., written in the same type of linguistic register, phrase-books, Turkish-Arabic for example, accounts of European travellers, manuals written by missionaries, etc. The ancient texts which have survived most often comprise a poetry of dialectal or dialectalising expression, as such composed in a dialec-

tal *koinè* and in a literary register involving conventions and archaisms. While it is thus difficult to compile a history dialect by dialect, it is nevertheless possible to identify the major trends of their overall evolution (see, for the sedentary dialects, I. Garbell, *Remarks on the historical phonology of an East Mediterranean Arabic dialect*, in *Word*, xiv/2-3 (1958), 303-37).

Possibly in part as a result of the attraction exerted by the Holy Land, the Shāmī dialects are without doubt those for which documentation is most abundant. However, for the speech of some relatively important cities (Latakia, Homs, Tyre, Baalbek, ʿAkkā, Nablus, etc.) and for the majority of the dialects of rural (and of mountainous) areas, it is practically nonexistent. Among the works which have appeared since the composition of the article of H. Fleisch [see ʿARABIYYA, iii, 2. *The Oriental dialects*], the following should be noted: for Syria, M. Cowell, *A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic based on the dialect of Damascus*, Washington D.C. 1964; H. Grotzfeld, *Syrisch-arabische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1965, A. Ambros, *Damascus Arabic*, Malibu, Calif. 1977; A. Sabuni, *Laut- und Formenlehre des arabischen Dialekts von Aleppo*, Frankfurt a.M. 1980; B. Lewin, *Arabische Texte im Dialekt von Hama*, Beirut 1966; idem, *Notes on Cabali. The Arabic dialect spoken by the Alawis of "Jebel Ansariyye"*, Göteborg 1969; for Lebanon, H. Fleisch, *Études d'arabe dialectal*, Beirut 1974; F. Abu-Haidar, *A study of the spoken Arabic of Baskinta*, Leiden 1979; M. Jiha, *Der arabische Dialekt von Bishmizzīn*, Beirut 1964; for Palestine and Jordan, H. Blanc, *The Arabic dialect of the Negev Bedouins*, in *Procs. of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, iv/7, Jerusalem 1970; J. Rosenhouse, *The Bedouin Arabic dialects. General problems and a close analysis of North Israel Bedouin Dialects*, Wiesbaden 1984; H. Palva, *Lower Galilean Arabic*, Helsinki 1965 (= *Studia Orientalia*, xxxii); idem, *Balgāwi Arabic*, 1-3, in *Studia Orientalia*, xl/1-2 and xliii/l (1969, 1970-1974); *Studies in the Arabic dialect of the semi-nomadic əl-ʿAdjārma tribe (al-Balqāʾ District, Jordan)*, Göteborg 1976; *Narratives and poems from Ḥesbān. Arabic texts recorded among the semi-nomadic əl-ʿAdjārma tribe*, Göteborg 1978; see also below, *Bibl.*

The problems of classification of the dialects of the region are far from being resolved. For the speech of sedentary populations, the division proposed by G. Bergsträsser in his *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina*, in *ZDPV*, xxxviii (1915), 169-222, amended and supplemented on a number of points by later works, remains largely valid: three parallel bands from north to south (North Syria; Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon; and Palestine, Transjordan, Ḥawrān), with zones of transition of course (such as that of Galilee between the south of Lebanon and the rest of Palestine). J. Cantineau (*Remarques sur les parlers de sédentaires Syro-Libano-Palestiniens*, in *BSL*, xl [1939], 80-8) also identifies three groups, but different, since he takes as the sole criterion the realisation of the correspondent of *ḳāf*, q, ʾ, or ḳ. He has also made the observation that, on the other hand, the dialects are distinguished thus:

	A	B
1st pers. sing.	bəktob	baktob
3rd pers. masc. sing.	byəktob	bəktob

Type A is encountered essentially in the central zone, type B elsewhere, to the north (Aleppo) but most of all in Palestine and in Jordan, in urban speech (Jerusalem) but also rural and even Bedouin speech (Negev), if only to the extent that they have borrowed the "sedentary" pre-verbal particle *b(i)*-. This discriminant has validated to some extent the revived division of Bergsträsser, and the following groupings are generally accepted (*Handbuch*, 28 [see *Bibl.*]): northern Syria, Lebanon/central Syria, Palestine/Jordan.

Finally, J. Cantineau has also proposed a distinction between "differential" and "non-differential" dialects; in the first group, *a* in an unaccented open syllable is better preserved than the correspondents of *i* and *u*: *byiflaḥu* ("they work") v. *byikətbu* ("they write") in the first case, but *byifəlḥu* like *byikətbu* in the second (thus in the majority of Lebanese dialects of the centre-north).

But no typological feature has, any more than those mentioned above, an absolute discriminant value (especially so since, for each one, dialects can almost always be found which present a mixed system). Thus the diphthongs *aw* and *ay* are preserved in numerous Lebanese dialects but also, to the north of the Lebanese border, in a swathe of Syrian territory extending almost as far as Aleppo, or furthermore in a region of Ḳalamūn (Anti-Lebanon); mixed systems are common: diphthongs preserved only in open syllables (for example, *lān* "colour" v. *lawnu* "his colour" in Tripoli, or *ʿanayyi* "my eyes" v. *ʿaynēn* "eyes" in z-Zayni, an ʿAlawī mountain village); or only in slow utterance (*lento* forms v. *allegro* forms: *bayt* v. *bat* (Ez-Zrēriyye, South Lebanon). *Imāla* of *ā* is widespread, its manifestations diverse and sometimes quite complex: the two principal types of conditioning—influence of the consonantic environment, and influence of a neighbouring *i* or *ī* in the word (sometimes present in the past and currently lost)—are not mutually exclusive; only certain morphological categories can be affected (*ṭēleb* "having asked", *ṭāleb* "a student"); the conditioning can also be lexical (leaving borrowings untouched), or prosodic, etc. The two realisations of *ā*, [ä], ([ē], [ī]) and [ạ̄], ([ō], [ū]), usually in complementary distribution, can apparently in some cases be phonologised (*ʾām* "he has risen", *ʾạ̄m* "he has removed"). The short *a* is also often subject to *imāla*, in particular in the "feminine" termination *-a(t)* of nouns (according to the phonetic nature of the last radical consonant in the absolute state, but often without conditioning of this type in the construct state) and of the 3rd pers. fem. sing of the verb in thc perfect tense. These two phenomena are very common, the first especially, even in dialects where *imāla* is otherwise unknown. Interdentals are present in all Bedouin dialects, but also in numerous sedentary, rural and mountain dialects (Palestine and Jordan, South Lebanon, Alawite Mountains). The phenomena of pause (known elsewhere, in particular in Yemen) are widespread. H. Fleisch has studied these in the case of Lebanese dialects, but they are found elsewhere, and their diffusion in ancient times was probably wider still. Their manifestations are diverse and their systems varied, since lengthening and shortening of vowels, diphthongisation (Zaḥle: *la ʿind ẓalamë ʿindu x* "someone who owed x" v. *iẓa ẓẓalamey* "the man came") or reductions of diphthongs, changes of timbre, can be combined; the last syllable is not always the only one modified; in numerous dialects, the alternation between these forms "of pause" and "of context" is essentially a product of the rapidity of utterance (Ez-Zrēriyye: *mēddīn sharshif w-ʿa-sh-sharshaf ṭabaliyye* "they (fem.) have spread out a cloth, on which a small table is placed") and such alternation can therefore be dictated by morphology or by syntax: masculine or feminine form, absolute or construct state, etc. (*ʿəddīm* "before" vs. *ʾəddām bənto* "before his daughter" (same dialect)). Short vocalic systems are of diverse types, depending on whether *a*, *i* and *u* are encountered in all positions (numerous Palestinian dialects, etc.) or /i/ and /u/ are partially or generally coalesced (ə); this partial

coalescence can affect /a/ and /i/ (Kfar ʿAbīda) and many mixed systems are attested. All of this has an effect on the radical vocalisation of verbs. For the perfect, one of the most widespread systems has two types: *katab, n(i)zil*, which can characterise semantico-syntactical categories which are more or less clearly demarcated; but sometimes observed is a tendency towards the generalisation of one of the two types, or towards interchangibility. Examples of a different system are *katab, sh̲arib* (El-Karak). In the imperfect, the three vocalisations have relative distribution and frequency varying according to dialects; in some, consonantic environment or vocalic harmony have a determinant role (*yafʿal, yifʿil, yufʿul*). In morphology, the distinction of plural in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the verbal conjugation and of personal pronouns, general in Bedouin speech, is not uncommon in sedentary speech, at least in northern and central zones.

The examples, taken here primarily in the domain of phonology, could easily be multiplied and extended to morphology and to syntax. They would all show that a single discriminant—were it considered typically Sh̲āmī—is always encountered at different points of the domain (even outside it). It is only by combining typological features (clusters of isoglosses) that it is possible, region by region, to determine relatively coherent, but never absolute classifications. It is thus that Fleisch proposed to classify, on a provisional basis, the Lebanese dialects into four groups (north, centre-north, centre-south, south), on the basis of some twelve features. For Palestine and Jordan, Palva has provided, on the basis of eleven features, the following classification (*A general classification for the Arabic Dialects spoken in Palestine and Transjordan*, in *Studia Orientalia*, lv [1984], 359-76): urban dialects (*biʾūl*); rural dialects: (a) Galilee (*biqūl*), (b) central Palestine (*biḳūl*), (c) South Palestine, (d) north and central Transjordan and (e) south Transjordan (*bigūl*); and Bedouin dialects: (a) Negev (*bigūl*), (b) Arabia Petraea, (c) Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes and (d) North Arabian (*yigūl*). The rural dialects (c), (d) and (e) are distinguished among other ways through the realisation of *ḳāf*, *k* alone (e), *k* and *ts̲h̲* in phonetically conditioned complementary distribution (d: *dīts̲h̲*, pl. *dyūk*, "cock"), generalised *ts̲h̲* (c). This point also differentiates the Bedouin dialects: *k* (a and b); *k/ts̲h̲* (c); (d) has an alternation *k/ts̲*, and in parallel an alternation *g/dz̲* for *ḳāf*.

As regards the Bedouin dialects alone, these being present throughout the region, the situation is also complicated. Schematically, it may be stated that they belong to three groups of dialects: those of the major camel-riding nomads of Arabia (groups A and B in Cantineau's classification, *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient*, in *AIEO*, ii [1936], 1-116, ii [1937], 3-121); those of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing nomads (Cantineau, group C), related to the *gilit* dialects of the Mesopotamian group (see ʿIRĀḲ, iv (a) Arabic dialects (H. Blanc)); and those of a "North-West-Arabian" (sub-)group (Palva, in *Festgabe für H.R. Singer*, Frankfurt 1991, 151-66), at least some of which show characteristics in common with the Bedouin speech of Egypt and of the Mag̲h̲rib.

If these classifications are so problematical, this is most of all the result, as has been stated above, of the constant contacts between dialects, between Bedouin and sedentary speech (cf. the presence in the Negev e.g. of the pre-verb *b(i)-*, a supremely "sedentary" feature) as within the confines of each of these two groups.

To this phenomenon, which has such important implications, two others should be added, also of a socio-linguistic nature:

– "koinéisation". This appears, in particular, under the influence of the prestigious speech of regional or national metropolises, which explains e.g. the constant expansion of the following realisations: [ʾ] of *ḳāf* and [ž] (or [dj̲]) according to cases) of *dj̲īm*, that of *sh̲u* "what?", of *hallaḳ* (and variants) "now", etc.

– "classicisation". The influence of the modern literary language applies to vocabulary and, through more or less modified borrowing, to some syntactical structures. Lexical borrowing, by "grafting" new nominal schemes into the dialects, supplies, through the creation of "doublets", a supplementary means of enriching vocabulary, and could lead to a recasting of the system of nominal derivation. In dialects where interdental spirants have coalesced with the corresponding occlusives, these borrowings have determined the integration of a new phoneme (/ẓ/) as well as the creation of doublets of another type (*dahab* "gold", *zahāb* "going, departure"; *ḍahr* "back", *ẓāhir* "apparent"; *tōr* "bull", *sawra* "revolution", etc.).

It is nevertheless possible to give examples of regional features which can, to a certain extent, be considered as characteristic since they are present on a sufficiently large scale, even if some of them are found episodically in other dialectal groupings, or if their presence is not general in the region. It is also possible to regard as characteristic those features which are not encountered (in the current state of knowledge) in any other dialectal group. *Pronouns*. In the series of personal pronouns, to be noted are forms of the type *hənne(n)* (3rd pl.), *-kon* (2nd pl.) and *-hon* (3rd pl.), explanation of which by means of the Aramaic substratum is not to be ruled out; in that of demonstratives, mention should be made of *hayy* "this one" (fem.) (and sometimes "this one" (masc.) and/or "that (thing or fact)"), and it will be observed that demonstratives deprived of the **ha-* element are very sparsely represented; in that of the interrogatives, (*ʾis̲h̲)sh̲u* "what" already mentioned; a current form of the reflexive is *ḥāl-*. *Genitive particle*. *Tabaʿ* (variable or invariable) seems to be peculiar to the region, but is not alone there (*gīt, sh̲īt*, etc.). *Pre-verb*. The pre-verb (durative, progressive, of concomitance) *ʿam(māl)* has numerous variants (probably of different etymologies): *ʿan, man, ma*,... (*ʿam yəktob* "he is writing these days", "he is in the process of writing", etc.). *Active participle*. In certain dialects an embryonic form of conjugation is found in the three persons of the feminine singular (*kams̲h̲īto* "she holds it" [Ḥawrān]; *sh̲āyəftīha* "you (fem.) have seen her" [Damascus]; *ʾana mās̲h̲əṭṭīk* "I (fem.) have combed your hair" [Dfūn, Lebanon]). On the other hand, the form *faʿlān* is quite often used, not only for verbs of quality, where it is generally the only one possible, and can in certain cases alternate, either freely or in terms of semantic value, with *fāʿel* (*samʿān-o* "I have heard it"). *Negation*. Alongside the forms *ma, ma* ... *sh̲(i)*, also found, although less known elsewhere, are *ʾa* ... *sh̲i* and *ø* ... *sh̲i*. Among *conjunctions*, worth mentioning is *ta* (<**ḥattā*) and its variant *tann-* + personal pronoun suffix "so that", "in such a way that", "that". *Auxiliaries and pseudo-auxiliaries*. Typical is *ba/idd-* + personal pronoun suffix "to wish" (*widd-* in its Bedouin version), also used for the expression of a type of future. *Ḥisin* "to be capable, in a position to" is an equivalent of *ḳidir*, as is *fi-* + personal pronoun suffix: *ma fina nrūḥ* "we cannot go there". Alongside *lissa-*, known elsewhere, also found is *baʿd* + personal pronoun suffix, "still, always" and other values (Lebanon). *Adverbs*. *Hallaḳ* (and numerous variants) "now" is very widespread (it is also found, at the edge of the region, at certain points east of the

Nile Delta), and easily borrowed by Bedouin dialects (from which, conversely, *hassā'* and *hal-ḥīn* (same meaning) are borrowed). Also to be noted are *'ala bukra* and *bakkīr* "early".

Vocabulary. This evidently varies in particular, as is to be expected, with the words which are most used. Thus according to the dialect: *rama, ligaḥ, lakkaḥ, ṭaraḥ, ẓatt, ḳazwal, ḥashaṭ, lahash, shalaḥ, ḥadaf,* "cast, throw". Among the words relatively characteristic of the region, it is possible to distinguish those which derive from the Arabic lexical stock but have become specialised, have phonological or morphological peculiarities, or are even canonical creations: *sammān* "grocer", *miswadda/sōdāye* "bottle", *ḍa'īf* "sick", *frāṭa* "small change (money)", *fāt* "to enter", *mākin* "solid", *'idjr* "foot, leg", *təmm* "mouth", *dashshar* "to leave", *fardja* "to show", *maṣāri* "money" (<sing. *maṣriyye*, name of a coinage formerly in use in Egypt), etc., from those which derive, more or less directly, from the Aramaic (Syriac) substratum, or from borrowings from Turkish (and from Persian): *dafash* "to push", *danaḳ* "to die of cold", *zūm* "sauce, juice, soup", *shawb* "heat (of the weather)", *ṣūṣ* (chick), *fāsh* "to float", *lakkīs* "late [adj.]", *narbīsh* (and variants) "pipe", *'andjak* "hardly", *bərdāye* "curtain", *būẓa* "ice", *sharshaf* "cloth", *'ashshi* "cook", *ġāl* "lock", etc. The evolution of vocabulary often faithfully reflects social and political changes, for example: *kəzlok-* > *'waynāt-* > *naḍḍārāt* "spectacles".

Writing dialects; dialectal literature. There is no doubt that dialects have always been written down, as is confirmed by the dialectising or dialectal literary works which are available for study (in Arabic script or in the Syriac script known as *karshūnī* [*q.v.*] which has long been in use in the Maronite community in particular) and the orthographical norms (still observed today) which have controlled their putting into writing, even though variations are noticed, according to which is the dominant influence: the classical norm and etymology or a closer adherence, deliberate or not, to dialectal linguistic realities.

In parallel with its measured and to some extent ornamental utilisation in the codified genres of dialectising poetry such as the *muwashshaḥāt* (see, e.g. M. Raḥīm, *al-Muwashshaḥāt fī Bilād al-Shām min nash'atihā ḥattā nihāyat al-ḳarn al-thāniya 'ashara*, Beirut 1987), the dialectal language is, today as yesterday, the means of expression of an entire literature, "popular" *and* learned, and, more broadly, of an entire culture, the importance of which is partially disguised by the scant legitimacy accorded to it. Its manifestations are diverse: poetry of various types (*zadjal, mu'annā, mawwāl/mawāliyā* and its divisions: *al-sab'a funūn*, etc.), sometimes (*'atābā*) sung (S. Jargy, *La poésie populaire chantée au Proche-Orient arabe*, Paris-The Hague 1970). The poetry of Bedouin tradition has its own genres, and remains the repository and transmitter of the memory of its society (among recent works reference may be made, besides Palva, *Narratives and poems*, which has already been mentioned, to C. Bailey, *Bedouin poetry from Sinai and the Negev, mirror of a culture*, Oxford 1991). In sedentary circles, to take just one example, the Lebanese *zadjal* has a long and rich history (M.I. Wuhayba, *al-Zadjal—ta'rīkhuhu, adabuhu wa-a'lāmuhu ḳadīm*[an] *wa-ḥadīth*[an], Ḥarīṣa 1952; J. Abdel-Nour, *Étude sur la poésie dialectale au Liban*, Beirut 1957, [2]1966). Since the beginning of this century, freed from ancient forms and from certain traditional themes which are still practiced elsewhere—including on television—this poetry has taken on a new appearance. It is also a dialectal form of expression which is used for the composition and transmission of tales and proverbs, and today the majority of theatrical pieces and the dialogues of films and serials on radio and television. The art of the song, very much alive, carries beyond the Bilād al-Shām the dialects of the region, sometimes in the texts of its best poets. Palestinians are carrying this on with militant songs. Until not long ago, dramas of the shadow-theatre with its hero Karakōz (*Nuṣūṣ min khayāl al-ẓill*, ed. S. Ḳaṭāya, Damascus 1977; M. Kayyāl, *Mu'djam bābāt masraḥ al-ẓill*, Beirut 1995; see also KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL), and until more recently still the story-tellers (*ḥakawātīs*), transmitters of the marathon tales which are the *sīras* [*q.v.*] of legendary heroes (Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, 'Antar, Banū Hilāl, Baybars, etc.) perpetuated, before a generally exclusively male audience, the tradition of a living patrimony. The language of these legendary tales, some of which were partially in verse, could be dialectal or mixed. All these works were put into writing, at least in the form of *aides-mémoires* for the professionals of popular literature, also probably for the gratification of a public which had a particular liking for this kind of material. Today, the cassette and the video-cassette are the perfectly appropriate supports for this literature which is primarily oral and thus presupposes the presence of an audience. Dialectal poetry is published, however, in newspapers and magazines especially in Lebanon, sometimes in specialised journals. Since the 1960s, however, the press has only exceptionally accepted satirical columns in dialectal language, which were hitherto published in reasonable quantities. Literary prose as such in dialectal language has made little impact, in spite of a few isolated attempts in former times (*Ḳiṣṣit Finyānus* by Shukrī al-Khūrī, São Paolo 1902, repr. Beirut [1929, etc., and 1952, with transcription and French tr. by E. Lator]; and *Rasā'il Shmūne* by Ḥannā al-Khūrī al-Feghālī, published in book-form by the *al-Dabbūr* review) or more recently (Yūsuf al-Khāl and Mūrīs 'Awwād).

Finally, attention should be drawn to the isolated attempt on the part of the Lebanese poet (in classical and dialectal languages) Sa'īd 'Aḳl (b. Zaḥle, 1912) to devise a transcription (in Latin characters) of the dialect, in which he published, besides certain of his own *dīwāns*, translations of works of universal literature, including classical Arabic, and a newspaper (see H. Grotzfeld, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxii [1973], 37-51).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also *Handbuch* = W. Fischer and O. Jastrow (eds.), *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980; M.H. Bakalla, *Arabic linguistics. An introduction and bibliography*, London 1983. Numerous articles in the major orientalist reviews and, since 1978, in the *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* (Wiesbaden). To the works mentioned dealing with one dialect in particular, the following may be added: for Ez-Zrēriyye, J. Aro, in *AO* (Copenhagen), xxxix (1978), 32-125, xl (1979), 27-71; for El-Karak, H. Palva, in *Studia ... H. Blanc dedicata*, ed. P. Wexler, Wiesbaden 1989, 225-51; for Gaza, E. Salonen (I. in *Studia Orientalia*, li/10 (1979) and II. in *Acta Acad. Sc. Fenn.*, B 213, Helsinki 1980); J. Rosenhouse and Y. Katz (eds.), *Texts in the dialects of Bedouins in Israel*, Univ. of Haifa 1980; P. Behnstedt, *Der arabische Dialekt von Soukhne* (Syrien), 3 vols. Wiesbaden 1994; a *Sprachatlas von Syrien* by this same author is forthcoming. For studies of syntax, besides the still useful *Syntaxe des parlers actuels du Liban* by Mgr. M. Feghali, Paris 1928, and the work of M. Cowell already mentioned (for Syrian Arabic), attention may be drawn to J. Blau, *Syntax des palästinensischen Bauerndialekts von Bir Zēt*, Walldorf-Hessen 1960, A. Bloch, *Die Hypotaxe im Damaszenisch-Arabischen*, Wiesbaden 1965, and M. Piamenta, *Studies in the*

syntax of Palestinian Arabic, Jerusalem 1966. The *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie, Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem* of A. Barthélemy, Paris 1935-69, is supplemented by the very useful *Dictionnaire des parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine* compiled by C. Denizeau, Paris 1960. Bedouin type dialects are still awaiting their dictionaries. Dictionaries or catalogues of words and dialectal expressions are regularly published in the countries of the region, where there is often concern to show that this vocabulary is largely based on sound classical origins. Also published there are collections of proverbs, of anecdotes, *dīwāns* of dialectal poetry, encyclopaedias of popular traditions often rich in information and in dialectal texts: the *Mawsū'at Ḥalab al-muḳārana* of M. Kh. al-Asadī (Univ. of Aleppo 1981-8), the *Mawsū'at al-fulklūr al-Filasṭīnī* of N. Sirḥān ('Ammān 1977-81), the *Ma'lama li 'l-turāth al-urdunī* of R. Ibn Zā'id al-'Azīzī ('Ammān 1981-) are excellent examples. For dialectal literature, besides the older works by G. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwân*, Leipzig 1901, and E. Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*, Berlin 1902, reference may be made to J. Lecerf, *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*, in *BEO*, ii (1932) and iii (1933), 47-175 (with a *Répertoire alphabétique des poètes dialectaux de Syrie* [= Syria and Lebanon]); M. 'Awwād, *al-Anṭūlūdjiya al-lubnāniyyi 'l-shi'r* ..., Beirut 1982. A collection of *zadjaliyyāt* of Ibn al-Ḳilā'ī (9th/15th century) has been edited by B. al-Djumayyil, Beirut 1982. (J. LENTIN)

SHĀMA (A., pl. *shāmāt*) "naevus, skin blemish, mole".

This term seems originally to have denoted the coloured marks on a horse's body, above all, where they are disapproved of (*T'A*, viii, 362 ll. 12-13). It is applied to all marks of a colour different from the main body which they mark, and to all black marks on the body or on the ground (*ibid.*, ll. 304). But from what we know at present in our texts, there is no difference between *shāmāt* and *khīlān* (sing. *khāl*) (the two terms are attested in Akkadian: cf. *ḫālu*, Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, Heidelberg 1926, 120, and *sāmūti*, Labat, *Traité accadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, Leiden 1951, 200 l. 7). These two terms denote the natural marks on a man's skin, on the face and the rest of the body, and the accidental marks, abcesses (*buthūr*) or freckles caused by an illness and presaging death (see *R. fi 'l-kalām 'alā 'l-khīlān*, ms. Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi 882, fols. 61a-62b; *Ḳaḍāyā Buḳrāṭ fi 'l-buthūr*, ms. Köprülü 1601, fols. 245b-248a, used by Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Bāb al-'irāfa wa 'l-zadjr wa 'l-firāsa 'alā madhhab al-Furs*, ed. K. Inostrancev, *Materials in Arabic sources for the history of culture in Sasanid Persia* [in Russian], in *ZVOIRAO*, xviii [1907], text 3-27, Russ. tr. and study 28-120, see 116 ff., in a section called *Min kalām Buḳrāṭ fi dalā'il al-khīlān wa 'l-shāmāt*).

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 314), cites a *K. al-Khīlān* and *K. al-Shāmāt*, written by a Byzantine (*Rūmī*) author called Mīn.s (Mīna/os ?). The first title apparently corresponds in Greek to a work called Περὶ σπιλῶν, which is said to have treated the subject of beauty spots, and the second one, to a work called Περὶ ὧν which is said to have dealt with natural marks on the skin. We know nothing of this last, but the first is the title of one of the two chapters surviving of a treatise attributed to Melampos called Περὶ παλμῶν and Περὶ ἐλαιῶν (see the ed. J.G.Fr. Franz, in *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres*, Altenburg 1780, 501-9). If one concedes—as seems very likely—that Mīn.s is a corruption of Melampos, one of the two titles mentioned in the *Fihrist* must correspond to Περὶ παλμῶν and be translatable as *K. al-Ikhtilādjā(t)* [see IKHTILĀDJ], the exact term for palmomancy.

In the Arabic sources, the information on the *'ilm al-shāmāt wa 'l-khīlān* which can be found in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, diss. Paris 1939, 10) and in Ps.-Djāḥiẓ (*op. cit.*, 7) is Greek in origin. Two texts, however, show that the Arabs knew this method of divination, which comes within the sphere of *firāsa* [*q.v.*]. The first is part of the ensemble of miraculous signs announcing the Prophet Muḥammad's coming (on these signs, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 81-90). In the course of his first trip to Syria, at the age of 12, the monk Baḥīrā [*q.v.*] is said to have recognised in him the signs of prophethood (see Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 99-100, and also 101, where it is said that, at the time of his second trip, aged 15, another monk named Nestor allegedly recognised in Muḥammad the same signs). These signs were physical ones (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1124) and concerned the eye, the face and above all, the "seal of prophethood" (*khātam al-nubuwwa*) like the impression of a cupper's scarifying instrument (*athar al-miḥdjam*), according to Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 116) or an "apple" (*tuffāḥa*, according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 1125). This legendary feature at least confirms the fact that the Arabs knew that the Byzantines practised drawing omens from skin marks.

The second seems to show that they practised it themselves. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*] married a woman from the Banū Kalb, and he had her examined by his wife Maysūn, mother of Yazīd. Maysūn discovered a beauty spot below her navel, and she interpreted it as presaging the fact that the head of her husband would fall on to that place. Mu'āwiya divorced her; Ḥabīb b. Maslama married her, then divorced her; finally, al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr [*q.v.*], the later governor of Ḥimṣ for Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, married her. When al-Nu'mān was beheaded for having joined the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr, his head was set down in his wife's lap (*Aghānī*, xiv, 124).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, from which the material for this article has essentially been taken. The art of drawing omens from skin marks (*umṣatu*), black beauty spots or moles (*ḫālu*), red birthmarks (*pēndū*), warts, pimples, marks from jaundice, freckles, scars and even hairs which grew, was well known to the Assyrians and Babylonians (see F.R. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina der Babylonier*, *MVAG* 40/2, Leipzig 1935). For the Byzantines, see *inter alia* the *Book of beauty spots* attributed to Leo the Wise, in J. Nicolaides, *Les livres de divination*, Paris 1889, 87-8. (T. FAHD)

SHAM'A (A.), candle.

As a literary topos, the candle is poetically described in many "ekphrastic" epigrams in Arabic, especially from the later 'Abbāsid and post-'Abbāsid periods; in pre- and early Arabic poetry the topos appears to be absent. Poems by al-Ma'mūnī, al-Sarī al-Raffā' and Kushādjim [*q.vv.*] are among the earliest (see J.C. Bürgel, *Die ekphrastischen Epigramme des Abū Ṭālib al-Ma'mūnī*, Göttingen 1965, 254; Alma Giese, *Waṣf bei Kušāǧim*, Berlin 1981, 156, 263-5). A few other examples are found in al-Sharīshī's *Sharḥ maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (repr. Beirut 1979, ii, 87-8); many later examples were collected by al-Nawādjī [*q.v.*] in the chapter on candles, lanterns, lamps etc. in his *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* (Cairo 1938, 204-12 on the *sham'a* only; some passages in prose are included). Often the epigrams take the form of a riddle (see P. Smoor, *The weeping wax candle*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxviii [1988],

292, 299-301). A recurrent topos is the comparison of the candle to a lover, or *vice versa*: both are pale, thin, burning, shedding tears, being consumed, patiently and silently suffering, "awake" at night; occasionally the candle is likened to a slender girl or a bride, which alludes to the role played by candles at weddings. Several poems on the candle were made by Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī [see MĪKĀLĪS], see al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, repr. Beirut 1972, 747-8; he may have influenced his contemporary, the Persian poet Manūčihrī [*q.v.*], who elaborately used the candle topos as the introduction of a well-known panegyric poem (see J.W. Clinton, *The divan of Manūchihrī Dāmghānī: a critical study*, Minneapolis 1972, 31-43; Muḥammad Muḥammad Yūnus, *Adab al-sham'a bayna Manūčihrī al-Dāmghānī wa-Abi 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī*, in *Fuṣūl*, iii/3 [1983], 128-38).

Another topos involving the candle is that of the moth (Ar. *farāsha*, P. *parwāna*) seeking its light and immolating itself in its flame: here the lover is not the candle (which stands for the beloved) but the moth. The image, with a mystic interpretation in which the candle, the Beloved, stands for God/Truth/Reality, is found in Arabic already in al-Ḥallādj (*q.v.* see his *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1913, 16-17, in rhyming prose, with "lamp", *miṣbāḥ*, instead of "candle"). Although this topos of *baḳā'* through *fanā'* [see BAḲĀ' WA-FANĀ'] persisted in Arabic (see Muḥammad Mansour Abahsain, *The supra-symbolic moth in Arabic religious poetry from the late Ottoman period*, in *JAL*, xxiv [1993], 21-7), it proved very popular especially in Persian and Turkish mystical verse (see e.g. Annemarie Schimmel, *As through a veil: mystical poetry in Islam*, New York 1982, index s.v. "moth & candle"; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, index *s.v.* "Falter", "Kerze"). It was through Persian, it seems, that the topos reached Europe, as e.g. in Goethe's poem "Selige Sehnsucht" (*West-östlicher Divan*, ed. H.-J. Weitz, Frankfurt a.M. 1981, 21).

The candle appears in a few literary debates [see MUNĀẒARA] in *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] form; for anonymous texts on wine *vs.* candle, see W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Handschr.*, vii, 554 (nos. 8592-3), Aḥmad al-Hāshimī, *Djawāhir al-adab*, Cairo 1319, 183-6. 'Abd al-Bāḳī b. 'Abd al-Madjīd al-Makhzūmī al-Yamānī (d. 743/1342, see Brockelmann, S II, 220, 237) wrote a similar debate between "aristocratic" candelabrum or candlestick (*sham'adān*) and humble lamp (*ḳindīl*); text in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1929-, i, 124-9, and in 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār (ed.), *Munāẓarāt fi 'l-adab*, Cairo 1934, 30-6.

Bibliography: Given in the article. On Persian literature, see J.T.P. de Bruijn, *EIr*, art. "Candle: imagery in poetry", with further references.

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

SHAMĀKHA [see SHĪRWĀN].

SHAMAN. In Persian poetry.

In Persian poetry, *shaman* is used as a synonym of *but-parast* "idolator"; quite often it occurs together with the word *ṣanam* "idol" (synonym of *but*) in one of the conventional poetic word pairs, or, less frequently, it is associated with *ātash* "fire". In both cases, there is no specific reference to shamanistic practises; *shaman* denotes rather an unspecific type of non-Muslim religious person. *Shaman* and *ṣanam*, however, may occur as the two poles of a love relationship and then serve as an image of the lover and the beloved or the mystic and God. Instances of the usage of *shaman* can be traced back to the earliest years of New Persian poetry. Although not among the most frequently used poetic words, it does occur in many Persian poetic texts, such as the *Shāh-nāma*, the *dīwān*s of Anwarī [*q.v.*], Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*], the *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, book 1, 829; *ibid.*, 2407, and *Dīwān-i Shams* of Rūmī [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN], etc.

The following example is taken from Abū Salīk of Gurgān:

In this time there is no idol more beautiful than you, and for you there is no idolator more tenderly loving than your slave.

(G. Lazard. *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, French text, i, 61, Persian text, ii, 21).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(M. GLÜNZ)

AL-**SHAMARDAL** b. Sharīk al-Yarbū'ī, Arab poet of the middle Umayyad period, important for the history of hunting poetry [see ṬARDIYYA].

His life can be dated only approximately, an elegy on 'Umar b. Yazīd al-Usayyidī (killed 109/727-8) being the sole exact reference known so far (poem no. 2, ed. Seidensticker = no. 3, ed. al-Ḳaysī). His poems show that he was acquainted with several persons who played a minor political role, among them two prefects of police in Baṣra. As reported in the *akhbār*, he also had a personal encounter with the famous poet al-Farazdaḳ (died no later than 112/730 in Baṣra [*q.v.*]). No *dīwān* of his poetry seems to have existed; 41 poems and fragments (about 430 lines) are preserved in various sources. The most important genres are *ḳaṣīdas*, *marāthī* and *ṭardiyyāt*. The *ḳaṣīdas*, five in number, vary in length from 21 to 66 lines. Besides several shorter *marāthī*, an elegy of 43 lines on his brother Wā'il has survived which was held in high esteem by some transmitters of his poetry. The handling of thematic and formulaic conventions in his hunting poems is reminiscent of similar episodes in the *fakhr* of pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas* (Imru' al-Ḳays, Zuhayr, al-A'shā), but the *radjaz* metre is a new feature, as is the fact that the poems devote themselves exclusively to the one topic of hunting. The missing link between the pre-Islamic hunting episodes and the *radjaz ṭardiyyāt* of al-Shamardal and others in later times must be sought in *radjaz* poems like those of Abu 'l-Nadjm al-'Idjlī (died before 125/743 [*q.v.*]) in which a conventional *nasīb* is followed by a hunting episode (cf. E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, ii, Darmstadt 1988, 46-55).

Bibliography: T. Seidensticker, *Die Gedichte des Šamardal Ibn Šarīk, Neuedition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Wiesbaden 1983; N.H. al-Ḳaysī, *Shi'r al-Shamardal b. Sharīk al-Yarbū'ī*, in *RIMA*, xviii (1972), 263-330, also printed in idem, *Shu'arā' umawiyyūn*, ii, Baghdād 1976, 505-60 (unsatisfactory).

(T. SEIDENSTICKER)

SHAMDĪNĀN, a mountainous district (*ilče*) in the present province of Hakkâri in south-eastern Turkey (previously in the Ottoman *wilāyet* of Vān). The name of the district and the district centre (old name: Nāwshār) is presently Turkicised as Şemdinli. The district is bounded on the north and northwest by the district of Yüksekova of the same province (comprising the previous districts of Gewar and Oramār), on the south and east by the 'Irāḳī and Persian borders. Local tradition derives the name of Shamdīnān from that of a certain Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, the alleged ancestor of the Kurdish dynasty of the 'Abbāsī Begzāde, which exercised power in the district until the mid-19th century. Four major Kurdish tribes inhabit the district: the Khumārū (Humaro) in the north, Zarzā in the east, Herkī in the west, and Gerdī in the south. Other sections of the last three tribes are settled in isolated pockets in Persian and 'Irāḳī Kurdistān. Until the First World War, there

was also a significant minority of Nestorian Christians living scattered among the Kurds here. In the late 19th century, Cuinet's sources estimated the population of Shamdīnān at 13,270 Kurds, 2,000 Ottoman Turks, 3,000 Nestorian Christians and 200 Jews; another source, the 1897 *sālnāme* for Vān, gives the figures of 14,547 Muslims and 2,034 non-Muslims. According to the 1990 census, the present population is just over 30,000.

In the course of the 19th century, the ʿAbbāsī Begzāde family lost their paramount authority over the tribes to a family of religious leaders, who had settled in the village of Nehrī (present name: Bağlar) near the district centre. This family, known as the Sādatē Nehrī, claimed descent from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] through the latter's son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who lies buried in ʿAḳra, northeast of Mawṣil. The family was affiliated with the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa*, until the sayyids ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad took initiations in the Naḳshbandiyya from Mawlānā Khālid and became his *khalīfa* (ca. 1820). Like other Kurdish Naḳshbandī *shaykhs*, the Sādatē Nehrī increasingly acquired worldly power as well, extending their influence well beyond Shamdīnān to the Kurdish tribes further south and east. Sayyid Aḥmad's grandson, Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh, in 1880 led a large tribal rebellion, temporarily occupying a vast stretch of Persian territory to the west of Lake Urmiya, and apparently intending to establish an independent Kurdish state. The Ottomans later arrested him and sent him into exile to Mecca. His son, Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ, soon returned to Nehrī and took his father's place as the most influential man of central Kurdistān, successfully outwitting ambitious tribal chieftains as well as rival *shaykhs* (see Dickson; Nikitine and Soane). Another son, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, settled in Istanbul after the Young Turk revolution and became the president of the first Kurdish association there as well as the president of the Shūrā-yi Dewlet. In 1925, following Shaykh Saʿīd's rebellion, the Kemālist authorities hanged him and his son Muḥammad. Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ's son, Sayyid Ṭāhā, was more actively involved in Kurdish nationalist and anti-Turkish agitation, at one time cooperating with Simko in Persia and later joining the British in ʿIrāḳ.

Relations between the local Muslims and Christians rapidly deteriorated during the First World War, especially following the *djihād* declaration. In 1916 Russian troops occupied Shamdīnān, overcoming Kurdish resistance coordinated by Sayyid Ṭāhā and his cousins ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad, sons of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. Local Nestorians, recruited and armed by the Russians as advance scouts, took part in the Russian offensive. After the October revolution and the withdrawal of Russian troops, the Nestorians were expelled and fled to Urmiya. Here the British enlisted their services against the final Ottoman eastward offensive and later brought them to northern ʿIrāḳ. Following the Armistice (1918), a contest between the British and the Kemālists for control of the region continued. Sayyid Ṭāhā was invited to represent the region in the Kemālists' First National Assembly (1920) but declined, and two years later allied himself with the British authorities in ʿIrāḳ, who made him governor of Rawāndiz [*q.v.*]. The tribes of Shamdīnān nevertheless remained opposed to the British infidels and deaf to Kurdish nationalist appeals. There was a brief rebellion in June 1925, in response to the execution of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir; his son ʿAbd Allāh, aided by warriors of the Gerdī tribe, briefly occupied the district centre of Nāwshār and killed six Turkish officers. Then he too fled to British-controlled territory. At the final settlement of the border between ʿIrāḳ and Turkey in 1926, Shamdīnān came to Turkey, and the neighbouring districts of Bārzān and Brādōst, with which it had always had close relations, to ʿIrāḳ.

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(M.M. van Bruinessen)

SHĀMĪ, NIẒĀM al-DĪN (or Niẓām-i Shāmī), Persian littérateur and chronicler of the late 8th/14th-early 9th/15th centuries.

His *nisba* (Shāmī < Shanbī) suggests that he was born in Shanb-i Ghāzānī, a suburb of Tabrīz. When on 20 Shawwāl 795/29 August 1393 Tīmūr-i Lang arrived before Baghdād, Shāmī tells us, he was the first of its inhabitants to come and submit to him (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 139). On his way to the Ḥidjāz not long before the conqueror's attack on Aleppo in 803/1400, Shāmī was detained by the authorities in Aleppo, who suspected him of spying on Tīmūr's behalf, and was thus an eye-witness of the siege (*ibid.*, i, 227, ii, 160). Brought before Tīmūr a second time following the city's capture, he appears to have remained in his entourage. In 804/1401-2 Tīmūr ordered him to compose a history of his conquests in a clear, unadorned style which would render it intelligible to all readers and not merely to a select few (*ibid.*, i, 10-11). The work was presented to Tīmūr around Shawwāl 806/April 1404. The title *Ẓafar-nāma* is not found in the original recension (Istanbul ms. Nuru Osmaniye 3267) utilised later in the compilations of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*], but only in a second version dedicated to Tīmūr's grandson ʿUmar Bahādur (British Library ms. Add. 23980). Shāmī, who after Tīmūr's death in 807/1405 had probably entered ʿUmar's service, was dead, according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, by 814/1411-12 (*Dhayl*, 430). He enjoyed a high reputation among contemporaries for his literary skills: Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, in his own *Ẓafar-nāma* (ii, 571), calls him one of the most accomplished writers of his age.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 278-9; Storey-Bregel', 787-91; ed. of *Ẓafar-nāma* by Felix Tauer, *Histoire des conquêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Ẓafarnāma par Niẓāmuddin Šāmī avec des additions empruntées au Ẓubdatu-t-tawārīḫ-i Bāysunġurī de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, Prague 1937-56 (Monografie Archivu Orientálního 5), ii, introd., pp. XIII-XIX; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Dhayl-i Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, *Continuation du Ẓafarnāma de Niẓāmuddin Šāmī*, in *ArO*, vi (1934), 429-65; Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. M.M. Ilahdād, Calcutta 1885-8. (P. Jackson)

SHĀMIL (1212-87/1796-1871), Dāghistānī leader of the Muslim resistance to the Russian conquest of the Caucasus from 1250/1834 to 1276/1859.

Shāmil's biography and his ghazawāt

Born in the village (*awul*) of Gimrāh (Gimrî) to a family of an Avār freedman, Shāmil was named ʿAlī at birth. A sickly child, who was often ill, his original name, according to a local belief, was changed to Shāmūīl (i.e. Samuel) to "repel" sickness. This was the name Shāmil used in letters and official documents. Contemporary sources, however, styled him Shāmil,

or Shamīl—the name under which he became known in Russia and the West. Already in his youth he overcame his ailments and grew into an exceptionally strong, tall (over six feet) and athletic young man, famed for his fencing skills, bravery, and horsemanship. In addition, he had an acute interest in, and talent for, religious learning. By the age of 20 he had successfully completed an elementary course of Arabic grammar and rhetoric under the guidance of renowned Dāghistānī *ʿulamāʾ*. He then proceeded to study Ḳurʾānic interpretation, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, and *kalām* with his friend and distant relative Ghāzī Muḥammad (Kazi Magoma), who also introduced him to the Ṣūfī teachings of the Naḳshbandiyya-Khālidiyya *ṭarīḳa*, which were propagated in Dāghistān by Muḥammad al-Yarāghī and Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Ghumuḳī. Unlike the otherwordly-oriented and quietist Djamāl al-Dīn, Ghāzī Muḥammad and his younger friend were anxious to enforce *sharʿī* norms actively among the mountaineers committed to their tribal customs (*ʿādāt*). Presenting themselves as religious reformers, they attacked such widespread vices as drunkenness, the use of tobacco, "indecent" intermingling of the sexes, merry pastimes with music and dancing, etc. With the Russian forces inexorably closing in on Dāghistān, Ghāzī Muḥammad, against the express wish of his *shaykh* Djamāl al-Dīn, added to this programme the call for *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the infidel Russians. When in late 1829 several Avār communities proclaimed him the first *imām* of Dāghistān, Shāmil became his trusted lieutenant. In 1832, after three years of fierce fighting, Ghāzī Muḥammad and his closest followers, known as *murīdūn* (Russ. *myuridī*), were surrounded and slaughtered in their stronghold at Gimrāh—an episode in which Shāmil was one of only two survivors. Under the second *imām*, Ḥamza(t) Bek, Shāmil continued to wage a pitiless struggle against the local nobility and their Russian backers. Following Ḥamza's assassination in 1834 by the vengeful Avār notables, Shāmil was unanimously recognised as the third *imām* of Dāghistān by Avār *ʿulamāʾ* and dignitaries at ʿAshilṭa. In 1834-6, despite the stiff resistance of the local ruling families and the continuing Russian intervention, he managed to establish firm control over most areas of Dāghistān. His inordinate military talents were recognised by the Russian commanders, who failed to subdue the territories under his sway and on several occasions had to sue for peace. As a result, his reputation as the successful leader of *djihād* spread far and wide, making him "enemy number one" of the Russian military administration of the Caucasus. Apprehensive of Shāmil's growing influence on the warlike tribes of nearby Čečnya, the Russians launched a massive military expedition against his headquarters at Akhulgoḥ. After a series of bloody engagements en route, the Russian expedition finally besieged Shāmil and his men in their mountain fortress. When he refused to surrender after several weeks of fierce fighting, the irate Russians ruthlessly cut his garrison to pieces. Miraculously, Shāmil again made an almost incredible escape down the lofty cliffs under the enemy's very nose. Of the two wives with him during the siege, one was killed alongside his best men. Contrary to the Russians' expectations, the *imām*'s spirit was far from broken. Moreover, he found new powerful allies among the Čečens who were disgusted at the continued Russian encroachment on their independence. In a matter of months, Shāmil recovered and even expanded his power, whereupon he and his lieutenants delivered several shattering blows to the Russian forces in Čečnya and Avāristān in 1840-2. Exasperated by these reversals, Tsar Nicholas I ordered an all-out campaign to crush Shāmil's resistance in 1844. Organised and led by Prince Vorontsov, a 10,000-strong expedition against Shāmil's stronghold at Darghiyya was an almost total disaster. The *imām* had learned well the lessons of Akhulgoḥ and changed his strategy accordingly. With his prestige at its peak, Shāmil endeavoured to extend his rule to Ghabarṭa (Kabarda) and to unify all the mountain tribes of the Caucasus against the Russians. His ambitious plans, however, were frustrated by the brilliant strategy of General Freytag, the ineptitude of his lieutenant Nūr ʿAlī, and the resultant failure of the Ghabarṭians to join his army. More importantly, this campaign demonstrated the vast disparity between Shāmil's resources and those of the Russian Empire—a disparity that would eventually lead to his undoing. About the same time, the Russians realised the futility of the "one-blow" strategy they had previously pursued, and resorted to a more methodical, if less offensive strategy, known as "the system of the axe." It consisted in steadily encircling Shāmil with a network of defensive lines and military posts aimed at cutting him off from Čečnya, his major source of food supplies and manpower. From 1846 to 1849, the Russians erected fortifications in, and cut roads through, the impenetrable forests of Greater Čečnya. Simultaneously, they "pacified" the population of the fertile Čečen plains, chasing those who refused to submit into the barren mountains. In the meantime, another Russian expeditionary force attempted to eradicate Shāmil's strongholds in central Dāghistān, a goal for which they paid an enormous price in money, ammunition, and human lives. Their successes, however, proved short-lived. Once the Russian troops had withdrawn, the *imām* quickly rebuilt his fortifications and invaded southern Dāghistān, whose free communities had asked for his assistance against the oppressive Russian rule. In a dramatic reversal of roles, Shāmil invested several Russian fortresses, and was poised to achieve complete success if it had not been for the heroic stand of the small Russian garrison of Akhtī (Akhtī), which allowed the Russians to regroup and to repel Shāmil's levies. On the Čečen front, Shāmil established a line of defence and deployed against the Russian troops his cherished regular infantry units built on the model of the Ottoman *niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*]. The latter were soundly defeated on 11 March 1851 by Colonel Baryatinskiy, forcing Shāmil to revert to guerilla tactics and thereby to relinquish any hope of defeating the Russian army in a pitched battle. Turning his attention to Dāghistān, Shāmil sent his best military commander and lifelong rival Ḥādjdjī Murād to Russian-controlled Ḳayṭāḳ and Ṭabasarān in an attempt to rouse their "pacified" populations. This campaign yielded little result, but instead further aggravated the long-standing distrust between the *imām* and his chief lieutenant. Sentenced to death on Shāmil's instance, Ḥādjdjī Murād defected to the Russians but was soon killed in an attempt to escape back to the mountains, relieving the *imām* of the onerous necessity to execute one of his commanders. In 1851-3, the hostilities, in which Shāmil took part personally, were centred on Čečnya with results generally favourable for the Russians. Throughout 1853, faced with the prospect of war with the Ottomans, the Russians were unable to capitalise on their earlier successes and diverted their attention and main forces to the Ottoman front, giving Shāmil a much-needed respite, which he spent in his fortified headquarters at Vedān (Vedeno). Rumours about an impending Russo-Turkish conflict infused the *imām*

and his followers with determination to continue their struggle under the leadership of, and with help from, the Ottoman sultan. Shāmil sent him several messages assuring him of the mountaineers' support and even promising to effect a junction with the Ottoman troops at Tiflis. Although somewhat offended by the tone of the sultan's replies, who treated the *imām* as his vassal, Shāmil remained committed to the person whom he considered the supreme ruler of all Muslims. Before and during the war, he kept the Russians on their tiptoes by raiding the territories under their control. On 15 July 1854, the *imām*'s forces led by his son Ghāzī Muḥammad swept in on the Alazān valley and Tsinandali, carrying off a rich booty and many prisoners, among whom were the grand-daughters of the last Kart'lo-Kakhet'i Tsar, George XII, the princesses Tchavtchvadze and Orbeliani. This raid, in which Shāmil took no direct part, brought him great notoriety not only in Russia but in the West as well. On the positive side, he was able to exchange the princesses for his elder son Djamāl al-Dīn, surrendered to the Russians as a hostage during the desperate defence of Akhulgoḥ in 1839. In addition, he received a hefty ransom of 40,000 silver roubles. On the other hand, this episode proved to be extremely damaging to his reputation in Europe, where his treatment of the royal captives was perceived by many as an act of "a fanatic and a barbarian with whom it will be difficult for us, and even for the Porte, to entertain any credible or satisfactory relations." Offended by the insulting reprimands he received from the Ottomans and their European allies in the aftermath of this affair, Shāmil relinquished any hope of obtaining their support in his struggle against the Russians. The result of the Crimean War, though by no means favourable to Russia, came as a shock to Shāmil and his following, for they could now expect no Ottoman help and were left face-to-face with their formidable foe. The Russian command, on the other hand, could now focus its undivided attention on the Caucasus. In the spring of 1857, the Russians led by the newly-appointed viceroy of the Caucasus, Prince Baryatinskiy and several talented generals, started methodically to mop up Shāmil's strongholds in Čečnya. As a result, Shāmil's power-base was drastically reduced, and the few Čečen warriors still loyal to him had to seek refuge in the mountains. The majority of the war-weary Čečens and many Dāghistānī communities abandoned him and submitted to Russian rule. Amidst the general despondency which overcame even his most committed followers, his pleas for help to the Ottomans, the British and the French were left without reply. With the rapid collapse of the mountaineers' resistance, the *imām* had no option but to retreat constantly in the face of a relentless Russian advance, abandoning one by one his fortified positions at New Darghiyya and Vedān. He made his last stand on top of Mt. Ghunīb surrounded by his family and 400 loyal *murīdūn*. In the face of inevitable destruction, he surrendered unconditionally to the Russians on 6 September (25 August Old Style) 1859.

In contrast to the earlier leaders of the anti-Russian *djihād* in the Caucasus, e.g., Shaykh Manṣūr Ushurma and Ghāzī Muḥammad, Shāmil received an unusually lenient treatment by the jubilant Tsar Alexander II and his subjects. With his "misdeeds" against the Russians all but forgotten, he was paraded through Moscow, St. Petersburg and many lesser Russian cities, repeatedly honoured by the Tsar, photographed, painted by artists, introduced to "high society", and praised in numerous books and articles. A "cultural hero" of sorts, he was everywhere greeted by admiring crowds and an enthusiastic nobility. For many Russians, still reeling from the Crimean debacle, Shāmil became an emblem for military and colonial victory which reaffirmed Russia's status as an enlightened, powerful and successful nation. Shāmil, genuinely touched by the attention and hospitality ac-corded to him by his former foes, seems to have accepted his role and even volunteered to swear allegiance to the Tsar. He constantly marvelled at, and praised the technological and cultural achievements of Russian civilisation and wrote letters to his former supporters, urging them to stop their resistance and to recognise Russian sovereignty. Upon completing his triumphant tour of Russia, he was assigned to residence in Kaluga—a town about 120 miles south-west of Moscow. He lived there in a luxurious mansion with his two wives, three surviving sons, four daughters and their families. In 1866, he was permitted to move to Kiev and in 1869 his request to make a pilgrimage to Mecca was finally granted. En route, he visited the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Egyptian *khidīw* Ismāʿīl, both of whom gave him a cordial reception and showered him with gifts and money. He died and was buried in Medina in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1287/March 1871. Of his three surviving sons (Djamāl al-Dīn died three years after he had returned to his father from Russian captivity), the eldest, Ghāzī Muḥammad, entered the Ottoman service and fought against the Russians in the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8. He died in Mecca in 1903. Shāmil's other son, Muḥammad Shāfiʿī, became a major-general in the Russian army and resided in Moscow and later in Kazan. His grandson by his youngest son Muḥammad Kāmil, named Saʿīd Shāmil, took an active part in the struggle for independence of Dāghistān from Soviet Russia in the 1920s.

Shāmil's state, army and administration

The military-theocratic state in which Shāmil was the supreme temporal and religious authority was geared to one overriding goal: uniting the mountaineers in their struggle against the "infidel" Russians and their local cohorts. Based on the institutions and precedents established by the first two *imāms* of Avāristān, Ghāzī Muḥammad and Ḥamza, the mountaineers' state grew much more complex and efficient under Shāmil's able leadership. The dual title *imām* and *amīr al-muʾminīn*, which featured in his letters and decrees, accurately reflected his functions as the principal interpreter and enforcer of the *sharīʿa* on the one hand, and as the political and military leader on the other. In addition, Shāmil was his own legislator. His instructions and ordinances on matters not explicitly covered by the *sharīʿa* formed the so-called *niẓām*, an administrative and military code similar to, and possibly modelled on, the Ottoman *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*]. Finally, Shāmil was also the chief justiciar and administrator of his state. In executing all these political, religious, legislative, administrative and judicial functions, Shāmil was assisted by a privy council, a *dīwān*, established around 1842. Stacked with his closest followers and confidants, the *dīwān* was convened for emergency consultations, but also relieved him of routine decision-making on matters of minor significance. Executive and judicial power in the areas under Shāmil's control rested with his deputies (*nāʾibs*), whose numbers grew from four in 1840 to about thirty in 1856. The *nāʾibs* were nominated personally by Shāmil and were responsible for law and order, tax collection, and enforcement of verdicts passed by local *ḳuḍāt*. During military campaigns, they served as field commanders and were responsible to Shāmil for fielding the required number of warriors and for general readiness for war.

The *nā'ib*'s status varied according to the military importance of the area under his jurisdiction. In the late 1840s, Shāmil introduced the post of *mudīr*, i.e. the senior *nā'ib*, who, apart from running his own domain, supervised and coordinated the activities of lesser *nā'ibs* in neighbouring regions. Normally, the *nā'ib* led up to 500 warriors into battle. Both the *mudīrs* and the ordinary *nā'ibs* were closely watched by the *imām*'s "secret agents" (*muḥtasibs*), who were answerable directly to Shāmil and reported to him on the activities, especially misdeeds, of his lieutenants. The *nā'ib*ships were divided into smaller units administered by the *nā'ib*'s subordinates, the *dibīrs*, or *ma'zūms* (Russ. *mazun*). These officials, in turn, had under their command village elders, elected by their respective communities. To enforce the *imām*'s orders, each *nā'ib* relied on a standing force of 20 to 50 (or occasionally up to 100) loyal guards called *nā'ib murīds* as opposed to *ṭarīḳa murīds*, who were considered "men of God" and normally did not participate in fighting. On the level of the *ma'zūm*, the *nā'ib murīds* were paralleled by the mounted "retainers" (*murtaziḳa*), supported by their communities.

While the executive and administrative powers were vested in the *nā'ibs*, they were not allowed to interpret the *sharī'a* or dispense *shar'ī* justice. For this they had *muftīs* and *ḳuḍāt* attached to them. In addition, these religious officials, whom the sources generally describe as *'ulamā'*, were responsible for maintaining the mosques, leading the prayers, delivering the Friday sermons, and for implementing the *shar'ī* precepts in their *nā'ib*ships. They also provided religious instruction, usually at the mosques, to the young. Being at least partially independent of their *nā'ibs*, the *'ulamā'* provided a much-needed check on the broad discretionary power given to their temporal counterparts.

The core of Shāmil's army consisted of the *nā'ib murīds*, the career fighters who had sworn an oath of personal allegiance to the *imām* and his cause and regarded themselves as his personal disciples. Fearless and loyal, the *murīdūn* were, in a sense, "warrior monks" who were always ready for martyrdom "in the path of God" and provided example and leadership for the less organised and often lukewarm local levies. According to different calculations, they numbered 400 to 500 men, of which 120 served as Shāmil's personal bodyguards, while the others were assigned to his *nā'ibs* or sent on special missions. The *murīdūn* were supported directly from the treasury of the *imām* or his deputies. This small élite corps was supplemented by the regular cavalrymen called *murtaziḳa*. Under Shāmil's orders, every ten households in the territory under his control had to furnish one fully-equipped horseman, whose personal needs as well as those of his wife and children were provided for by the other nine families. The *murīdūn* and the *murtaziḳa* constituted the backbone of Shāmil's army. The peasant irregulars who joined them during large-scale campaigns were poorly trained, far less reliable and therefore served primarily as auxiliaries. Finally, in imitation of the Ottoman *niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*], Shāmil attempted to create a modern infantry corps, which, however, proved ineffectual and inferior to its Russian counterpart. In an attempt to achieve logistical independence, Shāmil established three gunpowder factories, which produced not only powder but mines, gunshells, and bombs. Shāmil's army also manufactured its own cannon, albeit of a rather low quality, to supplement the Russian artillery captured on the battlefield. Shāmil's regular troops donned special uniforms and were awarded special marks of distinction for courage. Cowards and deserters, on the other hand, were obliged to wear "marks of disgrace" until they "erased" them by military feats or loyal service.

To sustain this complex administrative and military machinery, Shāmil collected from his subjects a *zakāt* of approximately 5% to 7% in money and kind. In anticipation of a military campaign, an extraordinary tax in kind could be imposed on specific communities to meet the needs of the army on the march. Another source of state income was one-fifth of war booty, sometimes quite substantial, which under the *sharī'a* was set aside for the ruler. All fines, popularly known as *bayt al-māl*, along with escheatable or forfeited property went to Shāmil's treasury. The same holds true for the income derived from *awḳāf*. The lion's share of the income was spent on the military, on the upkeep of *'ulamā'* and mosques as well as on the support of Muslim emigrants who had fled from territories under Russian control (*muhādjirūn*) and settled in Shāmil's *shar'ī* state.

Shāmil and "Myuridism"

The issue of whether or not Shāmil's *ghazawāt* were related to, or motivated by, his Ṣūfī background has not yet found a satisfactory solution. As mentioned, Shāmil, like the other *imāms* of Dāghistān Ghāzī Muḥammad and Ḥamza(t) Bek, sought to establish a theocratic state that would unite the anarchic Caucasian mountaineers against the common enemy, the Russian Empire. Apart from being military leaders and religious reformers, all three *imāms* were also affiliated with the Khālidī branch of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]. Their initiatic line stretched back to the Kurdish Shaykh Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Khālid al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1243/1827), who, in turn, belonged to the influential Mudjaddidī subdivision of the Naḳshbandiyya *ṭarīḳa*, founded by the Indian Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624 [*q.v.*]). One of Khālid's disciples, Shaykh Ismā'īl al-Kūrdumīrī, propagated his teaching in the Khānate of Shīrwān [*q.v.*] in the late 1810s. His local deputy Shaykh Khāṣṣ Muḥammad al-Shīrwānī introduced the Khālidī *ṭarīḳa* into Dāghistān, where it found an enthusiastic following. Around 1823, his *khalīfa* [*q.v.*, section III] Muḥammad al-Yarāghī (Mulla Magomet) called on Dāghistānī Muslims to observe the *sunna* and the *sharī'a* strictly, to avoid *bid'a* (i.e. the *'ādāt*), to fight against the enemies of Islam, and, if defeated, to emigrate to Islamic lands. All these precepts were in full accord with the central tenets of the Khālidiyya, although it is not clear whether or not Muḥammad al-Yarāghī actually called his audience to *djihād* against the Russians. Plainly, his chief concern was to extirpate the "un-Islamic" customs and beliefs of the mountaineers and to replace them with the *sharī'a*. Paradoxically, it was not the militant Muḥammad al-Yarāghī, but his reclusive disciple, Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, who initiated Ghāzī Muḥammad and young Shāmil into the Naḳshbandiyya-Khālidiyya (Ḥamza Bek was a disciple of Ghāzī Muḥammad). Shāmil's emphasis on meticulous adherence to the *sharī'a*, his open hostility toward "the cursed Christians and the despicable Persians [i.e. the Shī'a of Iran]," his political activism and unswerving loyalty to the Ottoman sultan, seem to be in line with the Khālidī teaching as expounded by its founder and his Turkish followers. Yet, as Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn's opposition to *ghazawāt* and insistence on inward self-perfection well shows, Shāmil's interpretation of the Khālidī tenets was not the only possible one. In the early stages of his career, Shāmil acted primarily as a religious reformer, first under Ghāzī Muḥammad, then in his own right, intent on making the *sharī'a* the only legal and moral code. His reformist activities inevitably set him on a collision course with the conservative Avār

nobility and, eventually, with the Russians, who, not unlike the contemporary French colonial administrators of Algeria, gave precedence to customary law over the *sharīʿa*, deeming it to be more "manageable." Hence the Russians were suspicious of the Dāghistānī *ʿulamāʾ* and were unwilling to accommodate them, relying instead on the corrupt and discredited nobility. The inflexibility of the Russian colonial officials was further aggravated by the Russian political and economic expansion in the Caucasus, which disrupted the traditional life-style and economy of the region, bringing about dislocation, and concomitant resentment, among the mountaineers. Under these circumstances, the *sharʿī*-oriented, sober tenets of the Naḳshbandiyya-Khālidiyya, combined with the viable institutional structure of *ṭarīḳa* Ṣūfism, provided a compelling solution to the mountaineers' problems. Although formally he was neither head of a *ṭarīḳa* nor even the supreme Ṣūfī master of Dāghistān (both titles were better applicable to Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, whose ascendancy in Ṣūfī matters the *imām* humbly acknowledged), Shāmil commanded the practically unconditional loyalty of his followers, the most devoted of whom viewed him as their personal *murshid* [*q.v.*]. In a sense, Shāmil's whole state was an extended *ṭarīḳa*, complete with such trappings of a Ṣūfī community as the collective *dhikr* [*q.v.*] chanted by his *murīdūn* on the move and in battle, the periodical *khalwas* [*q.v.*] practiced by the *imām* and his disciples, the miracles (*karāmāt* [*q.v.*]) ascribed to him by the followers, the supererogatory prayers (up to 20 times a day, according to some testimonies) he assigned to the *murīdūn*, the constant spiritual link (*rābiṭa* [*q.v.*]) which Shāmil maintained with his closest disciples, and, finally, his communications with the spirit of the Prophet to solicit the latter's advice. All this, however, is true only of Shāmil's retinue in Darghiyya and Vedān. Outside this immediate circle of followers, and for the overwhelming majority of his subjects, Shāmil was a venerated, and often fearsome, sovereign and military leader who ruled with an iron fist over a host of diverse and recalcitrant tribal communities, traditionally opposed to any state control. It is in his ability to weld the mountaineers together for a common goal, rather than in his activities as a Ṣūfī master (for which he had little time anyway) that one should look for his major achievement. Therefore, the Russian and Western historians who described Shāmil's movement as "*myuridism*" were to some extent justified in setting it apart from ordinary Ṣūfism. In many respects, his *ghazawāt* bear striking resemblance to the other contemporary Ṣūfī-based movements, notably the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] of Algeria and Sudan and the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] of Cyrenaica. For each of these movements, Ṣūfism provided a handy organisational vehicle, rather than their true motivation, which should be sought elsewhere.

Shāmil's legacy

Already in his lifetime, Shāmil became a great media event, which generated a vast corpus of scholarly discourse and Romantic literature. From 1854 to 1859, 38 full-size books (not to mention innumerable articles, poems and news accounts) dealing with Shāmil were published in the West alone. In Russia, the volume of writings on Shāmil and his movement was, of course, much greater. In line with the fashion of the day, this literature depicted Shāmil as a "noble savage" and a typical hero of European Romanticism. As time went on, the public interest in him began to subside, giving way to a more balanced academic evaluation of his personality and of the Caucasian wars as a whole. During the Soviet period, Shāmil once again became an object of intense study and of heated debate over the nature of his movement. In accordance with the Marxian concept of class struggle, the Soviet historians of the 1920s and 1930s portrayed him as a hero of revolutionary struggle, a fearless fighter against the colonisation of the Caucasus by Tsarist Russia. In the 1950s, however, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union launched a campaign against so-called "bourgeois-nationalism", as a result of which Shāmil's role underwent a radical revision. In a remarkable *volte-face*, Soviet historians condemned him as the leader of a "reactionary and nationalistic movement in the service of English capitalism and the Turkish sultan." They argued that by fighting against the Russians, Shāmil became a hindrance to progress, in so far as the incorporation of the "backward" and "feudal" Caucasus into a technologically-advanced Russian Empire was an "objective historical necessity" and the only way to develop its culture and economy. The debate over Shāmil's role reached its peak in 1956-7, whereupon it was forcibly suppressed by the official condemnation of the *imām* as a thoroughgoing reactionary and a religious fanatic. The official viewpoint, however, was not to everyone's liking, and a covert campaign to rehabilitate Shāmil, spearheaded by some Dāghistānī scholars, continued for several decades. With the advent of *perestroika* and *glasnost* in 1986, Shāmil's contribution to the history of the Caucasus was again drastically revised. Today, Shāmil is totally rehabilitated and is celebrated by most of the Dāghistānīs and the Čečens as their greatest national hero. Symbols and slogans associated with the *imām*'s resistance to the Russian domination took on a new life during the Russo-Čečen conflict of 1994-5, when they were appropriated and re-defined by the supporters of President Džohar (Djawhar) Dudaev.

Bibliography: For Shāmil's own view of himself and his movement, see A. Runovskiy, *Zapiski o Shamile*, St. Petersburg 1860, repr. Moscow 1989. His biography, written in Arabic by his son-in-law, was published as *Khronika Mukhammeda Takhira al-Karakhi o dagestanskikh voynakh v period Shamila*, ed. A.M. Barabanov under the general editorship of I.Yu. Kračkovskiy, Moscow and Leningrad 1946 (a Russian translation of this work with the same title was published in Moscow and Leningrad in 1941); cf. Kračkovskiy, *Izbrannie sočineniya*, vi, Moscow and Leningrad 1960, 551-622. Many of Shāmil's letters and rescripts were edited by A. Runovskiy in *Voenniy Sbornik* (St. Petersburg), ii (1862), 327-86, and in *Russkiy Vestnik* (St. Petersburg), xii (1862), 642-85. The most comprehensive collection of historical documents related to Shāmil and his movement is *Dviženie gortsev severo-vostočnogo Kavkaza v 20-50kh gg. XIX veka: Sbornik dokumentov*, Makhačkala 1959; cf. also the editions of Shāmil's letters and his *niẓām* by R. Sharafutdinova in *Pis'mennie pamyatniki Vostoka* (Moscow), iii (1970), iv (1971); v (1972), viii (1975).

A helpful list of studies on Shāmil is M. Gammer, *Shamil and the Murid movement, 1830-1859. An attempt at a comprehensive bibliography*, in *Central Asian Survey* (London), x/1-2 (1991), 189-247; see also idem, *Shamil in Soviet historiography*, in *MEJ*, xxviii/4 (Oct. 1992), 729-77, and *Narodno-osvoboditel'noe dviženie gortsev Dagestana i Čečni v 20-50kh godakh xix v. Vsesoyuznaya naučnaya Konferentsiya*, Makhačkala 1989. For Shāmil's literary image in 19th-century Russia and the West, see T.M. Barret, *The remaking of the Lion of Dagestan*, in *The Russian Review* (Ohio), liii/3 (July 1994), 353-6.

For Shāmil's predecessors at the head of the anti-Russian struggle in the Caucasus, see. A. Bennigsen,

Un mouvement populaire au Caucase au XVIII^e siècle, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* (Paris), v/2 (April-June 1964), 159-205; M. Gammer, *The beginnings of the Naqshbandiyya in Dāghestān and the Russian conquest of the Caucasus*, in *WI*, xxxiv (1994), 204-17.

Of the general histories of S̲h̲āmil's movement, J. Baddeley's *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus*, London 1908, and F. Bodenstedt's *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen*, Frankfurt 1848, remain standard works in the field, at least as far as the military operations are concerned. A typical Soviet view of S̲h̲āmil's *g̲h̲azawāt*, based on 19th-century Russian sources, is given in N.A. Smirnov, *Myuridizm na Kavkaze*, Moscow 1961, cf. A. Yandarov, *Sufizm i ideologiya natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dviženiya*, Alma-Ata 1975. An illuminating, if somewhat idealised account of S̲h̲āmil and his movement, which was extensively used in the present article, is M. Gammer, *Muslim resistance to the Tsar. Shamil and the conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan*, London 1994. See also ČEČENS, AL-ḲABḲ, and DĀG̲H̲ISTĀN. (A. KNYSH)

SHAMMĀʿ (A.), candlemaker (synonymous with *s̲h̲amʿī*). The usage of the latter term as a *nisba* is illustrated by al-Samʿānī citing names of some candlemakers who were also counted among transmitters of Traditions during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. The early *ḥisba* manuals did not include a chapter on the candlemakers, who were only briefly cited by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d. 729/1329 [*q.v.*]). He noted the dishonest practice of the *s̲h̲ammāʿūn*, who mixed beeswax with vegetable oil and other substances, thereby lowering the quality of their product.

While discussing the *s̲h̲ammāʿ*, some Arab writers bring forth two names among the *Ṣaḥāba*, namely, ʿUthmān (b. ʿAffān) and Tamīm al-Dārī, the former in connection with candlemakers and the latter as the pioneer who brought a lamp (*ḳandīl*) from Syria and lighted it in the Prophet's mosque in Medina during the life of Muḥammad. This is cited as the origin of the practice of lighting lamps and candles in mosques since early Islamic history. Legends aside, the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II (125-6/741-2) was credited with using candle illumination at the Umayyad court of Damascus. The common people of the ʿAbbāsid period used oil lamps (*ḳindīl*), while the rich and powerful could afford expensive candles. Al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833) spent a lot of money on candle illumination during his marriage with Būrān bt. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, and al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861) spent a fabulous sum of 1.2 million *dirhams* for candles in royal palaces *per annum*. During the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid periods, candles were made mainly from beeswax, which was sometimes imported from long distances, e.g. from Tunis to Egypt.

There were guilds of candlemakers in the Ṣafawid capital city of Iṣfahān in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. The members of the guild of candlemakers (*s̲h̲ammāʿī* in Persian), were classified as workers of low position in society, comparable to the lowly status of barbers, bath-keepers, fortune-tellers, bricklayers, corpse-washers, porters, muleteers and so forth. Nevertheless, a modern *s̲h̲ammāʿ* of North Africa attained upward social mobility by writing a history of the Ḥafṣīd dynasty (cf. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-S̲h̲ammāʿ, *al-Adillat al-bayyina al-nūrāniyya ʿalā mafāk̲h̲ir al-dawla al-Ḥafṣiyya*, Tunis 1327/1909). The candlemakers' work was in high demand in early modern Syria, where it was customary to light candles in marriage ceremonies by all strata of people: a candle used to cost 2 liras in early 20th-century Syria.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii, 151-2; Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*, Beirut 1956, viii, 185-6, Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. and tr. R. Levy, London 1937-8, Ar. text 127; Maḳrīzī, *Naḥl ʿabr al-naḥl*, ed. D̲j̲. al-S̲h̲ayyāl, Cairo 1946, 78-83; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, Beirut 1971, ii, 684-97; M.S. al-Ḳāsimī and K̲h̲. al-ʿAẓm, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-s̲h̲āmiyya*, Paris-The Hague 1960, ii, 258-9; Mehdi Keyvani, *Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period*, Berlin 1982, 35-85; S.D. Goitein, *Letters of medieval Jewish traders*, Princeton 1973, 317; R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983. (M.A.J. BEG)

AL-SHAMMĀKH B. ḌIRĀR, true name Maʿḳil b. Ḍirār, of the T̲h̲aʿlaba b. Saʿd of the Banū D̲h̲ubyān (G̲h̲aṭafān), a *muk̲h̲aḍram* poet and, according to some sources, a Companion after his conversion in 9/630 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, i, 324; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, viii, 98; *Iṣāba*, iii, 210). This information is to be treated with caution: according to Ibn Sayyid al-Nās [*q.v.*], the author of a work on the poets of the Prophet, it was his brother al-Muzarrid who met him and composed a poem in his honour (*Minaḥ al-midaḥ*, Damascus 1407/1987, 310-11). Al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ must have been too young at this time.

Reliable information concerning him is extremely sparse; details relating to him have been inextricably mingled with those relating to his older brother al-Muzarrid b. Ḍirār. He was allegedly ugly, one-eyed (al-Ṣafadī, *al-S̲h̲uʿūr bi 'l-ʿūr*, 206; al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *K̲h̲izāna*, ed. Hārūn, iv, 257), ruddy and of small stature. Certain traditions have associated his unprepossessing appearance with his misogynistic tendencies (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, ms. fols. 1090b-1091a), the traces of which, clearly visible, survive in his poetry (*Dīwān*, 104-8, 219-23, 287-95).

After the death of the Prophet, he took part in the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2232, 2292), in the conquest of Armenia (*ibid.*, i, 2667) and in that of Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 329, idem, *Ansāb*, fol. 1090b). It is today generally accepted that he was martyred in Mūḳān *ca.* 30/650 (al-Hādī, 157). However, al-Balād̲h̲urī (*Ansāb*, fol. 1090b) insists that he was not involved in that episode (*wa-lam yaḥḍur Mūḳāna*); he mentions a lament which he is said to have composed for the occasion. It is therefore appropriate to place his death at a later date.

Al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ belonged to a family of poets. His brothers al-Muzarrid and D̲j̲azʾ practised the art of the *naẓm*; under the name of the former a *dīwān* has survived in a recension by Ibn al-Sikkīt (publ. Bag̲h̲dād 1962); as regards D̲j̲azʾ, al-D̲j̲umaḥī attributes to him a dirge composed after the assassination of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 133; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 453-4). Similarly, the two sons of al-Muzarrid, Ḥasan and Kut̲h̲ayyir (al-Hādī, 89), and the son of D̲j̲azʾ, D̲j̲abbār, were poets; the latter composed a lament on the death of al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲. Our poet owes his cognomen "the Proud", to the superb quality of his poems (Sāmī Makkī al-ʿĀnī, *Muʿd̲j̲am alḳāb al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, Bag̲h̲dād 1971, 127). Examination of his verses confirms this beyond doubt; first of all, the most eminent transmitters discussed them in their *mad̲j̲lis*; among those who collected his written poems were Ibn Ḥabīb in the 2nd/8th century (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 116-17) and al-Sukkarī a century later (Yāḳūt, viii, 98; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo n.d., 230). For his part, al-D̲j̲umaḥī places him in the third category of the *fuḥūl* alongside al-Nābig̲h̲a al-D̲j̲aʿdī and Abū D̲h̲uʾayb (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 123). In more specifically literary terms, numerous critics have expressed admiration for his treatment of poetic themes (Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿrāʾ*;

al-Djawālīkī, *Sharḥ adab al-kātib*, 328, 372).

From a thematic point of view, the poetry of al-Shammākh is unconcerned with the tribal aspect; similarly, total silence surrounds his participation in the great conquests of nascent Islam. The poetry of circumstance, the principal concern of pre-Islamic poetry, does not seem to have tempted him unduly. He takes pleasure, on the contrary, in more genuinely artistic composition, in the description of animals, which he pursues to a degree that has seldom been equalled. In the sections relating to camels, whilst comparing his camel to a wild ass, he develops an episode combining description with narration; the wild ass, after a joyous period in which he indulges in amorous frolics, is killed as a result of thirst. He leads his entire herd to the water, where a well-armed hunter waits, accompanied by hunting dogs. Within this context, the poet innovates. According to him, the animal sees himself as endowed with sentiments such as jealousy, the preoccupation of the male responsible for a whole herd and terror in the face of imminent death; the hunter, the dogs and the natural order are presented here in prominent relief (*Dīwān*, i, ii, vi, vii, viii, x, xi, xii, xvi, xviii, *mulḥak*, iv, xxiii, xxiv, xxxiv). In this connection, the *zā'iyya* (*Dīwān*, 173-202) merits special mention; in this poem of 56 verses, the poet relates the episode of the bow. In a broad expanse of 20 verses, he evokes at length the process of its fabrication and the birth of an emotional correspondence between the craftsman and his work; the Bedouin is attached to his creation and refuses to be parted from it. Tempted by a buyer, he sells his bow, but deep regrets beset him. Such human resonances are rarely attested in the poetry of the period. Ancient critics aware of it (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shuʿarā'*, 178; al-Shimshāṭī, *al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*, Baghdād 1987, 30). Modern scholars speak of it as a masterpiece (Bräu, *Die Bogen-Qasidah von aš-Šammāḫ*, in *WKZM*, xxxi (1926), 174-95; Maḥmūd Shākir, *Ḳaws al-Shammākh* or *al-Ḳaws al-ʿadhrā'*, in *al-Kitāb*, xi [1952], 151-78; al-Hādī, 195-201; Yaḥyā al-Djubūrī, *al-Furūsiyya fi 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Baghdād 1384, 169, 184-5).

A second aspect of his poetic talent deserves to be stressed. Al-Shammākh seems to have been an excellent composer of *radjaz*; his *Dīwān* contains 9 *urdjūza*s (section on *arādjīz al-dīwān*, 353-422), in some of which he is indebted to Khiyar b. Djaz', Djundub and al-Djulayḥ. The poet submits this poetic form to a new treatment, which recalls that reserved for the *ḳaṣīda*, with an opening *nasīb* based on the memory and the episode of the savage bull (Ullmann, 27).

However, the poetic language of al-Shammākh is discouraging: his language, suffused with archaisms and rare terms was and remains difficult of access (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 251). As early as the 2nd/8th century, al-Djumaḥī was stressing the stiffness of his style (*kazāza*) and his extremely vigorous language (*shadīd mutūn al-shiʿr*), implying that it was complex. It is for this reason that his poetry is considerably more difficult than that of Labīd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 132; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *op. cit.*, 234-5), which is itself extremely complicated. Modern research has been concerned with giving him the status that he deserves; his rehabilitation, instigated by Blachère, seems today to be progressing successfully, and Thomas Bauer considers him one of the best representatives of classical poetry (Bauer, 259, esp. 273).

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. al-Hādī, Cairo 1977; Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, Cairo 1403/1983, index; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1968, i, 281, ii, 251, 277, iii, 68, 73, 80, 93, iv, 34; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿānī*, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ms. Süleymaniyye, fols. 1090a-1091a (very interesting entry with unpublished verses); Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index, esp. 491-4; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1971, index, esp. 134-5, where his art of description is considered a model of the genre; idem, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352, index; Anbārī, *al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-mu'annath*, Beirut 1406/1986, index; Ḳurashī, *Djamharat ashʿār al-ʿarab*, Damascus 1406/1986, i, 220 (substantial bibliography); Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 1385/1965, 86, 88, 118-9; Khafādjī, *Rayḥānat al-alibbā*, Cairo 1386/1967, i, 380, ii, 383; al-Muẓaffar al-ʿAlawī, *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ*, Damascus 1396/1976, 71, 113, 165, 298; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabā'*, Beirut 1993, 238, 538, 856, 1608, 1609, 2483; Ibn Manẓūr, *Nithār al-azhār*, Beirut 1409/1988, 36-7, 55; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvi, Wiesbaden 1402/1982, 177-9; idem, *al-Shuʿūr bi 'l-ʿūr*, ʿAmmān 1409/1988, 253-4; Nallino, *Littérature*, Paris 1950, 76; Blachère, *HLA*, 271-2; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 239-40; Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 27, 31, 202; T. Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst. Eine Untersuchung ihrer Struktur und Entwicklung am Beispiel der Onagerepisode*, Wiesbaden 1992, i, 225-8, 259, 273, ii, 223-82; M. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kafrāwī, *Ta'rīkh al-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, i, *Fī ṣadr al-Islām wa-ʿaṣr Banī Umayya*, Cairo 1961, 59-63; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Hādī, *al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār al-Dhubyānī ḥayātuhu wa-shiʿruhu*, Cairo 1968 (excellent study in spite of some tedious passages).

(A. Arazi)

SHAMMĀKHA, Shammākhī, Shammākhiyya, the mediaeval Islamic names for a town in the former region of Shīrwān in eastern Caucasia, from *ca.* the 4th/10th century capital of the local Yazīdī dynasty of Shīrwān Shāhs, by whom it was temporarily re-named Yazīdiyya. For its pre-modern role and then for its post-1917 one, first within the Azerbaijan Republic of the former Soviet Union and now in the independent Republic of Azerbaijan, under its present name of Shemakha, see SHĪRWĀN and SHĪRWĀN SHĀHS. (Ed.)

AL-**SHAMMĀKHĪ** AL-**ĪFRANĪ**, the name of two Ibāḍī [see IBĀḌIYYA] scholars and jurisconsults from the Djabal Nafūsa [*q.v.*] in Tripolitania.

1. Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, especially famed as a biographer, died in Djumādā 928/April-May 1522 in one of the villages of the oasis of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania. Among his pupils was Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā' b. Ibrāhīm al-Hawwārī.

He was the author of the following works: 1. A commentary on the *ʿAḳīda*, a short treatise on theology by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Djamīʿ al-Nafūsī; 2. A commentary on his synopsis of the *K. al-ʿAdl wa 'l-inṣāf* on the sources of law by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī; 3. *K. al-Siyar*, a biographical collection, spiced with anecdotes and a few historical events, of the principal Ibāḍī personages. A few extracts translated into French have been published by E. Masqueray in his *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1879, 325 ff.; the Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1301/1884.

Bibliography: A.C. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bull. de Correspond. afric.* (1885), i. ii, 47-70; idem, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 90, n. 1; Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, 562; Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Yūsuf Aṭfiyash al-Djazā'irī, *al-Diʿāya ilā sabīl al-mu'minīn*, Cairo 1342/1923, 28, n. 1; T. Lewicki, *Une chronique Ibāḍite "Kitāb as-Siyar" d'Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad aš-Šammāḫī, avec quelques remarques sur l'origine et l'histoire de la famille des Šammāḫīs*, in *REI*, viii (1934),

59-78; Brockelmann; II², 312, S II, 339; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², i, 126.

2. Abū Sākin ʿĀmir b. ʿAlī b. ʿĀmir b. Isfāw, d. at an advanced age in 792/1390 in one of the villages of the Ifren in the Djabal Nafūsa.

After studying with Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. ʿĪsā al-Shammākhī, he attached himself to Abū ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā. On the conclusion of his studies he settled at Metiwen, where he devoted himself to teaching for thirteen years. He then settled in the oasis of Ifren in 756/1355. His pupils were his son Abū ʿImrān Mūsā, his grandson Sulaymān, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Miṣbāḥ, etc.

He composed the following works: 1. a *Dīwān*, which remained unfinished, in four great volumes but which has become the fundamental lawbook of the people of the Djabal Nafūsa; 2. *al-ʿAḳīda*, a theological treatise dedicated to Nūḥ b. Ḥāzim; 3. *al-Ḳaṣīda fī ʾl-azmina*.

Bibliography: Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, 559; Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, i-ii, 45; Brockelmann, S II, 349. (Moh. Ben Cheneb)

SHAMMAR, a nomadic tribal confederation currently found in Saudi Arabia, Syria and ʿIrāḳ. Their oral tradition states that they are Yemenis of Ḳaḥṭānī origin. Their myth of descent links their ancestry to Shimmar Ibn al-ʿAmluḳ, a Yemeni king of ancient times. The date of their migration northward is not clear. Neither historical sources nor their oral tradition provides accurate documentation concerning their migration to Djabal Shammar, previously known as Djabalā Ṭayyiʾ. Their oral narratives claim that they established themselves in Djabal Shammar in the 16th century after pushing away a local leader by the name of Bahidj.

While the majority of the tribe remained in Djabal Shammar, some sections migrated to the area between the Tigris and Euphrates in the 18th century in search of pasture and under pressure from local tribes such as the ʿAnaza and the Suʿūdī dynasty. These sections are referred to as northern Shammar or Shammar of Mesopotamia. They consist of a number of tribal lineages the most known of which are the Djarba, Toḳah and Zakarit. In Mesopotamia, the Shammar combined pastoral nomadism with agriculture. Some became Shīʿī under the influence of the Shīʿī communities of the region, especially in ʿIrāḳ. The tribe developed a history distinct from their brothers in the south.

Those who remained in Djabal Shammar are known as southern Shammar. This group attracted the attention of a number of 19th-century European travellers among whom are Wallin, Doughty, Blunt, and Guarmani. In the 20th century, the accounts of Musil and Montagne are prominent. One of the reasons behind their preoccupation with the Shammar stemmed from the fact that this nomadic tribe was at the height of its power, as it succeeded in establishing a centralised authority over most of central Arabia.

Estimates of their number vary in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The *Handbook of Arabia* gives a figure of 4,000 tents and a total of 150,000-200,000 individuals. This excludes those who were settled in the oases of Djabal Shammar, Ḥāʾil, Muḳaḳ, Sabʿan, Mustadjida, Ghazala and Rawḍa, estimated by Montagne at 20,000 individuals.

The southern Shammar are divided into four tribal sections; ʿAbda, Sindjāra, Aslam and Tūmān. In the 19th century, the ʿAbda assumed leadership of the whole tribe. Unlike other nomadic tribes in the area, the Shammar combined their nomadism with control over an oasis settlement, Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*]. From there, their chiefs, the Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*], expanded into al-Ḳasīm and southern Nadjd. Musil claimed that Rashīdī expansion reached the borders of Aleppo, Damascus, Baṣra, ʿUmān and ʿAsīr by the end of the last century. However, their power base remained strongest in Djabal Shammar and the Great Nafūd, the core of their tribal *dīra*.

The Shammar dynasty developed a complex political organisation. The Rashīdī *amīrs*, resident in Ḥāʾil, co-existed with the Shammar *shaykhs* who were drawn from the chiefly families of the tribal sections. The latter participated in the *amīrs*' raids in return for a share of the booty. They attended the *madjlis* in Ḥāʾil where they regularly received gifts and subsidies from the Rashīdī *amīrs*. These subsidies, together with a network of marriages with the oasis *amīrs* ensured interdependence and loyalty at least until the beginning of the 20th century.

The Shammar dynasty rested on a multi-resource economy. The Shammar pastoral economy was supplemented by control over trade and pilgrimage caravans. Their tribal territory included important trade routes which linked Mesopotamia and the Gulf ports to the holy cities of the Ḥidjāz. Wahhābī fanaticism in the 18th and 19th centuries led to the diversion of trade routes in favour of Ḥāʾil, which was then outside their control. Trading and pilgrim caravans were usually accompanied by a caravan leader and a group of armed men who were responsible for its security, and this leader was appointed by the Ḥāʾil *amīr* who expected him to levy a toll from the caravan after keeping a sum for himself. In return for this toll, the Ḥāʾil *amīrs* guaranteed the safety of merchants and pilgrims, especially Shīʿīs from Persia and ʿIrāḳ, regarded as heretics by the Wahhābī Suʿūdī dynasty in southern Nadjd. Taxes levied from these sources ensured a surplus in the hands of the *amīrs*, and Ḥāʾil developed into an important transit station where traders, craftsmen and agriculturalists coexisted and flourished.

Its prosperity was maintained as a result of an extended period of peace and security. The *amīrs* were able to raise a "police force", drawn from among their slaves and the sedentary population, mainly the Banū Tamīm of Ḥāʾil, in charge of keeping order in the oasis. Also an army consisting of a mixture of tribal people, mercenaries, sedentary groups and, above all, slaves was often sent to distant areas to pacify any rebellious Bedouin and enforce Rashīdī hegemony in other oases and towns.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Rashīdī expansion led to the collapse of Suʿūdī domination in al-Riyāḍ, and for a brief period the Rashīdīs under the banner of Muḥammad Ibn Rashīd became the undisputed rulers of central Arabia. The Ottoman empire recognised them there and maintained good relations with them through the *wālī* of Baṣra. They supplied the *amīrs* with irregular subsidies and weapons to cement a fragile alliance which cost the Shammar nothing but a vague recognition of nominal Ottoman suzerainty, manifested in the mentioning of the sultan's name during the Friday prayers in Ḥāʾil. This alliance eventually led to the collapse of their dynasty with the defeat of the Ottoman empire in the First World War.

Rashīdī supremacy in Arabia began to be eroded with the return of Ibn Suʿūd from his exile in Kuwayt in 1902 to recapture his ancestral capital from the Rashīdīs. Having secured the support of Britain during the First World War, he drove them out of Ḥāʾil in

1921, thus putting an end to their leadership and role in Arabian politics. The Ras͟hīdī ruling group was taken hostage to his capital, al-Riyāḍ, where some members of the family are still resident. Ibn Suʿūd confiscated their belongings and prohibited them from returning to their land, and through a series of marriages with Ras͟hīdī and S͟hammarī women, incorporated them into his wide network of affinities.

After a series of fierce battles, some S͟hammar sections refused to become subjects of Ibn Suʿūd, but fled to Mesopotamia to join their tribal brothers in the north at a time when Britain was establishing a protectorate in ʿIrāḳ. The latter, being on good terms with Ibn Suʿūd, guaranteed that the S͟hammar remained there without being able to launch a counter-attack on him. However, the majority of the S͟hammar were pacified and reluctantly accepted the loss of their supremacy in Arabia, with some of them adopting Wahhābism and accepting settlement among the *hid͟jar* [*q.v.*] of the *Ik͟hwān*.

With the establishment of the Suʿūdī state, the S͟hammar lost their tribal autonomy and, above all, their exclusive rights to pasture and water in their traditional tribal *dīra*. In 1925, Ibn Suʿūd abolished tribal territories, which became the property of the state. Later, in 1968, the Land Redistribution Act allocated special areas to particular tribes and s͟hayk͟hly lineages within each tribe. These measures widened economic differentiation within groups and altered the nature of available resources. Forced sedentarisation was imposed on the S͟hammar, with the aim of confining them to special areas where they could be closely controlled and, above all, their independence and *ʿaṣabiyya* eroded. The history of enmity between the S͟hammar and the Suʿūdīs precludes the former from taking advantage of the new economic opportunities created by the state, such as employment in the National Guard, a para-military organisation consisting mainly of tribal peoples, and endowed with the function of protecting the Suʿūdī royal family.

Bibliography: G.A. Wallin, in *JRGS*, xx (1851), 294-344, and xxiv (1854), 115-307; C. Guarmani, *Il Neged settentrionale. Itinerario di Gerusalemme a Aneizeh nel Cassim*, Jerusalem 1886; Lady Anne Blunt, *A pilgrimage to Nejd*, London 1881; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888; C. Huber, *Voyage dans l'Arabie Centrale*, in *Bull. de la Société de Geographie*, series 7, vols. v-vii; idem, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1891; E. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien Kurdistan und Armenien*, Brunswick 1895; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, i, Leiden 1896; British Admirality, *Handbook of Arabia*, London 1920; H.St.J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922; A. Musil, *Northern Neğd*, New York 1928, M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, i-ii, Leipzig 1939-43, iii, Wiesbaden 1952; R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947; L. Stein, *Die Šammār-Ğerba. Beduinen im Übergang vom Nomadismus zur Sesshaftigkeit*, (East) Berlin 1967; U. Fabietti, *Il popolo del deserto*, Rome 1984; M. Al-Rasheed, *Politics in an Arabian oasis*, London 1991.

(M. Al-Rasheed)

S͟HAMS (A.), the sun (f.).

1. In Pre-Islamic Arab lore.

This was a divinity worshipped in the Semitic world, especially in Assyria-Babylonia (cf. its attributes in K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsinki 1938, 453 ff.) and in South Arabia, where the plurals *s͟hums* (for *s͟humūs*) given by Yāḳūt (ed. Beirut, iii, 362) for this *ṣanam* or idol, *ʾs͟hms* and the dual *s͟hmsy* (G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sudsémitiques*, Louvain 1934-5, i, 33; A. Jamme, *Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Muséon*, lx [1947], 101 ff.) denote the titulary divinities of a certain individual or ethnic group or clan or territory. For Yāḳūt, it was "an idol of the Banū Tamīm; it had a sanctuary and was worshipped by all the sections of the Banū Udd (sc. the grandfather of Tamīm), sc. Ḍabba, Taym, ʿAdī, T͟hawr and ʿUkl. Its custodians (*sādins* [*q.v.*]) were the Banū Aws b. Muk͟hās͟hin ... It was destroyed by Hind b. Abī Hāla and Sufyān b. Usayyid ...".

But this idol is not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī's *Book of Idols*, although the *TʿA*, citing the *Ḳāmūs*, states the contrary, saying "It was an ancient idol mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī". It is very likely that this deity did not belong in the pantheon of Central Arabia and that mention of it, rare in the sources, is just a contamination from its cult by the South Arabs. This seems especially likely in that the theophoric name ʿAbd S͟hams, only known in a section of Ḳurays͟h (*TʿA*, iv, 172 ll. 32-3), is found in the Tamīm in the syncopated form ʿAbs͟hams (*ibid.*, 173 l. 1), which is attested in Sabaean (Ryckmans, *op. cit.*, i, 241). The same applies to the theophoric name ʿAbd al-S͟hāriḳ, known amongst the D͟juhayna, which Arab authors render by ʿAbd al-S͟hams, giving to al-S͟hāriḳ, recognised as the name of an idol, the sense of *ḳarn al-s͟hams* "the rising sun" (al-Tibrīzī, in *Ḥamāsa*, 218; Ibn Durayd, cited in *TʿA*, vi, 392 ll. 26 ff.).

Moreover, the Ḳurʾān attributes the cult of the Sun to Sabaʾ (XXVII, 24), whilst it attributes the cult of Venus, the Moon and the Sun to Mesopotamia, the homeland of Abraham (VI, 74, cf. XXXVII, 86). The exhortation, only found occasionally (XLVII, 37), not to worship the Sun and Moon, two signs created by God, is certainly an allusion to these two instances. "For nowhere in Ḳurʾānic polemics is there any emphasis on the stellar cult" (Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 151).

Theophoric names including the element S͟hams are numerous amongst the Greek inscriptions of the Ḥawrān (see D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Ḥaurān à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1952, 53 ff.), showing that the Arabs who had migrated northwards had come under the Hellenistic cult of Helios, which Strabo makes the main deity of the Nabataeans (see his *Geographica*, ed. C. Müller, 784; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 60-1; Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 53 n. 1).

For the interpretation of the term al-Ilāha "the goddess" (applied in certain sources to the Sun), mentioned in an elegy pronounced by Āmina bt. ʿUtayba *ca.* A.D. 621 on her father fallen in battle at the Yawm K͟haww, between the Banū Asad and the Yarbūʿ (*TʿA*, ix, 375), cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 152-3.

Bibliography: This article is essentially based on Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 150-3.

(T. Fahd)

2. In astronomy.

In the Aristotelian view accepted by most Muslim astronomers, the sun was a ball-shaped solid body (according to early doctrines made of fire), which moved around the earth in the solar sphere. This sphere was made of crystalline or ether and occupied a central position between the spheres of Venus and Mars [see falak].

In the geocentric representation of the heavens, which the Muslim astronomers adopted from Ptolemy [see baṭlamiyūs], the earth is assumed to be fixed in the centre of the universe. The sun moves on the ecliptic in the direction of the zodiacal signs, i.e. from west to east, and its longitude is measured from the vernal point [see minṭaḳat al-burūd͟j]. The period of return of the sun to the vernal point is the tropical year; the period of return to a fixed star, the sidereal year. The precession of the equinoxes is the difference between the tropical and the sidereal solar motion.

In order to predict the solar position on the ecliptic, most Muslim astronomers used the Ptolemaic eccentre model or the equivalent simple epicycle model. These models were adopted by Ptolemy from his predecessor Hipparchus (Rhodes, 2nd century B.C.) and were based on the observed differences in length between the seasons.

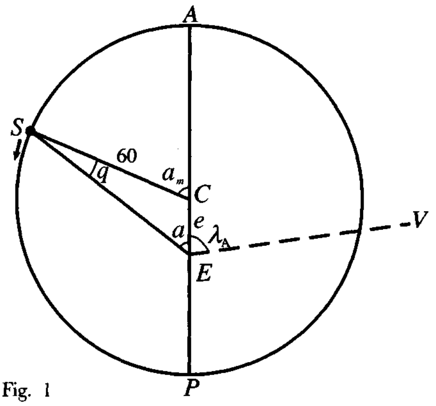


Fig. 1

In the eccentre model (see Fig. 1) the sun S moves at a constant speed on the circle ASP, whose radius is taken equal to 60. The centre C of this circle is removed from the earth E by a distance e, the solar eccentricity (*mā bayn al-markazayn*). The sun reaches its largest distance from the earth at the apogee A (*awdj*), its smallest distance at the perigee P (*ḥaḍīḍ*). The vernal point is indicated by V; the longitude of the apogee, angle VEA, by λ_A.

Since the sun moves uniformly on the eccentric circle, the mean solar anomaly a_m (*khāṣṣat al-shams*), angle ACS, increases linearly as a function of time. In order to determine the non-linear true solar anomaly a, the angle AES between the apogee and the sun as seen from the earth, a correction q, called the solar equation (*taʿdīl al-shams*), must be subtracted from or added to the mean solar anomaly. This correction, equal to angle ESC in Fig. 1, can be calculated as a function of the true anomaly by applying the sine rule to the triangle ESC. In this way we obtain

$$q(a) = \arcsin\left(\frac{e}{60} \sin a\right).$$

In order to determine the solar equation as a function of the mean solar anomaly a_m, we can extend triangle ESC to a right-angled triangle ESX, in which $\angle SXE = 90°$ and hence $EX = e \cdot \sin a_m$ and $CX = e \cdot \cos a_m$. From this we find

$$q(a_m) = \arcsin\left(\frac{e \cdot \sin a_m}{\sqrt{(e \cdot \sin a_m)^2 + (60 + e \cdot \cos a_m)^2}}\right)$$

or the equivalent

$$q(a_m) = \arctan\left(\frac{e \cdot \sin a_m}{60 + e \cdot \cos a_m}\right).$$

Using these modern formulae we have $a = a_m - q$ for every value of the mean or true solar anomaly. The true solar longitude λ (*mawḍiʿ al-shams*), angle VES, can be obtained by adding the longitude of the apogee to the true anomaly: $\lambda = a + \lambda_A$. Instead of the mean solar anomaly, ancient and mediaeval astronomers usually based their calculations on another linear function of time, namely the mean solar longitude λ_m (*wasaṭ al-shams*), defined by $\lambda_m = a_m + \lambda_A$. Using the formulae for the solar equation given above (with a replaced by $\lambda - \lambda_A$ and a_m by $\lambda_m - \lambda_A$), we have $\lambda = \lambda_m - q$ for all values of λ and λ_m.

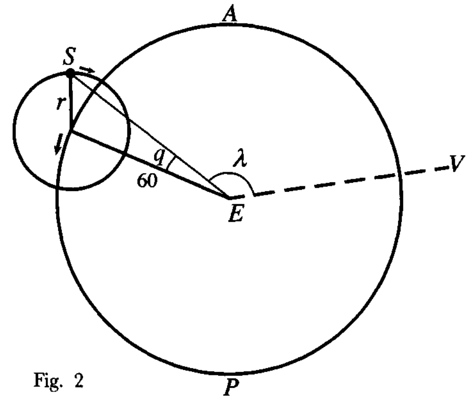


Fig. 2

In the simple epicycle model (see Fig. 2) the sun S moves clockwise on a small circle, called the epicycle (*falak al-tadwīr*), whose radius r is equal to the eccentricity e of the eccentre model. The centre of the epicycle rotates in the direction of the zodiacal signs on a circle around the earth with radius 60, the deferent (*al-falak al-ḥāmil*). If the angular velocities of the sun and the epicycle centre are equal to the angular velocity of the sun in the eccentre model, the two models are equivalent. In that case the sun reaches its largest distance from the earth whenever the epicycle centre passes through A, its smallest distance whenever the epicycle centre passes through P. (For more information about the Ptolemaic solar model, see O. Pedersen, *A survey of the Almagest*, Odense 1974, ch. 5.)

In early Islamic astronomical sources we find non-Ptolemaic planetary equations based on Persian and Indian methods (for the transmission of Persian and Indian astronomy to the Islamic world, see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA). For instance, al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*] calculated the solar equation according to the so-called "method of declinations":

$$q(\lambda_m) = q_{max} \cdot \frac{\delta(\lambda_m)}{\varepsilon},$$

where q_{max} denotes the maximum solar equation ($q_{max} = \arcsin(e/60)$), δ the solar declination [see MAYL], and ε the obliquity of the ecliptic [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ]. A treatise by al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] describing the method of declinations and many other methods of calculating the solar equation was discussed in E.S. Kennedy and A. Muruwwa, *Bīrūnī on the solar equation*, in *JNES*, xvii (1958), 112-21*.

The Muslim astronomers significantly improved upon the solar parameter values used by both Hipparchus and Ptolemy. The values of the length of the solar year, the solar eccentricity, and the position and motion of the solar apogee were repeatedly updated on the basis of fresh observations [see MARṢAD]. The length of the solar year was generally determined from solar observations at equinoxes or solstices made over periods of many centuries. For this purpose, Muslim astronomers combined the data of Ptolemy

and Hipparchus with their own results. As early as the 3rd/9th century Muslim astronomers improved the method of determining the eccentricity and the longitude of the apogee from the lengths of the seasons by measuring the periods between the midpoints of the seasons (*fuṣūl*).

The motion of the solar apogee, approximately 1° per 70 years in the direction of the zodiacal signs, had not been recognised by Ptolemy. Many Muslim astronomers made it equal to the precession of the equinoxes. The 5th/11th-century Andalusian astronomer al-Zarḳālī [*q.v.*] was the first to discover that the two motions are different; he estimated the sidereal motion of the solar apogee to be 1° per 279 Julian years in the direction of the signs (12″54‴ per year; the modern value is 11″46‴) (see G.J. Toomer, *The solar theory of az-Zarqāl*, in *Centaurus*, xiv [1969], 306-36).

Extensive accounts of solar observations can be found, in particular, in al-Bīrūnī's work (see *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Ḥaydarābād 1954-6, ii, 636 ff., and J. Ali, *The determination of the coordinates of cities*, Beirut 1967). Parameter values used by Hipparchus/Ptolemy and the authors of various important Islamic astronomical handbooks [see ZĪDJ] are presented in Table 1.

In order to perform practical computations of the solar longitude in a convenient way, practically all *zīdj*s contained the following tables:

- A table for the mean solar motion (*djadwal wasaṭ al-shams*), which gave the mean motion in various periods depending on the calendar used [see TAʾRĪKH]: groups of years (*al-sinūn al-madjmūʿa*), single years (*al-sinūn al-mabsūṭa*), months, days, and hours. By adding the mean motion to the given mean solar longitude at a certain fixed point in time, the epoch, the mean longitude λ_m at any time could be calculated.
- A similar table for the determination of the longitude of the solar apogee λ_A. This table was usually headed *ḥarakat al-awdj*, or also *ḥarakat al-kawākib al-thābita* (cf. above). The mean anomaly a_m was found by subtracting λ_A from λ_m.
- A table for the solar equation (*taʿdīl al-shams*) as a function of the mean anomaly. Since no negative numbers were used, the values in the solar equation table had to be subtracted from the mean solar longitude in order to obtain the true solar longitude if the anomaly was smaller than 180°; otherwise, they had to be added.

In various Islamic astronomical handbooks the calculation of the solar position using the tables listed above was replaced by tables giving the true solar longitude directly as a function of the date [see TAḲWĪM]. Some of these ephemerides could be used only during one particular year, others included yearly corrections which made them suitable for long-term use. Examples can be found in the almanac of al-Zarḳālī (see J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid/Granada 1943-50, 158-65); in a treatise on astronomical instruments by al-Marrākushī [*q.v.*]; (see J.J. Sédillot, *Traité des instruments astronomiques des arabes*, Paris 1834 (reprint Frankfurt 1984), 134-7); and in an 8th/14th-century Damascene corpus of tables for time-keeping by al-Khalīlī (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale ms. arabe 2558, fols. 8ᵛ-9ʳ).

Only incidental attempts were made by Muslim astronomers to improve or modify the Ptolemaic solar model. Some of these attempts aimed at an explanation of the striking variation in the solar parameters during the centuries, others at a better correspondence with cosmological principles. In the model of al-Zarḳālī the centre of the eccentric solar orbit moved slowly on a small circle around the average eccentre. As a result the eccentricity varied between 1;51 and Ptolemy's 2;29,30 (expressed sexagesimally; see ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB). Al-Zarḳālī ignored the variation of the longitude of the solar apogee also induced by his modification (see Toomer's article referred to above and J. Samsó and E. Millás, *Ibn al-Bannāʾ, Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Zarqālluh's solar theory*, in Samsó, *Islamic astronomy in medieval Spain*, Aldershot 1994).

In the 6th/12th century various Andalusian

Name	Place	Year	Maximum equation	Longitude of the apogee	Daily motion of the apogee	length of the solar year
Ptolemy	Alexandria	140 A.D.	2;23	65;30	–*	365;14,48
Yaḥyā	Baghdad	214/829	1;59, 0	82;39	9;26,50	365;14,27,12
al-Khʷārazmī	Baghdad	c. 215/830	2;14	77;55≠	–	365;15,30,23≠
al-Battānī	Raqqa	266/880	1;59,10	82;15	8;57,37[1]	365;14,26
Ibn Yūnus	Cairo	393/1003	2; 0,30	86;10	8;25;26[2]	365;14,32,28
al-Bīrūnī	Ghazna	422/1031	1;59, 3	85;10,19	8;34,31	365;14,26,28
al-Zarḳālī	Toledo	467/1075	1;52, 4[3]	85;49	2; 7,11*≠[4]	365;15,23,29≠
al-Khāzinī	Marv	514/1120	2;12,23	85;52	8;57,39	365;14,27,21
al-Ṭūsī	Maragha	660/1262	2; 0,30	88;50,34	8;27,14[5]	365;14,32,28
Ibn al-Shāṭir	Damascus	750/1349	2; 2, 6	90;10,10	9;51,47*[6]	365;14,32,31
al-Kāshī	Samarkand	814/1411	2; 0,29	90;59, 9	8;27,14[5]	365;14,32,28
Ulugh Beg	Samarkand	851/1447	1;55,23	90;30, 5	8;27,14[5]	365;14,33, 8

Table 1: Value of the maximum solar equation (in degrees), the longitude of the solar apogee (in degrees), the daily motion of the apogee (in sexagesimal thirds), and the length of the tropical year (in days), as used by Ptolemy and Muslim astronomers in their tables for the solar motion. All values are given in sexagesimal notation.

* Different from the precession of the equinoxes.
≠ Sidereal.
[1] Close to 1° in 66 Byzantine years.
[2] Equal to 1° in 70¼ Persian years.
[3] Al-Zarḳālī's maximum equation fluctuates between 1° 46' and 2° 23' with a period of 3343 Julian years.
[4] Equal to 1° in 279 Julian years.
[5] Equal to 1° in 70 Persian years.
[6] Close to 1° in 60 Persian years.

astronomers tried to make the Ptolemaic planetary models conform more closely to the Aristotelian physical principles. In the solar model of al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*], the pole of the solar orbit moved on a small circle around the pole of the equator. Its motion was uniform with respect to a point slightly removed from that pole, thus accounting for the different lengths of the seasons in a way similar to the Ptolemaic eccentre model (see B.R. Goldstein, *Al-Biṭrūjī: On the principles of astronomy*, New Haven 1971).

In his popular *Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, the 7th/13th-century Persian astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] attempted to give a physically more realistic representation of the Ptolemaic planetary models and to find solutions for the purported "difficulties" (*ishkālāt*) with these models: non-uniform motion and incomplete rotation. Thus he made his models mathematically equivalent to those of Ptolemy, but used solid spheres bounded by two parallel spherical surfaces instead of circles (see F.J. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's memoir on astronomy*, New York 1993, esp. i, 46-53, 144-9).

The 8th/14th-century Damascene astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir [*q.v.*] made some of the most elaborate modifications to Ptolemy's models. He made the sun rotate on an epicycle, whose centre rotated on a larger epicycle moving uniformly around the earth (see V. Roberts, *The solar and lunar theory of Ibn ash-Shāṭir. A pre-Copernican Copernical model*, in *Isis*, xlviii [1957], 428-32).

The sun played a crucial role in many types of observations and astronomical calculations. In particular, the time of the day and the divisions of the (solar) year were defined on the basis of the solar motion. Although the Islamic religious calendar is a lunar one, solar calendars were used intensively for agricultural and administrative purposes [see TAʾRĪKH]. In folk astronomy, simple arithmetical schemes for the length of the shadow cast by a man were used to determine the approximate time of the day and the prayer times (see D.A. King, *A survey of medieval Islamic shadow schemes for simple time-reckoning*, in *Oriens*, xxxii [1990], 191-249); sunrise and sunset at the equinoxes and solstices were used to establish the direction of Mecca [see MAKKA. 4. and MAṬLAʿ]. In mathematical astronomy, extensive tables of spherical astronomical functions were used to determine the time of the day from the solar altitude and to design sophisticated sundials [see MĪḲĀT. 2. and MIZWALA].

The equation of time (*taʿdīl al-ayyām bi-layālīhā* or *taʿdīl al-zamān*), a correction required to convert the time found from observations of the sun into mean time, was explained and tabulated in most Islamic astronomical handbooks (see ZAMĀN and E.S. Kennedy, *Two medieval approaches to the equation of time*, in *Centaurus*, xxxi [1988], 1-8). Likewise, we find extensive tables for the prediction for solar and lunar eclipses [see KUSŪF]. In connection with such predictions, Muslim astronomers used Ptolemy's method to find the angular diameter of the sun and the solar distance from the earth from observations of eclipses. Like Ptolemy, they found a solar distance around 1,000 earth radii, more than ten times too small (see N.M. Swerdlow, *Al-Battānī's determination of the solar distance*, in *Centaurus*, xvii [1973], 97-105). Finally, the solar position on the ecliptic was required to predict the first visibility of the lunar crescent after new moon [see RUʾYAT AL-HILĀL].

In astrology [see NUDJŪM (AḤKĀM AL-)], the sun had a large influence on the well-being of humans, animals, political affairs, etc. The characteristics attached to the sun were listed by al-Bīrūnī (see R.R. Wright, *The book of instruction in the elements of the art of astrology*, London 1934, 240-54). The sun was assumed to change the characteristics of the moon and the planets if these were within certain small distances from the sun (*ibid.*, 296-302). The astrological lots [see SAHM] were calculated using the solar position on the ecliptic (*ibid.*, 279-95). Certain astrological periods were defined in terms of the solar year (see D. Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Maʿshar*, London 1968, 59-64).

Bibliography: Entries with an asterisk were reprinted in E.S. Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983. For all astronomers mentioned, see also the respective articles in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 14 vols. plus 2 suppl. vols., New York 1970-80.

On the solar models used by Muslim astronomers, see also O. Neugebauer, *Thābit ben Qurra* On the solar year *and* On the motion of the eighth sphere, in *Procs. of the American Philosophical Society*, cvi (1962), 264-99; B.R. Goldstein, *On the theory of trepidation*, in *Centaurus*, x (1964), 232-47; K.P. Moesgaard, *Thābit ibn Qurra between Ptolemy and Copernicus*, in *Archive for the History of the Exact Sciences*, xii (1974), 199-216; J. Samsó, *A homocentric solar model by Abū Jaʿfar al-Khāzin*, in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* (= *JHAS*), i (1977), 268-75; and W. Hartner, *Ptolemy and Ibn Yūnus on solar parallax*, in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, xxx (1980), 5-26.

On the determination of the solar parameters, see W. Hartner and M. Schramm, *al-Bīrūnī and the theory of the solar apogee*, in A.C. Crombie (ed.), *Scientific change*, London 1961, 206-18; V.M. Petersen and O. Schmidt, *The determination of the longitude of the apogee of the orbit of the sun according to Hipparchus and Ptolemy*, in *Centaurus*, xii (1968), 73-96; G.A. Saliba, *Solar observations at the Maraghah observatory before 1275: a new set of parameters*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, xvi (1985), 113-22; idem, *The determination of the solar eccentricity and apogee according to Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī*, in *ZGAIW*, ii (1985), 47-67 (both repr. in Saliba, *A history of Arabic astronomy*, New York 1994).

On the calculation of the solar equation and on tables for the calculation of the solar position, see H. Salam and E.S. Kennedy, *Solar and lunar tables in early Islamic astronomy*, in *JAOS*, lxxxvii (1967), 492-97*; Kennedy, *A set of medieval tables for quick calculation of solar and lunar ephemerides*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 327-34*; idem, *The solar equation in the Zīj of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr*, in Y. Maeyama and W.G. Saltzer (eds.), *Prismata*, Wiesbaden 1977, 183-6*; G.A. Saliba, *Computational techniques in a set of late medieval astronomical tables*, in *JHAS*, i (1977), 24-32; D.A. King and Kennedy, *Ibn al-Majdī's tables for calculating ephemerides*, in *JHAS*, iv (1980), 48-68 (repr. in King, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986); J. Samsó, *Al-Zarqāl, Alfonso X and Peter of Aragon on the solar equation*, in King and Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant*, New York 1987, 467-82; B. van Dalen, *A table for the true solar longitude in the Jāmiʿ Zīj*, in A. von Gotstedter (ed.), *Ad Radices*, Stuttgart 1994, 171-90.

On the sun in folk astronomy, see also Ch. Pellat, *Le calendrier de Cordoue*, Leiden 1961, and D.M. Varisco, *Medieval agriculture and Islamic science*, Seattle 1994. (B. VAN DALEN)

3. In art.

In the first centuries of Islam, the sun was mainly depicted in symbolic forms such as the sun wheel, spiral whorl, swastika, rosette and five- or six-point star. The tentative interpretation of these motifs as

solar symbols is based on their traditional meaning in the ancient Near East. At this early stage, the most important were the stylised floral devices called *shamsa* in Ḳur'ān illumination, which marked the head of a sūra and the fifth or tenth *āya*. These decorative forms developed from "tree of life" motifs, which in antiquity were closely associated with sun gods and which reached Islam in Sāsānid and Coptic textiles.

Beginning in the 12th century A.D., however, the interest of Turkish dynasties in astrological prognostication introduced astral iconography into architecture, metalwork, ceramics and book illustrations. The sun was depicted as a disk surrounded by rays, often with a human face in the centre, or as an enthroned and haloed ruler. Surrounded by an inner circle of the six planets and an outer circle of the twelve zodiac signs, the sun represents the centre of heavenly motion. Alternatively, as one of the revolving planets, it appears mounted on the back of Leo, the sign of its house, or occasionally on Aries, the sign of its exaltation. From 6th/12th-century stone reliefs of a bridge in Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, the sun-lion combination persisted in innumerable examples of minor arts and paintings up to the Shīr-Dūr (1020/1611) *madrasa* in Samarḳand and to the flag of Pahlavi Iran.

As a royal symbol, the sun appears adjoining the sultan's name in 7th/13th Saldjūḳid coins from Anatolia. It is depicted alone, with a lion, or between two lions. In the same spirit, royal shields of many periods were fashioned with a sun or some solar symbol in the centre, occasionally with the zodiacal signs around, as in a shield of the Mughal sultan Akbar. The sun formed a part of a halo in portraits of the Mughals and was depicted in the centre of their royal canopies. On the yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, other dynasties sent palanquins (*maḥmal* [*q.v.*]) decorated with solar designs that symbolised their political status. A similar princely iconography underlies the composition of many metal vessels, on which an enthroned ruler replaces the sun in its cosmic setting. In other examples, mainly Mamlūk, only the ruler's name remains, with the long letters forming a rayed disk. In architecture, the artistic evolution resulted in the unusual dome of the congregational mosque of Malatya. In the interior of this dome, a whorl of bricks creates, in the summit, a hexagram made up of the name Muḥammad. This solar symbol denotes a divine context rather than a princely one, the Muslim version of a cosmic dome, which in Christian monuments would have the Pantocrator in the summit.

In religious painting, especially during the 10th/16th century, the sun is sometimes shown reflected in a mirror or in a pool of water, symbolising the reflection of the Divine Light in the heart of the perfect Man—a prophet or a mystic lover. In other paintings, mostly profane, the sun in the upper corner serves mainly as an involved witness to dramatic events. In most instances, however, the image of the sun is confined to cosmological or astrological texts. In its astrological role it figures also in daily objects of talismanic or prophylactic nature, such as amulets, divination bowls, magical shirts and all sorts of jewelry.

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(RACHEL MILSTEIN)

SHAMS AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ṬĀHIR b. Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan, Būyid prince and ruler in Hamadhān [*q.v.*] 387-412/997-1021. After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the *amīrs* proclaimed as his successor in Rayy his four-year-old son Madjd al-Dawla [*q.v.*] under the guardianship of his mother Sayyida and gave the governorship of Hamadhān and Kirmānshāhān to Shams al-Dawla, who was also a minor. When Madjd al-Dawla grew up, he sought to overthrow his mother and with this object made an arrangement with the vizier al-Khaṭīr Abū ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḳāsim in 397/1006-7. But when they sought assistance from the Kurdish chief Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, the latter set out for Rayy with Shams al-Dawla and took Madjd al-Dawla prisoner. The government was then given to Shams al-Dawla, and a coin of his, minted at Rayy in 397/1006-7, is extant (G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 180). But as he was not so pliant as Madjd al-Dawla, the latter was released from his prison after a year and again proclaimed ruler, while Shams al-Dawla returned to Hamadhān. After Badr had been murdered by the soldiers in 405/1014-15, Shams al-Dawla seized a portion of his territory and when the grandson of the dead man, Ṭāhir b. Hilāl b. Badr, wished to dispute the possession of it, he was defeated and thrown into prison. His father Hilāl b. Badr had already been imprisoned by Sulṭān al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; but the latter released him and sent him with an army to regain the lands occupied by Shams al-Dawla. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 405/April-May 1015, he came upon the enemy but the battle resulted in Hilāl's defeat and death. After this victory, Shams al-Dawla seized the town of Rayy; Madjd al-Dawla and his mother took to flight, but when Shams al-Dawla wished to pursue them, his troops mutinied and forced him to return to Hamadhān, whereupon Madjd al-Dawla and his mother returned to Rayy. In 411/1020-1, the Turkish troops rose in Hamadhān; Shams al-Dawla appealed to Abū Djaʿfar b. Kākawayh, governor of Iṣfahān, and with his help succeeded in driving the mutinous element out of the town. In 412/1021-2, Shams al-Dawla died and was succeeded by his son Samā' al-Dawla, but within two years (414/1023-4), Hamadhān fell into the hands of the Kākūyids [*q.v.*].

One of Shams al-Dawla's claims to fame is his connection with the great physician and philosopher Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], who treated the Amīr medically at Hamadhān in *ca.* 406/1015-16 and then became his vizier until Shams al-Dawla's death, when he transferred to the service of the Kākūyid ʿAlā' al-Dawla in Iṣfahān.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 93, 144, 173-5, 182, 208, 226; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 466, 469-73; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i, 429, 431; Wilken, *Gesch. d. Sultane aus d. Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, ch. xii; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 53, 57; J.G. Covernton, in *NC* (1909), 220-40; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 213.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

SHAMS AL-DĪN [see AL-DIMASHḲĪ; DJUWAYNĪ; ILDEÑIZ; AL-ṢAYDĀWĪ; SHAMS-I TABRĪZ(Ī)].

SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, the first post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismāʿīlī *imām*. Born in the late 640s/1240s, he was the sole surviving son of Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh [*q.v.*], the last lord of Alamūt. The youthful Shams al-Dīn was taken into hiding during the final months of the Nizārī state, shortly before

the surrender of Alamūt to the Mongols in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 654/December 1256. He succeeded to the Nizārī imāmate on the death of his father in the late spring of 655/1257.

Shams al-Dīn reportedly lived his life clandestinely in Ādharbāydjān as an embroiderer, whence his nickname of Zardūz. Certain allusions in the still unpublished versified *Safar-nāma* of Nizārī Ḳuhistānī [*q.v.*], a contemporary Nizārī poet from Bīrdjand, indicate that he evidently saw Shams al-Dīn, named by him as Shams-i Dīn Shāh Nīmrūz ʿAlī and Shāh Shams, in Ādharbāydjān, possibly in Tabrīz, in 679/1280 (see his *Dīwān*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, Tehran 1371 Sh./1992, 105, 109; Ch.G. Baiburdi, *Zhizn' i tvorčestvo Nizārī Persidskogo poeta*, Moscow 1966, 158, 162). In legendary accounts, and in some oral traditions of the Ismāʿīlīs, Shams al-Dīn has been identified with Shams-i Tabrīzī, the spiritual guide of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.vv.*].

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's long imāmate coincided with a difficult and obscure period in the post-Alamūt history of the Nizārī community. It was during his imāmate that the Persian Nizārīs, especially in Rūdbār, reorganised themselves to some extent and temporarily reoccupied the fortress of Alamūt, while the Syrian Nizārīs became subjugated by the Mamlūks. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad died around 710/1310-11. His succession was disputed by his sons, leading to the Muḥammad Shāhī-Ḳāsim Shāhī schism in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī imāmate and community.

Bibliography: Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, *Khiṭābāt-i ʿāliya*, ed. H. Udjāḳī, Bombay 1963, 42; Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Fidāʾī Khurāsānī, *Kitāb-i Hidāyat al-muʾminīn al-ṭālibīn*, ed. A.A. Semenov, Moscow 1959, 117-18; W. Ivanow, *Shums Tabrez of Multan*, in *Professor Muḥammad Shafiʿ Presentation Volume*, ed. S.M. Abdullah, Lahore 1955, 109-18; ʿĀrif Tāmir, *al-Imāma fī 'l-Islām*, Beirut n.d. [1964], 169 ff., 196; A. Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī tradition in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, Delmar, N.Y. 1978, 63-6; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 415, 435, 444-8, 451-2.

(F. DAFTARY)

SHAMS AL-DĪN AL-SAMAṬRĀNĪ, religious scholar of the court of Atjèh [*q.v.*] in northern Sumatra, now in Indonesia, b. before 1575, d. 12 Radjab 1039/25 February 1630. The *nisba* al-Samaṭrānī indicates that Shams al-Dīn was associated with Samaṭrā < Samudra, a region in north Sumatra. Little is known of his early life, but from the first decade of the 17th century on, he played a prominent role at the court of Sultan Iskandar Muda (Makuta ʿAlam 1607-36), most powerful of the Achehnese sultans, with the title *Shaykh al-Islām*, serving as leading authority in religious matters, as Ṣūfī *murshid* to the sulṭān, whom he inducted into the Naḳshbandiyya *ṭarīḳa*, as his vicegerent on a number of occasions, and as his negotiator with foreign emissaries such as the Englishman Sir James Lancaster in 1602.

On the death of Iskandar Muda in 1636 and the accession of Iskandar II in 1637, al-Rānīrī [*q.v.*], an Indo-Arab religious scholar, gained court patronage. Possibly motivated by his espousal of Sirhindī's (d. 1624 [*q.v.*]) concept of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, as opposed to Shams al-Dīn's *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, he had the latter's writings burnt, a number of his followers executed, and wrote polemics condemning what he alleged to be the implications of his teaching.

Shams al-Dīn was an outstanding scholar. He was the first Djāwī known to have left significant works written in Arabic alongside a number of prose writings in Malay, among them *Mirʾāt al-muʾminīn*, a treatise on dogmatics—not all of which, thanks to al-Rānīrī, are extant. Of his Arabic works, the most important is *Djawhar al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* edited by van Nieuwenhuijze, whose dissertation (see *Bibl.*) is the basic work for any further study of this author, and includes a representative selection of his work alongside a penetrating analysis of their intellectual structure. The work is in the Ibn ʿArabī tradition. It breathes a spirit of intense religious devotion and presents a wide range of Ṣūfī learning, including what may be the earliest citation of the poetry of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (lines 355-6 from *al-Tāʾiyya al-kubrā*, see van Nieuwenhuijze ed. 265) in Southeast Asian writing. Its structure is based on *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-nabī* (ed. Johns, see *Bibl.*), an Arabic work by the North Indian author Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1590 [*q.v.*]), which summates the complex theosophy of Ibn ʿArabī in a convenient "portfolio" of seven grades of being. Shams al-Dīn played a major role in popularising this "portfolio" in Sumatra, Java and in the Indonesian region generally, one which replaced the more complex theosophical system used by the earlier Achehnese mystic Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*], whose work shows an affiliation to an ʿIrāḳī-Persian transmission of the Ibn ʿArabī tradition as mediated by al-Djīlī.

In the literature, he is frequently referred to as an exponent of a so-called heterodox tradition of pantheistic mysticism, many scholars taking at face-value the partisan denunciation of him and his followers by al-Rānīrī, who accused him of teaching the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* in an absolute sense, without taking into account the concept of the grades of being as understood by adherents of the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* doctrine. In view of a deeper understanding of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas both in themselves and in the wider context of Islamic thought, terms such as "heterodox" and "pantheistic" no longer have a place in an historical assessment of his learning, teachings and spirituality.

Bibliography: G.W.J. Drewes, *Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's charge of heresy against Ḥamzah and Shamsuddīn from an international point of view*, in C.D. Grijns and S.O. Robson (eds.), *Cultural contact and textual interpretation, Verhandelingen van het KITLV*, cxv (1986), 54-9; A.H. Johns, *The gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet*, Canberra 1965, 128-48; H. Kraemer, *Noord-Sumatraansche invloeden op de Javaansche mystiek*, in *Djawa*, iv (1924), 29-33; C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsal-Dīn van Pasai*, Leiden 1945; idem, *Nur al-Dīn al-Rānīrī als bestrijder der Wugudiya*, in *Bijdragen*, civ (1948), 337-411; Ph.S. van Ronkel, *Rānīrī's Maleische geschrift: exposé der Religies*, in *Bijdragen*, cii (1943), 461-80; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, ii, 12-13; P. Voorhoeve, *Van en over Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī*, in *Bijdragen*, cvii (1951), 353-68.

(A.H. JOHNS)

SHAMS AL-DĪN-I SIRĀDJ ʿAFĪF, historian of the Dihlī Sultanate in mediaeval Muslim India whose exact dates of birth and death are unknown but who may have been born around 751/1350-1; he certainly flourished during the later 8th/14th century.

He stemmed from a family with long traditions of service to the ruling dynasty of sultans. His father and uncle held the office of oversight of the royal *kār-khānas* or stores and workshops during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88 [*q.v.*]), and in his youth, Shams al-Dīn accompanied the sultan on hunting trips. His fame arises from his history, the *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, composed at a time when there was quite a florescence of historical writing within the Sultanate, seen in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī's [*q.v.*] history

of the same name, which covers the first six years of the sultan's reign, whilst Mawlānā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Dihlī is reported to have composed a further history with the same name. There is also the anonymous, florid and eulogistic *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, written in 772/1370-1 (see Storey, i, 509), which reads like an official history. The sultan himself had his achievements inscribed on stone and affixed to the walls of the Friday Mosque of his new capital Fīrūzābād.

Shams al-Dīn ʿAfīf undertook the task of writing separate volumes on the Tughluḳids from Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh to Muḥammad b. Fīrūz Shāh, recounting their virtues or *manāḳib* [*q.v.*]. Only that volume on Fīrūz Shāh is extant, perhaps originally entitled *Manāḳib-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, and must have been written, from an internal reference, after Tīmūr's invasion of the Sultanate in 801/1398, perhaps when the historian had returned to Dihlī after Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh's last descendant, had re-occupied the capital at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It has five sections (*ḳism*), each divided into eighteen chapters (*muḳaddima*) of unequal length. The last three chapters of the fifth *ḳism* seem to have been lost, since they do not appear in any extant ms.

Writing as he apparently did when the capital Dihlī had been devastated and the Tughluḳid Sultanate was dissolving, Shams al-Dīn ʿAfīf expresses in his book a clear nostalgia for the glories of the Sultanate. He praises Fīrūz Shāh as the special recipient of divine grace in terms which echo the style of the eulogy of Ṣūfī saints in the *tadhkira* literature. He also provides much useful information on social and economic life of the time. The foundation of new cities, like Fīrūzābād, and the construction of canals, water reservoirs and the encouragement of agriculture are recorded. From his own background, he was especially interested in taxation and financial topics and their interlocking with agricultural policy, and he did not fail to mention abuses which had crept into administration and army affairs. His aim seems, in fact, to have been to portray the sultan as a saintly ruler, conformable to the demands of the literary genre of Ṣūfī hagiography, and his reign as a golden age.

Bibliography: The surviving part of ʿAfīf's history was edited in the Bibl. Indica series, Calcutta 1888-91; tr. of extracts in Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, iii, 269-373. See also Riazul Islam, *The age of Firuz Shah*, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, i/1 (1950), 25-41, on Mawlānā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's work; P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India, studies in Indo-Muslim historical writing*, London 1960, 40-55; Storey, i, 509-12. (I.H. Siddiqui)

SHAMS AL-MAʿĀLĪ [see ĶĀBŪS B. WUSHMAGĪR B. ZIYĀR].

SHAMS-I FAKHRĪ [see FAKHRĪ].

SHAMS-I ĶAYS, the familiar form of the name of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays Rāzī, author of the oldest Persian work on poetics, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, which covers the full range of traditional literary scholarship. Facts about his life are only to be found in his own statements, mostly in the introduction to his sole surviving work (*Muʿdjam*, 2-24). His native town was Rayy, where he must have been born around the beginning of the last quarter of the 12th century. For many years he lived in Transoxania, Khwārazm and Khurāsān. He relates an incident situated in Bukhārā and dated 601/1204-5 (*Muʿdjam*, 456). In 614/1217-18 he was living at Marw, where he wrote the first draft of his textbook in Arabic. When in the same year the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (596-617/1200-20) marched to the west against the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], he joined the sultan's retinue. In 617/1220, during a battle with the Mongols near the fortress of Farzīn (between Iṣfahān and Hamadān), he lost all his books, but was able to retrieve some parts of the manuscript of his textbook from the local peasants. About 623/1226, he took refuge in Shīrāz with Saʿd b. Zangī, the Salghurid Atabeg of Fārs (599-628/1202-31), who admitted him to his court as a companion (*muḳarrab*). He retained this position under Saʿd's successor Abū Bakr (628-58/1231-60).

In these secure surroundings, he was able to resume the writing of his work on poetics, which had been frustrated by his constant travels and the turbulent events of the Mongol invasion. The version which he now produced was an extensive Arabic work on Arabic and Persian poetry together. However, the literati (*ẓurafāʾ*) and poets of Shīrāz did not approve of his approach because they considered a critical discussion of Persian poetry in Arabic not very useful. Giving in to this, Shams-i Ḳays then dealt with the two poetical traditions separately, each in its own language. Of these two books, only the Persian one has survived.

The *Muʿdjam* (sometimes erroneously vocalised *Muʿadjdjam*) consists of two parts and a *khātima*. The first part contains the oldest treatment of Persian metrics still extant. The ten fundamental patterns current in Persian poetry are arranged in four circles in accordance with the system of *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] as it had been established by al-Khalīl (89 ff.; cf. Elwell-Sutton, 77-9). Remarkable, moreover, is the discussion of the metre of the *rubāʿī* [*q.v.*], which Shams-i Ḳays regarded as a Persian invention, tentatively attributed to Rūdakī [*q.v.*]; it is treated as a derivative of the *hazadj* pattern. The more miscellaneous contents of the second part include, first, the theory of rhyme (*ʿilm-i ḳāfiyat*), which entails a discussion of Persian grammar as far as it is concerned with the definition of rhyming letters (204 ff., *ḥurūf-i ḳāfiyat*); attention is also given to the use of *radīf* and *wādjib*, respectively the repetition of a word after or before the rhyming letter in each line, which are special features of Persian poetry (258-61). This is followed by a chapter on the embellishment of poetry (328 ff., *maḥāsin-i shiʿr*), a list of rhetorical figures in the tradition of the textbooks of *badīʿ* [*q.v.*]. In this section, the influence of Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Waṭwāṭ is evident, but a number of Shams's figures do not appear earlier in Persian textbooks; some can be traced back to Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*] (cf. S.A. Bonebakker, *The Kitāb Naqd al-šiʿr*, Leiden 1956, Introd. 59). The treatment of poetical genres (*adjnās-i shiʿr*), which concludes this part, pays only scant attention to specifically Persian features. The *khātima* is devoted to the practice of poetry (*shāʿirī*) and plagiarism (*sariḳāt-i shiʿr*). The prescription for the composition of a poem at the beginning of this appendix is a translation from Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's *ʿIyār al-shiʿr* (ed. Cairo 1956, 4 ff.).

Shams-i Ḳays saw his work in the first place as a tool for literary criticism providing measures (*maʿāyīr*) for the distinction between good and bad poetry (3, *bar naḳd-i nīk va bad-i kalām-i manẓūm*) to prose writers and poets alike. In his view, poetical technique was a creation of the Arabs, and Persian poets were merely following their example (69). Nevertheless, the *Muʿdjam* stands out as the most important contribution to Persian literary theory, both on account of its wide scope and the quality of its discussion of detail. Among the poets dealt with, by far the most often cited is Anwarī [*q.v.*], who flourished in the first half of the 6th/12th century. Although the book never achieved the popularity of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ's textbook,

its influence can be found with a number of later writers on literary theory, and a few abridgements were made (see the Introd. by Mudarris-i Raḍawī, pp. xviii-xx).

Bibliography: The first critical edition of the *Muʿdjam* was published by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, London 1909 (*GMS*, x), with an English introd. by E.G. Browne; revised ed. Muḥammad Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1314 *sh*./1935-6, ²Tehran 1338 *sh*./1959 (referred to in this article). See further the introd. to the editions; Storey, *Persian literature*, iii/1, 179; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976; J.W. Clinton, *Esthetics by implication: what metaphors of craft tell us about the "unity" of the Persian qasida*, in *Edebiyat*, iv (1974), 73-96; idem, *Šams-i Qays on the nature of poetry*, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Ihsan ʿAbbas*, ed. W. al-Qadi, Beirut 1981, 75-82 (with a partial tr. of the *khātima*); G.J. van Gelder, *Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 142-4; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Naḳd-i adabī*³, Tehran 1362 *sh*./1983, i, 247-9 and *passim*; W. Smyth, *Early Persian works on poetics and their relationship to similar studies in Arabic*, in *St.Ir.*, xviii (1989), 27-53.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SHAMS-I TABRĪZ(Ī), the name given to a rather enigmatic dervish who deeply influenced and transformed Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], and whose real name was, according to Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, 535, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Malik-dād-i Tabrīzī.

His prose writings, *Maḳālāt*, as well as the notes by Rūmī's elder son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*], reveal him as a man of overwhelming spiritual power. He must have been in his forties or fifties when he reached Konya on 26 Djumādā II 642/23 October 1244, but next to nothing about his spiritual pedigree is known. He writes that he was a disciple of Abū Bakr Sallabāf, a basket maker, which may point to a relation with the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] (thus Gölpınarlı). A Kubrawī *silsila* is sometimes mentioned, and the frequent, very positive use of the term *ḳalandar* in Rūmī's poetry might indicate that Shams was close to the *ḳalandars*. In his search for someone to understand him, Shams wandered through the world, always staying in caravansarays, not in religious establishments. In ʿIrāḳ he met Awḥad al-Dīn-i Kirmānī, whose claim to see the reflection of the moon in a lake when looking at unbearded youths, incited him to the well-known remark, "If you haven't got a boil on your neck, why don't you look at the sky?" For some time, Shams stayed in Syria, where he met Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*], whom he did not like, as he "did not follow the *Sharīʿa*" although he found "something useful" in him. But his later comparison of Ibn ʿArabī with Rūmī reveals his feeling; Ibn ʿArabī was, for him, a "pebble, Djalāl al-Dīn, a pearl". For some time, Shams was a teacher in Erzerum; but nowhere could he find someone who could bear his company, for his sharp tongue did not spare anyone, and he was quick in punishing students (although he never accepted a *murīd*). Finally, he was guided by dreams to Konya, where he met Rūmī, who "understood him". Djalāl al-Dīn left his teaching to spend weeks in solitude with Shams (who did not, however, believe in the necessity of the forty days' seclusion). Sensing the increasing enmity of the people of Konya, Shams left secretly on 21 Shawwāl 643/15 February 1246, and in longing for him Rūmī turned poet, touched like a flute by the friend's breath. Shams was finally found in Damascus, and brought back by Sulṭān Walad, who describes the reunion of his father with Shams, when "nobody knew who was the lover and who the beloved" (1 Muḥarram 645/8 May 1247). For some months he stayed in Rūmī's house, married to a girl from the household, who died a few days before he disappeared (5 Shaʿbān 645/5 December 1247). Most likely he was murdered with the connivance of Rūmī's younger son; his body was thrown into a nearby well besides which the *maḳām-i Shams* was later built. Rūmī probably sensed what had happened, yet did not believe in the death of the "eternally radiant Sun" and went to Syria to search for him until he realised that Shams lived in him; and he signed his poetry with his name. His later friends, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb and Ḥusām al-Dīn Čelebi were nothing but "reflections" of "the Sun". His *naʿt-i sharīf* shows the close connection between Shams and the Prophet, from whom he claimed to have received "the cloak of companionship". His love for the Prophet to the exclusion of all learned books, and his aversion from philosophy, is echoed in Rūmī's poetry.

Shams claimed to have reached the highest possible rank, that of the third degree of the beloved ones, *maʿshūḳ*, or "the *ḳuṭb* of the beloved ones", and Rūmī's descriptions of Shams are sometimes close to his "deification".

Claims have been made that Shams was an Ismāʿīlī, all the more as a mausoleum of Shams-i Tabrīzī is found in Multān. This (Indian) Shams was a contemporary of the Suhrawardī master Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā (d. 1267), and the miracles ascribed to him are as outspoken and as scaring displays of tremendous power as those of Mawlānā Rūmī's Shams; however, it is likely that the Multānī Shams may be identical with an Ismāʿīlī *pīr* (cf. shams al-dīn muḥammad).

But whoever Shams-i Tabrīz may have been (and that he was a real person is proven by his enormous derwish hat in the museum in Konya), the world owes to his inspiration the collection of the most fiery mystical love lyrics, the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz* by Rūmī, and without his influence Rūmī's *Mathnawī* would not have been composed either, for he was the inspiring power behind every word that Rūmī wrote.

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2. Studies. Browne, *LHP*, ii, 516-19; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlâna Celaladdin*, Istanbul 1951; Rypka *et alii*, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 240; F. Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya*, Istanbul-Stuttgart 1994; *EI*¹ art. *Tibrīzī* (R.A. Nicholson).

(Annemarie Schimmel)

SHAMSA, a jewel used by the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid [*q.vv.*] caliphs as one of the insignia of kingship. According to the description of the Fāṭimid *shamsa*, given by Ibn Zūlāḳ (quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, i, 140-2), it was not a sunshade, as has been guessed (de Goeje, in al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. cccxvi), but a kind of suspended crown, made out of gold or silver, studded with pearls and precious stones, and hoisted up by the aid of a chain. The *shamsa*, therefore, is not to be confounded with the *miẓalla* [*q.v.*] or sunshade which belonged also to the royal insignia. The model of the *shamsa* was probably the crown suspended above the head of the Sāsānid king (al-Ṭabarī, i, 946). It served for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs as a symbol of legitimate rule (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1553-4) and represented the authority of the absent caliph during the Pilgrimage to Mecca, where it was suspended in front of the Kaʿba during the *ḥadjdj*

ceremonies. The ʿAbbāsid *shamsa* was endowed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) and studded with precious stones by al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902); in 311/924 it was taken by force by the Carmathian leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī (al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 156; ʿArīb al-Ḳurṭubī, 16-17, 119). The Egyptian one was made by order of the regent Kāfūr for the young Ikhshīdid prince Unūdjūr (334-49/946-61). After the Fāṭimid conquest it was replaced by a greater one on the order of the general Djawhar for the caliph al-Muʿizz; this new *shamsa* was for the first time hoisted above the great hall (*īwān*) of the palace of Cairo at the day of ʿArafa in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja, 362/973 (al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*). Djawhar's *shamsa* was carried away during the plunder of the Fāṭimid treasure houses in 461/1068, together with a yet unfinished new one. On this occasion we learn that Djawhar's *shamsa* was made out of 30,000 *mithḳāls* (132.42 kg) of gold, 20,000 dirhams (61.6 kg) of silver and 3,600 precious stones (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 294).

Bibliography: H. Halm, *Al-Shamsa. Hängekronen als Herrschaftszeichen der Abbasiden und Fatimiden*, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, forthcoming.

(H. Halm)

SHAMSIYYA, a mystical brotherhood derived from the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], which came into existence and developed in the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 10th/16th century.

Its founding saint, Abu ʾl-Thanāʾ Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abi ʾl-Barakāt Muḥammad b. ʿĀrif Ḥasan al-Zīlī al-Sīwāsī—more commonly known as Ḳara Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn Sīwāsī—was born in the small town of Zile, in eastern Anatolia, in 926/1520, and was initiated by two Khalwatī *shaykhs* practising in this region: the *shaykh* Muṣliḥ al-Dīn of Djumʿa Pazarī, and then the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Madjīd Shirwānī (d. 972/1565) of Tokat. At the request of Ḥasan Pasha, *wālī* of Sivas, he undertook the supervision of a *zāwiya*, constructed at the latter's instigation in the precincts of a mosque in the town of Sivas. He taught there until the end of his life, which took place in 1006/1597, and he was buried in the vicinity of his *zāwiya*.

Three elements were influential in the inception of the mystical way on which Ḳara Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn left his distinguishing mark: the significant literary corpus of this individual; the number and the widespread diffusion of his *khalīfas*; and his participation in the campaign of Eger in Hungary. A number of works are in fact attributed to him, in verse and in prose, in Turkish and in Arabic, of which the most important are entitled: *Kitāb al-Ḥiyāḍ min ṣawb al-ghamām al-fayyāḍ, Mewlid, Menāḳib-i čahār yār-i guzīn, Manāzil al-ʿārifīn, Gulshan-ābād, Zubdat al-asrār fī sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Manār, Süleymān-nāme, ʿIbret-nāme*, etc. (a number of these were published in Turkey from the end of the 19th century; cf. A. Gölpınarlı, *IA*, art. *Şemsiye*). Under the *makhlaṣ* of Shamsī, he also left many poems and songs of a mystical inspiration. As for his *khalīfas*, there were some thirty of them, who spread his teachings in eastern and central Anatolia—especially in the towns of Zile, Sivas, Merzifon, Turhal, Samsun, Divriği, Kırşehir, Ankara and Kayseri—but also in Cyprus, in Istanbul and in Cairo. As to his participation in the campaign of Eger in 1596 (in the company of several of his disciples), this marked the establishment of contact between the nucleus of the nascent brotherhood and the Ottoman authorities. In fact, the sultan Meḥemmed III invited Shams al-Dīn to take up residence in the capital, as a reward for his support in the victorious campaign; but the *shaykh* declined the invitation on account of his advanced age. The Ottoman sovereign extended the same offer, some years later, to his nephew and successor ʿAbd al-Madjīd Sīwāsī (d. 1049/1639-40), and the latter accepted it.

The centre of the network of the Shamsiyya was then shifted to Istanbul, where the brotherhood tended partially to supplant other branches of the Khalwatiyya. It was this grouping which henceforward enjoyed the goodwill of the sultan and of senior functionaries of the Empire, and occupied, throughout the first half of the 11th/17th century, the centre of the religious stage. In fact, Khalwatī-Shamsī *shaykhs* were in numerous cases appointed to serve as preachers (*wāʿiẓ*), particularly in the most prestigious mosques. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Sīwāsī and his disciples were the leading protagonists in the struggle against the heterodoxy of the Ḥamzawī *shaykhs*, whom they denounced publicly. They also acted as spokesmen for the Ṣūfīs in the bitter conflict between the latter and the *Ḳāḍīzādelī*, representatives of the conservative and fundamentalist tendency led by Meḥmed Ḳāḍīzāde (d. 1635).

This preponderance of the successors of Ḳara Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn in the Ottoman capital—particularly in the scholarly circles from which the majority of them emerged—favoured the expansion of the network of the Shamsiyya. This was consolidated in Anatolia (on the eastern side, the cradle of the brotherhood, but also on the western side—Alaşehir, Manisa, Mytilene and Chios—as well as in central Anatolia (especially at Konya and Safranbolu), and in the Middle East (Damascus, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Cairo and Mecca). But it also extended into the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia (especially in the eastern region—in particular, in Gelibolu, Gülmücine/Komotine, Havsa, Edirne, Yambol, Filibe/Plovdiv, Lofça/Loveč, Varna, Silistre/Silistra, Dobriç/Tolbuhin and Kefe—as well as in Buda and the Hungarian frontier zones) and as far as the Crimea. In Istanbul itself, the establishments directed by *shaykhs* of the Shamsiyya flourished, in particular during the period of the nephew and successor of ʿAbd al-Madjīd Sīwāsī, ʿAbd al-Aḥad Nūrī Sīwāsī (d. 1061/1651), who contributed so energetically to the progress of this branch of the Khalwatiyya that it became known by the name of Shamsiyya-Sīwāsiyya or simply Sīwāsiyya. At that time, the diffusion of the brotherhood generally proceeded according to the following pattern: arrival in Istanbul of a young student intent on pursuing his studies in the major metropolitan *madrasas*, affiliation to the *ṭarīḳa*, and return to his native land with the object of propagating the latter. Despite its rapid expansion, the network remained relatively centralised, its heart being the *tekke* of Shaykh Yawsī—renamed Sīwāsī Tekkesi—situated close to the Selīmiyye mosque in Istanbul, and administered by the descendants of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Madjīd.

From the beginning of the 18th century, the brotherhood went into decline, to disappear almost totally in the 19th century, often, it seems, to the advantage of other branches of the Khalwatiyya, such as the Sunbuliyya and the Shaʿbāniyya [*q.vv.*]. In Istanbul, during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire, there were still representatives of the Shamsiyya administering a *tekke* in the Taşkassap quarter. According to Dhākir Shükrī, the *tekke* of Zibin-i sherīf had as its *shaykh* a certain Meḥmed Ḳāsim al-Dāghistānī al-Khalwatī al-Shemsī (d. 1328/1910), who was succeeded by his son, Yūsuf Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn. But S. Vicdanî makes it clear that, although these *shaykhs* possessed a *silsila* linking them to ʿAbd al-Aḥad Nūrī Sīwāsī, the *tekke* in question functioned as an establishment of the Naḳshbandiyya. Today, this branch of the Khalwatiyya seems to have disappeared.

As regards the doctrine and the practices of the Shamsiyya-Sīwāsiyya, they were shared by the majority of the Khalwatīs; the practice of spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]) and the initiation of the seven names (*al-asmā' al-sab'a*) being two central elements. The Shamsī-Sīwāsī *dhikr* was a *dhikr dewrān*, with a rotating movement in a circle formed by the dervishes. 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūrī is the author of a treatise defending this practice, entitled *Risāle fī djewāzi dewrāni 'l-ṣūfiyye*. As for the adoption of the doctrine of the oneness of being (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*), cf. O. Türer, *Türk mutasavvıf ve şairi Muhammed Nazmi*, which also provides further details regarding the teaching of one *shaykh* of the brotherhood. The characteristic *tādj* of the Shamsī-Sīwāsī *shaykhs*—comprising forty separate pieces, as with the majority of the Khalwatīs—was made of yellow fabric, half of it embroidered with Kufic script, surmounted by a red button and encircled by a green turban.

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SHAMSŪN, the Biblical Samson of Judges, xii-xvi (12th century B.C. according to Biblical chronology), unmentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 793-5, locates him historically in the Christian era, just before St. George (Djurdjīs); al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-madjālis*, Cairo n.d., 392-3, situates him just after St. George and understands him to have been a Christian. The chronology is probably the result of the use of Christian sources for the story. The story of Samson was very popular in Christian circles, with Samson proclaimed an exemplar of victorious faith in Hebr. xi, 32, and, later, an allegorical figure of Christ. Samson's status as a Nazirite (in Aramaic, *nadhīrā* or *n^edhīrā* [see NADHĪR] may also have suggested a Christian connection to some Muslims because of the similarity of the name of Samson's vow (see Num. vi, 2-8) and the name Nazareth (*al-Nāṣira*), the home town of Jesus, and *Naṣārā* [*q.v.*], the Ḳur'ānic term for Christians (the linking of the names was also a tendency in Christian allegorical interpretation of the story).

The individuality of Samson (contrary to the general Biblical picture of judges who lead the community into battle) becomes the focus of the Muslim development of the prophetic model in Samson. According to al-Ṭabarī's information, Samson was born into a community of unbelievers but dedicated his life to God, ever fighting the idolators. He was aided by God, specifically by being given water during battles (see Judges xv, 19). His opponents realised that they would only overcome him through his wife whom they then bribed. She tested his strength twice and subsequently nagged him until he finally revealed that he could only be subdued by his uncut hair. She bound him with his hair while he was sleeping and, when he awoke, his enemies came, mutilated his body and took him away, powerless, to be paraded in front of the local minaret. There, Samson pulled the supports down, killing all the people (including his wife, according to al-Tha'labī, but perhaps not himself).

The purified presentation of Samson is in keeping with the Christian understanding rather than the Biblical story: Samson was a great fighter and man of faith who was betrayed by his wife. There is no lust, no prostitution, and no self-destruction within the story.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Rippin)

SHAMWĪL (also Ashamwīl/Ashmawīl, Sham'ūn, Sam'ūn), the Samuel of Biblical history (I Sam. i-xxviii), perhaps referred to in Ḳur'ān, II, 246-7, in connection with the appointment of Saul [see ṬĀLŪT] as king over Israel (although some exegetes see the reference to be to Joshua (Yūsha'), the "prophet after Moses"). The form of the name Shamwīl is closer than Sham'ūn to the Hebrew Sh^emu'el; Sham'ūn may be the result of some confusion between the names Simeon (Hebrew Shim'on; see Gen. xxix, 33, etc.) and Samuel, but that is unclear and confused further by attempts to incorporate etymologies of the names into the narratives. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 547-54, interchanges the spelling of the name throughout his account. Abū Rifā'a al-Fārisī, *Bad' al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978, 80-4, however, recounts separate stories of Sham'ūn and Ashamwīl (with the story of 'Aylūḳ—probably Eli, who is called 'Alī, 'Aylī and 'Aylā in al-Ṭabarī—being placed in between the two; cf. I Sam. i); H. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and extra-biblical legends in Islamic folk-literature*, Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Bd. 30, Walldorf-Hessen 1982, 64, suggests that Sham'ūn here should be understood as Shamsūn [*q.v.*], i.e. Samson, but the story is barely recognisable as speaking of him. Al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1923, 250-1, and al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-madjālis*, Cairo n.d., 232-9, use the name Shamwīl consistently.

The stories of Samuel transmitted in the Islamic context concentrate on his birth and his selection of Saul; other elements of his nomination and career as a prophet are elaborated so as to fit within the common pattern of Muslim prophet stories, especially in his struggles with the unbelievers. Samuel is remembered today at his tomb at al-Nabī Samwīl near Jerusalem, where there has been a mosque since the 18th century.

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(A. Rippin)

SHANDĪ, a town in the Republic of the Sudan, on the east bank of the Nile, about 160 km/100 miles north-east of Kharṭūm. Population, in 1956, 11,500; in 1980, 24,000; and in 1995 probably more than 30,000. The origins and early history of Shandī are unknown. It is situated in the central area of the ancient Kingdom of Meroë. Modern Shandī has been one of the main towns of the Dja'aliyyūn [*q.v.*], who since at least the 16th century until 1821 maintained a small kingdom in the area. However, the town of Shandī does not appear in the historical sources before the 18th century, and then as the seat of the king (*makk*) and as an important trading centre.

Major caravan routes have crossed the area of Shandī since ancient times, and trade was an important factor in its foundation. Between 1770 and 1820 the town witnessed a remarkable growth which was only broken by the Egyptian invasion in 1820-1, under the command of Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*], the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. Its population was then estimated at about 5-7,000 people living in 8-900 houses. A revolt against the invaders following the murder in Shandī of Ismāʿīl Pasha in the autumn of 1822, caused the town to be destroyed and a large part of its population to be dispersed. Subsequently, the Egyptians moved the district administration across the Nile to the sister-town of al-Matamma [*q.v.*], and Shandī did not recover its former prosperity before the present century. In the spring of 1884 the people of Shandī joined the Mahdist revolt against the Egyptians [see AL-MAHDIYYA]. By that time, the population numbered about 2,000, a figure which was reduced to about 500 at the turn of the century.

During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899-1956) and thereafter, Shandī grew into a prosperous town. Its location in a rich agricultural area, its position on the north-south railway, and its relative proximity to Kharṭūm, are all factors which have stimulated the town's growth. Agricultural expansion in the area based on pump irrigation started early in this century, and local produce like grain, vegetables and fruits is exported through Shandī. Local trades consist of carpentry, tailoring, basketry, and cotton weaving. Today, it is also an administrative and educational centre, and the seat of a military garrison.

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AL-**SHANFARĀ** "he who has large lips", is the nickname, perhaps even the name (al-Zamakhsharī, introd., 8; Sharīf, 15), of one of the most famous pre-Islamic *ṣuʿlūk* poets. A great deal of confusion surrounds the man and his work; for this reason it is appropriate to handle the information concerning him with the greatest caution.

1. Life.

Details relating to the life of al-Shanfarā are sparse, contradictory and marked by an anecdotal quality much more pronounced than is the case with all the other pre-Islamic poets. His name is reportedly Thābit (ʿAmr) b. Mālik, of al-Iwās b. al-Ḥadjr (al-Ghawth) b. al-Aws, a clan of the al-Ḥārith b. Rabīʿa, a sub-tribe of the al-Hinw (Azd) (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmāʾ al-mughtālīn*, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, ii, 231). This genealogy is problematical, since it renders implausible the biography of the poet as it is currently accepted.

(1) According to a tradition related by al-Muʾarridj al-Sadūsī and retained by Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, al-Shanfarā was allegedly captured at a very early age by the Banū Shabāba b. Fahm b. ʿAmr of the Ḳays b. ʿAylān; he remained in a state of semi-captivity until his liberation following an exchange of prisoners between the Shabāba and the Salāmān b. Mufridj b. Mālik b. Zahrān, a tribe of which the eponym was said to be Naṣr b. al-Azd. He was adopted by a member of the latter tribe; according to some sources, he quarrelled with the daughter of the master of the house; according to another version, he fell in love with the girl, al-Ḳuʿsūs (*Dīwān*, 53), who rejected him as unworthy of her on account of his humble ancestry (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 195-6; *Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 244). Offended, al-Shanfarā abandoned his adoptive clan, returned to the Banū Shabāba, his erstwhile captors, and swore to avenge himself on the Salāmān by killing a hundred of them. This account is invalidated by a number of implausibilities: (a) the efforts of the Salāmān in seeking to liberate a man whose blood-links with them were distant and weak, if not non-existent; (b) the genealogical reservations of the young Salāmāniyya woman: al-Hinw b. al-Azd (eponymous ancestor of al-Shanfarā) was in no way inferior in terms of eminence to his brother Naṣr b. al-Azd (eponymous ancestor of the Salāmān); (c) resentment as justification for the return of a captive to his former jailers. However, it is precisely this tradition which was subsequently taken up by the other sources as well as by modern research (F. Gabrieli, *Taʾabbaṭa Sharran, Shanfarā, Khalaf al-Aḥmar*, in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, cccxliii (1946), 1, 41-2; Sharīf, 16; Yūsuf Khalīf, 332; Ṣafadī and Ḥāwī, *Mawsūʿat al-shiʿr al-ʿArabī*, i, al-*Shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Beirut 1974, 61; Brockelmann, S I, 52-3; *GAS*, ii, 133-4; Ḥifnī, 112).

(2) A genealogical text of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) permits the presentation of a biography of the poet which corresponds more closely to reality; it is stated there: "To the Mālik b. Zahrān belong the Banū Salāmān b. Mufridj b. Mālik b. Zahrān, a tribe (*baṭn*) to which the outlaw al-Shanfarā belonged; he attacked his own kinsmen incessantly, because a fellow-tribesman of theirs had murdered his father and they refused to apply in his case the law of retaliation; he allied himself with the Banū [Shabāba b.] Fahm b. ʿAmr b. Ḳays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar who were his maternal uncles" (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1971, 386).

This text, with its wealth of information, is supported by traditions which circulated in the 2nd/8th century (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 196, § 1; *Aghānī*, xxi, 137-8), and throws new light on them, in particular on another tradition of al-Shaybānīw in this version, the mother of al-Shanfarā returns to her own people, accompanied by her two young sons, after the assassination of her husband and the refusal of the tribe to avenge the blood which has been shed; the younger of the two sons dies soon afterwards. The poet grows up among his maternal uncles, the Shabāba b. Fahm. On coming of age, he exacts vengeance by killing Salāmānīs, including the murderer of his father, Ḥarām b. Djābir al-Salāmānī, although he is in a state of *iḥrām* at Minā (*Aghānī*, xxi, Leiden 1888, 137).

He then becomes a *ṣuʿlūk*, on amicable terms with his maternal uncle, Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and with ʿAmr b. Barrāḳ (Ḥifnī, 112). In dangerous circumstances, he shows great courage; his prowess as a runner is proverbial (Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*, ʿAmmān 1962, i, 434; al-Rāghib af-Iṣfahānī, *Madjmaʿ al-balāgha*, ʿAmmān 1406/

1986, 630; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iii, 344); on account of his dark skin, he is included in the group of the *aghribat al-ʿArab* (ʿAbduh Badawī, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-sūd wa-khaṣāʾiṣuhum fi ʾl-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1973, 23-7, denies any negroid element in the poet's ancestry). It is related that he met his death in an ambush set by the Banū Ghāmid in the mountainous region to the south of Mecca, a zone controlled at this time by the Azd (Ibn Ḥabīb, 231-2).

2. His poetry.

The *Dīwān*, such as it has survived, presents enormous problems: the 191 verses which it comprises do not constitute in any way a classic recension; the Cairo manuscript (Dār al-Kutub, 6676, *adab*) is a photocopy of the work in Molla Husrev Paşa 149, used in 1936 by al-Maymanī to establish his edition of the *Dīwān*; it includes three long pieces, the *Lāmiyya*, the *Tāʾiyya* (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xx, 194-207) and the *Fāʾiyya*, better known by the name *al-Markaba* (*Dīwān*, 32-5), three bravura fragments which derive from a clearly pursued artistic project. They possess, in this respect, a richness of expression, a thematic variety, and a profundity which is totally absent from all the rest, in other words, the brief fragments belonging to the poetry of circumstance (17 fragments comprising 73 verses), collected by the modern editor from various secondary sources.

(a) The *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*

This poem, the most accomplished specimen of the poetry of the *ṣaʿālīk*, has aroused great interest from the first decades of the 3rd/9th century to the present day, as is shown by the numerous *sharḥ*s which have been devoted to it. However, the philologists of the Baṣra school expressed serious doubts as to its authenticity: if Yāḳūt is to be believed, Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825) declared that the poem had been erroneously attributed to al-Shanfarā (*Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1993, 1255). The entirely identical view of Ibn Durayd, relayed by al-Ḳālī, has been mentioned by all those who have studied the poet.

Is it appropriate to see in this attitude a supplementary echo of the rivalry between the schools of Baṣra and of Kūfa? It should not be forgotten that the poetry of al-Shanfarā was collected by Kūfī *rāwiya*s (Blachère, *loc. cit.*). Opinions are divided among modern scholars. In 1864 Nöldeke expressed serious doubts as to its authenticity, noting that the ancient transmitters were unaware of its existence; furthermore, the philologists of the 3rd/9th century make no mention of it whatsoever (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alter Araber*, Hanover 1864, 201). Krenkow (*al-Shanfarā*, in *EI*[1]), F. Gabrieli (*Sull' autenticità della Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*, in *RSO*, xv [1935], 361), and Blachère (*HLA*, ii, 410) essentially reproduce Nöldeke's arguments, adding others relating especially to poetic style and language. Only G. Jacob, *Schanfarà-Studien*, i, *passim*; and idem, *Aus Schanfaràs Dīwān*, Berlin 1914, introd., and Brockelmann were convinced of its authenticity, basing their conclusions on the results of internal analysis, such as the use of Yemeni terms, the mention of cows, which do not figure at all in archaic poetry, and symbolic description. S. Stetkevych, 125-6, reckons that the poem is marked by a series of signs and symbols which render incontrovertible its attribution to al-Shanfarā: the relations of the poet with his own people, the Azd, constitute an antidote to the normal affiliation of a tribesman to his tribe. In other words, this ode constitutes the typical process of regret for the past, an essential characteristic of the poetry of al-Shanfarā.

The publication of a section of the *K. al-Manthūr wa ʾl-manẓūm* in 1977 has cast a new light on this problem. This work makes it possible to ratify, historically and on the basis of an ancient source, the arguments of the partisans of the authenticity of the *Lāmiyya*. The author of the work, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), is a chronicler and an anthologist of exemplary integrity. Under the heading of "unique and incomparable *ḳaṣīdas* (*al-ḳaṣāʾid al-mufradāt allatī lā mathīl lahā*)", he quotes in full the *Lāmiyya* of al-Shanfarā (*al-Manthūr wa ʾl-manẓūm*, Beirut 1977, 69; the *Lāmiyya* in its entirety, 69-79) which was recited to him by Abu ʾl-Minhāl ʿUyayna b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muhallabī, a transmitter considered reliable (*Fihrist*, 157; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, 250-1) and a contemporary of Khalaf al-Aḥmar, the presumed author of the poem in the view of those who deny paternity to the Azdī poet. It may thus be affirmed that in the 2nd/8th century, in the lifetime of Khalaf, the transmitters were well acquainted with the *ḳaṣīda* and attributed it to al-Shanfarā.

This ode, which has the rhythm of a beating drum, turns its back on the poetic conventions of the *Djāhiliyya*. It reflects a purely individual register and constitutes, thereby, a negation of tribal values (vv. 1-5). The self stresses its primacy in each verse by means of incessant use of pronouns and verbs in the first person singular (more than 30 instances in the first 50 verses); in parallel, an absolute rejection of the tribe is attested here, accompanied by an affirmation of its superiority over the clan as such. In fact, mutual relations are conceived in a multi-dimensional approach. The disowned tribe (v. 1) reacts; the disruptive element must be removed; the latter, feeling under threat of elimination, engages in conflict which ends in the triumph of the individual. He reigns over the desert dominating the maleficent creatures of the night, defeating the wolf (vv. 27-35) and the sand grouse which he overtakes in the race for water (vv. 36-41). But this is a short-lived triumph; the poet has a very clear vision of this, and knows that in the end *Umm Ḳasṭal* (death) will claim him; and he asks not to be buried at all. Finally, what is observed is a total disintegration of the individual and a re-unification of the tribe. In the context of form, al-Shanfarā also departs from convention; he addresses his themes directly, leaving aside the *nasīb* and the camel-driving section.

(b) The *Tāʾiyya*

The *Tāʾiyya* begins with a *ghazal*, a genuine love poem which has aroused the admiration of scholars (see *Bibl.*, Stetkevych, 136). This love takes on a double aspect: the feminine personality, the departure which is equivalent to a rejection of this love by al-Shanfarā and leads to its loss. These two overlapping aspects are presented simultaneously; they are identified with one another by means of persistent recourse to the third person singular (*istaḳallati, tawallati, aẓallati, wallati*; for the overlapping, see vv. 10-12); the love of which the poet speaks is certainly complete. For the second aspect, it is the female companion who is praised for her moral qualities and not the female lover, as is the more frequent case. However, it is destructive vengeance which triumphs. Total pessimism is the overwhelming sense; in fact, no possibility of reconciliation is envisaged here.

(c) The *Fāʾiyya*

The *Fāʾiyya* describes a night of vigil spent by a warrior preparing himself for a razzia. As a precaution, he has established himself on a *marḳaba* (hill-top). Scrutinising the darkness, with ears wide open, he examines his bow and his arrows and proceeds, in the same vein, to give a quite detailed description of his weapons; clearly revealed are intent interest, pride

and sympathy on the part of the warrior towards his companions. It is appropriate to note, in this connection, that al-Shanfarā exploits a tendency of the poetry of the *ṣuʿlūks* in describing weapons in lavish detail, thus setting himself apart from the poetry of war; in the latter, substantive adjectives are used to denote weapons (Ibn Sallām, *K. al-Silāḥ*, Beirut 1408/1988, where this tendency is clearly visible); according to a regular pattern, and with little variation, the poet confines himself to mentioning arms, rather than describing them. The only descriptions worthy of the name in pre-Islamic poetry are found among the *ṣuʿlūks*; al-Shanfarā stands apart on account of his description of contemporary weapons for shooting.

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SHĀNĪ-ZĀDE Meḥmed ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Efendi (1769? or 1771?-1826), Ottoman physician, historian and polymath. Son of the *ḳāḍī* Shānī-zāde Ṣādiḳ Meḥmed Efendi, he pursued a religious career together with a medical education. In 1793-4 Shānī-zāde attained the rank of *müderris*, in 1814-15 that of *ḳāḍī* of Eyüp, and in October 1821 that of Mollā of Mecca and inspector of *ewḳāf*. Shānī-zāde suffered from the jealousy of the *ḥekīm-bashī* Behdjet Efendi [see bahdjat muṣṭafā efendi] and never himself became chief physician. Meanwhile, after the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] died, Shānī-zāde was appointed official historiographer (November-December 1819). As a leader in the Beshiktash Scientific Society, Shānī-zāde was suspected of Bektāshī connections and, when the Janissaries were suppressed, banished to Tire (Aydin). He died two months later in September 1826, and is buried in Tire.

The encyclopaedic Shānī-zāde was knowledgeable in medicine, mathematics, physics, astronomy, military science and painting. He composed poetry, and was a watchmaker. He was at home in Arabic, Persian, French and, probably, Italian and Latin. His experiments with cows proved that effective smallpox vaccine could be produced, and he advised Maḥmūd II to institute a vaccination campaign in Istanbul. He contributed much to modern Turkish medical terminology, especially to anatomical terms. His five-part series on anatomy, physiology, pathology, surgery, and pharmacology, written in plain Turkish, included translations from western works. The anatomy, *Mirʾātu 'l-ebdān fī teshrīḥ-i aʿḍāʾ-i 'l-insān*, the first medical work printed in Turkish (Istanbul 1820), contained Turkey's first accurate anatomical illustrations, often modelled after those in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. Shānī-zāde's *Taʾrīkh*, running from Maḥmūd II's accession to 1820-1, exhibited cautious westernising leanings, mentioning such topics as parliaments, insurance and quarantine.

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(R.H. Davison)

SHANSI (Shan-hsi, Shan-xi), a province of north Central China watered by the Huang ho (Yellow River) and its tributaries. Of the total population of Shansi which numbers 32,882,403, Muslims (*Hui-min, Hui-tsu*) number about 130,000 (in 1990). Densely-populated places of Shansi Muslims are: Hsi-an (pop. 53,753), Hsien-yang, Ta-li (Tʿung-chou), Wei-nan, Pao-chi, An-kʿang (Hsing-an), Nan-cheng (Han-chung) and other villages along the Wei River. The Muslim population of Shansi before 1862 is estimated at about 1,500,000-2,000,000, but about 1,000,000 of them were reportedly slaughtered by Han Chinese during the Muslim Rebellion of 1862-78; others fled to neighbouring Kansu [*q.v.*] province for safety.

As to the origin of Shansi Muslims, there were some Muslims in Shansi under the Tʿang dynasty (8th-9th centuries), while many Arab and Persian Muslims emigrated from West Asia to Shansi under the Mongol Yüan dynasty in the 13th-14th centuries. In 1280 Naṣr al-Dīn, son of a Muslim general and governor of Yünnan province, Shams al-Dīn Sayyid-i Adjall ʿUmar (1211-79), came to Shansi as local minister, and Muslims there increased. In the late 13th century, Prince Ananda, Yüan viceroy of Shansi and Tangut, was stationed at Kinjānfū (Hsi-an) with an army of 150,000. He was a believer in Islam from early childhood, and it is reported that a great number of the troops were converted to Islam (Rashīd al-Dīn). Under the Ming dynasty which overthrew the Yüan, Shansi Muslims were naturalised as Chinese Muslims (*Hui-min*). In April 1862, when a group of Taiping rebels invaded southern Shansi from Sichuan, the Chʿing authorities who tried to attack them happened to mishandle local Muslims, between whom and the local Chinese in Shansi there had long been antagonism. At first, Muslims at Hua-chou broke out against local Chinese inhabitants, and Muslim rebellion spread over various places along the Wei River, extending to Kansu province. The Chʿing authorities managed to suppress those Muslim rebels, and even massacred a great mass of Shansi Muslims. Consequently, they were dispersed and their population considerably decreased up to the early 20th century.

Shansi Muslims mostly belong to the Ḥanafī rite like other Chinese Muslims. Originally, they had about 300 mosques in Shansi but they have now 118 mosques, large and small, the most prestigious and

archaic one being *Hsi Ta-ssŭ* (West Large Mosque) at Hsi-an. Shansi Muslims have been and are engaged in retail trade, restaurant and inn-keeping, cattle-breeding, fur-trading, farming and transport. Hsi-an has been historically a centre of Chinese Muslim culture and learning in Shansi since Ming times. Shansi Muslims now co-exist with Han Chinese under the minority peoples' policy of Communist China, as is the case with other provinces.

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(T. Saguchi)

SHANT MĀNKASH, the modern Simancas, a village of the Spanish province of Valladolid, some 10 km/6 miles from that town, on the Douro, known above all for its castle, in which the state archives of Castile, mainly for the 16th and 17th centuries, are preserved.

The site, situated on a bluff commanding a ford over the Douro, was occupied in Roman and Visigothic times, and "repopulated" by Alfonso III, King of León, together with other towns along the line of that River (Zamora, Toro and Dueñas), probably in the last years of the 9th century, when the Christians were able to profit from the feeble state into which the amirate of Cordova had been plunged. After the accession of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and the "restoration" of the Umayyad caliphate, the state of al-Andalus sought to regain the lost territory to the north of the Meseta.

In 327/939 the caliph personally led an expedition, the *ghazwat al-ḳudra*, especially aimed at the town of Sammūra/Zamora. But on 11-12 Shawwāl/8-9 August he suffered a check before Simancas, followed by another defeat, in the course of his withdrawal, that of al-Khandaḳ/Alhándega. This defeat was apparently to be explained by the treachery of certain officers in the caliphal army, marked by the crucifixion of 300 of them after the return to Cordova. There has been much discussion on how *al-khandaḳ* ("the trench", or a place thus named) should be understood and on the place in question, and consequently whether there were two successive battles (Simancas and Alhándega) or just one (Simancas, finishing in the trench). Dozy's theory, on the slender basis of the opinion of Spanish authors of the 16th century (cf. his *Recherches*[3], i, 161), placed al-Khandaḳ to the west of Simancas, near Salamanca, towards the river Alhándega, an affluent of the Tormés, but this was opposed by M. Gómez Moreno, who placed it in the opposite direction, at Albendiego, in the modern province of Guadalajara, on the Roman road from Osma to Sigüenza, and by Lévi-Provençal who, after having followed Dozy in his *EI*[1] art. *Simancas*, in 1950 thought, relying on the texts of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and al-Ḥimyarī which he had published, that the reference was to the trench into which Ramiro II's troops hurled down troops of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir at the end of the battle of Simancas.

But doubts seem to have been raised since the publication of vol. v of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis*, reproducing the narrative of ʿĪsā al-Rāzī, which agrees on this point with the most ancient Christian source, the *Anales Castellanos Primeros*, and since P. Chalmeta's article *Simancas y Alhándega*, in *Hispania*, xxxvi/133 (1976), 359-444. There could well have been two distinct battles, separated by some fifteen days, with the second one to be situated towards the east, in the confused, mountainous zone separating the upper valley of the Douro from that of the Henares, even if a completely satisfying solution of its exact localisation has not yet been found. There is a similar divergence regarding the seriousness, and the long-term significance, of the caliphal defeat. Chalmeta reduces the event's significance, *pace* the Spanish historical tradition. It is nevertheless true that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III led personally no more expeditions into Christian territory after this one, in which he was almost captured, and that the military reforms of al-Manṣūr, with long-term effects in the period of the fall of the caliphate, responded, at least in part, to the lack of confidence which could be accorded to the officers of the *djund*, as appeared on the Simancas battlefield.

The abortive attempt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III towards the Meseta del Norte was taken up later, with greater tenacity, by Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr. In particular, in his eighteenth campaign (373/983), he captured and destroyed Simancas. But if the *ḥādjib* envisaged a policy of reconquest, and not merely one of devastation, in these regions, and had the intention to hold at least the line of the Douro, with a garrison and a governor at Sammūra/Zamora, this policy collapsed with the crisis of the caliphate of Cordova in 399/1009.

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(J.-P. Molénat)

SHANT YĀḲUB, the Arabic form of the place name St. James of Compostella, Span. Santiago de Compostela, at the present time in the province

of La Coruña, in Galicia.

The "discovery" in the first half of the 9th century of the grave of the Apostle St. James the Greater, who had allegedly come to evangelise the Iberian Peninsula, and whose remains were said to have been brought, after his death in Jerusalem, to Galicia, was the origin of the town's development and of the pilgrimage thither, its church being described by Ibn ʿI̲dh̲ārī as the equivalent, for the Christians, of the Kaʿba for the Muslims.

In 387/997 Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr led against the shrine his 48th campaign, the most famous one, for which Ibn ʿI̲dh̲ārī has transmitted a fairly detailed account, probably stemming from an official bulletin announcing the victory. The expedition left Cordova, passed through Coria and then through the north of modern Portugal, reaching its destination after crossing difficult mountainous regions. It was supported by a fleet which had left the great arsenal of Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis (Alcacer do Sal), and by the rallying to it of some at least of the military and civil chiefs, the counts, of the lands through which it passed. Having arrived at Santiago on 2 S̲h̲aʿbān/10 August, it found the town abandoned by its inhabitants; the army then destroyed it completely in the course of the following week, including the shrine, but not the tomb itself, respected on al-Manṣūr's express orders. Part of the army pushed on northwards to the outskirts of La Coruña, but the mass of troops beat a retreat and returned to Cordova, after having once more devastated the lands of the king of León but not those of the counts allied to the Muslims. According to the Christian sources, the Muslim army is said to have suffered from dysentery on its retreat.

The character of this expedition, more a demonstration of force to impress and humiliate the Christian enemy, but also to show them the possibility of a rally of forces, than a real operation for conquest, is further illustrated by the episode of the gates and bells of the shrine, brought to Cordova on the backs of captured Christians, to be placed in the roof or to serve as lamps in the Great Mosque there, an episode recounted by other sources, Muslim as well as Christian (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, al-Maḳḳarī, Jiménez de Rada and Lucas of Tuy).

It nevertheless seems that the ʿĀmirid sacking only momentarily slowed up the growth of Santiago de Compostela; Bermudo II, king of León (d. 999) immediately began rebuilding it. The building of the Romanesque basilica began in 1075.

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(J.-P. Molénat)

S̲H̲ANTABARIYYA, a place name of mediaeval al-Andalus (the two component elements *s̲h̲anta* and *bariyya* may be written separately or as one), the Arabic transcription of Spanish Santaver, ancient Sontebria (Centobriga).

It denoted both the province and its chef-lieu. The *kūra* (*balad, bilād, ʿamal*, see Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Makkī, Beirut 1973, 330, ed. Chalmeta *et alii*, Madrid 1979, v, 136, 245) "province" of S̲h̲antabariyya lay on high ground not far from the confluence of the Guadiela and the Tagus to the south-east of Guadalajara (Wādī 'l-Ḥid̲j̲āra) (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 112 n. 3). It was a fertile region famed for its pasture and arable land, and its valleys grew hazel nuts and walnuts (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 366; Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī"*, in *And.*, xviii [1953], 80). The difficulty of access of much of its mountainous areas, and the disinclination of its inhabitants (largely Berber) to submit to the central authority in Cordova, made S̲h̲antabariyya the focus of more than one revolt. The most serious was that launched by the celebrated Fāṭimid *dāʿī* or missionary, the Berber S̲h̲aḳyā b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, at the head of his fellow-countrymen in 151/768. Several expeditions, some led by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in person, were needed before it was finally and definitively suppressed in 160/776-7.

The important strategic position of S̲h̲antabariyya led the most powerful of the Berber families of al-Andalus, the Banū Mūsā b. D̲h̲i 'l-Nūn (Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Espagne*, Leiden 1932, i, 86; d̲h̲u 'l-nūnids), to make it their inacessible and easily defensible residence (*iḳtaʿadūhā dār^a manʿat^{in}*). Al-Fatḥ and Muṭarrif, Mūsā's two sons, brought together their forces, rebelled against the authority of Cordova and became masters of S̲h̲antabariyya. They built there fortresses and fortifications, and founded new villages, and under their rule, the population grew and the region enjoyed prosperity and security (Ibn Ḥayyān, ed. Antuña, Paris 1937, iii, 17). In particular, al-Fatḥ constructed the town of Uklīs̲h̲ (Uclès) at the end of the 9th century, which became the chef-lieu of the region (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1984, 61). It was not until 312/924 that it abandoned all tendency towards independence. In that year, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, on his return from his victorious expedition to Pamplona, (the *g̲h̲azwat Banbalūna*) against the Christians, passed through the district of S̲h̲antabariyya, where he

received the submission of two of the Berber Dhu 'l-Nūnids, Yaḥyā b. Mūsā and his nephew Yaḥyā b. al-Fatḥ b. Mūsā.

At the present time, there still exists a fortress some 60 km/35 miles to the east of Guadlaja and *ca.* 70 km/40 miles to the north-west of Cuenca, called Castro de Santaver (Ibn Ḥayyān, ed. Makkī, 341 n. 560). However, we have no information which might allow us to acknowledge or to deny any link between this citadel and our Shantabariyya.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the *EI*[2] arts. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN. 3. and AL-ANDALUS, at vol. I, 490. (OMAR BENCHEIKH)

AL-SHANTAMARĪ, ABU 'L-ḤADJDJĀDJ YŪSUF b. Sulaymān al-Andalusī al-Naḥwī, Spanish Muslim grammarian and philologist, known as al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (the first epithet from his hare-lip; it became a family name, and his eldest son, *ḳāḍī* at Shantamariyya, became known as Ibn al-Aʿlam), born at Shantamariyyat al-Gharb [*q.v.*] (modern Faro, on the southern coast of Portugal) in 410/1019, died at Seville in 476/1083. In 433/1041 he moved from his home town to Cordova, where he studied, and became, in his turn, a famed master in the fields of grammar, lexicography and classical Arabic poetry, fields which enjoyed a great florescence in the Andalus of his time. In the years before his death, he became blind.

He was a prolific author (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 315, 388-9, 422, 432, and ʿIyāḍ, *Ghunya*, 178, 229), and part of his output has survived till today. Amongst his grammatical works were his *Djuzʾ fīhi al-farḳ bayn al-mushib wa 'l-mushab wa 'l-masʾala al-zanbūriyya* (given in al-Makkarī, *Nafḥ*, iv, 77-9); *Djuzʾ fīhi maʿrifat ḥurūf al-muʿdjam; K. al-Masʾala al-rashīd; al-Mukhtār fi 'l-naḥw; K. al-Nukat fī Kitāb Sībawayh* (ed. Z.ʿA. Sulṭān, Kuwayt 1987); and *Sharḥ al-Djumal li 'l-Zadjdjādjī* (*GAS*, ix, 90 no. 10). His most famous work is probably the *Sharḥ dawāwīn al-shuʿarāʾ al-sitta al-djāhiliyyīn* (authors of the *Muʿallaḳāt* except al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza) (*GAS*, ii, 109, 112, 122, ix, 265-6; the most recent editions are those of M. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādja, 1954, and of Beirut 1992; and there are separate editions of each of the six commentaries). Al-Shantamarī wrote other commentaries on the works of Abū Tammām (*Sharḥ K. al-Ḥamāsa li-Abī Tammām*, ed. ʿAlī Mufaḍḍal Ḥammūdān, Beirut-Damascus 1992; and *Sharḥ shiʿr Ḥabīb* = Abū Tammām), as well on verses gathered together in grammatical works (*Sharḥ abyāt al-Djumal li 'l-Zadjdjādjī, GAS*, ix, 90 no. 11; and *K. ʿUyūn al-dhahab fī sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh, GAS*, ix, 60 no. 43, ed. with Sībawayh's *Kitāb*, Cairo 1316-17/1889-90). He also compiled a *Fahrasa* and an opusculum called *Maʿrifat al-anwāʾ* (résumé in *Djuzʾ fīhi mukhtaṣar al-anwāʾ*). For his transmissions of grammar and poetry, see Ibn Khayr, 305, 321, 324-5, 328-30, 333, 338, 340, 346-7, 389, 392, 398, 402-3.

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(MARIBEL FIERRO and MANUELA MARÍN)

SHANTAMARIYYAT AL-GHARB, a town of mediaeval al-Andalus, the modern Faro, capital of the Algarve province [see GHARB AL-ANDALUS] of southern Portugal.

It passed under Arab control in Shawwāl 94/June 713 after the capture of Seville. Both the town and the region took on the name of Roman antiquity, Ossónoba, in the form Ukhshūnuba or better, Ukshūnuba. Then from the 4th/10th century there appears the name Shantamariyya or Shanta Mārīlat al-Gharb, and, in the next century, Sh. Hārūn, the name of one of the masters of the town at that time. These two qualificatives enable the town to be distinguished from the town Shantamariyyat al-Razīn or Sh. al-Sharḳ [*q.v.*], sc. Albarrácin. It was the Christians who, in 1233, corrupted Hārūn into Faaron or Faaram, soon afterwards yielding Faro.

The Arabic sources are hazy about the town and its district until the 4th/10th century, describing it then as relatively prosperous (E. Lévi-Provençal, *La description de l'Espagne d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, in *al-And.*, viii [1953], 91; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 115). But these same sources show that towards the end of the 3rd/9th century and the opening of the next one, a dynasty of *muwallad* origin, the Banū Bakr b. Zadlafa, restored the town, which became the capital of a sort of small, autonomous state during the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh and the beginning of that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dozy, re-ed. G.S. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51, ii, 137) until 317/929. Shantamariyya lost its position as the first town of the Algarve to Silves [see SHILB] in the course of the 4th/10th century, though it remained the seat of a *ḳāḍī* (J.D. Domingues, *Ossónoba na epoca árabe*, in *Anais do Municipio de Faro*, Faro 1972, 37-8). It again became the capital of a petty state in the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] under the rule of Saʿīd b. Hārūn (417-33/1026-42) and then of his son Muḥammad until 443/1052, when Shantamariyya, like all the region, passed under the rule of the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] of Seville. It is mentioned under ensuing dynasties, such as the Almoravids and the next period of Taifas—for a brief while under the authority of the Ṣūfī Ibn Ḳasī of Silves—and then the Almohades. It was one of the last towns of the Algarve to fall, in 647/1249, to Alfonso III of Portugal.

The town remained one of the centres of the Yaḥṣubī Arabs who came there at the time of the conquest, but several bloody defeats at the hands of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I and the latter's killing of the chief of the Abu 'l-Ṣabbāḥ al-Yamanī clan in 163/779-80 weakened this group, which fell back on Niebla and Silves. The seizure of power, in the 880s, by the Banū Bakr b. Zadlafa marked the ascendancy, as a local power, of the *muwalladūn*, who "transformed the town into a fortress" (*ḥiṣn*) (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *loc. cit.*). This reconstruction was part of a general movement of expansion and prosperity in the Algarve during ʿAbd Allāh's amirate inspired by local forces (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. 1979, 96). The seizure of power by other *muwalladūn* during the 5th/11th century was based on the growing popularity of the pilgrimage to the Virgin Mary mentioned by al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 394) and al-Ḥimyarī (ed. and tr. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au Moyen Age d'après le "Kitāb Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār"*, Leiden 1938, text 115, tr. 140), which was to last till the Christian reconquest (Alfonso X, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. W. Mettmann, Coimbra 1959, no. 183) and in which both Christians and Muslims, probably *muwalladūn*, took part. Arabic authors like al-Idrīsī evoke the florescence of the Muslim community, shown by at least a congregational mosque, a mosque of the quarter and a sort of assembly

(*dj̲amāʿa*). For intellectual life, we know of the names of some well-known poets and writers from there, such as Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-S̲h̲antamarī in the 7th/13th century, some famous *ḳāḍīs* there and the importance of the town and its district for Ṣūfism. The town also flourished economically through its position as a port, with al-Ḥimyarī (*loc. cit.*) mentioning that the port was frequented by ships and had a dockyard for naval construction (*dār al-ṣināʿa*). Maritime activity increased in the 6th/12th century through the efforts of the Banū Hārūn, who, like other Taifas of the coastlands, had fleets and dockyards supplied by the plantations of pines on the islands and in the hinterland of the town. Its site along a lagoon favoured fishing, an activity stimulated by the pilgrimage, and the cultivation of figs and grapes and production of oil had a commercial orientation towards al-Andalus, the Mag̲h̲rib and Egypt.

The town itself faced both landwards and seawards, being "built on the shores of the ocean, with its walls bathed by the waves of the high tide" (al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome 1975, text 543, tr. Dozy and de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, repr. Leiden 1968, 217). The mediaeval walls, largely rebuilt by the Christians in the 13th century, have retained, to the north-west of the town, traces of a gate topped by a Norman arch, leading one to think that the internal area of about 9.5 ha corresponds to the Islamic *madīna* (B. Pavon Maldonado, *Ciudades y fortalezas lusomusulmanas. Cronicas de viajes por el sur de Portugal*, in *Cuadernos de Arte y Arqueologia*, v [Madrid 1993], 71-9). The sites of the cathedral, built two years after the reconquest of the town, and the fortress, protecting access to the seashore, correspond respectively to the sites of the Great Mosque and the Muslim *ḳaṣaba*.

In 1252 the town was placed under the protection of Alfonso X of Castile, protector of the Muslim ruler Ibn Maḥfūẓ. Once it returned to Portuguese hands in 1266, endowed with charters, it speedily resumed its maritime role.

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(Ch. Picard)

S̲H̲ANTAMARIYYAT al-S̲H̲ARḲ, a name often confused in the sources with S̲h̲antabariyya, which corresponds to the depopulated modern place name Santaver in Cuenca province. S̲h̲. al-S̲h̲arḳ (thus to distinguish it from S̲h̲. al-G̲h̲arb) corresponds to modern Albarracín, a small town 45 km/28 miles from Teruel, in the province of the same name in Aragon. The town derives its present name from the Hawwāra Berber family of the Banū Razīn [*q.v.*], who were established at an unknown date in the Sahla, the fertile district around Albarracín. The supposed ancestor Razīn al-Burnusī is said to have come with the conqueror Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, and was then given land at Cordova. His alleged descendants (since Ibn Ḥazm seems to deny the connection) governed the Sahla with more or less loyalty to the Umayyads. After a revolt of the Sahla in 346/957-8 headed by Marwān b. Hud̲h̲ayl b. Razīn, the family submitted to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. In 361/972 Yaḥyā b. Hud̲h̲ayl and his sons, and Marwān's four sons, obtained from al-Ḥakam II a grant, in favour of the latter, of the *ʿamal* of their father, and three years later, the nine sons of Yaḥyā likewise obtained a grant of their father's heritage.

During the crisis of the caliphate, in 403/1012-13 a member of the family, Abū Muḥammad Hud̲h̲ayl b. ʿAbd al-Malik, called Ibn al-Aṣlaʿ, proclaimed his independence as *ḥādj̲ib*, with the titles ʿIzz al-Dawla and D̲h̲u 'l-Madj̲dayn. Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, the "caliph of the Berbers", confirmed him in his lands, but also reproached him, probably for not being able to intervene in his favour. From the next year onwards, Hud̲h̲ayl built, or rebuilt, his little capital, S̲h̲antamariyya, whose name, hitherto unknown, since only Sahla is found, suggests the presence, otherwise imperfectly known, of a Mozarab community. Hud̲h̲ayl maintained himself, staying apart from the wars of the Taifas, and fending off al-Mund̲h̲ir of Saragossa, who coveted his territories. The sources praise his good qualities and the prosperity he brought to his principality.

When in 436/1044-5 he died after a reign of over 30 years, his son ʿAbd al-Malik, called in his father's life time Ḥusām al-Dawla and then subsequently Dj̲abr al-Dawla, al-Ḥādj̲ib D̲h̲u 'l-Riyāsatayn, succeeded him, with an even longer reign of 58 solar years. The sources regard him harshly, but the times were certainly now less propitious. He may possibly early have suffered attacks from Castile, though the notice of Ibn al-Kardabūs that Ferdinand (1037-65) is said to have taken S̲h̲antamariyya, *balad Ibn Razīn*, is unconfirmed elsewhere. After the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI (478/1085), he had to accept with a good grace the insults of the Christian king, who sent him a monkey in exchange for his presents. His vacillating policy reveals the feebleness of his miniature principality.

After Zallāḳa (479/1086), he ceased paying tribute to Castile-León, but three years later had to accord it to the Cid. In 1092 he annexed Murviedo (Sagonta), and concluded a treaty of friendly neutrality with the Cid. When the latter besieged Valencia, ʿAbd al-Malik tried to ally, early in 1093, with the king of Aragon in order to help him occupy the town. But the Cid, warned by the Aragonese, invaded ʿAbd al-Malik's lands, and forced him to help in the siege of Valencia, which fell in June 1094. He then allied with the Almoravids who came to besiege Valencia (487/autumn 1094), and took part in the battle of Cuarte, from which he fled. When ʿAbd al-Malik died in 496/1103, his son Ḥusām al-Dawla Yaḥyā succeeded him. But with Valencia now in the hands of the Almoravids, the governor Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Fāṭima deposed Yaḥyā and annexed his state (497/1104).

Ca. 1170 Albarracín passed into Christian control, either, according to the traditional account, handed over by Ibn Mardanīs̲h̲ [*q.v.*] Lobo or Lope to the lord of Navarre, Pedro Ruiz de Azagra, or, according to J.M. Lacarra, by a Navarrese conquest. In 1172 the bishopric of Albarracín was set up, but—reflecting the lack of knowledge of the old ecclesiastical divisions and the probable disappearance by now of the Mozarabs of the district—the bishop was first given the title of the ancient bishopric of Arcavica (*Arcavicense*), before this was corrected to that of Segobriga (*Segobricense*). Henceforth, the region formed a petty independent state, under Christian lords, the Azagras

and then the Laras, until Pedro III of Aragon's conquest of 1284, though Albarracín was not definitely incorporated under the Aragonese crown till 1370. During this period, the presence of Mudéjars is as hypothetical as that of Mozarabs in the preceding one. It would appear, rather, that the region's Muslim population had been evacuated for strategic reasons, to the proximity of Valencia, under Muslim control until 1238, and that the Mudéjar presence attested at the end of the mediaeval period results, as at Teruel, from the establishment there of Muslims from other Christian zones and former captives, settled for economic reasons.

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SHANTARĪN, Santarém, a town in Portugal and chef-lieu of a district, held by the Muslims until the mid-6th/12th century. It is situated on a plateau with escarpments 100 m/340 feet high, on the shore of the right bank of the Tagus, a little distance before it empties into the Atlantic. It is in the midst of a fertile district, sprinkled with *lezirias* (< Ar. *al-djazīra*) fertilised by the alluvium of the river. It was already well-known to the Arabic geographers under its name, of Latin origin, of al-Balāṭa (> Port. Valada, Alvalade), and had always held a strategic role in the communications between the north and south of the country.

Its main Arabic name stems from the name in Low Latin, connected with a saint, **Santaren* (Costa, *Santa Iria*), which superseded the Roman name Scallabis, being the site of an important *conventus* of the Iberian province of Lusitania. In Islamic times, it kept its status as the capital of a district (*kūra*), whose fate was linked, in different ways, with those of Coimbra (Ḳulumriya [*q.v.*]) to the north and Lisbon (al-Ushbūna [*q.v.*]) to the south.

The town must have been conquered by the Arabs at some time in 95-6/714-15, at the same time as all the far west of the Iberian peninsula. According to the lost chronicle of Ibn Muzayn (Silvès and Seville, 5th/11th century), preserved in a Moroccan source of the 11th/17th century (Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 73-4 and p. IV of Appx.), Santarém is said to have benefited, together with Coimbra, from a treaty of capitulation which guaranteed a considerable autonomy, probably analogous to the well-known concession to the Visigothic duke Theodomir/Tudmīr for the territories which he controlled at the other side of the peninsula, Murcia/Mursiya. This treaty was a determining factor from the viewpoint of population patterns, given that there were not, to the north of the Tagus, in the territory now within Portugal, Arab colonists established like those in the southern districts of Beja/Bādja [*q.v.*] and Ocsonoba/Ukshūnuba [*q.v.*]. Consequently, Islamisation was on a much reduced scale, and the Arabisation of the indigenous people, who became Mozarabs [*q.v.*], was the result of economic and administrative factors and the influence of the vigorous civilisation of al-Andalus rather than from the presence of Muslim colonists from outside.

At the same time, the politico-military history of all the territory between the Tagus and the Douro was characterised by a constant confrontation between the Muslims in the south and the Christians in the north, and even by alternations of power, whilst the local population remained passive onlookers. The sources mention no participation by this region in the many movements for autonomy and challenge to the central government in Cordova which punctuated the history of the regions to the south of the great river. The definitive conquest of Shantarīn by the Christians in Shawwāl 541/March 1147 was to be decisive for their advance southwards and the stabilisation of the frontier along the line of the Tagus. The last major siege of the town, led by the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf [*q.v.*] in 580/1184, cost him his life (Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, 443-80; Huici, *Almohades*).

Despite the feeble Arab and Muslim presence there, Shantarīn produced several littérateurs during the literary and intellectual *belle époque* of the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz and in the wake, probably, of the politico-judicial authority exercised by the celebrated *ḳāḍī* and *adīb* Abū ʿUmar Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.v.*]. Thus poets included the younger son of the latter, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. Kawthar and Ibn Sāra (d. 517/1124). Above all, there was Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 542/1147 [*q.v.*]), the jewel in the crown of the town's literary men. Since the appearance of the article on him in this *Encyclopaedia*, one may mention four large-scale works on him and on his *Dhakhīra*, not counting the excellent complete edition of Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols., Beirut 1979: Ḥ.Y.Ḥ. Kharyūsh, *Ibn Bassām* ..., ʿAmmān 1984; two doctoral theses, by ʿA.A.M. Djamāl al-Dīn, Madrid Univ. 1977 (cf. *Awrāk*, ii [Madrid 1979]), and Kh.L. Bākir,

Glasgow 1993 (cf. *JAL*, xii [1994]); plus a master's dissertation by E. Kapyrina-Koroleva, Moscow 1994. Whilst the first two works concentrate mainly on the abundant historical sources of the *Dhakhīra*, the remaining two deal directly with the intrinsic literary value of the famous anthology.

During the period of Christian domination, the Muslim *Mudéjares* [*q.v.*] were by no means concentrated exclusively within the *mourarias* of Santarém, and they devoted themselves to the general economic activities of the *mouros* of the Kingdom of Portugal.

Combining the Arabic geographical texts and the mediaeval Christian sources, the configuration of the town in Islamic times can be approximately reconstituted. There was a strongly defended fortress (*ḥiṣn, ḳalʿa*), with ramparts and towers, perched on an inaccessible rocky spur. The *madīna* was there, as also the congregational mosque (very likely built by al-Ḥakam I, 180-206/796-822), later turned into the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the heart of the Christian Alcáçova (< *al-ḳaṣaba*). At the foot of the mountain, on the banks of the river, there was a suburb attested at least since the middle of the 4th/10th century; this is the modern Ribeira quarter, formerly also called *Sesserigo* and the location of one of the two Muslim quarters. Certain traces could possibly reveal the existence of another urban nucleus *extra muros*, in the eastern part, around the Marvila quarter, which was the heart of the Christian town and to the north-west of which was located the second and more lasting *mouraria*. The modest suburb called Alfange (< *al-ḥanash* "serpent"), which grew up, like the Ribeira suburb, on the banks of the river but on the other side of the projecting elevation, to the south, does not necessarily date from the Islamic period. As elsewhere in al-Andalus, this place-name could refer to a simple gate giving on to the ravine and the tortuous pathway leading up to it (*Bāb al-ḥanash*). Moreover, the *Ermida da N.S. do Monte*, from its strategic position, its dominating role and its ancientness, could well represent the later evolution of a little *rābiṭa* or *zāwiya*.

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(A. Sidarus)

SHĀPŪR (P.), the NP form of MP Shāhpūr "king's son", usually Arabised as Shābūr, Sābūr, Syriac Shābhōr, Greek Σαπώρης or Σαβουρ (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 284 ff.), the name of various monarchs of the Sāsānid dynasty in pre-Islamic Persia. For the detailed history of their reigns, see SĀSĀNIDS. Here, only such aspects as impinged on the Arabs will be noted.

Shāpūr I, son of Ardashīr Pāpakān (*r.* 239 or 241 to 270 or 273) is known in Arabic sources as Shāpūr al-Djunūd "Sh. of the armies" (e.g. in al-Ṭabarī, i, 824, tr. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 28). In the Arabic sources, he is particularly connected with the capture from the Romans and the sack of the Arab city-state of northern ʿIrāḳ, Hatra (Ar. al-Ḥaḍr), which had been under Parthian cultural and political influence. Around this event was woven a romantic story (found in the *Khudāy-i nāma* transmitted by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] and in an Arabic tradition by Ibn al-Kalbī) that the city was betrayed to the Persians by the local ruler's daughter, who had become enamoured of Shāpūr (for details, see AL-ḤAḌR, and C.E. Bosworth, ch. *Iran and the Arabs*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/1, 595-6). This Shāpūr is also credited by the Arabic geographers and historians with the foundation of various cities and towns of Persia, with compound names which included his own, such as Djundīshāpūr [see GONDĒSHĀPŪR] (these are listed in *EI*[1] art. SHĀPŪR, at IV, 314a).

Shāpūr II, son of Hormizd II (*r.* 309-79), was one of the greatest of the Sāsānid emperors, and had considerable contacts with the Arabs in his endeavours to protect the fringes of his Mesopotamian provinces from desert Arab marauders. According to Arabic authorities (including Ibn Ḳutayba, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Thaʿālibī, etc.), he led a punitive expedition into eastern Arabia against such tribes as the ʿAbd al-Ḳays and the Iyād, although the story that he penetrated as far as Medina must be fictitious. Arab captives had their shoulders pierced or dislocated, whence Shāpūr's nickname in the Arabic sources of Dhu 'l-Aktāf "the man of the shoulder-blades". He is likewise described as constructing a line of defensive forts, walls and trenches (the *khandaḳ Sābūr*) in ʿIrāḳ, along the desert borders, and as garrisoning them, in the fashion of the Romans and their *limitanei*, with Arabs against the other Arabs within the desert (cf. also the role there of buffer-states like that of the Lakhmids of Ḥīra [*q.vv.*]). Again, the building of various cities and towns, where Roman captives were settled, is attributed to him (see *EI*[1] art. SHĀPŪR, at IV, 314b-316a).

Shāpūr III, son of Shāpūr II (*r.* 383-8), figures little in the Arabic sources, and what details are ascribed to him are probably due to confusion with the preceding Shāpūrs.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SHĀPŪR, the name of a river of Fārs in southern Persia and also of the mediaeval Islamic town of Fārs which was the chef-lieu of the district of Shāpūr Khūra.

1. The river.

This is also called the Bishāwur (in Thévenot, *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1674, 295: Bouschavir; 296: Boschavir), and river of Tawwadj. It must be identical with the antique Granis, mentioned by Arrian, *Indica*, 39; Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 99. The lower course, the proper river of Tawwadj, is formed by the junction of two streams, the Shāpūr and the Dalakī Rūd, rising both in the southwestern border mountains of the

Persian plateau, which extend along the Persian Gulf. The upper course is called by the Arab geographers Nahr Ratīn: this name is, very likely, found in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 111, where *Dratinus* (with var. *Ratinus*) must, however, mean the river down to its mouth. This statement must be due to another source than Iuba, on whose authority the Granis was mentioned in vi, 99. In his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī seems to indicate that the Ratīn, whose source is, according to him as well as to al-Iṣṭakhrī, in the Upper Humāyidjān (al-Iṣṭakhrī: Khumāyidjān) district, is a tributary of the Shāpūr Rūd (tr. Le Strange, 217: "It is a great stream, and it flows into the Shāpūr river, its length, till it joins the Shāpūr river being 10 leagues". By this way of putting things, he can only mean that the river of Tawwadj originates from two different streams, one of which is the Ratīn. This, then, must be the older name for either the Shāpūr or the Dalakī Rūd. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (120) represents these facts in the same manner; there it is said that the Ratīn flows through the district of al-Zīriyān (with var.) before joining the Shāpūr.

The other rivers of the system are the Djirra (or Djarshīḳ), which joins the Shāpūr on the left, below Khisht, and the Ikhshīn. The name of the latter ("blue") may have originated from the colouring property of its waters, mentioned by the mediaeval geographers. Djarshīḳ is the older name of the Djirra river, although in the *Nuzha* Djarshīḳ and Djirra are erroneously described as two different streams. The account which the latter work gives of the Djirra is for the most part copied from Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma*. This states (ed. Le Strange, 151) that the Nahr Djirra, rising in the Māṣaram district, waters the lands of Musdjān and Djirra, and part of Ghundidjān, after which it joins the Shāpūr. In addition, al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions the bridge of Sabūk, under which the river Djarshīḳ flows before entering the *rustāḳ* of Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī's Djirra); after Khurra, the stream passes into Dādhīn, where it unites with the Ikhshīn. The *Nuzha* makes the Djirra join the Shāpūr and the Djarshīḳ the Ikhshīn; as its author erroneously splits up the one river Djarshīḳ-Djirra into two, his account is here worthless.

The Ikhshīn, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Mustawfī, rises in thc Dādhīn hills, and unites with the Shāpūr at al-Djunḳān. The *Nuzha* calls it a great stream; at present, it is identified with a little water course to the south-west of the lake of Kāzarūn. There appears, then, to be a difference as to the question, whether the Djarshīḳ and the Ikhshīn first join each other, and then unite with the river of Tawwadj, or flow into that stream each apart.

Concerning the Shāpūr itself, the *Fārs-nāma* (152) says that it rises in the mountain region (*kuhistān*) of the Bishāpūr district, which it waters, as also Khisht and Dīh Mālik. It flows in the sea (Persian Gulf) between Djanābī and Māndistān. This account is repeated in the *Nuzha*. In *Fārs-nāma*, 142, the Bishāpūr district is said to have its water from "a great river, called Rūd-i Bishāpūr". Owing to rice-plantations being there, its water is unwholesome (*wakhīm u nāguwār*). A short description of the river in modern times is given in J. Morier's *Second Journey through Persia ... between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 49: "a river which ... having pierced into the plain of the Dashtistan, at length falls into the sea at Robilla. It takes its source near the site of Shapour, and when it begins to flow is fresh. But when it reaches the mountains it passes through a salt soil, and then its waters ... become brackish. A lesser stream of the same river branches off before it reaches the salt soil, and flows pure to the sea".

The mouth of the river is a short distance to the north of Bushīr, near the frontier of the district of Arradjān. Opposite to it lies the island of Khārik, on the shipping route from Baṣra to India. The name Māndistān in the Persian geographers is connected by Tomaschek (*Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi, 65) with the *Deximontani* in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi, 99. According to Pliny, the river (Granis) is navigable for small vessels. Nowadays, the principal mouth presents difficulties to navigation because of its shallows; two minor mouths can be navigated up to some distance. On the present conditions, the delta, and the bitumen wells on the left bank of the river, south of Dalakī, see Tomaschek, *op. cit.*

In Antiquity, there was on the Granis a royal residence, Taoke, 200 stadia from the sea. This must be the same as the mediaeval Tawwadj (or Tawwaz), from which place the Shāpūr is named river of Tawwadj. In early Islamic times it was an important trade city, which also had a considerable textile industry; the stuffs named *tawwaziyya* were well-known (see R.B. Sergeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 52-3). This town belonged to the district of Ardashīr Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 114). During the 6th/12th century, the place had already declined; in Mustawfī's time (8th/14th century) it was totally ruined. Its site can not exactly be determined; nowadays the coast district of the Shāpūr river is called Tawwadj. Le Strange thought that the site of the town could be identified with the present Dih Kuhna, "the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkāra sub-district of the Dashtistān district".

On another Shāpūr or Shāwūr, a tributary of the Dizfūl Rūd, see KĀRŪN, at IV, 675a.

2. The town.

This was the ancient capital of the district Shāpūr Khurra of Fārs. According to al-Muḳaddasī, it was also called Shahrastān; its older name is Bishāpūr (from Pahlawī *Wēh-Shāhpuhr*). A naive etymology is found in the *Nuzha*, whose author, Mustawfī, says, that the word Bīshāpūr is a contraction of *binā-i Shāpūr* "building of Shāpūr". Ibn al-Balkhī, on the other hand, states that the first syllable of the original Bīshāpūr (with a long *ī*) may disappear by way of *takhfīf*.

Shāpūr Khurra, the area watered by the system of the Shāpūr-Ratīn, the smallest of the five provinces of Fārs, contained besides the town of Shāpūr some other important localities, e.g. Kāzarūn [*q.v.*], which was regarded as its chief town after Shāpūr had fallen into ruins, in addition to Nawbandadjān and Djirra.

The old town of Shāpūr was situated on the Shāpūr Rūd, at the road from Shīrāz to the sea, to the north of Kāzarūn. Mustawfī gives its situation as long. 86° 15', lat. 20°. Its climate belonged to the *garmsīr* or hot region, but its atmosphere was considered not to be healthy because the territory of the city was shut in by the mountains from the northern side. The environs were fruitful; they produced, besides many kinds of fruits and flowers also silk, the mulberry tree being frequent in that region. Honey and wax also came from its territory. The town was founded by the Sāsānid emperor Shāpūr I. It was one of the three cities where he settled his captives of war. It has been supposed, with much reason, that the emperor made use of the skill of these Roman captives in the construction of his buildings and also in the execution of his famous reliefs that have been found in the ruins. These reliefs relate to the campaigns of Shāpūr against the Romans. Three later rulers, Bahrām

II, Narseh and Khusraw II also added each a relief of themselves.

These works of art, already described in detail by Morier, have also been noticed by the mediaeval Islamic geographers; at least, they mention a great statue, standing in a cavern, which European travellers were able to identify.

Local authorities constructed a mythical history of the city from before the times of its Sāsānid founder. It was, according to these traditions, originally built by Tahmūrath, at a time when there existed in Fārs no other town besides Iṣṭakhr. Later on, it was laid waste by Alexander, to be only renovated by Shāpūr I. The name of Tahmūrath's foundation had been *D.y.n D.lā* (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 63, 142).

The Muslims subdued Shāpūr Khurra in 16/637, after the conquest of Tawwadj and the battle of Rīshahr. Bishāpūr is mentioned on the occasion of the disturbances which ensued at the beginning of the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān; the insurrection in Fārs (25/645-6) against the Arabs seems to have been directed for some time from Bishāpūr by a brother of Shahrak, the governor of Fārs, who had fallen in the battle of Rīshahr. After the submission of the rebels, the inhabitants of Bishāpūr once more broke the treaty; hence it was reduced by Abu 'l-Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ.

In the time of the al-Muḳaddasī (end of the 4th/10th century), the town of Shahrastān or Shāpūr was already decaying, its outskirts being ruined; the environs, however, were well cultivated. He noted the four city gates and the ditch, also the *masdjid al-djāmiʿ* outside the city. Perhaps this may be the *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* mentioned by Ibn al-Balkhī, whose words seem to imply that it still existed when he wrote (beginning of the 6th/12th century). At the end of the Būyid rule, the Shabānkāra chieftain Abū Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Mamā destroyed Shāpūr, but, as Ibn al-Balkhī remarks, in his time the (Saldjūḳ) government tried to restore the damage. These endeavours may have had an effect as regards the district as a whole, but the city of Shāpūr never rose from its ruins. When Morier visited the site (1809), he found only a poor village, Darīs, in the neighbourhood of the remains. The opinion of this traveller, that the town may have existed till the 16th century of the Christian era because its name occurs in a table of latitudes and longitudes in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, carries no weight, for such a table may have been composed from older sources.

On the other foundations of Shāpūr I, which were called after his name, see the article SHĀPŪR, in addition to which it may be remarked that the town of Shāpūr Khʷāst, according to the *Fārs-nāma* (63), was situated in Khūzistān, near al-Ashtar.

Bibliography (in addition to references quoted in the article): The articles Dratinus and Granis in Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1668, vii, 1815; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 259-63, 267; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire ... de la Perse*, 142-3; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 7-8, 30 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 827 ff.; J. Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor... in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 85 ff., 375 ff.; C.A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, 1845, i, 206 ff.; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851; eidem, *Relation du Voyage*, ii, 248 ff.; M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, v, 119-20, Pls. xviii-xxi; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, 213 ff., Pls. xl-xlvi.

(V.F. Büchner)

SHĀR, a title of rulers in Central Asia and what is now Afghānistān during the early Islamic period and, presumably, in pre-Islamic times also. The form *shār* must be an attempt to render in Arabic orthography the MP and NP form *shēr/shīr* (< OP *khshathriya* "ruler", and not from *shēr* "lion"; see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 79).

The title appears in early Islamic texts on the geography and history of the eastern Iranian fringes. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky 105, comm. 327-8, gives Shār as the title of the ruler of the district of Gharčistān in northern Afghānistān [see GHARDJISTĀN], and al-Iṣṭakhrī, 271, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 443-4, had already spoken of the district as Ghardj al-Shār "the mountainous region of the Shār"; these rulers were vassals of first the Sāmānids and then of the Ghaznawids (see M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 60-2).

The title was also borne by the local rulers of Bāmiyān in eastern Afghānistān, with the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 109, comm. 341, giving it in the form Shīr [see BĀMIYĀN].

Finally, the rulers of the branch of the petty dynasty of Abū Dāwūdids or Banīdjūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.] which ruled in Khuttal, to the north of the upper Oxus [see KHUTTALĀN], bore the title Shīr-i Khuttalān, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 301.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SHAʿR (A.) "hair, pelt".

1. General.

The Arab poets, pre-Islamic as well as post-Islamic, often describe the hair of the women with whom they have fallen in love (al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, ii, 229; al-Raffāʾ, *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb*, i, 16-58; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya, fann* 2, *ḳism* 1, *bāb* 2; J. Sadan, *Maiden's hair and starry skies*, in *IOS*, xi [1991], 57-88). The context in which these descriptions are found shows a fairly clear situation: the hair of the heads of beautiful women is observed by lovers away from the house, in the open air, on the public road, etc. Sometimes the belles let their hair run down to their feet, sometimes they hide their identity and that of their lover by unbraiding and letting flow their hair around their own bodies and those of their lovers. This comes from their fear of being seen with their lovers by passers-by and calumniators. This poetic reality, which reflects a residue of ancient motifs rather than scenes of everyday life, is given real shape by iconography, above all, that of the Fāṭimid period (a woman with long hair flowing down to, or almost to the ground, in four clearly-distinguished tresses; D.S. Rice, *A drawing of the Fāṭimid period*, in *BSOAS*, xxi [1958], 31-9). Moreover, this iconography shows diverse manners of coiffure, like curls of hair in the form of hooks (either the letter *fāʾ* or *wāw*, *grosso modo*, or other letters, or "scorpions", in the language of the poet Abū Nuwās; see J. Bencheikh, *Poésies bacchiques*, in *BEO*, xviii [1963-4], 60-1) over the temples, a style which began at the court of al-Amīn (d. 198/813; see al-Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, § 3451: *aṣdāgh*). In most of these cases, it is a question of slave girls in interiors.

Nevertheless, one of the duties of a woman faithful to the Islamic law is to cover her hair and the nape of her neck whenever she goes outside [see ḤIDJĀB]. This question has become one of the symbols of the struggles of contemporary Islamic fundamentalist circles for the piety and purity of the family. This symbol is strongly opposed by those circles who do not consider these teachings about female shame as an integral and rigorous part of the authentic religious tradition. Now, the restrictions imposed by Islam, such

as the prohibition for women of adding wigs or hairpieces to their natural covering of hair, are very clear, and can only develop into a fascinating clash between the ancient religious traditions and Western tastes and concepts of beauty care (see Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *w-ṣ-l*; M.ʿA.-ʿA. ʿAmr, *al-Libās wa 'l-zīna fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Beirut 1985, 403-7; ʿU.ʿA.M. al-Ṭayyibī, *Ḥukm al-Islām fi 'l-kuwāfir* [= coiffeur] *wa-ḥallāḳ al-nisā'*, Cairo 1992; a *fatwā* by al-Ḳarḍāwī against the use of wigs in his collected *Fatāwā*, Cairo 1990, 426-8).

In mediaeval times, the jurists permitted dyeing (*khiḍāb*) of men's hair. The licitness of this usage has become almost unanimous; now, in order to distance the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad from all controversy of this type, one group of jurists stresses the traditions which suggest that virtually all the Prophet's hair remained black up to his death. These traditions attach great importance, not only to the hair of this great personality who serves as a model for all Muslims (the number of his locks, *ḍafā'ir, ghadā'ir*, generally given as four, the length of his hair, which fell as far as his ears and his shoulders, the methods of combing, laying out, putting oil on the hair, etc.), but also to the hair on his chest, as far as the beginning of the stomach or *masraba* (al-Tirmidhī, *Awṣāf al-nabī*, Beirut 1989, 37-47; Abu 'l-Shaykh, *Akhlāḳ al-nabī*, Cairo 1993, 184; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Wafā'*, Beirut 1988, 398-402; al-Baghawī, *al-Anwār*, Beirut 1989, i, 148-52; see also Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Khalḳ al-nabī wa-khulḳuhu*, ms. Leiden Or. 437).

The Muslims limited the size of their moustaches (*iḥfā'*, *djazz*; even a partial tonsure), but they allowed their beards to grow (*iʿfā'*), except for certain ephebes who, by depilation (*natf*) of their cheeks, "prolonged" their youth for a few weeks (M. al-Hamīd, *Ḥukm al-liḥya fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo, Dār al-Djihād n.d.; ʿA. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Ḥukm al-dīn fi 'l-liḥya wa 'l-tadkhīn*, Cairo 1984; F. al-Hindāwī (ed.), *Wudjūb iʿfā' al-liḥya*, Cairo 1987; ʿUmar al-Ashkar, *Thalāth shaʿā'ir: al-ʿaḳīḳa, al-aḍḥiya, al-liḥya*, ʿAmmān 1991; a *fatwā* by ʿA.-Ḥ. Kishk forbidding the trimming of beards in his collected *Fatāwā*, vi, Cairo 1988, 103-4). However, it is allowable to pluck the hair under the armpits (*natf al-ibṭ*), and the hair on the more intimate parts of the body may be removed by using a razor (*istiḥdād* or *ḥalḳ*) or by applying *nūra*, a depilatory paste (see *Concordance*, s.v. *ḥ-d-d, ḥ-l-ḳ, n-t-f*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, ed. Hārūn, i, 388-9; Usāma b. Munḳidh, *al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Hitti, 136-7; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Akhbār al-ma'thūra fi 'l-iṭṭilāʾ bi 'l-nūra* (= epistle on the usage of depilatories), in his *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-fatāwī*, Cairo 1959, i, 524-31; al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya*, i, 37, 103-5, 107-8, ii, 435-6; Lane, *Manners and customs*, end of ch. XVI, since care of the hair and depilation often took place in public baths, and cf. al-ʿAskarī, *op. cit.*, 152-64, describing grey hair and the dyeing of hair; al-Nuwayrī, *loc. cit.* See also the treatises on public baths: al-Munāwī, *al-Nuzha al-zahiyya*, Cairo 1987, 18, 35-8, 78; al-Kawkabānī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-nammām fi 'l-kalām ʿalā mā yataʿallaḳ bi 'l-ḥammām*, Beirut 1986, 48-53, 144-50).

The term *shaʿr* also has the sense of "skin, pelt" (human and animal). The wool of sheep is called *ṣūf* [*q.v.*], whilst the hair of camels and dromedaries is usually called *shaʿr* and occasionally *wabar*; the nomads are called *ahl al-wabar*. This hair or wool can be woven, whence the term *buyūt al-shaʿr* for the nomads' tents. Animal pelts are also used to stuff mattresses and valued cushions (Sadan, *Le mobilier*, Leiden 1976, 102).

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(J. SADAN)

2. Legal aspects regarding human hair.

The dressing of hair is, like many other items of hygiene and ornament, addressed in the works of *sharīʿa*. The discussion of its rules has no fixed location in these works, which may indicate that the topic came only lately to be a concern of the jurists. Discussions of hair and its treatment, in addition to the part it plays in *ʿaḳīḳa, ḥadjdj* [*q.vv.*], and gender distinctions (through requirements to cover the hair), can be found in sections on *wuḍū'* [*q.v.*], and *albisa/libāsāt* [see LIBĀS] *mustaḥsanāt* or *makrūhāt*.

In these works, there is a lingering sense of hair as a sacral substance, an occasion of vulnerability (see Leach, *Magical hair*, Morgenstern, *Rites of birth*). The *locus classicus* for the rules of hair care is the *ḥadīth* specifying the five, or ten, *fiṭra* practices, here understood to mean practices common to all the prophets, or practices that are part of the general *sunna*, or of religion (*dīn*) (see al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ*, iii, 147). These five or ten are practices of elementary hygiene, from cleansing the knuckles and clipping the nails, to circumcision [see KHITĀN]. Men and women are enjoined to pluck, shave, or depilate their pubic regions and armpits. Men are to cut (*ḳaṣṣ*) the moustache and let the beard grow (*iʿfā'*), and to cut, not shave, their hair. Women may cut their hair. Grey hairs may be dyed.

Characteristically, the *sharʿī* rules are meticulous, and are also occasions of discussion and controversy. How best to accomplish these aims is discussed in some detail. The pubis (*al-ʿāna*) is best shaved with a razor (a practice called *istiḥdād*), as is a portion of the buttocks (*ḥalḳat al-dubur*). The armpits (*ibṭ*) are best plucked (*natf*), but if that is too painful one may shave, or depilate them (with lime, *nūra*). The beard is to be left full, contrary to the custom of the Persians. It may be dyed, but not black, which would be deceptive. One may dye it black in war, so as to deceive the enemy (Juynboll, *Dying the hair and beard*). It is reprehensible for men to pluck or shave the beard when it first appears, so as to maintain a comely youthful appearance. Women may clip facial hairs, or depilate them, but not pluck them. Preferred dyes for the beard and hair, especially when grey, are yellow or red. Adding to hair by weaving into it other hair (*waṣl*), of whatever kind, is not permitted. Hair for men should be worn between the earlobes and shoulders; it should be dressed and parted. The nape (*al-ḳafā*) of the neck should not be shaved, unless for cupping (*ḥidjāma*). Hair of the head should be cut, depending on its length, though some sources suggest every 40 days (al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ*, iii, 148-9); other hair should be cut when it becomes excessive and disgusting (*Mughnī*, i, 72). Hair removed from the head should be buried (*ibid.*).

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(A.K. Reinhart)

3. In Arabic and Persian poetry.

The ancient Arab poets were interested in two aspects of human hair, namely, women's black splendour of thick, soft and fragrant hair (*farʿ*) falling over the shoulders in light waves (*dhuʾāba*), plaited or worn up and serving as a symbol of beauty, and men's greying and whitening hair (*shayb*), pointing to old age and death and stimulating contemplative meditations.

Due to later urbanism, the ideal of beauty also deals with other hair styles, such as the seductive love locks (*ṣudgh*), the fore locks (*ṭurra*), the shoulder locks (*limma*) and—mainly under Persian influence—the young man's down.

Originally, comparison between hair styles was rather underdeveloped, probably because most of the terms were of metonymical or metaphorical origin. The Bedouin poets occasionally compared women's exuberant hair (*waḥf*) with bunches of dates (Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr, *Muʿallaḳa*, 32/35) and al-Aʿshā's description of his beloved as "a garden whose grapes (= hair) dangle down upon me" was seen as a very uncommon verse (according to Bashshār b. Burd, see al-ʿAskarī, *Maʿānī*, i, 244, 6). A more elaborate terminology for hair came into being in the ʿAbbāsid period, again, in particular, for the love locks, which are compared sometimes with links of a chain and with annalids (*zurfīn*), sometimes with curved objects such as a scorpion or a polo-stick or the letters *nūn* and *lām* (al-ʿAskarī, *op. cit.*, i, 245, 247; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān*, ed. Khayyāṭ, 91, 1).

But the incentive for a poetical description of the hair is usually found in a complementary or contrastive reality. In the case of greying hair, there is the visible distinction between black and white, which refers to the internal one between youth and old age. Antithetic metaphors are day and night, darkness and light and, linguistically speaking, there is the alliteration of *shabāb* (youth) and *shayb* (see al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*], *Dīwān*, ed. Beirut 1983, 148 v. 32, and Kushādjim, in *Nihāya*, ii, 23, 15-16). Abū Tammām speaks of the dazzlingly white exterior and the raven-black interior (*ibid.*, 25, 17), and for Rūdakī, dyeing the hair black is not feigning youth but applying colour of mourning about the loss of youth (Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl u ashʿār-i ... Rūdakī*, Tehran 1319/1940, vv. 396-7).

In the field of the beauty of the youth of both sexes, contrasts and mental pyrotechnics are stimulated by the opposition between dark hair and white skin. Al-Aʿshā still compares the black hair which falls over the naked body of his beloved with his *khamīṣa* (black garment with edging) lying on glittering gold, but to a poet of the 4th/10th century the down of a beautiful youth appears "as the black of misfortune, which creeps over the white of happiness" (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1956, i, 420, 3).

And so the field of fantasy is reached. For Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the polo-stick of the lock drives the ball of the birth-mark (*Dīwān*, ed. Lewin, iii, 55, 5), and the scorpion of the lock stops short when he comes too close to the fire of the cheek (*Dīwān*, ed. Khayyāṭ, Beirut 1332/1914, 88, 4); for al-Waʾwāʾ, the "lightning of the teeth", and for Ibn Ḥamdīs the "light of the forehead", become the leader when they go astray in the night of the hair (*Yatīma*, i, 291, 3, and *Dīwān Ibn Ḥamdīs*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1960, 72, 4 from below).

In Persian poetry, hair is completely integrated in the general symmetry of comparison between human and botanical forms of beauty. Lock/down and violet/hyacinth are opposed here, like in Arabic poetry, cheek = rose or eye = narcissus. It may be that this is a heritage of the lyrics of the minstrels (cf. M. Boyce, *The Parthian* gosan *and Iranian minstrel tradition*, in *JRAS* [1957], 36). In any case, a play is made later with the corresponding ambivalence of the indications of flowers, like for instance Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. 635/1237) in the first part of the verse (*Dīwān*, ed. Baḥr al-ʿulūmī, 343, v. 5810):

In the rose-garden (the face), the violets grabbed
the hem of the jasmine (the fair skin):
Your field of down countered with a most sweet
chin (= "over-trumping").

Already in the most ancient material, the love locks (*zulf*) and the down (*ʿidhār*, also *khaṭṭ*) dominate the field of the Persian descriptions of hair. Later, they are supplemented by the combination "the arrows of the eyelashes on the bow of the eyebrows" (Anwarī, *Dīwān*, ed. Raḍawī, Tehran 1959, i, 34, 3). Sometimes the length of the love lock is emphasised, sometimes its untidyness and its tousled nature. It drags on in interminable windings, curves and knots, *ʿayn* in *ʿayn*, as Maʿrūfī says in a comparison with letters (Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Paris-Tehran 1964, ii, 134, v. 18). It remains the "chain" of Arabic poetry, but becomes also a "trap", a "snare" and a "lasso" (*dām*, *kamand*) and, from the time of Rūdakī (d. 329/1040-1), connected with the image that the hearts of the amorous have to languish in its bonds (Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl*, 1038, v. 469).

The swarthiness of the hair remains, incidentally, an inexhaustible source for the invention of images in Persian poetry. Reference is made to all that is literally or figuratively black: musk, a Hindu, Ahriman, infidelity, etc. Even in the theosophical visions of ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], the "black light" of Iblīs appears as a forelock on the luminous head of God (*Tamhīdāt*, ed. ʿUsayran, Tehran 1341/1970, 118, ll. 8-9; cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, i, Berlin 1991, 345-6).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Specific chapters devoted to the theme of poetical treatment of hair are found in *Tashbīhāt* works, like that of Kattānī, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1966, 124-31; in collections of motifs, such as that by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352/1933-4, i, 244-50; and in encyclopaedic *adab* works such as Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923 ff., ii, 16-31. Individual verses on the theme of hair can be met on almost all places where erotic poetry is written, collected or quoted.

(B. Reinert)

SHARĀB [see mashrūbāt].

SHARAF (a.), a verbal noun from the root *sh-r-f* indicating elevation, nobility, pre-eminence in the physical and the moral senses. Hence the *sharīf* [*q.v.*] is a person who is placed above those who surround him on account of his prestigious and noble origin. In pre-Islamic Arabia and in early Islam, *sharaf* and *madjd* both denote "illustriousness on account of birth", while *ḥasab*, "individual quality, merit" (as opposed to *nasab*) and *karam* denote "illustriousness acquired by oneself" (*LA*, s.vv. and see ḥasab wa-nasab).

According to the historians of Islam, those among the Arabs who could claim this innate glory, this

nobility of birth, were the descendants of Ḳuraysh̲ in the *D̲j̲āhiliyya* and in Islam, comprising Hās̲h̲im, Umayya, Nawfal, ʿAbd al-Dār, Asad, Taym, Makhzūm, ʿAdī, D̲j̲umaḥ and Sahm, in all, ten families (*rahṭ*), the offspring of ten wombs (*baṭn*) (cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Ṣādir, Beirut, fasc. xii, 8).

But this list was to be much reduced in the course of the first century of Islam, nobility of birth being concentrated in the family of the Prophet. The Prophet himself was reckoned to embody all the nobility of the Arabs, since it was said of him that he was the best of creatures, being the offspring of the best part (of the world), the best tribe, the best family and the best genealogy (*op. cit.*, fasc. xvii, 9 ff.).

But the Arabs had had other definitions of glory before Islam. In fact, *s̲h̲araf* and *mad̲j̲d* belonged to the kings of Kinda [*q.v.*], who attempted to unify the nomadic Arab tribes under a single banner, *ca.* A.D. 480. This was an ephemeral glory, since this experiment collapsed in 529, following the victory of al-Mund̲h̲ir III b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, king of al-Ḥīra, over al-Ḥārit̲h̲ V b. ʿAmr, the last great king of Kinda, who had succeeded in extending his power over al-Ḥīra between 524 and 528, as a result of a misunderstanding between the Sāsānid emperor Kawād̲h̲ I (488-531) and al-Mund̲h̲ir III (512-54). The support of the successor to Kawād̲h̲ I, K̲h̲usraw I Anūs̲h̲irwān (531-79) [*q.v.*], enabled the king of al-Ḥīra to regain his kingdom, to expel al-Ḥārit̲h̲, to have forty-eight members of his family executed by his loyal retainers, and to have the man himself assassinated by his allies the Banū Kalb. Such was the end of the glory of the Kinda, lamented by a grandson of al-Ḥārit̲h̲, Imruʾ al-Ḳays, one of the greatest poets of pre-Islamic Arabia.

This glory was retrieved by the Lak̲h̲mids and the G̲h̲assānids, both originating from Yemen (while the Kinda came from Ḥaḍramawt). But they, too, left no recognised lineage and no acknowledged nobility. All of this was based on a rivalry, the memories of which are not yet extinct, between Ḳaysīs (Arabs of the North) and Yamanīs (Arabs of the South).

There remains prophetic nobility (*s̲h̲araf bayt al-nabī*). It is immortalised by the *s̲h̲arīfs* of Mecca (whose heir is the King of Jordan) and the S̲h̲orfā [see S̲H̲URAFĀʾ] of Morocco (Idrīsids, Saʿdids, etc.). The Umayyads tried in vain to revive the glories of Ḳuraysh̲. Only poetry has retained its memory.

Bibliography: The most important sources for the subject are: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh̲*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953; Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, an immense historical and genealogical encyclopaedia (the Cairo ms. comprises 12 vols.), of which the following vols. have been published:

i. ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh Ḥaydarābādī, Cairo 1938; iii. ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, Wiesbaden 1978 (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, 28c); iv/1. ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Wiesbaden 1979 (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, 28d); iv/1-2. ed. M. Schlössinger, Jerusalem 1938 and 1971; v. ed. S.D.F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936; xi. ed. W. Ahlwardt, Greifswald 1883.

The third important source is Ibn Ḥazm, *D̲j̲amharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948.

For a sociological analysis of the notion of honour (*ʿirḍ*) among the pre-Islamic Arabs, see Edouard (in the thesis) or Bis̲h̲r (in the article) Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes. Etude de sociologie*, Paris 1932, and his art. ʿIRḌ above. (T. FAHD)

AL-**S̲H̲ARAF** (Yemen) [see Suppl.].

S̲H̲ARAF AL-DAWLA, Abu 'l-Fawāris S̲h̲īrd̲h̲īl, Būyid ruler (350-79/961-89), the eldest son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*].

His mother was, like his paternal grandmother, a Turkish slave woman. In 357/967-8, at the age of six or seven, he was given Kirmān as an appanage by his father, then ruling in Fārs. He accompanied his father on his campaign to conquer Bag̲h̲dād in 366/977, but was sent back to Kirmān to remove him from the court not long before ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death in 372/983. Since the latter had failed to make final arrangements for the succession, a power struggle ensued for the supreme position among the Būyid princes. In Bag̲h̲dād, S̲h̲araf al-Dawla's younger brother Ṣamṣām al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was recognised by the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ. S̲h̲araf al-Dawla responded by seizing the Būyid power base of Fārs. He killed ʿAḍud al-Dawla's vizier there and relied on the backing of commanders who had been imprisoned by his father. He recognised, however, the overlordship of his uncle Muʾayyid al-Dawla ruling in Rayy. The latter died in 373/984 and was succeeded by his brother Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who backed Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's claim to supremacy among ʿAḍud al-Dawla's sons, while himself assuming the title *S̲h̲āhāns̲h̲āh*.

S̲h̲araf al-Dawla refused to acknowledge his overlordship, and took the offensive against Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. He seized al-Ahwāz and Baṣra, where two further brothers of his had been ruling. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was forced to sue for peace, and formally agreed to obey S̲h̲araf al-Dawla as his overlord. The caliph confirmed the agreement by conferring the titles S̲h̲araf al-Dawla wa-Tād̲j̲ al-Milla on the elder brother. The latter had, however, decided to proceed with the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, ignoring the agreement. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla surrendered to him in Wāsiṭ and was soon sent to prison in Fārs. S̲h̲araf al-Dawla entered Bag̲h̲dād in 376/987 and was greeted by the caliph. He now aspired to supremacy over his uncle Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla, and assumed the title *S̲h̲āhāns̲h̲āh*. However, an army which he sent against the Kurd Badr b. Ḥasanūya in western D̲j̲ibāl to punish him for his support of Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla was defeated. Before the conflict for supremacy was settled, S̲h̲araf al-Dawla died of dropsy in 379/989 aged 28. He was buried at Kūfa next to his father.

S̲h̲araf al-Dawla was a patron of astronomical research and built an observatory in the garden of his palace in Bag̲h̲dād, where Abū Sahl al-Kūhī and other renowned astronomers carried out observations of planetary movements. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī dedicated to him a treatise on making astrolabes.

Bibliography: Rūd̲h̲rāwarī, *Ṣila*, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, in *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, iii, 28, 79-149; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, index s.v.; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, index s.v.; Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, x, 75-80, xiv, 92-6; M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, esp. 69-76; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 63-7 and index s.v.; W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title S̲h̲āhāns̲h̲āh by the Būyids and the reign of the Daylam*, in *JNES*, xxviii (1969), 168-72.

(W. MADELUNG)

S̲H̲ARAF AL-DĪN [see S̲H̲UFURWA].

S̲H̲ARAF AL-DĪN, ʿABD AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-SAYYID YŪSUF, AL-MŪSAWĪ AL-ʿĀMILĪ, famous Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī *mud̲j̲tahid* [*q.v.*], one of the promoters of what has been called the "S̲h̲īʿī awakening" in modern Lebanon [see MUTAWĀLĪ]. According to his autobiography, he was born in 1290/1873 at al-Kāẓimayn [*q.v.*], where his father had emigrated to, for the purpose of studying, from S̲h̲(u)ḥūr, a village near Tyre in the D̲j̲abal ʿĀmil [see ʿĀMILA].

Having received his primary education, mainly in

southern Lebanon, ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn came back to ʿIrāḳ in 1892, and he pursued his studies in Nadjaf until May 1904, when he returned to his home village. About three years later he settled in Tyre to become the spiritual leader of the local Imāmī Shīʿī community. Apart from a period of exile after World War I (see below) and a number of journeys abroad, he lived in Tyre until his death on 30 December, 1957, being then buried in Nadjaf.

Supported, *inter alia*, by Lebanese Shīʿī communities in West Africa, Sharaf al-Dīn was over the years able to establish a number of religious, educational and social institutions in Tyre, such as a *Ḥusayniyya*, a Friday mosque, schools (including one for girls), a charitable society and an orphanage. Moreover, new mosques were erected or old ones rebuilt on his initiative in a number of adjacent villages. As far as his political activities are concerned, he has been praised by many authors for his stand against the French Mandate over Lebanon [see LUBNĀN], and notably for a speech he delivered at a meeting of political and religious leaders at Wādī ʾl-Ḥudjayr in April 1920, but he has also been criticised by a few others who have interpreted his attitude at that time and in the following years somewhat differently. However, as a result of his agitation against the mandatory power, he was forced to leave southern Lebanon. First he went to Damascus, after the battle of Maysalūn [*q.v.*] to Egypt, and finally to Palestine, from where he was allowed to return to Tyre in June 1921 (for a book written wholly in defence of Sharaf al-Dīn's political role, see Muḥammad al-Kūrānī, *al-Djudhūr al-taʾrīkhiyya li ʾl-muḳāwama al-islāmiyya fī Djabal ʿĀmil*, Beirut 1993).

During the last years of his life, Sharaf al-Dīn himself seems to have paved the way for his relative Sayyid Mūsā al-Ṣadr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to become his successor as leader of the Shīʿī community in Tyre and its vicinity.

As a religious scholar, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn was known for his erudition in both Shīʿī and Sunnī *Ḥadīth*, for his apologetical fervour as well as for his conservative standpoint on a number of issues raised by Shīʿī modernists, such as the corpse traffic to the *ʿAtabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and its paraphernalia (see Y. Nakash, *The Shiʿis of Iraq*, Princeton 1994, 184-201, esp. 193-7) and certain features of the *taʿziya* processions (see W. Ende, *The flagellations of Muḥarram*, in *Isl.*, lv [1978], 19-36, esp. 31-2).

As far as his works are concerned, a history of his own family as well as of the Āl Ṣadr, who are closely linked to the Āl Sharaf al-Dīn by intermarriage, was published only posthumously by one of his sons, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, with extensive additions, i.e. *Bughyat al-rāghibīn fī silsilat Āl Sharaf al-Dīn*, Beirut 1991 (with ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn's autobiography in ii, 63-254).

Of special fame in Shīʿī circles is his book *al-Murādjaʿāt*, a work on doctrinal questions purporting to contain his correspondence with an Egyptian Sunnī scholar, Salīm al-Bishrī (d. 1917), who was Shaykh al-Azhar when Sharaf al-Dīn came to Cairo in 1911. The first edition was published only in 1936 in Sidon, while the 10th appeared in 1972 in Beirut; since then there have been several reprints (as well as translations into other languages). Many Shīʿīs consider this work (i.e. Sharaf al-Dīn's answers to al-Bishrī's questions) as one of the most convincing expositions of the Twelver Shīʿī doctrine of the *imāma* [*q.v.*] that has ever been written (for a discussion of its rather uncertain genesis, see Brunner, *Annäherung*).

The last of his books published in his lifetime is *al-Naṣṣ wa ʾl-idjtihād*, [1]Nadjaf 1956, [10]Beirut 1988, a work on early Islam and the role of the Companions of the Prophet in the development of the *Sharīʿa*.

For lists of Sharaf al-Dīn's many works, see e.g. Ḳubaysī, 53-69; Ṣadr, 28-32; Āl Yasīn, 20-3; ʿAbbās ʿAlī, 113-14, 146-8; Faḍl Allāh, 55-70; all these authors also mention unpublished writings of his lost when soldiers plundered his houses in Shḥūr and Tyre during the disturbances of 1920. See further K. ʿAwwād, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, Baghdād 1969, 228-9; Y.A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, iii/1, Beirut 1972, 626-9.

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SHARAF AL-DĪN ʿALĪ YAZDĪ, Persian historian and poet of the Tīmūrid period, born at Yazd, died in 858/1454.

He was a favourite of the Tīmūrid ruler Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] and of his son Mīrzā Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, governor of Fārs, and in 832/1429 became tutor to the captured young Čingizid Yūnus Khān, to whom he dedicated many poems. He was then in the service of the Tīmūrid prince Mīrzā Sulṭān Muḥammad in ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī or western Persia, and narrowly escaped death when that prince rebelled in 850/1447. After Shāh Rukh's death he retired to Yazd and settled in the nearby village of Taft, where he died, being buried in the Sharafiyya *madrasa* which he had founded.

Yazdī had a high reputation as a littérateur and poet. In addition to his poetry, written under the *takhalluṣ* of Sharaf, he wrote a commentary on the *Burda* ode of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a work on magic squares and a work on riddles (*muʿammā*); he compiled an anthology of Arabic and Persian poetry; and he left behind a collection of *inshāʾ*. His main fame, however, stems from his *Ẓafar-nāma*, a florid and euphuistic, hence much admired at the time (with the result that a large number of mss. survive), history in Persian of Tīmūr and his grandson Khalīl Sulṭān. This was compiled from other histories of the great conqueror and from eyewitness accounts, and completed in 828/1425; further planned sections on Shāh Rukh and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān were never completed.

Bibliography: Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, 378-81; C. Rieu, *Cat. of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, 173-5; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 362-5; Storey, i, 284-8, 1274; Storey-Bregel, ii, 797-807; Rypka *et alii*, *History of Persian literature*, 434, 444. The most recent eds. of the *Ẓafar-nāma* include that of M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957, and facs. ed. A. Uranbaev, Tashkent 1972.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHARAF AL-DĪN, ḤASAN RĀMĪ [see RĀMĪ TABRĪZĪ].

AL-SHAʿRĀNĪ, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad (897-973/1492-1565), Egyptian Ṣūfī, scholar, historian of Ṣūfism, and a prolific writer about many religious subjects during a period otherwise poor in distinguished figures of learning and piety in the Arab lands.

Sources. The main sources for al-Shaʿrānī's life are his own writings, which must, of course, be used with caution. This is especially true of *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, his lengthy account of the graces bestowed upon him by God, a work that beside recounting miraculous events, also includes many autobiographical elements. Paradoxically, al-Shaʿrānī's voluminous literary output obscures our view of him, because most of his biographers, such as his disciple ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī [*q.v.*], drew heavily on his works, adding little new information. An important biography, *al-Manāḳib al-kubrā*, was written in 1109/1697 by Muḥammad Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn al-Malīdjī, an affiliate of the al-Shaʿrānī order (Cairo 1350/1932).

Origins and life. According to al-Shaʿrānī, his ancestor five generations back was Mūsā Abū ʿImrān, son of the sultan of Tlemcen in North Africa. Mūsā was a follower of Shaykh Abū Madyan Shuʿayb (d. 594/1197), the founder of the Shādhilī Ṣūfī tradition, who sent him to Egypt. Finally, the family settled in the village of Sāḳiyat Abū Shaʿra in the Minūfiyya province, hence the *nisba*. Al-Shaʿrānī came to Cairo at the age of twelve and settled in the Bāb al-Shaʿriyya quarter and was raised in a Ṣūfī milieu. He became a student of Cairo's best-known *ʿulamāʾ* of all the *madhāhib*, not only his own Shāfiʿī one, and a follower of distinguished orthodox Ṣūfīs. Yet his spiritual director was an illiterate palm-leaf plaiter (hence, his *laḳab*), named ʿAlī al-Khawwāṣ al-Burullusī (d. 939/1532-3). Al-Shaʿrānī became a successful and wealthy man and a popular writer thanks to his attractive personality, erudition and readable style. Inevitably, his popularity made him many enemies and rivals, the most prominent of whom was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Karīm al-Dīn (d. 985/1578), the leader of the (then) unorthodox Khalwatī *ṭarīḳa*, but he claimed to have had personal contacts with members of the ruling class, from the pashas, the Ottoman governors of Egypt, down. He died on 12 Djumādā I 973/5 December 1565, and was buried in the *zāwiya*, which had been built for him. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 1011/1608) succeeded as the head of the *zāwiya* and the *ṭarīḳa*, although he did not have his father's personality and ability. Yet the *ṭarīḳa* survived into the 19th century. Ewliya Čelebi mentions al-Shaʿrānī's *mawlid* in the second half of the 11th/17th century. The *ṭarīḳa* is mentioned by al-Djabartī and by E.W. Lane, but not by ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, whose *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda* is a major source for Egyptian Ṣūfism in the late 19th century, nor by 20th-century sources and authorities on the subject.

His Ṣūfism. Al-Shaʿrānī represents the orthodox, middle-of-the-road, only moderately ascetic, and non-political brand of Egyptian Ṣūfism. He was influenced by Shādhilī ethics and literature, but did not identify with that *ṭarīḳa*, since he considered it too aristocratic. Socially, he was associated with the Aḥmadiyya or Badawiyya, the *ṭarīḳa* of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276) [*q.v.*], whom he venerated, but he fiercely attacked the antinomian and vulgar Aḥmadīs and other similar orders for their "excesses", their disregard of the *Sharīʿa* and lack of respect for the *ʿulamāʾ*. Likewise, al-Shaʿrānī criticises the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], popular at that time among the Turkish soldiers, attacking its principle of *khalwa*, solitary retreat of the adherents, as causing hallucinations and not true religious experience. He never states his own *ṭarīḳa* affiliation, and identifies generally with the *ṭarīḳ al-ḳawm*, i.e. the orthodox way of al-Djunayd. His initiation into 26 *ṭarīḳas* seems to have been merely ceremonial or for the sake of obtaining *baraka*.

As a historian of Ṣūfism (he compiled collections of *ṭabaḳāt* containing lives and sayings of Ṣūfīs) and an apologist for it, al-Shaʿrānī insists that genuine Ṣūfīs have never contravened the *Sharīʿa* in word or deed, and if it seems otherwise, it is only because of a misunderstanding, misinterpretation, ignorance of the Ṣūfī terminology, or interpolation by enemies. In this way, al-Shaʿrānī chose to defend the orthodoxy of the great mystic Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], whose ideas he epitomises in his *al-Yawāḳīt wa ʾl-djawāhir*, rendering the mystic's complicated theories in a simplified way.

His *fiḳh*. In his *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*, al-Shaʿrānī expounds a theory based on Ṣūfī assumptions that aims at the unification of the four *madhāhib*, or at least their equality and the need to narrow the gaps between them. He believed that there were no real differences between the founders of the *madhāhib*, in contradistinction to the opinions held by their narrow-minded imitators (*muḳallidūn*). The founders were *awliyāʾ* and thus had access to the Source of the Law (*ʿayn al-Sharīʿa*) whence they derived the precepts of religion. According to him, there is only one *Sharīʿa*, and it has two standards—strict (*ʿazīma*) for those who are resolute in their religion, and lenient (*rukhṣa*) for those who are weak. Generally, al-Shaʿrānī criticised the *fuḳahāʾ* for troubling the common people with the finer points of jurisprudence, of little relevance to the essentials of Islam.

His social ideas. His weaknesses and inconsistencies notwithstanding, al-Shaʿrānī had a feeling for the essentials in religion. He also had a genuine empathy for the weak and underprivileged elements of society, such as fellaheen, labourers, and women. He paid particular attention to the relations of Ṣūfīs with members of the ruling class and wrote a treatise advising *ʿulamāʾ* and *faḳīrs* how to get along with *amīrs*. His criticism of the rulers' injustice in general and the Ottoman rulers of Egypt in particular, is typically circumspect, but he hints at the date 923/1517, the year of the Ottoman conquest, as a turning point for the worse, and elsewhere makes a hostile remark about the *ḳānūn*, the Ottoman administrative law.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], *al-Shaʿrānī* (J. Schacht); A.E. Shmidt, *ʿAbd al-Vakhkhab ash-Shaʿrānī i ego kniga razospannīkh zhemčuzhin*, St. Petersburg 1914; T. al-Ṭawīl, *al-Shaʿrānī, imām al-taṣawwuf fī ʿaṣrihi*, Cairo 1945; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, London 1971, 220-5; J.-C. Garcin, *Index des Ṭabaqāt de Shaʿrānī (pour la fin du IXe et le début du Xe S.H.)*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, vi (1966), 31-94; M. Winter, *Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt: studies in the writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1982.

(M. WINTER)

SHARARĀT (A.), a camel-herding group of northwestern Arabia.

In Burckhardt's time, the Shararāt were known for their camel herds, which they exchanged in the Ḥawrān and at Gaza for wheat. They regarded Maʿān, Djawf and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ as their former properties; Doughty suggested that they came from the Banī Hilāl and Peake that they came from the Kalb. Unable to protect their property, they paid protection money to the Rwala and the Banī Ṣakhr, at the same time themselves taking *khuwwa* [*q.v.*] from Djawf and, at an earlier date, from the Ḥuwayṭāt and the Banī ʿAṭiyya. The Rwala and Ṣakhr did not intermarry

with them because the Sharārāt paid for protection. The Sharārāt were subject, in Doughty's time, to the *amīr* of the Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*] in Ḥāyil, like most tribes. Both Doughty and Musil emphasised the excellence of Sharārāt-bred camels.

The increasing drawing of northern Arabia into tribal and then state politics probably accounts for the politically-weak Sharārāt's initial impoverishment, accelerated by the declining market for camels, which had virtually disappeared by the 1940s. Many Sharārāt are now in the National Guard, army and police of Saudi Arabia or involved in local government, whilst their camel herds supply an urban market for their milk and flesh.

Bibliography: J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouin and Wahabys*, London 1831, 29-30; G.A. Wallin, *Narrative of a journey from Cairo to Mecca and Medina by Suez, Araba, al-Jauf, Jubbe, Hail and Nejd in 1845*, in *JRGS*, xxiv (1854), 126-63; C.M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888; A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta, travels in the northern Hiğāz*, New York 1927; idem, *Manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928; F.G. Peake, *A history of Jordan and its tribes*, repr. Coral Gables, Fla. 1958

(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

al-SHĀRĀT, from the Latin *serra* through the Spanish *sierra*, is the term applied by certain geographers of Muslim Spain to the mountains which stretch from east to west in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. The best definition is given by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī. According to this author, the mountain range called al-Shārāt stretches from the country behind Madīnat Sālim (Medinaceli) to Coimbra. This term therefore describes the mountains now known under the names of Sierra de Guadarrama (Ar. Wādī 'l-Ramla?), Sierra de Gredos and Sierra de Gata in Spain and Serra de Estrella in Portugal. In the time of al-Idrīsī, however, it was applied only to the Sierra de Guadarrama, to the north of Madrid. The geographer Abu 'l-Fidā', quoting Ibn Saʿīd, described the mountain system of the centre of al-Andalus under the name of Djabal al-Shāra. According to him, it divided the peninsula into two well marked divisions, the north and the south.

Al-Idrīsī, in his description of al-Andalus, gives the name of al-Shārāt to one of the twenty-six "climes" of this country, the twenty-second in his classification; this region, which embraced all the Sierra de Guadarrama, included the towns of Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, Madrid, al-Fahmīn, Guadalajara, Uclès and Huete.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed. and tr. Dozy and de Goeje, index; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 66, 167; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 93 and index s.v. *ach-Chârât*; E. Saavedra, *La geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, 48; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes*, in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, x (Granada 1920), 3-4. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

al-SHARDJA [see al-shāriḳa].

SHARḤ (a.), pl. *shurūḥ*, denotes in Arabic a commentary on a text of greater or lesser length, but this term by itself does not cover the entire semantic domain of "commentary". Lexically, it refers to notions of opening, expansion, explanation and finally of commentary.

Sixty-seven *sharḥ*s appear in the *Fihrist*: language (29, of which two have a title; two *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayh*; a *Sharḥ abyāt al-Īḍāḥ*; two *Sharḥ shawāhid Sībawayh*; *Sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Durayd* by Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, commentary on a didactic poem; two *sharḥ al-maʿānī*), philosophy and sciences (16), concerning the Djābirian corpus (4), Ḥanafī *fiḳh* (5), Shāfiʿī (4), Mālikī (3), Ẓāhirī (1), theology (2), *ḥadīth* (2) and miscellaneous (2).

Also found there are ninety-six *tafsīrs*: Ḳur'ān (40), philosophy and sciences, whether these are translated works—they are the majority—or commentaries written directly in Arabic (25; the instances where the expression *fassarahu* is used have not been counted; the same applies to *sharaḥahu*), poetry (8), Old Testament (7), Gospels (1), language (4), language and theology (1), *fiḳh* (1), *ḥadīth* (1) and miscellaneous (8).

In the course of time, the number of commentaries becomes impressive, to the point where this emerges as one of the characteristics of Arabic literary production. Many of them are veritable museums, as if their authors feared the loss of whole sections of the patrimony.

I. Grammar and philology.

Among the works which were the object of commentaries at a very early stage, particular distinction belongs to the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (d. 180/796 *et alt. an.*; 19 titles in Sezgin, ix; 32 names of commentators or glossators in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1427-8). It is difficult to conclude whether the terminology to denote these works is contemporary; it varies between *taʿlīḳāt*, *tafsīr*, *tafāsīr*, *nukat*, *sharḥ* (or *ikhrādj*) *nukat* and *sharḥ* (Sezgin, ix, 58-63). Besides al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ [*q.v.*], the disciple of Sībawayh, the following works are listed here: Abū ʿUmar al-Djarmī (d. 225/839), *Tafsīr gharīb Sībawayh*; al-Māzinī (d. 248/862), *K. Tafsīr K. Sībawayh*; Abu Yaʿlā b. Zurʿa (d. 257/871), *Nukat ʿalā K. Sībawayh*; al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), *Tafsīr mā aghfala istiḳṣā' al-ḥudjdja fīhi*. Of the various commentaries and glosses on the *Kitāb* which have been edited, worth mentioning are: the *Sharḥ* of Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979; *MIDEO*, xviii, no. 9, xix, no. 18), that and of al-Rummānī (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 20), *Taʿlīḳa al-Taʿālīḳ ʿalā K. Sībawayh* by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 19).

Sharḥ does not invariably denote a commentary on a work; it also refers to explanations given regarding a subject within a book, especially regarding verses (*abyāt*) or probative quotations (*shawāhid*). The monumental *Khizānat al-adab* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] constitutes the crowning achievement of this type of literature.

Later treatises on grammar or grammatical didactic poems were also the object of commentary, sometimes to an even greater extent. These include *al-Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144, 24 according to Brockelmann, I², 347, S I, 509-10; 18 in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1774-5), *al-Durra al-alfiyya* of Ibn Muʿṭī (d. 628/1261, *MIDEO*, xxi, no. 24); *al-Kāfiya* of Ibn Ḥādjib (51 entries in Brockelmann, I², 367-70, S I, 531-5; *MIDEO*, xix no. 9: *Sharḥ* of Ibn Djamāʿa: cf. Makram, 61-2); *al-Shāfiya* (23 principal entries in Brockelmann, I², 370-1, S I, 535-7; cf. Makram, 66) of Ibn Ḥādjib (d. 646/1249); and especially *al-Khulāṣa al-Alfiyya* (45 entries in Brockelmann, I², 359-62, S I, 522-6; *MIDEO*, x, no. 2, for the commentary of Ibn ʿAḳīl; *MIDEO*, xix, no. 8: ten; cf. Makram, 176) of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274). Some of these commentaries were in their turn the object of commentaries or glosses, among others *Awḍaḥ al-masālik* of Ibn Hishām (d. 762/1361; 11 entries in Brockelmann, S I, 523). Numerous unedited commentaries pose a problem on account of the similarity between the titles of the works to which they refer; this applies in the case of those on the *K. al-Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī and that of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 22). There is less ambiguity with regard to that of Ibn al-

Sarrādj (d. 316/928), with commentary by one of his disciples, al-Rummānī (Sezgin, ix, 84).

In lexicography, the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] has been less the object of commentaries than of *addenda et emendanda* (Sezgin, viii, 54-6). The same applies to the *Gharīb al-muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838), except that it was also the object of commentary *strictu sensu*, in particular by Ibn Sīduh (d. 458/1066) and by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. *ca.* 460/1068; twelve diverse entries in Sezgin, viii, 83-4; *MIDEO*, xx, no. 6). His *K. al-Amthāl* received the same treatment (six in Sezgin, viii, 84-5). The same applied to *al-Djamhara fi 'l-lugha* of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) (six entries for summaries, additions, etc.; Sezgin, viii, 103). But no work of this period has received as much attention on the part of lexicographers as the *K. al-Faṣīḥ* of the Kūfan Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) (42 entries, including 20 commentaries, in Sezgin, viii, 142-4; *MIDEO*, xix, no. 5). Major lexicographical works or dictionaries have seldom been subjected to commentary. However, the emendations, alterations, additions, elucidations, additions, glosses, corrections and even "summaries" (*tahdhīb, mukhtaṣar, takmila, bayān wa-taḳrīb, ḥawāshī, taṣḥīḥ*) of which they have been the object belong more or less to the domain of "commentary". Furthermore, the more recent of them are in a relationship of "commentaries" to "texts" with regard to the earlier (see Kraemer; Sezgin, viii; introd. by ʿA.S.A. Farādj to *TʿA*, ed. Kuwait; *EI*, art ḲĀMŪS).

II. Poetry, *adab* and stylistics.

It is hardly surprising that Ibn al-Nadīm does not name a single *sharḥ* of collections of poetry, seeing that he mentions only twenty-eight *dīwāns*. Al-Āmidī (d. 371/981) refers to 59 (R. Jacobi, in *GaP*, ii, 11). Moreover, collections of poetry were at first called *shiʿr* or even *khabar* (Sezgin, ii, 36-46). It should, however, be recognised that "commentaries" on poetry are not absent from the *Fihrist*, although this is only through the intermediary of the *sharḥs abyāt/shawāhid* or the *sharḥs maʿānī al-Bāhilī* of Lughda/Lughdha al-Iṣfahānī, contemporary of Ibn Ḳutayba, and of Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Lurra (first half of 3rd/9th century). On the other hand, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions three *tafsīrs* of poetry by Ibn Durustawayh (d. 347/958; Sezgin, viii, 106-8): of *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (incomplete), of *al-Sabʿ* [*al-Muʿallaḳāt*] and of the *Ḳaṣīda* of Shubayl b. ʿAzra. He also adds here the *Tafsīr al-sabʿ al-djahiliyyāt wa-gharībihā*, of al-ʿUmarī, judge of Takrīt, and the *Tafsīr al-Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām [*q.v.*] by al-Dīmartī (flor. *ca.* 364/975, Sezgin, ii, 68).

Among the commentators on the *Muʿallaḳāt* (29 entries in Sezgin, ii, 50-3; cf. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 143-8), worth mentioning are: Abū Saʿīd al-Ḍarīr (d. 282/895), Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/911), Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940; in fact a revision of his father's commentary), Ibn al-Naḥḥās [*q.v.*], al-Zawzānī (d. 486/1093), Abū Bakr al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 494/1100) and Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109). The *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām was no less the object of commentaries (36 entries in Sezgin, ii, 69-72). The greatest success in these terms belongs, however, to the *Bānat Suʿād* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] (48 in Sezgin, ii, 231-34).

Some authors distinguished themselves in the elucidation of various collections of poetry. These include Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888); Ibn al-Anbārī, disciple of Thaʿlab: commentaries on *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Sezgin, ii, 54; Blachère, *HLA*, i, 148-50); Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946): commentaries on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (Sezgin, ii, 68); al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], commentator especially on al-Mutannabī (*MIDEO*, xx, no. 66); Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī (d. 356/967); Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980); Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002); al-Marzūḳī (d. 421/1030); Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075); al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083): commentaries on the seven *Muʿallaḳāt*; al-Tibrīzī: commentaries on the *Ḥamāsa* (Sezgin, ii, 71, no. 24), on the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* of Shanfarā (Sezgin, ii, 135); Mawhūb al-Djawālīḳī (d. 540/1145); Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360).

Among works of *adab*, the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Ḳutayba has drawn the attention of commentators (eleven in G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 104-5).

An interesting case in the domain of stylistics is that of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī (626/1229; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1762-8) which was the object of a comprehensive commentary (*explicit* 742/1341) by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Khʷārazmī. But it was especially the third part of this work, on stylistics, which was commented on and glossed, then summarised (see A. Arazi and H. Ben Shammai, art. MUKHTAṢAR, at Vol. VII, 537a), the summaries in their turn being commented on and glossed. The ideas of the author were evidently modified by the commentators and glossators (Brockelmann, I², 352-6, S I, 515-19; A. Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ*, Baghdād 1967; R. Sellheim, i, 299-317; W. Heinrichs, in *GaP*, ii, 184).

III. Religious sciences.

It is probable that the first "commentaries" or explanations in this area were applied to the *gharīb* [*q.v.*] of the Ḳurʾān and of *ḥadīth* in the form of oral explanations, of pamphlets, then of books. These were therefore not "commentaries" on a work, but explanations of a term, of a verse, or of a tradition. In fact, they most often bear the title of *Gharīb/Tafsīr al-ḥadīth* or *al-Ḳurʾān*, or even *Sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth* (Abū ʿUbayda, d. 207/822, whose *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* is also called *al-Madjāz fī gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*). For commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, the accepted term is *tafsīr* [*q.v.*]. However, the Muʿtazilī Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 322/934) is the author of a commentary sometimes called *Sharḥ taʾwīl al-Ḳurʾān wa-tafsīr maʿānīhi* (E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work*, Leiden 1992, 330). For the explanation of isolated passages of the Ḳurʾān, *sharḥ* is sometimes applied to a few pages (*djuzʾ*), in the form: *Sharḥ ḳawlihi taʿālā* (four in the list of works of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, in Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 317-8) or *Sharḥ āyat*..., or even *Sharḥ/Tafsīr sūrat*..., *Sharḥ al-Basmala*, *Sharḥ kalimatay al-shahāda*. *Al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), unusually for a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, was frequently the object of commentaries and glosses (Brockelmann, I², 345-6, S I, 507-9). The "commentaries on the divine names" also contain interpretations of the terms according to various theological orientations. They may bear various titles: *Sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* (31 in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1031-5), but also *Tafsīr*, *Kitāb*, etc. (D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 16-29).

In the context of *ḥadīth*, *sharḥ* is used for the commentary on a single tradition. Some traditions have been subjected to extensive commentary, in particular *Sharḥ ḥadīth Umm Ẓarʿ*: al-Ṭabarī (Gilliot, *Elt* [see *Bibl.*], 67), al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ (*ibid.*, no. 8); *Sharḥ gharīb ḥadīth Umm Ẓarʿ* by Ibn al-Anbārī (Sezgin, viii, 154) and Ibn al-Khallāl (flor. *ca.* 1000/1591). The major collections of prophetic traditions, in particular the "six books", have been the object of an impressive number of commentaries, the majority of which are supplied with titles: 27 for *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, all recensions combined (sometimes also *Tafsīr al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, M. Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment medinensischer Jurisprudenz aus Qairawan*, Wiesbaden 1985, 12); 56 for al-Bukhārī, 27 for Muslim (Sezgin, i, 115 ff.), etc. In the genre of the "Forty

Prophetic Traditions", the collection of al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), *al-Arbaʿūn al-nawawiyya*, has been the object of some forty commentaries, including one by the author himself (L. Pouzet, *Une Herméneutique de la tradition islamique ...*, Beirut 1982, 55-7). In the terminology of *ḥadīth*, pride of place probably belongs to the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ [*q.v.*], which was commented on, glossed and summarised (Brockelmann, I², 441-2, S I, 610-12; *MIDEO*, xix, no. 43; xxi, no. 121).

The energy of the commentators in Muslim law is no less impressive (Spies, 238-69; Sezgin, i, 409-524). In Ḥanafī law (Spies, 238-47; Sezgin, i, 409-57), at least fifteen commentaries are known to have been made on one of the oldest Ḥanafī compilations of *furūʿ*, *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* of al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), including those by al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) and al-Djaṣṣāṣ [*q.v.*], who also wrote the earliest commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭaḥāwī. The judicial epitome of this school, *al-Mabsūṭ fī 'l-furūʿ* by al-Sarakhsī (d. 490/1097 [*q.v.*]), is a commentary on *al-Kāfī* of Muḥammad al-Marwazī (d. 334/945). The *Bidāyat al-mubtadī'*, a compendium by al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197), was also the object of numerous commentaries; the same applied to the *Manār al-anwār*, a manual of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310). As for the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]), which is called *al-Kitāb* by the Ḥanafīs, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1631-2, lists twelve commentaries on it. The same author also wrote a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Karkhī (d. 340/951; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1634-5; Brockelmann, S I, 295).

In Mālikī law (Spies, 254-60; Sezgin, i, 457-84; Muranyi, in *GaP*, ii, particularly for the commentaries on the *Mudawwana*), as elsewhere, some of the older manuals were displaced by more recent ones. Such was the case of the *Mukhtaṣars*, *al-kabīr* and *al-ṣaghīr*, of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 214/829); both were subjected to commentary by al-Abharī (d. 375/985); the second by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Djahm (d. 282/895) (*Fihrist*, 200, 201). They were superseded, to some extent, by *al-Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996, 15 entries in Sezgin) and by *al-Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 767/1365; Brockelmann, II², 102-3, S II, 96-9), on which one of the most recent commentaries is that of al-Dardīr (d. 1201/1786; *MIDEO*, xxi, no. 174). The didactic poem of Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 829/1426), was also the object of frequent commentary.

In Shāfiʿī law (Spies, 284-54, Sezgin, i, 484-502), the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī (d. 264/877) also attracted the interest of commentators (six in Sezgin, i, 493); but the compendium of Abū Shudjāʿ (d. 593/116; Brockelmann, S I, 676-7) was no less the object of explanations and glosses; the same applied to the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī [*q.v.*].

In Ḥanbalī law, the basic compendium is *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī (d. 334/945). It was commented on by Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1065), but especially by Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1233 [*q.v.*]) under the title *al-Mughnī*. The latter's *al-Muḳniʿ* was the object of commentary by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (d. 682/1283; *MIDEO*, xxi, no. 180).

Commentators did not always belong to the same school of law; thus the *ʿUmda* of the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (d. 600/1203) was the object of commentary by the Shāfiʿī Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (d. 625/1128 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) in *Sharḥ ʿUmdat al-aḥkām*, which was glossed by the Zaydī al-ʿĀmir al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 1099/1688) in *al-ʿUdda* (*MIDEO*, xxi, no. 184).

The major compilations of Shīʿī traditions and law were also subjected to commentary, especially "the four books" (Spies, 263-5; Sezgin, i, 540-2, 545-9).

Dialectical and scholastic theology was no less prolific, generating numerous catechisms, creeds, professions of faith and treatises on theology (*uṣūl al-dīn, kalām*). The various treatises and "testaments" of Abū Ḥanīfa were commented on abundantly from the 5th/11th century onward (Sezgin, i, 412-8). *Al-ʿAḳā'id* of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142) was certainly one of the most commented on and glossed texts in Islam (*MIDEO*, xix, no. 48); one of its best known commentaries is that by al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1388). At the present day, the manual of Ashʿarī theology *al-Mawāḳif fī ʿilm al-kalām* of al-Īdjī [*q.v.*] is studied with the commentary of al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī and the glosses of the Indian ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1067/1657) and of Ḥasan Čelebi al-Fanārī (d. 886/1641) (W. Madelung, in *GaP*, ii, 333). As in law, there were occasions when theologians of different trends commented on one another. Thus the *Muḥaṣṣal al-afkār* of the Ashʿarī Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was the object of commentary by a Shīʿī of Muʿtazilī persuasion, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The latter's *Tadjrīd al-ʿaḳā'id*, with its long introduction dealing with logic and ontology, was commented on by the Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarī Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 749/1349) under the title *Tasdīd al-ḳawāʿid* ("*al-Sharḥ al-ḳadīm*"), then by the Sunnī astronomer and philosopher al-Ḳūshdjī (d. 879/1474 [see ʿALĪ AL-ḲŪSHDJĪ] ("*al-Sharḥ al-djadīd*"). These two commentators were in their turn the object of commentaries and glosses by Shīʿī and Sunnī authors (Brockelmann, I², 670-2, S I, 925-7; W. Madelung, in *GaP*, ii, 333).

In mysticism, numerous texts were the objects of commentary, beginning with the *K. al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]), in particular by ʿAlī al-Ḳūnawī (d. 712/1326; Sezgin, i, 669), the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayri (d. 465/1072) by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520; Brockelmann, I², 556, S I, 771-2). The same applied to *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* of al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*]; cf. the introduction to the edition and translation of S. Laugier de Beaurecueil, *Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu*, Cairo 1962, 15-21; idem, in *MIDEO*, xi (1972), 80-91. Numerous writings of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191; Brockelmann, I², 565-6) also received the attentions of commentators. Many works of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] were commented on, but pride of place belongs to *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*; see O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Damascus 1964, 241-57.

Certain religious texts, such as the *Burda*, a panegyric of the Prophet by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1294 [*q.v.* in Suppl.), were the object of particular attention: 74 commentaries in Brockelmann, I², 308-13, S I, 467-70; *MIDEO*, xxi, nos. 45, 96.

Many commentaries are veritable encyclopaedias, the text under discussion often serving as a pretext for recording entire documents or quotations from works of which many have since been lost; such is the case with the commentary on the *Nahdj al-balāgha* [*q.v.*] by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd [*q.v.*] or that on the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* by al-Zabīdī [*q.v.*].

IV. Philosophy.

It is in this region that research is most advanced in relation to the terminology of the "commentary". Reference should be made to the art. MUKHTAṢAR, section on philosophy, to be complemented by Endress and Gutas.

The translators of the ancient sources were the first Arab exegetes. In fact, transference into Arabic required an interpretation. This is why they included in their works paraphrases, definitions and glosses

which derived in part from the scholia of their base texts or from the commentaries which were at their disposal. Numerous terms need to be taken into consideration, especially in the domain of logic, even if it is not always easy to tell them apart.

Tafsīr is a generic term which signifies literally "to bring to light, reveal" something which is hidden, and consequently "to interpret, elucidate, explain", and sometimes even to interpret in the sense of translating. This generic sense appears under the rubric of *De interpretatione*, in *Fihrist*, 249, where the authors of writings called "synopses" or "epitomes" (*summaria*, *d̲j̲awāmiʿ*), "abridgments" (*muk̲h̲taṣars*, *talk̲h̲īṣāt*) or "commentaries" (*s̲h̲arḥs*), are defined as exegetes (*al-mufassirūn*).

S̲h̲arḥ is "the commentary on a text which is not an interpretative abridgment, but which may nevertheless be of variable length" (Gutas, 35). This can be a developed commentary, *ad litteram* (*ʿalā 'l-lafẓ*), or an interpretation according to the sense (*ʿalā 'l-maʿnā*) in the form of a paraphrase (e.g. *Talk̲h̲īṣ Safsaṭa, Exposition or Paraphrase of the Sophistici elenchi* by Ibn Rus̲h̲d). It can also have the appearance of notes on the text (e.g. *S̲h̲arḥ K. Bārīminiyās ʿalā d̲j̲ihat al-taʿlīk* of al-Fārābī); for a full analysis, see Endress, in *GaP*, ii, 461-73, iii, 19-20; Gutas, 31-43.

V. Other elements of the semantic field of "commentary".

It is appropriate to include other terms here e.g. *taḥrīr* (revision of a text, or even "edition"), a term which refers to the elements of a text or a commentary which have been chosen for comment, clarification or correction, such as the *Taḥrīr* of al-D̲j̲uwaynī on the lost commentary by al-Bāḳillānī on the *K. al-Lumaʿ* of al-As̲h̲ʿarī (Madelung, in *GaP*, ii, 332); or furthermore the commentaries on scientific *compendia* of the ancients such as those of Euclid, of Menelaos, etc., revised by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Endress, in *GaP*, ii, 463). It is also necessary to take into account works which bear the title *taḳrīr*, a term which refers to remarks on a text.

Other types of work belong to a greater or lesser extent to the genre of "commentary" or contain interpretative elements; for this reason it would be necessary, in a monograph on the subject which is yet to be written, to consider the following genres also: in certain cases, the *addenda* and *corrigenda*, complements and supplements, especially in philology: *Istidrāk* (two in the *Fihrist*, bearing on the *K. al-ʿAyn*), *al-istidrāk limā ag̲h̲falahu, mā ag̲h̲falahu, fāʾit, ziyādāt, istik̲h̲rād̲j̲, ik̲h̲rad̲j̲ nukat, takmila, g̲h̲alaṭ* and *taṣḥīḥ*, sometimes even "refutations": *radd, naḳḍ* and *intiṣār*. Numerous works which bear the title *tahd̲h̲īb* belong to the category of "commentary", thus for example *The emendation of traditions* (*Tahd̲h̲īb al-āt̲h̲ār* of al-Ṭabarī) (see *EIt*, 58-60; arts. ḤĀS̲H̲IYA, MATN, etc.; cf. A.F.L. Beeston, in *CHAL*. i. *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge 1983, 24).

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(CL. GILLIOT)

S̲H̲ĀRIʿ (A., pl. *s̲h̲awāriʿ*), "clearly-defined way, main road, highway"; "situated on a main road, at the side of the road (e.g. a house)".

Compared with other terms having similar urban denotations, such as *darb* and *zuḳāḳ*, the uses of *s̲h̲āriʿ* as a common noun are not the most numerous in the pre-modern texts. Thus there is no chapter in al-Maḳrīzī's *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* devoted to this term; the treatise devoted to it at the end of the 9th/15th century, the *K. al-Fawāʾid al nafīsa al-bāhira fī bayān ḥukm s̲h̲awāriʿ al-Ḳāhira* (ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye 1176) is an exception.

S̲h̲āriʿ is often used as an adjective and as an active participle, "giving on to a street" (of a house, see *LʿA*), "opening out on to"; or, preceded by a particle, it forms (like *ṭarīḳ*) a phrase meaning "at the opening out of...", "on the road of..." (see S. Denoix, *Décrire Le Caire. Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr d'après Ibn Duqmāq et Maqrīzī*, Cairo 1993, 143). But it also becomes a genuine toponym. In the geographer Ibn Rusta [*q.v.*], the *s̲h̲āriʿ* divides Ṣanʿāʾ into two halves (see R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, 146). "It is the Street called Straight, the main street of Damascus" in Ibn ʿAsākir (N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas d'Ibn ʿAsākir*, Damascus 1959, 85 n. 10) (but in Ottoman times, the three main traffic arteries were called *ṭarīḳ sulṭānī*). *Al-s̲h̲āriʿ al-aʿẓam* denoted the main axis, the central avenue, of ʿAbbāsid Sāmarrāʾ or the *ḳaṣaba* of the Cairo of al-Maḳrīzī.

In the course of their long history, the names for traffic routes did not necessarily express differences in width, length, form or function. Nor, with the exception of *s̲h̲āriʿ*, did they indicate the open and freely-circulated nature or, on the contrary, the closed nature of what they designated. To define the status of a way, legal language resorted to a single criterion, *nāfid̲h̲* or *sālik* "through way" and *g̲h̲ayr nāfid̲h̲/sālik* "closed way, cul-de-sac". A *s̲h̲āriʿ* was *nāfid̲h̲*, "it denotes a road properly open at both ends ... a public road where everyone has the right to circulate" (R. Brunschvig, *Etudes d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 11), and a road along which clear passage must be maintained.

At the time when cities and towns were being transformed and the vocabulary of urban patterning evolved, *s̲h̲āriʿ* became a key element in the new terminology, as is seen in the *K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-d̲j̲adīda* of ʿAlī Mubārak Pas̲h̲a. *S̲h̲āriʿ* was henceforth used for any road of some importance, corresponding to a "street" or to Fr. *boulevard* or *avenue*, as in Cairo, in the quarters built up since the end of the 19th century. Or it could be used only for the main arterial roads, whilst for the secondary ones, other terms, which were part of the local tradition, would be used. This was still the case in Cairo, where, in the historic centre, *s̲h̲āriʿ* co-exists with *sikka, ḥāra, darb, ʿaṭfa* and *zuḳāḳ*, in accordance with a terminology laid down by the city administration at the end of the last century. Similarly in Tunis, where the term co-exists with *nahd̲j̲* and *zanḳa*, which are by no means exclusive to the *madīna*.

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SHARĪʿA (a.), derived from the root *sharaʿa*, having a primary range of meaning in relation to religion and religious law; also Sharʿ, frequently synonymous. The word *sharīʿa* is common to the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Middle East and designates a prophetic religion in its totality, generating such phrases as *sharīʿat Mūsā*, *sharīʿat al-Masīḥ* (the law/religion of Moses or the Messiah), *sharīʿat al-Madjūs* (the Zoroastrian religion) or *sharīʿatu-nā* (meaning our religion and referring to any of the monotheist faiths). Within Muslim discourse, *sharīʿa* designates the rules and regulations governing the lives of Muslims, derived in principal from the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. In this sense, the word is closely associated with *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], which signifies academic discussion of divine law. The root *sharaʿa* has a wide range of secular usage explored and analysed in the Arabic lexicographical tradition (see 5. below).

1. *Sharīʿa* in Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*
2. *Sharīʿa* in Jewish and Christian literature
3. *Sharīʿa* in Muslim literature
4. *Sharīʿa* and *fiḳh*
5. *Sharīʿa* in the lexicographical tradition

1. *Sharīʿa* in Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*.

1.1. *Sharīʿa* occurs once in the Ḳurʾān, at XLV, 18 ("We have set you on a *sharīʿa* of command, so follow it"), where it designates a way or path, divinely appointed. The cognate *shirʿa* is also used once, at V, 48, in parallel to *minhādj*, meaning way or path ("To each we have appointed a *shirʿa* and a *minhādj*"). The verb *sharaʿa* occurs twice, once with God as subject (*sharaʿa la-kum min al-dīn* ..., "He has laid down for you as religion that which he appointed also for Noah", XLII, 13); and once in relation to rebels (*sharaʿū lahum min al-dīn* ..., "Or do they have companions who have laid down for them as religion that which God did not permit?" VII, 163).

1.2. In the corpus of *ḥadīth* surveyed by Wensinck *et al.*, *sharīʿa* occurs once in the singular, in a *ḥadīth* in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal: "the community shall remain on the *sharīʿa* (path/way) as long as there does not occur in it three things ..." The plural form occurs not more than a dozen times, mostly in locutions like *sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, *sharāʾiʿ al-īmān*, once in a string of terms indicating rules: *inna li-'l-īmān farāʾiḍ wa-sharāʾiʿ wa-ḥudūd wa-sunan*. The word *sharʿ* does not occur with the connotation of religion or law, and the verbal form *sharaʿa* occurs only once with these connotations, in a set of variations of the same *ḥadīth*: "God has laid down for his (var. your) Prophet the rules of guidance" (*sharaʿa li-nabi-hi sunan al-hudā*). The noun *sharʿ*, the verb *sharaʿa* and derivatives occur frequently with secular meanings, corresponding to those discussed in 5. below.

This paucity of usage and connotation make it unlikely that these sources constitute the beginning of the development of this term in Islam or in the other monotheist faiths.

2. *Sharīʿa* in Jewish and Christian literature.

2.1. The Jewish tradition. The translation of the Old Testament into Arabic attributed to Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, known as Saʿadya Gaon (d. A.D. 933 [*q.v.*]), demonstrates that *sharīʿa* had become a central component of the religious vocabulary of the Arabic-speaking Jewish community. The most commonly used term for translating Hebrew *torah* is Arabic *sharīʿa* or its plural. When the Hebrew word clearly designates a single rule, or set of rules, the favoured terms are *sharīʿa* and *sharāyiʿ*. The same is true when the Hebrew term designates the law as a totality, the law delivered to Moses. There are many instances, especially in Deuteronomy, where the Hebrew word is retained in an Arabic form, *al-tawrāh*. The use of *sharīʿa* to designate a single rule is most obvious in a group of verses in Leviticus, e.g. Lev. vi, 8, "This is the law of the burnt offering" (*hādhihi sharīʿat*...); cf. vi, 14; vi, 25; vii, 1; vii, 7 etc. The plural form is found at Exod. xviii, 20, "And thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws" (*al-rusūm wa 'l-sharāyiʿ*); cf. xviii, 16. The more general sense, where the word *torah* means the whole of the law, is exemplified at Exod. xiii, 9, "And it shall be a sign unto thee [Moses] ... that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth" (*li-takūn sharīʿat Allāh fī fī-ka*). The plural form is found at Exod. xvi, 4, "That I may prove them whether they will walk in my law or not" (*fī sharāyiʿī am lā*); cf. Exod. xxiv, 12. A majority of references to *torah* in Deuteronomy elicit the Arabic form *al-tawrāt*, perhaps because the referent is understood to be the Pentateuch; but cf. Deut. iv, 44, "And this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel" (*wa-hādhihi al-sharīʿa allatī* ...).

Sharīʿa is thus the most common word expressing rule and system of rules in Saʿadya's Arabic version of the Hebrew Bible. It is occasionally used to translate Hebrew *misvah*, e.g. Deut. vi, 25; xvii, 20. It functions frequently as one of a cluster of words designating God's commands, often together with *waṣāyā*, *rusūm*, *aḥkām*, etc., e.g. Deut. xxvi, 5; xxvi, 17. This translation, even if managed and completed by Saʿadya, should be understood as a reflection of a pre-existing Arabic targum tradition (Blau).

A similar reliance on the nouns *sharīʿa* and *sharʿ*, and the verb *sharaʿa*, for reference to God's law-making activities, is found in Saʿadya's theological (polemical) work, *K. al-Amānāt wa 'l-iʿtiḳādāt*. This book, though it reflects Saʿadaya's participation in the Rabbanite-Karaite [see karaites] struggle, may be accepted as a reflection of the general religious vocabulary used in polemical contexts by those who shared the monotheist traditions of the Middle East. *Sharīʿa* and its plural designate individual laws (141, 175) and also systems of law revealed by God through prophets (113). Rational laws are distinguished from revealed laws (*al-sharāyiʿ al-ʿaḳliyya wa 'l-samʿiyya*, 115-8). *Sharʿ* is used synonymously with *sharīʿa*; and the verb, *sharaʿa* with God as subject, meaning to lay down a law (128-9). A context which generates multiple reference to the law (religious system promulgated by a prophet) is abrogation (*naskh*), the question whether the law of a later can abrogate that of an earlier prophet (131). Arabic *tawrāt* is used to designate the Pentateuch: *sharʿ al-tawrah*, *sharayiʿ al-tawrah* (139).

2.2. The Christian tradition. A similar use of this vocabulary can be found in Christian writers, discussion of abrogation being particularly likely to generate systematic reference to *sharīʿa*. A characteristic example, from the 4th/10th century, may be found in a polemical tract directed against the Jews, by the Jacobite ʿĪsā b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Zurʿa [*q.v.*]. *Sharīʿa* refers to a system of laws brought by a prophet and subject (perhaps) to abrogation by later prophets. The word *sunna* (pl. *sunan*) [*q.v.*] covers the same semantic field. Both terms are extended to carry distinctions

between natural, rational and revealed laws. The Christian religion, the Law of the Messiah, is referred to as *sunnat al-Masīḥ* (34) and *sharīʿat al-Masīḥ* (35).

The question of when this cluster of Arabic terms emerged as part of the self-expression of Jews and Christians is unclear. But, whatever model is adopted for the emergence and early development of Islam, it is necessary to acknowledge the co-existence or prior existence of Arabic-speaking Jewish and Christian communities. The development of an Arabic vocabulary for the expression of concepts and ideas integral to the prophetic religions of the Middle East is perhaps best understood as the common achievement of several communities engaged in polemical encounter throughout the 7th to the 9th centuries A.D. The most radical and stimulating account of this encounter is that of J. Wansbrough (1977, 1978).

3. *Sharīʿa* in Muslim literature.

Sharīʿa and its cognates appear, in Islamic religious literature, reflecting the same range and type of reference as in Jewish and Christian literature. *Sharīʿa* (pl. *sharāʾiʿ*) designates a rule of law, or a system of laws, or the totality of the message of a particular prophet. In so far as it designates a system of laws it is synonymous with the word *sharʿ*, which is probably the more common word in juristic literature for divine law. The verb *sharaʿa* may appear with God as subject (following Ḳurʾānic usage). More frequently, the process of demonstrating the law is a prophetic activity, and the word *shāriʿ* (law-giver) refers characteristically to Muḥammad in his function as model and exemplar of the law. In a rare extension of meaning, the word *shāriʿ* is transfered to the jurists, thereby highlighting the creative aspect of their interpretative activity (al-Shāṭibī, iv, 245). These patterns of usage may be found in all the major genres of religious literature.

3.1. *Kalām.* Theological literature is likely to generate reference to *sharīʿa* wherever the message bearing activity of a prophet becomes the focus of discussion. Al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), in a discussion of prophets as bearers of the divine message (*risāla*), raised the question whether they confirm or abrogate the *sharīʿa* of an earlier prophet, *sharīʿat ghayri-hi min al-rusul.* He uses the adjective *sharʿī* to indicate revealed laws (*al-ʿibādāt al-sharʿiyya*) perhaps distinguished them from rational laws (*al-ḳaḍāyā al-ʿaḳliyya*) (38-40). The category of moral rules accessible to the intellect was denied by Sunnīs, but the concept was forced upon them by their Muʿtazilī opponents. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]), in his *K. al-Arbaʿīn,* describes Muḥammad as sent with a message (*risāla*) such that he abrogated with his law earlier laws, *nasakha bi-sharʿi-hi al-sharāʾiʿ.* Here *sharāʾiʿ* functions perhaps as a plural for *sharʿ* (20). In the Muʿtazilī tradition, the words *sharʿ*, *sharīʿa*, etc., kept their general sense, meaning the totality of a prophetic religion, but were also used systematically to distinguish rational from revealed laws. The Shīʿī (Muʿtazilī) scholar al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325 [*q.v.*]) accounts it a benefit of prophecy that the prophet brings rules which are not accessible to the intellect; he refers to these as *sharāʾiʿ* or *ʿibādāt wa-sharāʾiʿ.* He thinks there is no period of time exempt from a prophetic law (*sharʿu nabī*) (271-3, 278). Heresiographical literature continues to use the word *sharīʿa* and its derivatives to refer to Islam and to other religions, including *sharīʿat al-Madjūs* for Zoroastrianism (W. Cantwell Smith).

3.2. *Tafsīr.* Works of Ḳurʾānic commentary draw on the conceptual structures of *kalām* while developing some arguments specific to Ḳurʾānic usage. The word *shirʿa* is usually declared to be synonymous with *sharīʿa.* Comparison of Ḳurʾān, V, 48 ("To each [community] we have appointed a *shirʿa*") and XLII, 13 ("He has laid down—*sharaʿa*—for you as religion—*dīn*—that which he had laid down also for Noah") prompted a systematic distinction between *sharīʿa,* meaning law, and different for different prophets, and *dīn,* implying recognition of the one God, and the same for all prophets. From al-Ṭabarī, citing Ḳatāda, *ad* V, 48: the Torah, the Gospels and the Ḳurʾān have each their own *sharīʿa*... but *dīn* is one, meaning *tawḥīd* and *ikhlāṣ li-llāh,* and brought by all prophets.

3.3. Juristic literature. In so far as juristic literature gives an account of or a statement of rules, it need not generate self-referring locutions. When it does so, there was a considerable number of technical terms meaning rule: *sunna/sunan, ḥukm/aḥkām, farīḍa/farāʾiḍ, ḥadd/ḥudūd, sharīʿa/sharāʾiʿ.* The latter does not dominate in the earliest texts. Even later, general reference to the law is more likely to elicit the word *sharʿ* than *sharīʿa.* Systematic distinction between ordinary linguistic usage and technical juristic usage depends on the contrast *lughat^{an}:shar^{ʿan}*. Hermeneutical literature (works of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*) generated an increasing quantity of reference to the law, the law-giver etc., but the earliest work of this kind, the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī, makes little use of the word *sharīʿa* or *sharʿ*. Later works generated numerous references. A characteristic context relates to the question whether Muslims and/or Muḥammad were subject to the laws of earlier prophets. Al-Ghazālī, in his *Mustaṣfā,* phrased the question in relation to *sharʿu-nā* and *sharʿu man ḳabla-nā,* our law and the law of those before us. He asked whether Muḥammad was bound by the law (*sharʿ*) of earlier prophets, and whether he abrogated the *sharīʿa* (*sic*) of Moses and Jesus. The rapid transition from *sharʿ* to *sharīʿa* suggests no distinction between these terms in this context. Espousing one of the views current in juristic circles, al-Ghazālī affirmed that the *Sharīʿa* of our Prophet (*sharīʿat rasūli-nā*) abrogated previous systems; for, if Muḥammad had been bound by any other *sharʿ*, he would not deserve the title of law-giver (*shāriʿ*).

Most of the problems attendant on the word *sharīʿa* were perspicuous to the tradition and capable of being explained. The Ḥanafī jurist Ibn ʿĀbidīn (Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar, d. 1252/1836) explained it as having the meaning of a passive participle of the verb *sharaʿa,* meaning that which is laid down, or decreed. When the Prophet is identified as the law-giver, the *shāriʿ*, this is metaphoric usage (*madjāz^{an}*); in truth (*ḥaḳīḳat^{an}*), it is God who is *shāriʿ*. *Sharīʿa* means the same as *milla* and *dīn* (i.e. the totality of religious beliefs), but it may be applied absolutely to the rules (*aḥkām*) governing human actions. Both *sharīʿa* and *dīn* may be ascribed (in a genitive construction) to God, the Prophet and the community: God's law, the Prophet's and the community's law. (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, i, 11)

4. *Sharīʿa* and *fiḳh.*

The academic discipline whereby scholars described and explored the *Sharīʿa* is called *fiḳh.* The word designates a human activity, and cannot be ascribed to God or (usually) the Prophet. It frequently occurs in a genitive construction with the name of a scholar: the *fiḳh* of Mālik, the *fiḳh* of Ibn ʿĀbidīn. The *Sharīʿa,* contained in God's revelation (Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*), is explained and elaborated by the interpretative activity of scholars, masters of *fiḳh,* the *fuḳahāʾ*. Since this is in practice the only access to the law, the two words are sometimes used synonymously, though *sharīʿa* retains the connotation of divine, and *fiḳh* that of

human. Since the late 19th century, the linguistic calque *al-ḳānūn al-islāmī* (Islamic law, borrowed from European usage) has become a part of Muslim discourse and carries with it connotations of legal system, as in modern states [see ḲĀNŪN]. Western studies of *fiḳh* are still dominated by the work of Joseph Schacht, who produced the articles *fiḳh* and *sharīʿa* for *EI*[1], the former lightly edited for *EI*[2].

4.1. The origins of Islamic law. The earliest large-scale and systematic expressions of the law are found in a bundle of texts attributed to scholars of the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries, notably Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805) and Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798 [*q.vv.*]). The last two are pupils of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]), who, together with Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and, later, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) gave his name to a broad tradition or school (*madhhab*) of juristic thinking. These four schools dominated the Sunnī community. The Imāmī Shīʿa developed an independent tradition of their own (finding literary form only in the 4th/10th century). And there were a number of minor traditions, e.g. those of the Zaydīs and Khāridjīs (both alleged to be early) and the Ẓāhirīs (or Literalists), followers of Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 269/882 [*q.v.*]). The emergence of the dominant traditions is presented inside Islam as the result of a process, described in historical terms, but perhaps a narrative expression of a theological conviction. The Prophet, by virtue of his ideal practice or *sunna*, was exemplar and model for his followers, whose duty it was to conform to his *sunna*. To this end, his words and deeds were preserved by his Companions in the form of discrete narratives or *ḥadīth* which were passed on from generation to generation, giving rise to discussion, debate and finally to formal juristic thinking, or *fiḳh*. The eponymous founders of the schools, by virtue of their piety and commitment to Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, together with their learning and capacity for systematic thought, derived from this inheritance structures of rules which were adopted by subsequent generations, and preserved and developed in an ongoing tradition of commitment and loyalty. The actual and historically successful juristic traditions in Islam were thus traced back to the Prophet through the decisive intervention of great jurists.

As an account of history, this sequence of events was challenged already by Ignaz Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, 1888-90). Building on his work, Schacht offered, in his *Origins*, a coherent account of early Muslim jurisprudence. He proposed that the earliest works were reflections of a "living tradition" which had grown up locally in diverse cities (Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, Mecca, Medina). The systematic structures that emerged reflected local (and Imperial, Umayyad) practice, and the ongoing thought of local scholars. They were not dependent on Prophetic *ḥadīth*, perhaps not even on the legal aspects of the Ḳurʾān. Increasing polemical encounter, in the early ʿAbbāsid period, led to a search for justification of the law and this took the form of appeal to Prophetic practice expressed in the form of *ḥadīth*. The first scholar to argue systematically that law was necessarily related to Prophetic *ḥadīth* was al-Shāfiʿī, who emerges, for Schacht, as the master architect of Islamic law. Eventually all the schools succumbed to al-Shāfiʿī's argumentation and developed a common hermeneutical approach to the law, presenting it as derived, by a systematic act of interpretation, from Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. According to Schacht, the demand for Prophetic *ḥadīth*, even before al-Shāfiʿī, and certainly after him, ensured that they were produced (created) in numbers appropriate to the need. Schacht derived his theory primarily from the study of al-Shāfiʿī's *Umm* and *Risāla*, works which not only exemplify (in marked contrast to other early works) the principle of Prophetic authority for the law but systematically criticise the early local schools for their failure to adhere to this principle.

All subsequent scholarship in this field has responded to Schacht, whether to refute, to qualify, or to confirm and extend his findings. Several Muslim scholars (e.g. M.M. Azmi) have denied them. Both Muslim and secular scholars have searched for qualifications and refinements whereby to discover the antiquity and/or authenticity of at least some Prophetic *ḥadīth* (G.H.A. Juynboll, D.S. Powers). J. Wansbrough has developed Schacht's methodology, arguing that the Ḳurʾān too must be recognised as the end product of two centuries of community experience (1977). N. Calder argues that the major early works of Islamic law are not authored, but organic, texts, reflecting generations of thinking about the law, expressed through successive redactions of school material (1993). F. Rahman initiated a Muslim theological response to Schacht's ideas (1965).

4.2. The literature of the law. There are a number of genres of juristic literature, of which the two most important are *furūʿ al-fiḳh* (a literature of rules) and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (a literature that identifies the sources of law and the methodology for deriving rules from revelation). It is possible to identify a number of minor genres, but many of these can be classified as monographic developments of topics that are proper to *furūʿ* (e.g. special studies of the rules relating to government, or judicial practice) or *uṣūl* (special studies of analogy or consensus, etc.). Collections of *fatāwā* (sing. *fatwā* [*q.v.*]) and studies on the authority of *muftīs* (section 4.3, below) may be recognised as independent genres, the first having some affiliation to works of *furūʿ*, the second to works of *uṣūl*.

Furūʿ. The genre of *furūʿ* is continuous from the 3rd/9th to the 13th/19th century. All the major works of the genre have the same basic structure. They offer a network of rules roughly grouped into topics. The major topics of the law are, first, purity, prayer, alms, fasting and pilgrimage. These, together, sometimes, with *djihād*, are the major *ʿibādāt* (acts of worship). Their importance is signalled by their being positioned at the beginning of a work of *furūʿ*. More loosely ordered are the remaining topics of the law, the *muʿāmalāt* (interpersonal acts). These include family law (marriage, divorce, inheritance, testamentary bequest, slavery, etc.), mercantile law (contracts of sale, debt, hire, loan, gift, partnership, etc.), laws relating to agency, land ownership, compensation for injury, killing and the usurpation of goods, penalties (restricted to the divinely specified penalties for adultery, false accusation of adultery, theft, wine-drinking and highway robbery), judicial procedure and other topics. Though various attemps were made to devise more analytical approaches to the topics of the law, a sequential approach based on loose groupings, and subject to considerable variation, prevailed. Since the topics of the law cover all the major categories of a pious, and a social, life, and since, further, the tendency of the jurists was to hold on to the concrete and to elaborate precise and distinct "cases" for analysis, a work of *furūʿ*, formally at least, constituted a literary depiction of social reality in normative form. As works of literature, books of this kind were subject to the usual tendencies of literary formalism, sufficiently indicated in the notions of linguistic,

structural and conceptual virtuosity, of imaginative exploration, of realism transformed into artifice, etc. At the same time, in so far as they were intended to control and guide social life, they display also qualities of practical concern and hard-headed realism. The interplay of literary and imaginative qualities with practical and mundane ends was not predictable and varied immensely both within a work and across works and schools. The four major schools of law, and the Shīʿī tradition, show a broadly similar approach to the genre and a broadly similar exploration of its possibilities.

To the casuistic and exploratory aspects of a work of *furūʿ* were added patterns of justificatory argument. These had two major forms. First, the interpretative relationship between school tradition (*madhhab*) and revelation (Ḳurʾān and Sunna) was re-expressed from generation to generation, constituting a major part of the ongoing task of jurists. At the same time, loyalty and commitment to tradition were expressed through demonstration that later articulations of the law were derived from and were justifiable in terms of earlier articulations within the school. Works of *furūʿ* had thus a dual hermeneutical aspect: an interpretative relationship to the school tradition and a further interpretative relationship to Ḳurʾān and Sunna. It is the former which dominates. Jurists did not act as independent interpreters of revelation, they submitted to the authority of the school and the eponymous founder. They were committed, by a prior act of loyalty (usually determined by birth or geography), to a discursive, hermeneutical, engagement with their past. The creative aspect of their work was termed *idjtihād*, the duty of submission *taḳlīd* [*q.vv*]. The original act of *idjtihād* characteristic of the eponymous founders was absolute and independent, that of succeeding jurists qualified and limited.

The various components of a work of *furūʿ* can then be summarised with reference to topics and concepts, rules and "cases", and justificatory argument related to Ḳurʾān and Sunna, and to school tradition, the whole capable of being drawn towards an exploratory and hypothetical pole or towards a pragmatic and practical pole. The literary tradition as a whole suggests possibilities of expansion and exuberance which point (perhaps not accidentally) towards an infinite concern with detail. This tendency naturally engendered the opposite need, namely that of synthesis, control and concision. The play of expansion and concision is reflected in two literary types within the genre, *mukhtaṣars* and *mabsūṭs*. A *mukhtaṣar* or epitome is a concise exposition of the law, often expressed in a self-consciously elegant and syntactically compressed language. One of the most famous, and aesthetically and intellectually challenging, works of this kind is the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 776/1374). A *mabsūṭ* by contrast tends to multiply detail and argument, with only loose structural control. The relationship between *mukhtaṣar* and *mabsūṭ* is repeated in that between *matn* and *sharḥ* (text and commentary), it being a mark of the continuity of a tradition that what was summarised was the tradition to date, and what was expanded was an earlier and briefer expression of the tradition. The processes of summary and commentary, of paraphrase and citation, of preservation and re-use of prior articulations were all symbolic of loyalty and of a mode of hermeneutical development which camouflaged the reality of change. Change, in this context, means not only the accommodation of rules to social reality but also the management of a literary structure to serve the needs (educational, literary, aesthetic, theological, and strictly legal) of a developing community.

Uṣūl. Works of *uṣūl*, like works of *furūʿ*, have a stability of form and content which, marking them as a continuous genre, lasted till the 13th/19th century (and in some areas beyond). These works emerged, in numbers, in the early 5th/11th century, the most sophisticated of the early works emerging only towards the end of that century. Particularly significant was the synthesising and ordering work of a group of Shāfiʿī scholars living under the Saldjūḳs, notably Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī, the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī, and al-Ghazālī. The *Mustasfa* of al-Ghazālī was a well-organised work which, capturing and ordering all the topics of the discipline, in a masterpiece of structure and expository detail, decisively influenced the subsequent development of the genre. The *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī constitutes an apparently isolated early work which has most of the characteristics and covers many of the topics of a work of *uṣūl*, but it has been judged by contemporary scholars to be either a late school work (Calder, 1993), or a work of limited achievement whose implications took time to discover (Hallaq, 1993).

Works of *uṣūl* usually contain four broad areas of discussion: the categories of the law; the sources of the law; the hermeneutical rules that permit extrapolation of norms from sources; and an elaboration of the theory of *idjtihād*. The categories comprise at least the familiar five *aḥkām* (sing. *ḥukm*), viz. mandatory, preferred, permitted, disliked and forbidden, and the distinctions between valid, defective and null (*ṣaḥīḥ*, *fāsid*, *bāṭil*). The sources always include Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and consensus (*idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]), and might include intellect (limited for the Sunnīs to a presumption of continuity, *istiṣḥāb al-ḥāl*), the law of earlier prophets, the opinions of the Companions, juristic preference (*istiḥsān* [*q.v.*]), and public welfare (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]). The hermeneutical principles relate first to language and rhetoric (usually presented in a set of antithetical pairs: ambiguous and clarifying, the evident and the inferred, commands and prohibitions, general and particular, etc.) and secondly to the operation of analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]). All of these items were contained in an open-ended and exploratory pattern of discourse.

The body of hermeneutical principles leads to conflicting possibilities (*taʿāruḍ*) and to the exercise of preference (*tardjīḥ*), the methodology of which is explained under the heading *idjtihād*. *Idjtihād* literally means effort. Technically, it means the exertion of the utmost possible effort by a trained jurist, taking into account all the relevant texts and principles of interpretation, to discover, for a particular human situation, a rule of law. Underlying this definition there is an important epistemological message. It concedes that most of the details of the law are not known for certain but are a matter of skilled and pious deduction, leading, however, only to opinion. Final certainty on the details of the law is not accessible, but the duty of searching for and justifying opinion by argument is absolute. Committed in this respect to argument and debate, the jurists (in this context *mudjtahids*, those who undertake *idjtihād*) also acknowledged a need for final decisions in particular cases. This was provided by asserting that the result of an act of *idjtihād* was binding both on the *mudjtahid* and, where relevant, on those who were not trained in the law. The latter (the *ʿāmmīs*) were required to submit to the *mudjtahids*, becoming thereby *muḳallids* (lit. followers or imitators). In so far as a *mudjtahid* responded directly to a particular question, he was acting as a *muftī* and his decision was

a *fatwā*. This network of topics was a part of the hermeneutical thinking of the Sunnī and Shīʿī traditions, and it was capable of varied and sometimes highly individual development.

4.3. *Sharīʿa* and practice. The literature and intellectual structures which were the highest expression of *sharīʿa* had their most important social realisation in the Islamic educational system. With the emergence of *madrasas* [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century, *fikh* was recognised as the chief end of education, and retained this position until the decline of the traditional system in the 19th and 20th centuries. Common to all Islamic lands, and taught almost exclusively in Arabic, the curriculum provided cultural homogeneity and fostered the emergence of a pan-Islamic cultural élite. The discipline of *fikh* became a powerful and flexible intellectual tool, adapted to various social needs, aesthetic, imaginative and theological as well as strictly legal. The training in this discipline was usually found practical in respect of the needs of the mercantile classes and the governing bureaucracies, as well as the religious hierarchy.

The topics and concepts of the law were closely allied to life experience or could be made so by systematic exploratory thought. But a work of *furūʿ* was never a set of rules governing practice in the way that regulations and statutes do. In a given city, at one time, different jurists produced different works, reflecting different concerns; intended to influence certainly, but also to provoke thought and to delight. The actual realisation of the law depended always on personal and local factors: the customs of a family or a quarter, the traditions of a city or a region, the specific rules and practices of a judge, a governor, or a sultan. The pluralist and exploratory aspects of the law had a varied and unpredictable relationship to the necessarily single and pragmatic actuality. This relationship itself became a part of the subject matter of *furūʿ*. The interplay of legal theory and reality has become increasingly an object of scholarly study, exemplified in Heyd (1973) and Johansen (1988).

Some areas of the law were systematically transformed into administrative structures. Central amongst these was the office of judge (*ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*]). His competence covered many aspects of family law (marriage, divorce, inheritance etc.), the administration of charitable endowments (*waḳf*) and the property of orphans, and the adjudication of civil disputes. His appointment and terms of office were controlled by political authority. His efficiency was often thought to be limited by the stringency of *sharʿī* rules and this led to the emergence of parallel judicial structures (called *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] in early ʿAbbāsid times) which had a more pragmatic attitude to the law and were closely related to government. In Ottoman times the integration of the *ḳāḍī* into the structures of government was nearly complete. (Tyan, 1960)

Mediating between the law as theory (object of study and subject of literary endeavour) and law in practice was the *muftī*. The *muftī* was a jurist, preferably highly qualified, who made himself available to give specific answers to specific questions of the law. In many areas and periods, and notably under the Ottomans, the higher ranks of *muftī*s were controlled and salaried by the government (Heyd, 1969). The responsa of *muftī*s were called *fatāwā*, and, in the case of intellectually outstanding, or politically important *muftī*s, might be preserved either as individual items or in collections. These have been recognised as important to our understanding of the law in practice (Masud *et al.*, 1995). Theoretical accounts of the authority and ranks of *muftī*s stimulated some of the most instructive general theories of Islamic law.

4.4. Modern developments. From the mid-19th century, three major factors affected the history of the *Sharīʿa*, all of them, at least in part, a result of Western influence. First, there was the gradual emergence of secular educational systems, aimed initially at the needs of the military, then of the administrative and mercantile classes. This development reduced the numbers of students in the traditional system, deprived them of a career structure, undermined their social alliances, and marginalised the subject matter of the curriculum. In the Shīʿī world, where the jurists had greater access to independent finance, the major centres of juristic education survived better, but even there, there was a decline in provincial centres and some loss of status. Secondly, with the emergence of modern, independent nation states, there was a rapid development of law-codes, constitutions, and statute law. In some respects, these are continuous with the procedures of government by decree that characterised older systems. But the enactment of the *Madjalla* [see MEDJELLE] (a partial codification of Ḥanafī law for practical ends), in 1876, by the Ottoman authorities, initiated a long history of (selective) codification of traditional law that continued through the 20th century. The reformist ideas of theoreticians (like Muḥammad ʿAbduh, d. 1905 [*q.v.*], in Egypt) brought increased flexibility based on a renewal of *idjtihād*, an abandonment (or curtailment) of school loyalties, and a patchwork approach to the juristic tradition as a whole (*talfīḳ* [*q.v.*]). Jurists and the religious-minded found it possible to accommodate themselves to the idea of constitutions. A majority even of the Shīʿī jurists supported the Persian Constitution in 1906. Throughout the 20th century all modern Muslim states have acquired legal systems, suited to modern nation states, in an astonishing act of creative system building, in which the *Sharīʿa* has always been one influence (Western legal systems being another, often a dominant, influence). The actual role of the *Sharīʿa*, meaning the tradition of *fikh*, has varied both in terms of its symbolic foregrounding and in terms of its real input (always greatest in the area of family law) (Anderson, Coulson).

A third area of development relates to political opposition. The ideology of political opposition in the Muslim world has been influenced by Western thought (by French revolutionary, or socialist and communist ideologies, etc.), but is nearly always accompanied by appeal to the *Sharīʿa* as an ideal of social justice. In these contexts, the word is characteristically deprived of detail, of complexity, and of association with the intellectual tradition of *fikh*. It functions instead as a constitutive element in a demand for loyalty, unity, and commitment; it represents an ideal (unreal) governmental system. With this pattern of connotation, it permeates the ideological statements of the Muslim Brothers and of more recent fundamentalist groups. It is sometimes closely associated with the name of the scholar-hero Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] (exploited for his arguments in favour of a renewed *idjtihād*, based on a return to the earliest generations—the *salaf* [see AL-SALAF WA ʾL-KHALAF; SALAFIYYA]): or with selected items of the law which take on the disproportionate ideological burden (e.g. the *ḥadd* penalties for fornication).

Neither the practical aspects of the history of the *Sharīʿa* in the 20th century, nor its ideological aspects, take up or draw on the complex of cultural, philosophical and theological messages that are embedded in the tradition. In so far as these messages can be

recovered and translated into idioms appropriate to the 21st century, it seems likely to be the task of modern universities in the Muslim world, these being now the dominant institutions that preserve the cultural inheritance of traditional Islam.

5. *Sharīʿa* in the lexicographical tradition. The lexicographical tradition recognises two major (and a number of minor) areas of use which are without religious connotation. In a corpus of poetry and of *ḥadīth* evoking a pastoral and Bedouin environment, the verb *sharaʿa* and its derivatives relate to watering animals at a permanent water-hole. The verb implies lapping at, or drinking, water, and has animals as its subject (*sharaʿat al-dawābb*). *Sharīʿa* designates the area round a water-hole, or the point of entry to it, the place at which the animals drink, a place and not a road—*mawḍiʿ*, *mawrid*. *Sharaʿa*, *sharraʿa*, possibly *ashraʿa*, all mean to drive (or lead) animals to water. Adjectival usage indicates animals en route to or lapping at water (*dawābb shurūʿ*). *Sharīʿa* also signifies the seashore, again with special reference to animals which come there. Various aspects of this semantic cluster are claimed to constitute the origin of religious use. The second major semantic field relates to the notions of stretched, extended, and lengthy. A *shirʿa* is a fine string, as stretched on a bow, or a lute. *Ashraʿu 'l-unfi* is long-nosed. A *sharaʿa* (pl. *ashruʿ*) means a projecting, covered area (syn. *sakīfa*). The *shirāʿ* of a ship is its sail, stretched above it to catch the wind. This word is applied also to the neck of a camel; hence also *shurāʿiyya*, a long-necked camel (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *sharaʿa*; see also Lane, *Lexicon*). This field of use is cognate with Biblical and Talmudic Hebrew *saraʿ* meaning to stretch/be stretched and is likely to be the origin of *shāriʿ* and *sharīʿa* meaning way, path, road, highway. It is from here that the specialist religious use emerged.

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In South-East Asia.

Islam is found primarily in the modern states of Indonesia and Malaysia [*q.vv.*], with a presence also in Burma, Thailand and the Southern Philippines. The language of Islam is primarily Malay and Indonesian and cognate languages. Islam dates from the late 14th century and from that time the *Sharīʿa* has been expressed in a number of different forms. In general, we can distinguish three such forms.

(I) *The pre-modern texts.*

These are in Malay, Javanese and Arabic, and extant mss. date mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries.

The texts in Malay most usually, consist of elements of *fiḳh* as well as localised provisions (*adat*) [see ʿĀDA]. Commonly, these two elements are distinct and separate parts, and may easily be distinguished. However, it is not uncommon in some texts (e.g. Malacca laws, the Undang-undang Minangkabau) for explanations to be given as to different functions for each source of law. One (*adat*), expresses the practice of mankind, the other, *fiḳh*, the will of God. Differences are always reconcilable in the texts. The Java-Muslim texts, on the other hand, are written in an Indian-adapted form (*ubaya*, *pepakem*, *jayasong*) in which the Islamic element is confined to references to promulgation by a Muslim ruler and to *Hukum*, the law of God. There is little or no substantive *fiḳh*. One has Javanese laws administered under the aegis of a Muslim sovereign. Whether this was always the case in Java is uncertain because of the Dutch practice (18th-19th centuries) of revising or improving ("verbeterd") existing mss. for administrative use.

The major Arabic texts of the *Sharīʿa* circulated widely in South-East Asia. The standard works of al-Shāfiʿī, al-Anṣārī, al-Nawawī and al-Haythamī were either imported from the Middle East or were available in locally produced reprints. They were, and still are, the standard works for use by *kathi* and *imam* and in the *pesantren* [*q.v.*]. It was common practice for interlinear translation and/or glosses to be added. There was a considerable industry in the translation of these verses, especially into Malay. In the 18th and 19th centuries, elements of each of these pre-modern laws appeared in European (Dutch and British) rationalisations of Muslim law(s). The practice was to take selected portions of the *Sharīʿa* and incorporate them into administrative manuals for colonial use. There are many examples (see below).

To sum up: there is a vast mss. source which shows the adaptation and incorporation of the *Sharīʿa* into South-East Asian laws. The forms vary widely and, so far as context is concerned, the *Sharīʿa* is reproduced in part, re-defined and re-stated and (in some cases) exactly translated. However, by the mid-19th century, one can say that there was a definite trend toward the more classically-exact Arabic language prescription. This was a consequence of greater access to the Middle East centres of learning, brought about ironically enough by the colonial powers themselves,

but it was a trend interrupted by the imposition of colonial rule.

(II) Sharīʿa *in the colonial period* (*18th-20th centuries*).

In the pre-European Muslim lands, Islam was central to kingship, rule, sovereignty and morality. With European dominance from the 18th century onwards, Islam lost this function. Its status was reduced to that of a private religion and its political function was reduced to but a pale shadow, if that, of its former position. The *Sharīʿa*, likewise, was similarly limited in its scope and narrowly limited in its implementation.

(a) The Netherlands East Indies.

Islam was always an ideology of resistance to Dutch rule in the Indies and this intensified in the 19th century when V.O.C. rule was replaced by direct Netherlands State Government (1800). From this time, the N.E.I. Government adopted a consistent long-term policy toward the *Sharīʿa* in its legal administration.

N.E.I. legal policy was to introduce separate legal régimes for the various population groups. Thus for Europeans or persons assimilated to that status, the law was the law of the Netherlands. For the native population(s) it was *adat* (custom). There were about nineteen named *adat* law areas ("adatrechtskring"). The *Sharīʿa*, as such, had no place in this system. Islam was a religion only and not one which necessarily had legal consequences. This policy of separate law régimes became ever more complex throughout the 19th-20th centuries and ultimately proved unworkable. For example, special provisions had to be made for Native Christians, provisions had to be made for assimilation, i.e. change from one group to another, there were serious difficulties in inter-racial family law as well as in commercial law, and a complex intra-racial law of conflicts of laws had to be developed.

For the *Sharīʿa*, it was realised by 1882 that Islam could not be excluded from the legal régime, whatever its status in politics might be. In that year a "Priests' Court" (*Priesterraad*) was instituted for Java and later extended. Its competence was severely limited, mainly to family law but excluding inheritance, and its decisions had to be approved by the secular courts. Substantial revisions were made in 1937 which extended jurisdiction and also extended this competence of the courts (now the "Penghulu Courts") to Borneo. At the same time, the 1937 law withdrew jurisdiction in specified forms of property which were also in dispute in the civil (*Landraad*) courts. In short, the *Sharīʿa* was subject to very restrictive laws and its pre-colonial trend toward a more exact implementation was halted. On the other hand, it received a new form; now it was expressed in regulations and in bureaucratic practice. These are characteristics which persist into the post-colonial period (below). It is the politics of laws, rather than the *Sharīʿa* itself which determines the status of *fiḳh*.

(b) The British Territories.

These comprised the following:

(1) British Burma (1826-1947). The Islamic presence in Burma was an accident of imperial expansion. Muslims were immigrants, and the history of *Sharīʿa* is the history of *Sharīʿa* in Bengal. The only exception is some precedent on persons of mixed race ("Zerbadi"), one of whom was Muslim (see references).

(2) Second, the Straits Settlements and Malay States (1786-1957). It was British policy to recognise and give effect to the "manners, religions and customs" of the subject peoples. In effect, this meant the legal recognition of religious laws in the areas of family law and land ownership. To this extent, the *Sharīʿa* had recognition in purely family and religious (e.g. mosque administration, *waḳf*) matters. However, there are some special features which should be noted. First, references were taken from the pre-modern texts, but only in relation to land, and not to religion as such. Second, the *Sharīʿa* administered in the courts was taken from local experts not from the standard text books. It was only in the 1930s that standard texts from British India were commonly consulted. Third, *Sharīʿa* was never permitted to influence inheritance where land was involved; this was always a matter governed by *adat*.

From the late 1880s, the *Sharīʿa* gradually came to be organised in legislation and in the creation of a *Sharīʿa* court system, together with the necessary bureaucracy. Various "Muslims' Ordinances" or legislation with a similar name were promulgated. The purpose of the legislation was to regulate marriage (by registration), define the duties of the *ḳāḍī*, and regulate property matters as between husband and wife. The legislation was many times amended. The point is that *Sharīʿa*, while recognised in a limited way, was a "local" law or a "personal" law for a defined group. The *Sharīʿa* was dependent on recognition by the colonial authority. It had no existence outside of its colonial dependence, and it was never the law of the country.

(3) British Borneo comprised *Sarawak* (1841-1963) and British North Borneo (1888-1963). In both cases, the *Sharīʿa* was only one of a number of "native laws". There was no attempt to apply it; instead, there was a mélange of custom (*adat*) with some rather eclectic, mostly inaccurate, selections of *fiḳh*. This composite was not imposed by the British authority. Instead, by taking evidence from the local Muslim populations it grew and took on a life of its own. The most striking example is the Undang-undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak "Laws of the Sarawak Malay Court" (1915).

(c) French Indo-China and the American Philippines.

These can be dealt with rather shortly. In the Indo-China territories, the minority Cham [see ČAM] of western Vietnam and eastern Cambodia were Muslim. There were historical links to Java. The only reliable information dates from 1941 (see *Bibl.*) and shows a sort of "Customary Islam". For the Philippines [*q.v.*], the main Muslim population is in the southern islands. Here, the *Sharīʿa* was only one element in an *adat*-Islam complex of prescriptions. While in respect of the Cham the French did manage a classification, that of *asiatique assimilé*, in terms of private international law, the Americans attempted nothing of the sort. Islam was considered only in political terms; the *Sharīʿa*/*adat* was ignored.

(III) Sharīʿa *since the Second World War*.

The end of the war saw the effective end of the colonial presence in South-East Asia. For Islam, this had two important consequences. First, Islam could now have an open and legitimate political presence in what became Indonesia and Malaysia. The result was that the *Sharīʿa* immediately attained a status of something more than a personal law. Indeed, even in the transition periods, new provisions were already being made.

(a) Indonesia.

The Republic Indonesia has had a complex history since 1945, and the history of Islam has been similarly complex. The colonial courts system (now renamed Pengadilan Agama) has been retained and extended to all of Indonesia. In addition, a Department of Religious Affairs has been established for the whole

Republic. The jurisdiction of the courts has been extended somewhat, though not to the extent asked for by Islamic activists. However, the latter have been successful in preserving the position of *Sharīʿa* in the contemporary reforming legislation, such as family law. There is no Muslim or Islamic Code of law as such in Indonesia. Various drafts have been proposed and are still under discussion.

(b) Singapore and Malaysia.

The 1950s saw a considerable activity in the regulation of *Sharīʿa*. Singapore and all the states of Malaysia now have enactments (The Administration of Islamic [or Muslim] Law) in force. Generally speaking, the legislation provides mechanisms for (i) the determination of *Sharīʿa* entrusted to a Council (Majlis) of scholars; (ii) a system of Muslim courts; and (iii) statements of substantive principles of law, including family law, trusts and offences against religion. In Malaysia, though not in Singapore, constitutional amendments in 1988 have re-enforced the *Sharīʿa*. Since the 1980s also, the various states in Malaysia have considerably extended the scope of *Sharīʿa*.

(c) The Philippines.

After many years of neglect under the Spanish, American, and Republic of the Philippines' governments, the *Sharīʿa* received formal recognition in 1977 with the proclamation of the "Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines". It is in five books and covers persons and family relations, succession, disputes, legal opinions penal provisions and transition provisions. In short, the Code recognises the separateness of Islamic principle and provides for its administration in the Philippines for the first time. Data are lacking on its success or otherwise at the moment.

(d) General.

The *Sharīʿa* has been much re-defined in South-East Asia. We can trace adaptations to local form and culture as in the pre-modern texts, and its colonial redefinitions into European form. These have been continued into the post-War years. More recently, however, there has been a consistent trend toward reintroducing the rules of *Sharīʿa* in a more classically accurate formulation. If this progression is even partly implemented, it will result, for the first time, in the application of a "classical" *Sharīʿa* to South-East Asia. The legal history of Islam in the area will thus have come full circle; from its introduction in the Arabic, through its re-definition in Malay, and now back again to the Arabic sources. However, the *Sharīʿa* is dependent on the authority of the State, which is secular. Its existence is unlikely to escape from this constitutionally imposed status.

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(M.B. Hooker)

SHARĪʿATĪ, ʿALĪ, influential Iranian intellectual (1933-77).

He was born at Mazīnān (Khurāsān), as the son of Muḥammad Taḳī Sharīʿatī, a preacher. His secondary education he received in Mashhad and in 1951 he qualified as teacher. His first publications and translations, as well as his involvement in politics, date from this period. In 1956 he enrolled as a student at the Faculty of Letters in Mashhad. Receiving his bachelor's degree in 1959, he was rewarded with a scholarship. A year later he went to Paris where he studied religious history and sociology, but his thesis, under G. Lazard, was in the field of Persian philology. In his Parisian period he actively supported the Algerian and other liberation movements. His principal sources of inspiration were Louis Massignon, with whom he studied the figure of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, and Frantz Fanon, whose book *The wretched of the earth* he translated and with whom he corresponded. Upon his return to Iran, in 1964, he was arrested for importing banned books and jailed for several months. After his release he taught, first in a village and then in a high school in Mashhad, and he was employed at the university of Mashhad to teach sociology and history of religion. In 1970 he was dismissed and two years later he went to Tehran, where he soon became the key figure of the Ḥusayniyya-yi Irshād, a centre for the study of Islam, established in 1965. At the end of 1973 the centre, renowned particularly for the well-attended public lectures it organised, was shut down by the government and Sharīʿatī went into hiding, but after some time he gave himself up in order to secure the release of his father, who was held hostage. After 18 months of solitary confinement, he was allowed, in March 1975, to return to Mazīnān where he was kept under constant police surveillance. In the spring of 1977 he managed to go to London, but shortly after his arrival there, he died of a heart attack on June 19.

His ideas centred around the reconstruction of true Islam, which he equated with the original Shīʿī Islam, i.e. the Islam of ʿAlī and his family and their partisans, as opposed to the highly institutionalised and clerical (post-)Ṣafawid Shīʿism. In this original Islam, *tawḥīd* is central not only in its theological, but also in its social and political implications, since it favours a classless society and a revolutionary ethos. Therefore, Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], a "God-worshipping socialist", and Fāṭima [*q.v.*] are presented as role-models for modern Muslim men and women. Sharīʿatī's sometimes revolutionary approach to Islam made him popular with many young Iranians, university students in particular, as well as with some more reform-minded members of the Shīʿī clergy. In the eyes of the traditional segments of this clergy, however, he lacked the necessary qualifications to be an authoritative spokesman on Islamic affairs. Sharīʿatī is often considered to be one of the most important ideologues of the process culminating in the Islamic Revolution in Iran. However, there is no real congruence between his ideas and the theoretical foundations, let alone the policy, of the ensuing Islamic Rcpublic of Iran. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied, that his ideas have played and still play an important part in the discussions on the role and significance of Islam, both in Iran and, through the translation of several of his writings, in many other countries of the Islamic world.

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M. Abedi, *Debating Muslims: cultural dialogues in post-modernity and tradition*, Madison 1990, 211-20 and *passim*. A (preliminary) list of S̲h̲arīʿatī's works has been prepared by Y. Richard in *Abstracta Iranica*, i (Tehran-Leiden 1978), 50-5, ii (1979), 69-70.

(J.G.J. ter Haar)

S̲H̲ARĪʿATMADĀRĪ, Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim, a high-ranking and influential Iranian cleric (d. 1986).

He was born in 1905 in Tabrīz where he started his theological studies. In 1924 he continued his studies in Ḳum, and in 1935 he went to Nad̲j̲af. His return to Tabrīz was the starting-point of a career as a teacher, first in his native city and subsequently in Ḳum, where he had moved toward the end of the forties, at the invitation of Āyatullāh Burūd̲j̲irdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Here he became one of the most respected leaders of the S̲h̲īʿī community and in his capacity as *Mard̲j̲aʿ-i Taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] he drew his support mainly from the Ād̲h̲arī-speaking part of the population. In the 1960s he started an institute for Islamic education and propaganda, called Dār al-Tablīg̲h̲. From the educational point of view, the programme offered by the institute to boys and later on also, albeit separately, to girls, stood midway between the curriculum of a modern school and the traditional *madrasa* system. The propaganda activities of the institute included the publication of books and journals. Three of the journals were in Persian, *Maktab-i Islām* ("School of Islam"), *Nasl-i Naw* ("New Generation") and *Payām-i S̲h̲ādī* ("Glad Tidings") for adults, for adolescents and children respectively, and one in Arabic, *al-Hādī*. The Dār al-Tablīg̲h̲ also provided for the training of preachers, and finally it served as an oracle for many S̲h̲īʿīs outside Iran, who consulted the institute on religious questions. The only book which S̲h̲arīʿatmadārī appears to have published, was his version of the thesis that traditionally confirms a cleric's position as *mud̲j̲tahid*, *Tawḍīḥ al-masāʾil*.

His ideas, which he mainly expressed in interviews, can overall be characterised as the ideas of highly traditional S̲h̲īʿī cleric. And so, during the Islamic Revolution, he strongly supported the view that the clergy must not be directly involved in politics. He was one of those who favoured the model incorporated in the Iranian Constitution of 1906-7, that accorded to the clergy, or, to be precise, to a committee of five *mud̲j̲tahids*, the right to monitor the legislatory process and to veto any legation that they judged was incompatible with Islamic laws and regulations. His name and ideas were claimed by the predominantly Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ānī Muslim Republican People's Party, although he himself carefully avoided direct association with the party, as he equally carefully avoided accepting any official posts. In the discussions concerning the constitution of the Islamic Republic, S̲h̲arīʿatmadārī protested against the fact that the draft constitution had not been submitted to a constituent assembly. A compromise was reached, to the effect that an Assembly of Experts, consisting of 73 elected members, was given the power to amend the draft. But when the new draft was presented and about to be submitted to a referendum, S̲h̲arīʿatmadārī expressed his disagreement with the leading principle of the intended constitution, viz. the *wilāyat al-faḳīh*, that was to give the clergy a direct and even ultimate say in politics. He even threatened that he would abstain from voting. Thereupon his house was attacked and there was even an attempt on his life (on 5 December 1979), which provoked a general strike and demonstration in his home town Tabrīz. But K̲h̲umaynī and those who shared his view proved too strong for S̲h̲arīʿatmadārī and his partisans. In a referendum the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people voted in favour of the draft that beared almost exclusively the stamp of K̲h̲umaynī's ideas. The Muslim Republican People's Party was forced to dissolve itself, and two years later, S̲h̲arīʿatmadārī himself was silenced rather drastically. In April 1982, after his son-in-law, accused of being an accomplice of Ṣādiḳ Ḳuṭbzāda (who had been shortly before executed), had been sentenced to prison, an orchestrated effort was made to discredit S̲h̲arīʿatmadārī. Forged documents circulated that denounced him as a traitor. Members of Parliament and clerics accused him of having made common cause with the enemy of the Islamic Republic. His Dār al-Tablīg̲h̲ was shut down and he was placed under house arrest. His opponents even managed, through the influential Society of Teachers of Seminaries in Ḳum, to have him demoted and stripped of his title as *Mard̲j̲aʿ-i Taḳlīd* or source of emulation. Virtually no protests were heard against this, and four years later, in April 1986, he died.

Bibliography: S.A. Arjomand, *The turban for the crown. The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York and Oxford 1988, 117-18 and *passim*; S. Bakhash, *The reign of the Ayatollahs. Iran and the Islamic Revolution*, updated edn. London 1985, 74-5 and *passim*; M.M.J. Fischer, *Iran. From religious dispute to revolution*, Cambridge and London 1980, *passim*; D. Menashri, *Iran. A decade of war and revolution*, New York 1990, *passim*; Y. Richard, *Contemporary Shi'i thought*, in N.R. Keddie, die, *Roots of revolution. An interpretive history of modern Iran*, New Haven and London 1981, 208-9.

(J.G.J. ter Haar)

S̲H̲ARĪF (a.; loanword in p. and t.) (pl., *as̲h̲rāf*, *s̲h̲urafāʾ* [in the Mag̲h̲rib, *s̲h̲urfāʾ*, *q.v.*], *s̲h̲araf* [seldom]) "noble", "exalted", "eminent" [in religious or worldly esteem], derives from the root *s̲h̲-r-f*, which expresses the idea of exaltedness and prominence. Its pre-Islamic as well as its most basic use in Islamic cultures is to denote a free man who can claim a distinguished rank because of his descent from illustrious ancestors (*LA*, xi, 70-1); that is, a person possessed of nobility (*s̲h̲araf*, or, less frequently, *s̲h̲urfa*; both also used in p.; in t., *s̲h̲eref*, *s̲h̲erāfet*), whether conferred by inherited or personally acquired glory and honourable conduct or, preferably, both. Possession of *s̲h̲araf* is expressed often by the phrase "*d̲h̲u 'l-ḥasab wa 'l-nasab*", "possessing great honour [lit. 'estimation'] and unblemished ancestry" [see ḥasab wa-nasab; nasab]. Early in Islamic times, kinship or even "companionship" [see ṣaḥāba] with the Prophet became a new and special form of *s̲h̲araf*. To be a *s̲h̲arīf* meant having a claim to: (i) most commonly, some type of Hās̲h̲imid descent—from the family or clan of the Prophet, the Banū Hās̲h̲im (after the Prophet's great-grandfather, Hās̲h̲im b. ʿAbd Manāf [*q.v.*]); or, (ii) more specifically, ʿAlid—normally Ḥasanid or Ḥusaynid—descent (from Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law ʿAlī and his daughter Fāṭima, through either of their two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, or one of their daughters, or one of ʿAlī's children by other wives); or, (iii) still more narrowly, Ḥasanid descent only—the term *sayyid* "lord", being used to denote Ḥusaynid descent. The last two usages reflect the fact that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were widely regarded as the noblest of the noble by birth (see al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. P. de Jong, Leiden 1867, 51 ff., tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 79).

(1) Generic (pre-Islamic and Islamic) meanings of the term.

Traditionally in the Arab, and also in the wider Islamic world, as in most cultures, it has been assumed that the meritorious qualities of forebears are transmitted to their descendants. Thus it is typically the possession of illustrious ancestors, or estimable "house" (*bayt*, pl. *buyūtāt*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, i, 243; cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854, 174; see also AHL AL-BUYŪTĀT), which is requisite for a *sharaf* (or *ḥasab*) *ḍakhm*, a "substantial/great nobility" (I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 41-2; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 289-90). Although in Islam there did develop the doctrine of the equality of all Muslims—based on Ḳur'ān, XLIX, 13, *inna akramakum 'ind Allāh atkākum*, "Truly the noblest among you in God's eyes is he who is most Godfearing" (cf. Goldziher, *op cit.*, i, 50-3, 69-76), it never quite displaced the old Arab reverence for a distinguished genealogy. An oft-reported *ḥadīth* of the Prophet underscores that "the most noble (*akram*) people are the most pious (*atkāhum*), but adds that "the best (*khiyār*) of them in the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] are the best in Islām, if they have understanding [in religious matters] (*idhā fakihū*)" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*. ed. 'Abd al-Bāḳī, Beirut 1955-6, 43 [*Faḍā'il*], trad. 168; 44 [*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*], trad. 199; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Al-Nawāwī, Ibrāhīm and Khafādjī, Cairo 1378/1958, 60 [*Anbiyā'*]. 8.5,14, 19.1; 61 [*Manākib*]. 1.5,6).

Among the Arabs before and after the advent of Islam, the *ashrāf* were either persons from noble tribes or specifically the heads of prominent families—those who over time had gained recognised status vis-à-vis others and were entrusted with administering the affairs of the tribe or alliance of tribes or towns: e.g. *min ashrāf al-kawm*, Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. al-Saḳḳā', al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Cairo 1355, repr. Beirut 1391/1971, i, 386,17 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 237; the *ashrāf* of Muḥammad's *kawm* [i.e. Ḳuraysh], al-Ṭabarī, i, 1191,1; the *ashrāf* of al-Ḥīra, *ibid.*, i, 2017; the *ashrāf al-kabā'il*, *ibid.*, ii, 541,17; the *ashrāf* in Kūfa, *ibid.*, ii, 631 ff. *passim*; the *ashrāf* of Khurasān, *ibid.*, iii, 714,1; the *ashrāf al-a'ādjim*, al-Ya'kūbī, ii, 176,8. The *ashrāf* regarded themselves as the aristocrats (*ahl al-faḍl*) in contrast to the rude and untutored masses (*arādhil*, *sufahā'*, *akhissā'*) and lesser tribes or families (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 631,7; cf. the boast of a Tamīmī leader about his tribe's noble persons, *kirām*, in Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, iv, 308 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 935). In Islamic times as before, *sharīf* also meant a person strong in noble pedigree, character, and importance, in contrast to one who is "weak" (*ḍa'īf*, also *waḍī'*), especially in his or her *nasab* (al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 1 [*Bad' al-waḥy*], 6; 86 [*Ḥudūd*], 11,12; Muslim, *op. cit.*, 33 [*Imāra*], trad. 16). *Sharīf* and *ḍa'īf* could also refer specifically to those able to bear arms and those "unarmed", respectively—the right to bear arms being an important social distinction in Islamic as in many other societies (B. Lewis, *The political language of Islam*, Chicago 1988, 67-8).

A *sharīf* as a person of importance, in contrast to one of lower status, has been an enduring social distinction in most of the Islamic world. It occurs frequently in this sense in the older Islamic sources of the 3rd-5th/9th-10th centuries, as in the title of the genealogical work of al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, and in chapter headings such as *Af'āl min af'āl al-sāda wa 'l-ashrāf*, in Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1343/1924-5, i, 332; *Marāthī 'l-ashrāf*, *Ashrāf kuttāb al-nabī*, *Nawka 'l-ashrāf*, *Man ḥudda min al-ashrāf*, in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, Būlāḳ 1293/1876, ii, 29, 207, and iii, 311, 406, respectively; and *Ṣinā'āt al-ashrāf*, in al-Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, 77, tr. 102. In such examples, the meaning is not always precise: the use of al-ashrāf to indicate something like *al-khāṣṣa* (the élite, notables), or a subgroup within this category (as opposed to *al-'āmma*, the common folk, masses), seems to have continued under Islam, even while simultaneously *al-ashrāf* in the stricter genealogical sense (whether designating persons ennobled by prophetic or by other socially exalted blood lines) has been used for persons of noble lineage whatever their social, economic, or political status (see AL-KHĀṢṢA WA 'L-'ĀMMA and, on the complexity of mediaeval Muslim societal attitudes about rank and status generally, R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980, esp. 97-174).

The possible meanings of *sharīf/ashrāf* have varied both geographically and chronologically. In the Arabian peninsula, alongside prophetic lineage, other standards of *sharaf* not directly linked to Islam have remained remarkably strong: Arab tribal groups have prided themselves on purity of descent from the ancient patriarchs of the southern and northern Arabs, Ḳaḥṭān and 'Adnān, respectively [*q.v.*], and many clans or families still claim to be *ashrāf* because of their pure and illustrious Arab lineage [see AL-'ARAB, DJAZĪRAT, vi. Ethnography, esp. at I, 546a]. By contrast, in South Asia, *ashrāf* has had a very different meaning. Here it has been used to designate a major social-status group within the overall Muslim community, namely all Muslims of foreign ancestry (as opposed to higher and lower indigenous Indian Muslim lineages, the *aṭrāf*, or *adjlāf*, and the *ardhāl*, respectively). Thus the *ashrāf* comprise *sayyids* (descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima) and *shaykhs* (descendants of Ḳuraysh or of Muḥammad's Companions), as well as *mughals* and *pathāns* (two ethnic descent groups of "foreign" origin): see I. Ahmad (ed.), *Caste and social stratification among the Muslims*, Delhi 1973, 21-2 (P. Aggarwal, ch. *The Meos of Rajasthan and Haryana*), 92-5 (Z. Bhatty, ch. *Status and power in a Muslim-dominated village of Uttar Pradesh*), 113-19 (Bhattacharya, ch. *Concept and ideology of caste among the Muslims of rural West Bengal*), 159-70 (I. Ahmad, ch. *Endogamy and status mobility among the Siddique Sheikhs of Allahabad*); L. Dumont, *Homo hierarchicus*, Eng. tr. Sainsbury, Chicago 1970, 206-8; J. Sharīf, *Islām in India or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, tr. Herklots, rev. ed. Crooke, London 1921, 9-13 (see also HIND, ii. Ethnography, at III, 411a; and on the use of these categories also in Nepal, M. Gaborieau, *Muslim minorities in Nepal*, in R. Israeli, *The Crescent in the East*, London 1982, esp. 85-90). Similarly, in many other regions today, e.g. Turkey and Persia, *sharīf* is used primarily to designate social or economic "nobility" status without reference to Prophetic descent, which is signalled by the specific use of *sayyid* (see below), not *sharīf*. One should note also the presence in Islamic societies alongside (as well as among) the blooded *ashrāf* and/or *sāda* (pl. of *sayyid* [*q.v.*]) of what has been effectively a "noblesse de la robe", to use Tyan's phrase (*Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* [Paris 1938], ²Leiden 1960, 552, n. 1), namely the religious scholars (*'ulamā'*).

(2) The Islamic meanings of the term.

The broadest specifically Islamic meaning of *sharīf* has been "descendant of the Prophet". Early on, the ability to show kinship with the Prophet was an important claim to *sharaf* (cf. al-Bayhaḳī [*fl. ca.* 300/912], *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 95 ff.), and under the influence of Shī'ī views and the increasing veneration of the Prophet generally,

membership in the "house of Muḥammad" became a mark of special distinction in Islamic societies. There was, however, considerable variation in how such membership was defined.

The expression *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*], "People of the House", is from Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 33b, "God will remove the stains from you, O people of the House, and purify you completely". Although this verse may well have referred to Muslims as people of the Ka'ba (cf. R. Paret, in *Orientalistische Studien Enno Littmann überreicht*, Leiden 1935, 127-30), it was interpreted frequently among Sunnīs, but especially among the Shī'īs (as early as al-Kumayt [*q.v.*], who died in 126/743, 38,11 ff.; cf. 92,9 ff., and R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg 1912, 19-20), as referring to Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭima, his son-in-law and cousin 'Alī, and his grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The key proof text for this is the well known "mantle ḥadīth" (*ḥadīth al-kisā'*/'*abā'*, from which these five are also known, above all among Shī'īs, as the "People of the Cloak", *ahl al-kisā'* [*q.v.*; and cf. MUBĀHALA, at VII, 276b], or *ahl al-'abā'*). This ḥadīth recounts how Muḥammad one day brought the other four under his cloak (*kisā'*, '*abā'*[*a*], *mirṭ*, or *thawb*) and called them *ahl al-bayt*, or simply "my family", *ahlī* (Muslim, *op. cit.*, 44 [*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*], trad. 61 [cf. trad. 32]; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ed. Shākir, 'Abd al-Bāḳī, and 'Iwaḍ, Cairo 1319-46/1937-65, 48 [*Tafsīr*], 34.7 and 50 [*Manāḳib*], 32.2, 61.5; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1968, xxii, 6-8 [10 versions]; al-Ṣabbān, 105-6; cf. M. Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering in Islām*, The Hague 1978, 37 n. 49).

More in keeping with the Ḳur'ānic context of XXXIII, 33b (despite the absence of the feminine plural pronoun, *-kunna*, in v. 33: see al-Nabhānī, 15-16, 21-2, 30-1) is the interpretation given the *ahl al-bayt* of XXXIII, 33, in a *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās, Muḳātil, and/or 'Ikrima, namely that it refers to the Prophet's wives, the "women" of his household addressed explicitly in XXXIII, 28-34. Other versions cite Umm Salama as being included specifically by the Prophet, along with the *ahl al-kisā'*, in the *ahl al-bayt* (al-Tirmidhī, 48 [*Tafsīr*], 34,7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313/1895-6, vi, 292, 296; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxii, 8; al-Maḳrīzī, 26-33; cf. al-Ṣabbān, 106-7).

The survey by al-Nabhānī (10-34) of the various reports and exegetical opinions on who is included in *ahl al-bayt* reinforces the evidence that the scope of the term varied with time and circumstances. The *ḥadīth* that glosses it simply as "the family of the Prophet", '*itrat al-nabī* (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 14, 17; al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 32.1; further references in A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*, 120a, s.v. "'itra"; cf. Lane, 1946b) left the door open to further interpretation. It appears that, while descent in the direct bloodline of the *ahl al-kisā'*, i.e. from 'Alī and Fāṭima through their two sons [see 'ALIDS], came later to distinguish above all the Shī'ī Imāms [*q.v.*] and their descendants as *ahl al-bayt*, or to define (among Sunnīs or Shī'īs) the true *ashrāf*, initially for Muslims descent from 'Alī specifically as Muḥammad's male cousin or from other agnates of the Prophet was a more important link to the "house" of Muḥammad than direct descent from him via the line of Fāṭima and 'Alī. In general, the use of *ahl al-bayt* has been more rather than less inclusive in the wider tradition (some reports even portray the Prophet as including the Companion Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] among the *ahl al-bayt*: Ibn 'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, ed. Yaḥyā, Cairo 1394/1974, 230-3; al-Maḳrīzī, 43; al-Nabhānī, 23-6). Two common Sunnī views that developed were: (i) the harmonising opinion according to which *ahl al-bayt* include the five key members of Muḥammad's family plus his wives (and hence their descendants), and (ii) the position that the term encompasses both the Ṭālibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim. This latter view was one that the 'Abbāsid caliphs espoused to bolster their own legitimacy and prestige. Shī'īs also have stressed Ṭālibid as well as 'Alid descent (see AHL AL-BAYT; on the genealogy of the Ṭālibids, see Ibn 'Inaba, '*Umdat al-ṭālib*; cf. Nadjm al-Dīn 'Alī al-'Umarī, Ibn al-Ṣūfī (d. *ca.* 466/1074), *al-Madjdī fī ansāb al-ṭālibīn*, ed. Mahdawī Dāmghānī, Ḳum 1409/1988-9).

The identification of the two main Hāshimī lineages with the *ahl al-bayt* was based chiefly upon one version of the so-called *ḥadīth al-thaḳalayn* (in which *thaḳalānī* refers to the two sources of guidance that Muḥammad says he is leaving behind for the Muslims: Scripture, sc. *al-Kitāb*, and the *ahl al-bayt*). In this version, the *ahl al-bayt* are identified as those to whom, as members of the Prophet's family, the sharing in *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] is forbidden; specifically mentioned are the Āl 'Alī, the Āl 'Aḳīl, the Āl Dja'far (i.e. descendants of Abū Ṭālib's sons), and the Al al-Abbās (Muslim, *op. cit.*, 44 [*Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*], trad. 32 [cf. trad. 33]; al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 32.3 Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 409-10, iv, 367; al-Nabhānī, 35-54, 68-74; al-Maḳrīzī, 30-1, 33; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 147; Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, 95-100 [for references to still other groups counted as *ahl al-bayt*, see esp. 99, n. 4]; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, 65 ff.; see also ĀL; on *taḥrīm al-ṣadaḳa*, cf., e.g. al-Ṣabbān, 108, 110, 117, 121).

The tendency to equate the main Hāshimī lineages with the *ashrāf* of the *ahl al-bayt* appeared as early as the 2nd/8th century. The special status of the Banū Hāshim was trumpeted already by al-Kumayt, *op. cit.*; just as he lauds effusively the noble blood of the Prophet (14,5-15,12), he praises the Banū Hāshim as "the highest of creatures" (2,9) and "the peaks of splendid nobility (*ḥasab*)" (5,8), who are granted "a pre-eminence among all humankind" (58,8), and he celebrates them as *ashrāf* and *sāda* (10,4, 56,2). The editors of the Prophet's *Sīra* especially bolstered the prestige of the Banū Hāshim by putting forward the idea that God, after a gradual process of elimination of others, deliberately chose the Hāshimids as the family to produce the Prophet. A tradition which occurs in several versions has the Apostle of God say: "God chose Ismā'īl from the sons of Ibrāhīm, and from the sons of Ismā'īl the Banū Kināna, and from the Banū Kināna the Ḳuraysh, and from the Ḳuraysh the Banū Hāshim" (Ibn Sa'd, i, 2,2; cf. Ibn Hishām, iv, 205 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 933; al-Nabhānī, 76-7, 172; cf. *ibid.*, 78-9; al-Ṣabbān, 120; cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Faḍā'il*, 57-148). One version concludes with the Prophet's words, "consequently I am the best of you as regards family and the best of you as regards genealogy" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii, 247. Cf. also al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659), *Nasīm al-riyāḍ fī sharḥ shifā' al-Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ*, Cairo 1325-7/1907-9, i, 429 ff., ch. on the *sharaf* of the Prophet).

According to al-Suyūṭī, *R. al-Sulāla al-zaynabiyya*, fols. 4a-b (cited in al-Ṣabbān, 121; al-Nabhānī, 82), *al-sharīf* designated in the earlier period (*al-ṣadr al-awwal*) anyone who belonged to the *ahl al-bayt*, whether Ḥasanī or Ḥusaynī, 'Alawī (a descendant of any of 'Alī's sons, esp. Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya), Djafarī or 'Aḳīlī (a descendant of one of 'Alī's brothers), or 'Abbāsī (a descendant of the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās). He also points out that in the *Tar'rīkh* of al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*], who died in 748/

1348, we often meet with titles like *al-sharīf al-ʿabbāsī, al-sharīf al-ʿaḳīlī, al-sharīf al-djaʿfarī, al-sharīf al-zaynabī* (which, however, proves very little for the older period).

There are indications that in ʿAbbāsid times, no later than the mid-4th/10th century and probably earlier, *al-sharīf*, which is said to have been also a *laḳab* of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, iii, 137,6), was reserved especially for the descendants of al-ʿAbbās and Abū Ṭālib. Al-Saffāḥ's (*r.* 132-6/750-4) naming of the first official ʿAbbāsid administrative capital *al-Hāshimiyya* likely reflected to some degree (even if it also referred to the dynasty's roots in the so-called Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*] movement) the ʿAbbāsids' desire to identify, in contrast to the Umayyad "usurpers" before them, with the Hāshimī legitimacy of the *ahl al-bayt* (J. Lassner, *The shaping of ʿAbbasid rule*, Princeton 1980, 151-2). We know that the Ḥusaynid Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā (d. *ca.* 400/1009-10) and his two famous sons, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), all served terms as *naḳīb* (see below) of the Ṭālibid *ashrāf* in Baghdād (cf. H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988, 64-5; AL-MURTAḌĀ; AL-RAḌĪ; Brockelmann, S I, 131, 704-6). Muslim historians first used the term *sharīf* for such descendants in the 4th/10th century, as the ʿAbbāsid empire was dissolving, with ʿAlids rebelling everywhere and attaining power in Ṭabaristān and Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 56-7), but not all references to the *ashrāf* are clear: al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923), writing of an event in 178/794-5 (iii, 635,6), mentions *al-ashrāf* as one group of (Arab? ʿAlid?) notables alongside the Banū Hāshim.

With time, the title *sharīf* came commonly to be restricted to the ʿAlids alone. Al-Suyūṭī (*ibid.*) observes that the Fāṭimids (who had strong reasons to reject ʿAbbāsid claims to legitimacy) restricted the title *al-sharīf* to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and that this had remained the custom in Egypt down to his own time (end of 9th/15th century). He cites, however, the *Kitāb al-Alḳāb* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī to note that *al-sharīf* was used in Baghdād as a *laḳab* of every ʿAbbāsī and in Egypt of every ʿAlawī. We may assume that at least in the Fāṭimid sphere, the term in the strict sense was applied only to a Ḥasanī or Ḥusaynī, for, as al-Suyūṭī notes in another connection (fol. 6a-b; in al-Ṣabbān, 207-8; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144), a *waḳf* [*q.v.*] or a testamentary deposition in favour of the *ashrāf* is only awarded to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, for such depositions are decided by local usage (*ʿurf*), and according to the usage in Egypt, dating from Fāṭimid times, *ashrāf* applied only to Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids (that this usage persisted even in Mamlūk and Ottoman times indicates how firmly established it had become under the Fāṭimids: M. Winter, 17, n. 2). In conclusion, al-Suyūṭī observes that according to the linguistic usage of Egypt, noble blood (*sharaf*) was divided into different classes, namely a grade that included the whole of the *ahl al-bayt*, another that contained only the *Dhurriyya*, i.e. the descendants of ʿAlī, which included the Zaynabīs, the descendants of Zaynab bt. ʿAlī or any other of ʿAlī's daughters, and finally a still smaller class, the *sharaf al-nisba*, which only admitted the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

(3) *Sayyid* and *Sharīf*.

The case of *sayyid* or "lord" [*q.v.*] was similar to that of *sharīf*. *Sayyid* means the master in contrast to the slave (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 93 [*aḥkām*], 1.2, etc.), and the husband vis-à-vis the wife (e.g. Ḳurʾān, XII, 25). *Sayyid* was also the usual name for the head of a tribe or clan (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 67; Ibn Hishām, ii, 83,10-1 = ed. Wüstenfeld, 295,17) whose authority was based mainly on personal qualities like discretion (*ḥilm* [*q.v.*]), liberality, and command of language (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *op. cit.*, i, 223 ff.; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, ²Berlin 1897, 223; Lammens, *Berceau*, 206-10). The Ḳurʾān, III, 39, praises the prophet Yaḥyā or John (the Baptist) as a *sayyid*. Certain physical qualities are also said to mark a person as a *sayyid* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*; Mez, *Renaissance*, 144). Contemporary Arabic usage has reduced the term to a synonym for "mister" (and *sayyida* to "madam") in much of the Arab world and thus reduced or effaced its association with special socio-religious status.

The term may have come into use particularly as a title for ʿAlids or Ṭālibids at about the same time as *sharīf*. This development was probably aided by traditions that describe al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and their parents as *sayyid(a)*. The Prophet is reported to have said of al-Ḥasan, "this my [grand]son is a *sayyid*, and perhaps God will bring about reconciliation between the two parties of Muslims through him" (al-Bukhārī, 92 [*Fitan*], 20,1; 62 [*Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*], 22,1). Al-Ḥusayn appears in the Ḥadīth as *sayyid shabāb ahl al-Djanna*, "Lord of the young men of the people of Paradise" (al-Nabhānī, 130-1; al-Ṣabbān, 185), just as he and his brother are celebrated as *sayyidā shabāb ahl al-Djanna* "the two lords of the young men [etc.]" (al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 31.1, 14; al-Nasāʾī, 117, 118, 123, 124; al-Ṣabbān, 115; al-Nabhānī, 143; A. Amīn *Duḥā 'l-Islām*, iii, Cairo 1362/1943, 287), while their mother Fāṭima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of this community/my community" or "mistress of the women of the worlds" (*sayyidat nisāʾ hādhihi 'l-umma/ummatī, sayyidat nisāʾ al-ʿālamīn*) (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 17,17; al-Nasāʾī, 116-20, *passim*), and as "mistress of the women of the people of Paradise (*ahl al-djanna*)" (al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 61 [*Manāḳib*] 24.44; 62 [*Faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī*], 29; al-Tirmidhī, 50 [*Manāḳib*], 30.15; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 142,18; al-Nasāʾī, 117; Amīn, *op. cit.*, 286). The Prophet is said to have called ʿAlī *sayyid al-ʿArab* and *sayyid al-muslimīn* (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, iii, 176,9,20, 177, 2-3) and to have once said to him, "You are a *sayyid* in this world and a *sayyid* in the next" (*ibid.*, 177,7). In a verse in al-Bayhaḳī (*Maḥāsin*, 96,10), ʿAlī is described as *sayyid al-nās*, but as a rule such expressions are only applied to the Prophet (*sayyid wuld Ādam*, Ibn Saʿd, i, 1,18, 3,15, and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, iii, 176,9; *sayyid al-bashar*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii, 246,17).

In the beginning, the term *sayyid* may have been first applied to those who possessed some authority in their own sphere. In the genealogical work of the Ḥasanid Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, individual ʿAlids are often described as *sayyid(a)* (e.g. 81,6,9,12, 87,8, 88,12, 91,8, 92,5, 94,20, 163,16,19, 169,5,15). Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ms. Leiden 1721, fol. 65a, gives this title to the Twelver Imām ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. We also find the combination *al-sayyid al-sharīf* or vice-versa (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1342/1923-4, ii, 277,12; al-Khazradjī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, i, Leiden and London 1913, 314,11). The word *sayyid* also came to be applied to Ṣūfī masters, saints and notable theologians, e.g. *al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya, al-sādāt al-awliyāʾ* (al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-khawāṣṣ ahl al-ṣidḳ wa 'l-ikhlāṣ*, Cairo 1321/1903, 2,9, 3,1, 195,3; cf. M. Winter, 18); *al-sāda al-aʿlām* (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 141,34). Found widely in Arabic as the term used by a slave to address his/her master, the term *sayyidī* or *sīdī* (frequently in al-Shaʿrānī) became very popular in a still more general applica-

tion to persons regarded as holy, especially mystical masters of particular *ṭarīḳas* or *zāwiyas* [*q.v.*] or Ṣūfīs in general. This can be seen in the many Muslim shrines dedicated to saintly persons addressed as *sīdī*, e.g. the tomb of "Sīdī Maḥyi 'l-Dīn" (Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn al-Arabī) in Damascus, the *Ḥaram* of "Sidnā 'Alī b. 'Alīl" (a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) in Israel/Palestine (L. Mayer and J. Pinkerfeld, *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem 1950, 36-9), or the shrine of "Sīdī Muḥammad Sharḳī" (also a descendant of 'Umar and key figure of the Sharḳāwī order) in Būdjad, Morocco (D. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam*, Austin 1976, 183-210).

It is also the case that such Ṣūfīs or other saintly figures have often also claimed Prophetic descent, so that the title "sayyid" is doubly earned. This is above all the case in Morocco, on which, see SHURFĀ'; cf. E. Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, Chicago 1969, 70-80. Sayyid Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Muhādjir, the Ḥusaynid forefather of the prestigious Ḥaḍramī *sāda* and the greatest saint of the Ḥaḍramawt, is venerated by pilgrims performing *ziyāra* [*q.v.*] to his tomb in Ḳaydūn (D. van der Meulen, *Aden to the Hadhramaut*, London 1947, 185-6; see also ḤAḌRAMAWT, in Suppl.). Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, whose tomb shrine is in Bahrā'ič, in eastern Uttar Pradesh, India, is said to trace his Ṭālibid pedigree to 'Alī through 'Alī's son by Khawla of the Banū Ḥanīfa, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] (T. Mahmood, in C. Troll (ed.), *Muslim shrines in India*, Delhi 1989, 24-30).

Sayyid is the standard term used (instead of, or in preference to, *sharīf*) for all direct descendants of Muḥammad in many Muslim societies; in these contexts, *sharīf* has typically retained its older, more general sense of simply a person of patrician social status (e.g. Persia, Turkey). *Sayyid*, and even *emīr* (A. *amīr*), or *mīr* [*q.v.*], were and are used in Persia, Turkey, Central Asia, and India as names for a descendant of the Prophet (J. Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 290; H. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/2, London 1957, 93, n. 1; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1786-1820, i, 211, cf. 111; J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii, 398-401; Sharīf, *op. cit.*, 9-10, 26-8). In Ḥaḍramawt, the usual title for a Prophetic descendant, whether Ḥasanid or Ḥusaynid, is *sayyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii, 163; van der Meulen, 70, 185-6). According to Amīn al Rayḥānī (*Mulūk al-'Arab*, Beirut 1924, i, 92, n. 1), the same was true in the Yaman in the early part of the present century, although, to judge from al-Khazradjī (e.g. i, 314,11, 315,3, 317,10,13, 318,7,11), who died in 812/1409, *sharīf* was in his day the usual name used there. Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Dimashḳī (d. 953/1546) reports that among the chiefs of the young men's *zu'ar* [*q.v.*] of Damascus, *ḳuraysh* was used alongside *sayyid* and *sharīf* as a name signalling Prophetic descent (cited in I. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later middle ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, 155). In the Malay archipelago at the end of the last century, along with the title *sayyid* usual for Prophetic descendants we find also traditional in Acheh the honorific *ḥabīb* (beloved), which was used similarly in Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Eng. tr. O'Sullivan, Leiden 1906, i, 155).

In other instances, Muslims have distinguished *sharīf* and *sayyid* as referring specifically to Ḥasanī and Ḥusaynī descent, respectively. In the Ḥidjāz, it was for centuries the custom to call *sharīf* only those Ḥasanids whose ancestors had lived in Mecca and to designate as *sayyid* only the Ḥusaynids (cf. Gibb and Bowen, *loc. cit.*). From the beginning of their rule in the late 4th/10th century to its end in 1924, the Ḥasanid *amīrs* of Mecca (who began as Zaydīs, but by the mid-8th/14th century had become Sunnī adherents of the Shāfi'ī school) used the title *sharīf*, as did also, however, the ruling Ḥusaynids of Medina (see the Meccan *amīr* list in al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, 82-6). At the turn of the last century, the title *sharīf* was reserved for Ḥasanids alone, but the Meccans addressed the Ḥasanid Amīr of Mecca, or so-called "Grand Sharīf" (a European usage), as *sayyidunā*, and he likewise gave his Ḥasanid kin the title *sayyid* (Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Div., *A handbook of Arabia*, i, London 1916, 109; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 57 n. 1; idem, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii, 163, v, 31, 40; cf. al-Nabhānī, 82-3).

(4) The *Naḳīb al-Ashrāf* and *Niḳābat al-Ashrāf*.

In the 'Abbāsid period, the *ashrāf*, both 'Abbāsids and Ṭālibids, were usually under the authority of a *naḳīb al-ashrāf* or "marshal of the nobility" (also *naḳīb al-sādāt*, or *ra'īs al-sādāt*) chosen by them. The history of this office remains largely uninvestigated (with the notable exception of M. Winter's study of the Egyptian case; see also the monograph by al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Ithāf*, which is a compendium of *nuḳabā'* in various cities; on both, see *Bibl.* below). That the *niḳāba* already existed under the Umayyads, as von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875, i, 449, n. 1) supposed (supported by Tyan, *op. cit.*, 552, n. 4), based upon Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, Būlāḳ 1284/1867-8, iii, 134, is very doubtful, as the passage at issue is probably corrupt (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 16, *ult.*-17,1). The two branches of the Banū Hāshim were from the first probably under a marshal, as was the case about 301/913-14 ('Arīb al-Ḳurṭubī, *Ṣilat ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1897, 47,10); yet we find mention in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1516,5, of an administrator of the affairs of the Ṭālibids (*yatawallā amr al-Ṭālibiyyīn*), in the year 250/864, during al-Mutawakkil's reign, one 'Umar b. Faradj (al-Rukhkhadjī), who was apparently not a Hāshimī. The 'Alid 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Ḥimmānī (d. 260/873-4) was *naḳīb* in Kūfa (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 338 = § 3029). By this date there were apparently marshals of the local nobles who answered to a single grand marshal (*naḳīb* or *sayyid al-nuḳabā'*): in the late 3rd/9th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Dja'far Ibn al-Riḍā was *sayyid al-nuḳabā'* in Baghdād (al-Marwazī, *al-Fakhrī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Radjā'ī, Kum 1408/1988-9, 9; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Shadjara al-mubāraka*, Ḳum 1409/1989, 79-80), and in Nīshāpūr in the same era, the *sayyid* al-Adjall al-Zabbāra was an influential *naḳīb* of the 'Alids and *ra'īs* of the town, as was his son also after him in the reign of the Sāmānid *amīr* Abu 'l-Ḥasan Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) (Ibn Funduḳ, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, Tehran 1317/1938, tr. in C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, 196). In Fāṭimid Egypt, there was a *naḳīb al-ṭālibiyyīn* or *al-'alawiyyīn*, who (as under the 'Abbāsids) belonged to the political-military rather than the religious or administrative leadership; in Mamlūk Egypt this figure was known as *naḳīb al-ashrāf* and, not being of the ruling Turkish military élite, was considered a religious functionary, or *'ālim* (Winter, 31; cf. Tyan, 550-4).

In general theory, it was the duty of the *naḳīb*, who had to possess a good knowledge of genealogical matters, to keep a register of nobility, to enter births and deaths in it and to examine the validity of alleged 'Alid genealogies (on which see al-Ḳurṭubī, 49-50, 167). He had to keep a watch on the behaviour of the *ashrāf*, to restrain them from excesses, and

to remind them to do their duty and avoid anything that might injure their prestige. He had also to urge their claims, especially those on the treasury, to endeavour to prevent the women of noble blood from making mésalliances, and to see that the *wakf* trusts on the *ashrāf* were properly administered. He had to participate in, and to be responsible for participation of the *ashrāf* in special religious ceremonies. The chief *nakīb* had also other special duties, including specific and sometimes important judicial powers, which varied from era to era and region to region. See al-Māwardī, 164-71; Tyan, 550-8; von Kremer, i, 448-49; L. Massignon, *Cadis et naqibs bagdadiens*, in *WZKM*, li (1948). 106-15; Winter, 32-3; H. Bodman, *Political factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826*, Chapel Hill 1963, 79-102; Mez, *op. cit.*, 145; al-Damurdāshī, *Kitāb al-Durra al-muṣāna*, tr. D. Crecelius and ʿA. Bakr as *al-Damurdashi's chronicle of Egypt, 1688-1755*, 43, n. 108; H. Halm, *op. cit.*, 60-1, 64-5; A. Laroui, *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain*, Paris 1977, 93-4; and NAKĪB (esp. the *Bibl.*).

If the case of Egypt (Winter, 34-9) is indicative, the social and even the religious importance of the *nikāba* institution has waned in most areas, especially in the past two centuries, and most sharply in the present one; this goes along with the fact that today the *ashrāf* rarely represent the distinctive and cohesive, often élite social class that they did several centuries ago in most Islamic societies. Nor do they today typically enjoy the special tax status or other special favours they once did.

(5) Marks of *Sharīf* status.

Traditionally, the most common public mark of a *sharīf* has been the green turban that became usual for male *sharīfs* and *sayyids* to wear, especially in Egypt and Persia. Its origin may lie in a 773/1371-2 edict of the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashrāf Shaʿbān b. Ḥasan (764-78/1363-77) that the male *ashrāf* should wear a green badge (*shutfa*) fastened to their turbans to distinguish them from other people and as an honour for their rank (ʿAlī Dadah, *Muḥāḍarat al-awāʾil wa-musāmarat al-awākhir*, Būlāḳ 1300/1883, 85; al-Kattānī, 95, 97; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, i, 227; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, Cairo n.d., xi, 56-7; Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, 308; Mez, 59; H. Algar, art. *ʿAmāma*, in *EIr*, i, 920a). According to the Ḥasanid Muḥammad al-Kattānī (d. 1345/1927), in his treatise on the turban (97-8), this Mamlūk edict, which is commemorated by the poets of the time, recalls that of the caliph al-Maʾmūn in Ramaḍān 201/817, which replaced the black colour of the ʿAbbāsid house with green at the time when he designated the Ḥusaynid ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā as his successor (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1012-13). Al-Kattānī opines that the descendants of ʿAlī and Fāṭima henceforth retained green as their colour, but confined themselves in practice to wearing a piece of green material on the turban. This, he thinks, fell in time into disuse until Sultan Shaʿbān revived it by his edict. According to the *Durar al-aṣdāf*, which al-Kattānī quotes (98), the wearing of an entirely green turban dates from an edict of the late 16th-century Ottoman Pasha governing Egypt, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf (cf. Muḥammad al-Isḥāḳī, *Akhbār al-uwal fī-man taṣarrafa fī Miṣr min arbāb al-duwal*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, 164) in 1004/1596; when he had the *kiswa* [*q.v.*] for the Kaʿba exhibited, he ordered the *ashrāf* to come before him, each wearing a green turban.

Al-Suyūṭī observes that the wearing of this badge is a permissible innovation (*bidʿa mubāḥa*) that no one, whether a *sharīf* or not, can be prevented from following, if he or she wishes to do so, and one that cannot be forced upon anyone who wishes to omit it, since it cannot be deduced legally. However, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī tells of a *sharīf*, Fakhr al-Dīn, who lost his post of *nakīb* because he was said to take bribes and to have let non-*sharīfs* wear green badges (*Inbāʾ al-ghumr*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1967, 39). At most, it can be said that the badge was introduced as a distinction for the *ashrāf*; it is therefore equally permissible to limit it to the Ḥasanids or Ḥusaynids or to allow it also to the Zaynabiyya and the still wider circles of the remaining ʿAlids or even Ṭālibids. An endeavour is made to connect this custom with Ḳurʾān XXXIII, 59, in which some scholars see a suggestion that learned men should be distinguished by their dress, e.g. by long sleeves or the winding of the *ṭaylasān*, so that they may be readily recognised and honoured for the sake of learning (al-Suyūṭī, fols. 5a-6a; in al-Ṣabbān, 206-7, abbreviated in Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144,23-4, and al-Nabhānī, 84-5; cf. al-Kattānī, 98-9). With regard to the aforementioned Ḳurʾānic verse, according to al-Ṣabbān it should be taken to imply that wearing the green badge or turban is recommended for the *ashrāf* and blameworthy for others than they, because the latter by wearing it would be claiming a genealogy that is not theirs, which is not permitted (206). On this account, according to al-Kattānī, even the Mālikī authorities considered the wearing of a green turban as forbidden to a non-*sharīf*. With regard to a tradition transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal, according to which, on the Day of Resurrection the Prophet will be clothed by his Lord in a green turban, Shāfiʿī teachers are said to incline to the view that this headgear is desirable for the *ashrāf* (al-Kattānī, 98-9; cf. 95). Other authorities note that green is the colour of the garments of the dwellers in Paradise (idem, 96; cf. Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 30, LXXVI, 21), and that it was the Prophet's favourite colour (idem, 95-6, with references to Ḥadīth).

The green turban has been frequently adopted, but never became the general headgear of the *ashrāf* throughout the Islamic world. Although in Egypt still in the 19th century it was a mark of a *sayyid*/*sharīf*, many entitled to wear it, especially the more learned, often chose to wear instead the white turban of a *shaykh* or *ʿālim* (E.W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* [1836], New York 1973, 31, 132; Winter, 22); in Arabia several decades later (as today), *sayyids* rarely wore other than white turbans (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i, 63). The green colour was preferred in Morocco at the turn of this century (Westermarck, ii, 21) and, according to J. Chardin (*loc. cit.*) and also in late-18th-century Persia, although in this last country, according to Algar, in *op. cit.*, i, 921a, the black turban (as opposed to white) has long been the standard sign of a *sayyid.* However, Iranian contemporaries report consistently that black is worn instead of green rarely by *sayyids*; normally, black turbans are used only by the most venerable scholars or most elderly *sayyids*; most *sayyids* wear green. In India *sayyids* traditionally have worn green; they were therefore occasionally called *sabzpūsh* "green-robed" (Sharīf, 303). According to al-Nabhānī (d. 1932), 85-6, the green turban was not in his time a mark of noble blood in Istanbul. It was worn there not only by learned men and students but also by artisans and street merchants, especially in winter, as it did not show dirt so quickly. On this account, many *ashrāf* there were even said to avoid the colour green.

(6) Other marks and special treatment of the *Ashrāf*.

Those of the Prophet's blood are also distinguished in other ways according to common Sunnī views. For example, the sharing in the *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*; and see ZAKĀT; cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Faḍā'il*, 208-21] is forbidden them. The Prophet is recorded to have said of the *ṣadaḳa*, "It is the filth of men (cf. Ḳur'ān, IX, 104) and permitted neither to Muḥammad nor to the family (*āl*) of Muḥammad". The legal authorities differ on the question as to whether this rule applies not only to the Banū Hāshim but also to the Banū 'l-Muṭṭalib and the clients of these families, and whether also free-will offerings (*ṣadaḳat al-nafl/al-taṭawwu'*) are included under it (al-Nabhānī, 67 ff.; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 142-3). Over against this ban, special *waḳfs* were established and state allowances or pensions typically set aside for the *ashrāf*, and until the 19th or even 20th century they were largely exempted from regular taxation (see e.g. Tyan, 556; Winter, 26-7, 33, 35, 38; Laroui, 96; E. Burke, *The Moroccan Ulama, 1860-1912*, in N. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints, and Sufis*, Berkeley 1972, 98, 124).

The sons of Fāṭima have the privilege of being called "sons of the Prophet of God" and thus having their lineage traced directly to the Prophet. Such a one is therefore frequently addressed as *Ibn Rasūl Allāh*. Justification of this is found in sayings of the Prophet, such as, "All the sons of one mother trace themselves back to an agnate, except the sons of Fāṭima, for I am their nearest relative and their agnate (*waliyyuhum wa-'aṣabatuhum*)" (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144,1,10-11; al-Nabhānī, 97).

Because of the belief that the *ahl al-bayt* are the noblest in descent, the female members of the family have no one equal in birth (*kuf'*) to them [see KAFĀ'A]. According to al-Suyūṭī (fols. 3a-b; cf. al-Ṣabbān, 201; see also Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 144,12-3), it is a very old opinion that the son of the marriage of a *sharīfa* (fem. of *sharīf*) with a non-*sharīf* is not a *sharīf*. However, as al-Ṣabbān, 209, points out, there are many authorities who consider him a *sharīf*. In practice marriage of a *sayyid*'s daughter with a man not her equal is extremely rare (Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i, 158; idem, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i, 297 ff.; "Mrs. Meer Hassan Alī", *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, London 1832, 8-9; cf. Jacob, 222-3). While a *sharīf* may legally marry a non-*sharīfa* and have their offspring counted as *ashrāf*, marriage of a *sharīfa* to a non-*sharīf* has historically been taboo in most Muslim societies, e.g. among the Arabs (see C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia deserta* [1888], London 1926, ii, 522-3). As late as 1932, a governor of Baghdād was murdered by a man of the Sa'dūn for trying to marry the daughter of the 'Irāḳī Prime Minister, who was of Sharīfian lineage, see H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert* [1949], rev. ed. Wilson and Freeth, London 1983, 22, 99). This prohibition was also traditional in South Asia (J. Oman, *Brahmans, theists and muslims of India*, [2]Delhi 1973, 62); and in Indonesia (Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, 158; cf. the sharply-worded refutation of a Singapore jurist's *fatwā* against such marriages by Rashīd Riḍā, see *Fatāwā 'l-Imām Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā*, ed. Khoury, i, Beirut 1970, 385-94, cf. 340-1). One may only enter into matrimony with a *sharīfa* if he knows he is in a position to afford her all that is due her, will obey her pleasure and consider himself her slave. Al-Sha'rānī (according to al-Nabhānī, 185-9) does not consider it seemly to marry the widow or divorced wife of a *sharīf*.

A weak prophetic *ḥadīth* has Muḥammad say: "The stars are a security (*amān*) for those who dwell in the heavens and my *ahl al-bayt* are a security for those who dwell on earth [or: 'for my community']" (al-Ṣabbān, 129-30, al-Nabhānī, 54; cf. 58-9). According to the commentators, by *ahl al-bayt* are here meant the children of Fāṭima. Their existence on the earth is a security for its inhabitants in general and for the community of the Prophet in particular against punishment or "temptations/acts of sedition" (*fitan*). It is not the pious among them that are specially meant here; this distinction is solely based on their descent from the Prophet (*al-'unṣur al-nabawī*), apart from any qualities, meritorious or otherwise, which they happen to possess as individuals. An allusion to this opinion is held to exist in Ḳur'ān, VIII, 33 (al-Nabhānī, 59-60; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 150-1, *Fatāwā*, 142,20-2). The *baraka* [*q.v.*] of a descendant of the Prophet is widely recognised, especially in the Maghrib (see e.g. V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha*, Berkeley 1981, 108).

One tradition of the Prophet has been taken as referring particularly to the *ahl al-bayt*: "Every bond of relationship and consanguinity (*sabab wa-nasab*) will be severed on the Day of Resurrection except mine" (al-Ṣabbān, 125-6; al-Nabhānī, 45, 80-1, cf. 54, 61-2, 94). They are therefore the only ones whose relationship can help them at the final Reckoning (al-Nabhānī, 60, 79-82; cf. al-Shubrāwī, 7,20-3). According to traditional wisdom, none of the *ahl al-bayt* will suffer the punishment of Hell (al-Maḳrīzī, 50-2; al-Nabhānī, 44-5, 90), and 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, with their families, will be the first to enter Paradise along with the Prophet (*ibid.*, 96-7).

The "sons of the Prophet of God" may be certain of divine forgiveness, and any wrong inflicted by them must be accepted like a dispensation of God, if possible with gratitude. Ibn al-'Arabī, who connects the verse of purification (see above) and its reference to the *ahl al-bayt* with Ḳur'ān, XLVIII, 2, in which the Prophet is promised pardon for his sin, observes, *inter alia*: "It behoves every Muslim who has faith in God and in what He has revealed to recognise the truth of the word of God, 'God will remove the stain from you, O people of the House, and purify you completely', so that he may be convinced with respect to everything the *ahl al-bayt* have done for which God has given them pardon. It is therefore not fitting for a Muslim to criticise them, neither for what is not in keeping with the honour of those of whom God has testified that he has purified them and removed the stain from them, nor for pious works or good deeds they have performed, but always to remember God's watchful care for them" (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, ch. 29, i, 196,17-8,25, esp. 196,31 ff., cf. 197,14 ff.; cited also in al-Maḳrīzī, 44; cf. al-Nabhānī, 23-4, 155-6). In a similar vein, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī notes that a *sharīf* who has received *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] punishment for fornication, taking intoxicants or theft may be compared with an *amīr* or *sulṭān* whose feet have become soiled but are wiped clean by one of his servants. He is also likened to a refractory son who is not, however, deprived of his inheritance (*Fatāwā*, 142,26-9; al-Nabhānī, 92).

The duty of love for the *ahl al-bayt* is based on Ḳur'ān, XLII, 23, "Say, 'I ask of you [all] no reward except love for the kinsfolk (*ḳurbā*)'," where *ḳurbā* is taken as kin of the Prophet (al-Ṣabbān, 104-5; al-Nabhānī, 154 ff.; Ibn Biṭrīḳ al-Ḥillī, *Khaṣā'iṣ*, 51 ff.; idem, *'Umda*, 23 ff.; al-Maḳrīzī, 78; al-Shubrāwī, 4,30-5,8; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawā'iḳ*, 167-9). It is

further pointed out that the conclusion of the *tashahhud* contains a prayer for the Āl Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 145-6; al-Nabhānī, 155). A saying attributed to al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] is as follows: "O members of the house of the Prophet, love for you is a duty to God that He has revealed in the Ḳurʾān. It is a great honour for you that anyone who does not say the *taṣliya* over you has not performed the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]" (*ibid.*, 184). There are further a large number of traditions that urge this affection, represent it as a proof of faith or a defence against Hellfire, promise in return for it the *shafāʿa* of the Prophet on the Day of Resurrection and a reward in the next world, and forbid signs of hatred towards the *ahl al-bayt*, even describing such animosity as infidelity (al-Shubrāwī, 3,7-8 ff.; al-Nabhānī. 171 ff.: Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Ṣawāʿiḳ*, 153-4; al-Ḥusaynī, *Faḍāʾil*, 230-40).

According to al-Shubrāwī, an 18th-century Rector of al-Azhar, reverence and respect ought therefore always to be shown to the *ashrāf*, especially to the pious and learned among them; this is a natural result of reverence for the Prophet. One should be humble in their presence; the man who injures them should be an object of hatred. Unjust treatment from them should be patiently borne, their evil returned with good; and they should be assisted when necessary. One should refrain from mentioning their faults; on the other hand, their virtues should be lauded abroad. One should try to come nearer to God and His Prophet through the prayers of the devout among them (*Itḥāf*, 7,17 ff.). Such attitudes did not, to be sure, keep all *ashrāf* from evil deeds, or from punishment for those deeds. In the year 842/1438-9, Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr, for example, had a *sayyid* who had publicly cursed Abū Bakr and ʿUmar scourged and removed from Mashhad to Harāt (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. M. Shafiʿ, Lahore 1360-8/1941-9, ii/2, 711).

According to al-Shaʿrānī, one should treat a *sharīf* with the same distinction as a governor or *ḳāḍī al-ʿaskar*, one should not take a seat if a *sharīf* is without one. Special reverence should be paid to the *sharīfa*; one dare hardly look at her. Anyone who really loves the children of the Prophet will present them with anything they wish to buy. Whoever has a daughter or sister to give in marriage with a rich dowry should not refuse her hand to a *sharīf*, even if he has no more than the bridal gift for her and can only live from hand to mouth. If one meets a *sharīf* or *sharīfa* on the street and he or she asks for a gift, one should give him or her what one can (al-Nabhānī, 185-9). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) presents a good example from East Africa of such an attitude toward the Prophet's progeny in his remarks on the sultan of Kilwa, Abū Muẓaffar Ḥasan: his *kunya* was Abū Mawāhib ("father of gifts") because of his largesse to any *sharīf* who approached him, even one from abroad (*Riḥla*, ii, 193-4, Eng. tr. Hamdun and King, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, London 1975, 19-20).

One should not refuse marks of respect even to a *sharīf* who is a sinner (*fāsiḳ*) in the eyes of the law, because one knows his sin will be forgiven him. This high esteem is his due on account of his pure origin (*al-ʿunṣur al-ṭāhir*) and *fisḳ* does not affect his genealogy (*ibid.*, 91). As Doughty reported on the Ḥidjāz of the 1880s, "these persons of the seed of Mohammad 'are not to be spoken against', and have a privilege, in the public opinion, above the common lot of mankind" (ii, 487, cf. 533). If it is doubtful whether a man is a *sharīf*, but there is nothing to object to in his genealogy from the legal point of view, he should be treated with the proper respect. Even if his pedigree is not legally established, one should not assume he is lying without being absolutely certain on the point (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Fatāwā*, 142,33 ff.; al-Nabhānī, 92-3). There are a number of anecdotes in which an individual who has been neglectful of respect to, or who has irritated, a *sharīf* has been corrected in a dream by the Prophet or by Fāṭima (al-Maḳrīzī, 81-6; al-Nabhānī, 91).

The *sayyid* who distinguishes himself by a pious life readily becomes revered as a saint. His blessing is expected to bring good fortune, while his wrath brings misfortune. By vows and gifts, it is hoped to secure his auspicious intercession (*shafāʿa* [*q.v.*]), and his tomb (*ḳubba, ḳabr, mashhad* [*q.vv.*]) becomes a place of pilgrimage [see ZIYĀRA]. On the much-visited tombs of *sayyids* and *sayyidas* in Cairo, for example, cf. al-Shablandjī's work cited below, and J.W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 31-3. In the Yemen, as in Ḥaḍramawt, the *sayyid*, who is distinguished there from the armed *sharīf* carrying a staff and rosary, acts as intermediary between two disputing parties. He also drives away the locusts and his prayer puts an end to infertility, while his curse makes it continue. Many *sayyids* are also visited for their healing powers, and reverence for them is frequently expressed in gifts of land (H. Jacoby, *Parfumes of Araby*, London 1915, 45, 173). On the visitation of *sayyids*' shrines in South Asia, see Troll, *Muslim shrines in India*, esp. 24-43 (on the shrine of Sayyid Sālār Masʿūd Ghāzī). For a fuller description of the *sharīfs* and *sayyids* and the reverence paid them in the Ḥidjāz, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 32 ff., 7 ff.; for Acheh and the Indonesian Archipelago on the 19th century, see idem, *Achehnese*, i, 153-64; for Khūrāsān, see Bosworth, 194, n. 77 (citing al-Muḳaddasī); for Morocco, Westermarck, i, 169-71.

(7) Social and political roles of the *Ashrāf*. *Sayyids* and *sharīfs* have been and are represented in large numbers throughout the entire Islamic world. Historically, several dynasties of Prophetic lineage have ruled in various regions for longer or shorter periods, e.g. in Egypt and North Africa [see FĀṬIMIDS]; in Persia in general [see ṢAFAWIDS]; in Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān), Daylam, and Gīlān (see e.g. MARʿASHIS; AL-ZAYDIYYA; B. Manz, *The rise and rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge 1989, 92-5; W. Madelung, art. *Alids*, in *EIr*, i, 881-6, H.R. di Borgomale, *Les dynasties locales du Gīlān et du Daylam*, in *JA*, ccxxxvii [1949], 301-50); in western Arabia (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i; Admiralty War Staff, *Handbook of Arabia*, 107-11; cf. the articles HĀSHIMIDS at III, 262b; MAKKA, at VI, 148a ff.); in the Yemen [*q.v.*; see also AL-ZAYDIYYA]; in modern Jordan [see HĀSHIMIDS at III, 263 ff.]; and in Morocco [see SHURFĀʾ; IDRĪSIDS; ḤASANĪ; SAʿDIDS; ʿALAWĪS; TĀFĪLĀLT; AL-MAGHRIB at V, 1191-2]. The Maghribī case is especially striking, for religio-political claims have been tied strongly to Sharīfian blood lineage, and such lineage has been commonly a key qualification for temporal leadership (see M. Kably, *Musāham fī taʾrīkh al-tamhīd li-ẓuhūr dawlat al-saʿdiyyīn*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* ... (*Djāmiʿat Muḥammad al-Khāmis*), xliii [1978], 7-59; M. Combs-Schilling, *Sacred performances*, New York 1989; M. García-Arenal, *Mahdī, murābiṭ, sharīf: l'avènement de la dynastie saʿdienne*, in *SI*, lxxi [1990], 84 ff.).

Families of *ashrāf* have also exercised local influence even without holding overt political power, as evidenced especially in mediaeval sources by frequent, recurring references to *sāda* or *ashrāf* as one class of the local social, political, or intellectual élite (*aʿyān*

[*q.v.*]) gathered on a given occasion alongside *ʿulamāʾ*, *shuyūkh*, *kuḍāt*, *fukahāʾ*, *akābir*, *wudjūh al-balad*, etc. (see e.g. al-Damurdāshī, 66-7, 91, 224, 326, 331, 342, 380; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 188-90, tr. Gibb, ii, 377-8; J. Aubin, *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shah Niʿmatullah Wali Kermani*, Paris-Tehran 1956, 174; R. Mottahedeh, *Consultation and the political process*, in C. Mallat (ed.), *Islam and public law*, London 1993, 20 (citing Miskawayh), 23 (citing Bayhaḳī). Thus in many places the *ashrāf* were an influential local or regional élite—"a blood aristocracy without peer" (R.W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 234)—with considerable political as well as social, power: e.g. Nīshāpūr (see *ibid.*, 234-45; Bosworth, 195, 197-9, 263-4), Harāt (cf. ʿAbd Allāh Wāʿiẓ, *Maḳsad al-iḳbāl-i sulṭāniyya*, ed. M. Harawī, Tehran 1351/1932-3, 18, 73, 87), Bam (cf. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XV^e siècle*, in *Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl.* [Wiesbaden 1956], no. 2, 86-473), Egypt (see Winter, 22-30; al-Damurdāshī, 66), and Morocco (see SHURFĀʾ; Kably, *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du "moyen-âge"*, Paris 1986, 291-302 and *passim*; Laroui, 92-7). However, for all their prestige historically, the great majority of *ashrāf*, given their constantly increasing numbers, have probably lived and still live in poor circumstances (see e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, *ibid.*, i, 71; Burke, 98).

The genuineness of an ʿAlid pedigree has historically often been open to question, despite efforts at regulation and authentication such as the institution of the *niḳāba* discussed above. See, e.g. SHURFĀʾ, and Westermarck, i, 37, on the difficulty of distinguishing between genuine and assumed Sharīfian descent in Morocco; M. Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, Minneapolis 1988, 95, for an example of 17th-century fraud in some two thousand false claims to *sayyid* tax exemptions uncovered by Ottoman officials in a single town (citing Naʿīmā, Taʾrīkh, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, vi, 402-5, and Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286/1870, ii, 142-7); Z. Bhatty, 94, concerning false claims of Uttar Pradesh *shaykhs* to be *sayyids*; A. Roy, *Islamic syncretistic tradition in Bengal*, Princeton 1983, 61-9, esp. 61 n. 10 (with bibl.), on Bengali Muslims' striving for *ashrāf* status; Faṣīḥ Khʷāfī, *Mudjmal-i faṣīḥī*, ed. Farrukh, Mashhad 1339/1960-1, 157-8, on the evil deeds of one so-called "Sayyid Kalā Kush" (Ḥasan Khʷārazmī Gūsh Burīda) in Zāwa whose false claim to Prophetic descent and title was uncovered in an investigation in 807/1404-5, under Shāhrukh; and Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i, 155, on successful but false claims to Prophetic ancestry in Acheh in the late 19th century.

The general trend in the past century seems to have been towards some diminution of *sharīfī* prestige and power in most parts of the Islamic world (see e.g. Winter, 28-30), yet the *ashrāf* still almost everywhere enjoy special social, and often popular religious status. Their prestige remains presumably greatest in Shīʿī communities and in the Maghrib. The genealogical tradition has survived in its greatest purity in western Arabia and Ḥaḍramawt. The family of ʿAlawīs in Ḥaḍramawt, which has produced many notable jurists, theologians, and mystics, regard only the West Arabian *sharīfs* as their equals in birth [see ḤAḌRAMAWT, in Suppl.]. On the *sayyids* of Ḥaḍramawt, who are also strongly represented in the Malay Archipelago, and to whom belong the founders of the sultanates of Siak and Pontianak, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii, 162 ff., and *Achehnese*, i, 153 ff.; cf. W. Ende, *Schiitische Tendenzen bei sunnitischen Sayyids aus Hadramaut: Muhammad b. ʿAqīl al-ʿAlawī* (1863-1931), in *Isl.*, 1 (1973), 82-97. On the history of the Sharīfian dynasties of Mecca and the Ḥidjāz and on the *sharīfs* of Morocco, see the refs. given above and also the sketch in al-Batanūnī, 73-81. Somewhat dated information on the families of *ashrāf* in Arabia is given in the Admiralty War Staff's *Handbook of Arabia*, see index.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): al-Kumayt b. Zayd, *Hāshimiyyāt*, ed. J. Horovitz, Leiden 1904; Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), *Khaṣāʾiṣ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ed. Al-Amīnī, Nadjaf 1389/1969; Ibn Biṭrīḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 600/1203), *Khaṣāʾiṣ waḥy al-mubīn fī manāḳib amīr al-muʾminīn*, n.p. 1311/1893-4; idem, *al-ʿUmda fī ʿuyūn al-akhbār fī manāḳib amīr al-muʾminīn*, Bombay 1309/1891-2; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1294), *Manāḳib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿashara* (ed. Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ, Cairo 1391/1971), iii, 132-306; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī Ibn ʿInaba (d. 828/1424), *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, ed. al-Ṭālaḳānī, Nadjaf 1361/1981; Maḳrīzī, *Maʿrifat mā yadjibu li-āl al-bayt al-nabawī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, Beirut 1393/1973; Suyūṭī, *Iḥyāʾ al-mayt fī ʾl-aḥādīth al-wārida fī ahl al-bayt*, on the margin of Shubrāwī (see below); idem, *Risālat al-Sulāla al-Zaynabiyya*, ms. Leiden 2326; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565), *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1356/1937; idem, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa fī ʾl-radd ʿalā ahl al-bidaʿ wa ʾl-zandaḳa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1375/1956; Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaḳāt al-akhyār* (or *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*), Cairo 1315/1897, repr. Cairo 1965; Shubrāwī (d. 1172/1758), *al-Itḥāf bi-ḥubb al-ashrāf*, Cairo 1318/1900; Carsten Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 11 ff.; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣabbān (d. 1206/1792), *Isʿāf al-rāghibīn fī sīrat al-muṣṭafā wa-faḍāʾil ahl baytihi al-ṭāhirīn*, on the margin of Shablandjī, *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāḳib āl bayt al-nabī al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1318/1900; Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī (d. 1345/1927), *al-Diʿāma fī aḥkām sunnat al-ʿimāma*, Damascus 1342/1923-4; Nabhānī (d. 1351-2/1932), *al-Sharaf al-muʿabbad li-āl Muḥammad*, Cairo 1381/1961; Bishr Fāris, *Taʾrīkh lafẓat al-sharaf*, in *Mabāḥith ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1358/1939, 93-116; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kammūna al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf fī nukabāʾ al-ashrāf*, Nadjaf 1388/1968; idem, *Faḍāʾil al-ashrāf*, Nadjaf 1390/1970; Hossein Modarressi, *Nekābat-e sādat*, in *Ayandeh* (Tehran), v (1979), 754-65; M. Winter, *The ashrāf and niqābat al-ashrāf in Egypt in Ottoman and modern times*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xix (1985), 17-41.

(C. VAN ARENDONK-[W.A. GRAHAM])

SHARĪF, the pen-name of several Persian poets of various periods, among them the author of the *Saʿādat-nāma*, a collection of moral precepts in some 300 verses, wrongly ascribed, in mss. and in the printed editions, to the famous 5th/11th-century Ismāʿīlī poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*]. This poem was first published by E. Fagnan, together with a (rather inadequate) French translation, from a Paris manuscript in *ZDMG*, xxxiv (1880), 643-74, reprinted (from Fagnan, with some emendations) in the appendix to the edition of Nāṣir's *Safar-nāma* published in Berlin, Kaviani Press 1341/1922-3, and then (from the Berlin edition, but collated with a manuscript in the editor's possession) in N. Taḳawī's edition of Nāṣir's *dīwān*, Tehran 1307 *Sh*./1928, 545-61. There is also an annotated English translation by G.M. Wickens in *IQ*, ii (1955), 117-32, 206-21. In Taḳawī's manuscript the text ends with a verse in which the author tells his readers to heed "the words of Sharīf", evidently his poetic signature; there is no mention in this recension of the name Nāṣir. In some other copies "Sharīf" is replaced by "Nāṣir-i Khusraw", while the manuscript

published by Fagnan retains the verse mentioning "Sharīf" (three lines from the end) but adds a final verse giving the author's name as "Nāṣir b. Khusraw". It is quite obvious that (except in the version represented by Taḳawī's ms.) the text has been tampered with. The poem is clearly not by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whose pen-name was "Ḥudjdjat", not "Sharīf", and whose style is quite unlike that of the *Saʿādat-nāma*; moreover, the latter poem contains no trace of Ismāʿīlī doctrines. Nothing else is known of our Sharīf, except that he must have lived before the middle of the 9th/15th century, the date of the earliest manuscripts, though he could very well have been a good deal earlier.

The modern Persian scholar M.T. Bahār (in his *Sabk-shināsī*, iii, Tehran 1321 *Sh.*/1942, 188) identified the author of the *Saʿādat-nāma* as one Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Khusraw Iṣfahānī, who supposedly died in 735/1334-5, but in fact this person is totally fictitious. Bahār merely misconstrued the entry on the *Saʿādat-nāma* in the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who, following Dawlatshāh (61-4), wrongly makes Nāṣir-i Khusraw a native of Iṣfahān (see ed. Flügel, iii, 598, ed. Yaltkaya/Bilge, ii, 990; the date "735" is evidently a misprint in the oriental edition used by Bahār).

A striking feature of the poem is the vehemence with which the author denounces the "great ones" and his insistence that, after the prophets and saints, the best of mankind are the peasants, and then the artisans.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

AL-**SHARĪF ABŪ MUḤAMMAD IDRĪS** B. ʿALĪ, called ʿImād al-Dīn, a Ḥasanī *sharīf* of Yemen. Belonging also to the Zaydī Ḥamzas, he is usually given the *nisba* al-Ḥamzī. He was a Ṣanʿānī, was born in 673/1274 and died in 714/1314. Idrīs had a strict Zaydī background and his early days were spent under the eye of his father, Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī, who played a prominent military part on the side of the Zaydīs in the Zaydī-Rasūlid struggles of the late 7th/13th century. By the time his father died in 699/1299, he had made his peace with the Rasūlids and Idrīs was left in charge of the Ḥamzī *ashrāf* in the Yemen. From 700/1300 onwards relations between Idrīs and the Rasūlid sultan al-Muʾayyad Dāwūd became progressively closer. The Rasūlid granted him as fiefs (*iḳṭāʿāt*) al-Kaḥma and Mawzaʿ in Tihāma and the administrative and military experience which he gained during more than fifteen years of service with the Rasūlids was considerable.

Idrīs was also renowned for his learning, particularly in the fields of *fiḳh*, poetry and history, and there is mention of numerous books composed by him. But it was in the latter discipline that he was in particular famous. Alone extant among other historical works is his *Kanz al-akhbār fī maʿrifat al-siyar wa ʾl-akhbār*, the Yemenite part of which has recently appeared in print (Kuwait 1992), edited by ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Madʿadj. The work begins as an abridgement (*ikhtiṣār*) of Ibn al-Athīr's [*q.v.*] *Kāmil*, tracing the history of Islam from the time of the Prophet. Additional material is provided, however, on the history of ʿIrāḳ, Egypt and Syria. Of great value is the final section of the third part and the whole of the fourth and final part of the work which concern the history of Yemen down to the year 714/1314, i.e. the date of the author's death.

The Yemenite section also begins with the period of the Prophet. The chief town, Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], is given fairly detailed treatment, its foundation and early development, its most important early buildings like the Great Mosque and the castle of Ghumdān [*q.v.*]. On the early history, the *Kanz* is an extremely useful source for the governors of the Yemen during the period of the Prophet, the Orthodox caliphs, the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids down to the year 204/819, when the author turns his attention to the earliest dynasty in Islamic times in the Yemen, the Ziyādids [*q.v.*] and thereafter to the various dynasties which ruled over different parts of the Yemen in early Islam. As we might expect, he does not neglect the history of the Zaydī imāms and chronicles too the appearance in the Yemen of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the late 3rd/9th-early 4th/10th century. The work is also of value as an important source of the Rasūlids in the Yemen, and from fol. 191a of the British Library ms. Or. 4581 (ed. Madʿadj, 111), the author speaks as an eyewitness of the events which played out around him. The *Kanz* was itself the subject of a further abridgement, *Nuzhat al-abṣār fī ikhtiṣār Kanz al-akhyār*, composed by the Rasūlid sultan al-Afḍal ʿAbbās (d. 787/1385).

Bibliography: The Kuwait 1992 ed. by al-Madʿadj, entitled *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, is a timely and competent piece of work, edited from the B.L. ms. only, with an excellent editorial introd. (7-22); Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman fī al-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1974, 138-9, lists two other mss., one in Lucknow and another in a private library in Ṣanʿāʾ; Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, *Maṣādir al-turāth al-Yamanī fī al-Matḥaf al-Biriṭānī*, Damascus 1980, 54-5, gives a comprehensive list of Yemeni primary sources for the author and his work, among which are ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazradjī, *The Pearl-strings; a history of the Resúliyy dynasty of Yemen*, ed. and tr. J.W. Redhouse, esp. i, Leiden-London 1906, 315-17, 318, 324-6 etc.; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-karn al-sābiʿ*, ii, Beirut n.d., appendix, 52-3.

(G.R. SMITH)

AL-**SHARĪF** AL-ʿ**AḲĪLĪ**, ABU ʾL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN b. Ḥaydara b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from the genealogical line of ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. Since ʿAḳīl was a half-brother of ʿAlī (the Prophet's nephew), al-ʿAḳīlī was seen to belong to the Sharīfian nobility, and therefore was entitled to a regular income. As a poet of independent means, al-ʿAḳīlī lived *ca.* 350-450/960-1060 in the old town of al-Fusṭāṭ, next to the then newly-founded city of al-Ḳāhira (Cairo).

Apart from a short poem in praise of a chancellor who was in the service of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, and a few poems dedicated to al-Ḥusayn and Djaʿfar, respectively son and grandson of Djawhar, the general who had conquered Egypt on behalf of his Fāṭimid masters, he did not write poems in praise of state officials. Usually, al-ʿAḳīlī composed his poems in order to describe his personal pleasures, together with his intimate friends who used to frequent his literary salon. Thus the poet's quiet lifestyle might have been the reason why details concerning his life came to be neglected by later generations. His poetry, however, was highly valued by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, who in his *Mughrib* (see *Bibl.*) gave extensive quotations.

The poet's *Dīwān* itself, edited on the basis of several manuscripts, shows al-ʿAḳīlī's versatility in various genres: we find *khamriyyāt*, wherein the poet shows himself an admirer of Abū Nuwās's style; his *ghazals* chiefly consist of small poetical pieces, often with a highly rhetorical play on words. In his invective poetry, *hidjāʾ*, he attacks—sometimes with obscene vulgarity—a whole range of individuals, such as fellow poets, a

grammarian and a singer whose performance he did not appreciate, and corrupt officials. Another of his genres consists of *rawḍiyyāt*, i.e. descriptions of gardens, flowers, ponds and fountains. Interesting are his poems describing inanimate objects, such as a painted screen or a curtain. The poet also composed some brief ascetic poems, resembling the *zuhdiyyāt*, a few of which he regularly placed at the end of every one of the alphabetical sections within his *Dīwān* (i.e. sections of the rhyme letters *alif*, *bā'*, *tā'*, ... etc.).

His long poem on "Rejection of wine in the evening and praise of wine in the morning" (*Muzdawidja fī dhamm al-ghabūḳ wa-madḥ al-ṣabūḥ*, in *Dīwān*, 301-7) was intended both as an imitation and contradiction [see NAḲĀ'IḌ] of an earlier poem by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, on "Rejection of wine in the morning" (*Urdjūza fī dhamm al-ṣabūḥ*). In general, al-ʿAḳīlī proved himself a late supporter of the new style which Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] had begun to advocate some one hundred years before.

Bibliography: *Dīwān al-Sharīf al-ʿAḳīlī*, ed. Zakī al-Maḥāsinī, n.d. but not before 1953; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib, Kitāb al-ightibāṭ fī ḥulā madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ* (= section on al-Fusṭāṭ), ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, Shawḳī Ḍayf and Sayyida Kāshif, Cairo 1953, 205-49; Brockelmann, S I, 465 no. 10; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, *Miṣr al-shāʿira fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimī*, Cairo 1983.

(P. SMOOR)

SHARĪF ĀMULĪ, a Mughal noble of the 10th/16th century. Persian by birth, he spent some time at Balkh in the *khānaḳāh* of the Ṣūfī Muḥammad Zāhid, but allegedly because of his heretic views was driven away from there and forced to go to the Deccan. But there, too, his heresies drew upon him the unfavourable attention of the local rulers, leading to his flight to Mālwa, then in Akbar's empire (984/1576-7). He was acclaimed as a great scholar by the Persian notables, and was granted audience by Akbar, whom he introduced to the doctrines of the Nuḳṭawī sect founded by Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī [see NUḲṬAWIYYA]. Henceforth, he became one of Akbar's advisors in religious and legal matters. Official appointments followed: *amīn* and *ṣadr* of Kābul (993/1585), *amīn* and *ṣadr* of Bihār and Bengal (1000/1591-2); and governor of Adjmēr with the *pargana* of Mohan near Lucknow in *djāgīr* (1007/1598-9). In 1004/1595 he had the rank of 900 *dhāt*. His status remained high under Djahāngīr, who, while recording impressions of nobles immediately after his accession (114/1605-6), praises him highly in his memoirs, and says he raised his *manṣab* from 2000 to 2500 *dhāt*. The date of his death is not recorded.

Sharīf Āmulī seems to have been possessed of exceptional learning and eloquence, and is said to have written a book called *Tarashshuḥ-i ẓuhūr*, though neither this nor any other work from his pen has survived. He earned the bitter enmity of theologians like ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badā'ūnī [*q.v.*], the famous historian, who mentions his arrival in India in order to insert a diatribe against him and his heretical views. The author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, however, acclaimed him as "a monotheist (*muwaḥḥid*) of the time, having a true expertise in mysticism".

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ed. B. De, Calcutta 1931, ii, 451; Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad and Nassau Lees, Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1864-9, ii, 245-8; Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Ghāzīpur and ʿAlīgaṛh 1864, 222; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, ed. Mawlwī ʿAbd Raḥīm, iii, 285-90; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, revised D.C. Phillott, Calcutta 1927, i, 502-4.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

AL-**SHARĪF** AL-**DJURDJĀNĪ** [see AL-DJURDJĀNĪ].

AL-**SHARĪF** AL-**GHARNĀṬĪ**, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ... b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Sabtī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (697-760/1297-1359), philologist, grammarian and poet of Muslim Spain.

He was born at Sabta (Ceuta) and deeply educated in Arabic language and the law. At an unknown date he went to Granada and worked in the *dīwān al-inshā'* of the Naṣrid Muḥammad IV (725-37/1325-37), and became friendly with the eminent poet Ibn al-Djayyāb [*q.v.*]. He then embarked on a legal career and in 737/1336 became *ḳāḍī* of Malaga and then six years later followed Ibn Burṭāl as *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa* of Granada. He lost his post in 747/1346 because of corruption charges (of which Ibn al-Khaṭīb considered him innocent), and took up teaching and study until he returned to his previous job two years later at the command of Yūsuf I. He died in Granada aged 63 after a long illness which inspired the physician Muḥammad al-Shaḳūrī to write his *Tuḥfat al-mutawaṣṣil wa-rāḥat al-muta'ammil*.

The sources stress his wide knowledge of language and literature. His poetic *dīwān*, dedicated to his pupil Ibn al-Khaṭīb, is lost, but fragments have been preserved by the latter and by al-Nubāhī and al-Maḳḳarī. He also made a résumé of the *dīwān* of his friend and successor as *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa*, Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Balafīḳī called *al-Lu'lu' wa 'l-mardjān*, and a *Sharḥ al-Ḳaṣīda al-khazradjiyya* (see Brokelmann, I², 380, and art. AL-KHAZRADJĪ). In the field of Arabic grammar, he wrote a *sharḥ* and a *taḳyīd* on the *Tashīl al-fawā'id* of Ibn Mālik. He further made a *taḳyīd* on Ibn al-Abbār's [*q.v.*] *Durar al-simṭ fī khabar al-Sibṭ*, and was the author of a legal work, *Ḥaṣr mathārāt al-ḳuḍāt bi 'l-adilla* (Brockelmann, S II, 346). But al-Sharīf's most famous work was his *Rafʿ al-ḥudjub al-mastūra ʿan maḥāsin al-Maḳṣūra li 'l-Ḳarṭādjannī*, considered as a model of the genre, analysing each verse of the poem, with a grammatical commentary, al-Ḳarṭādjannī's sources, poetic citations on the same subject, analysis of the rhetorical figures used, and historical and biographical details. The work is extant in several mss., and was published, together with the *Maḳṣūra*, at Cairo 1344/1925.

The names of two of al-Sharīf's sons are known, Aḥmad and Muḥammad. The first followed the career of his father as a *kātib* and a *ḳāḍī*, whilst the second devoted himself to Ṣūfism and frequented numerous *zawāyā* in the region of Granada before becoming likewise *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa* in the Naṣrid capital.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ii, 181-7; Nubāhī, *Marḳaba*, 171-7; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, ii, 267; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, i, 39 no. 64; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, iii, 443 no. 3452; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, i, 306 no. 314; Brockelmann, II², 318, S II 346; Ziriklī, v, 327; Kaḥḥāla, viii, 252, 317. There is a very detailed biography of al-Sharīf in I. Calero Secall, *Una familia ceutí en la Granada de los siglos XIV y XV: los Banū l-Šarīf al-Ḥasanī*, in *Al-Qantara*, vii (1986), 85-105. See also E. García Gómez, *Observaciones sobre la Qaṣīda Maqṣūra d'al-Qarṭāŷannī*, in *al-And.*, i (1933), 81-103; M. Benchekroun, *La vie intellectuelle marocaine sous les Mérinides et les Wattasides*, Rabat [1]1974, 424 no. 45; A. Carmona, *Una cuarta version de la capitulacion de Tudmīr*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, ix (1992), 11-17; al-Dabbāgh, *Min aʿlām al-fikr wa 'l-adab fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-marīnī*, Casablanca 1413/1992, 76-115; M. Fierro,

Historia de los autores y transmisores andalusíes (HATA), forthcoming.

(MARIBEL FIERRO AND MANUELA MARÍN)

AL-SHARĪF AL-IDRĪSĪ [see AL-IDRĪSĪ].

AL-SHARĪF AL-MURTAḌĀ [see AL-MURTAḌĀ].

SHARĪF PASHA, Muḥammad (1823-87), Egyptian statesman in the reigns of the Khedives Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ. He was of Turkish origin and was born in Cairo, where his father was then acting as *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* sent by the sultan. When some ten years later the family was again temporarily in Cairo, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] had the boy sent to the military school recently founded by him. Henceforth, his whole career was to be spent in the Egyptian service. Sharīf was a member of the "Egyptian mission" sent to Paris for higher education which included the future Khedives Saʿīd Pasha and Ismāʿīl Pasha and the statesman ʿAlī Mubārak Pasha. He then took a military course at St. Cyr (1843-5), and served for some time in the French army until the mission was recalled by ʿAbbās I in 1849. For the next four years he acted as secretary to Prince Ḥalīm, then took up military duties again in 1853 and attained the rank of general under Saʿīd Pasha. During this period, he was much associated with the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, Sulaymān Pasha (de Sèves [see SULAYMĀN PASHA, AL-FRANSAWĪ]), whose daughter he married.

In 1857 Sharīf Pasha began his political career as Minister of Foreign Affairs and he acted as deputy for the Khedive Ismāʿīl [see ISMĀʿĪL PASHA] when the latter went to Istanbul in 1865. He later filled in succession all the high offices of state. It was he who in 1866 drew up the plans for the new *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* [see MADJLIS. xvi].

After the inauguration of constitutional government in Egypt in 1878, three cabinets were formed by Sharīf Pasha. When in February 1879 Nūbār Pasha's [*q.v.*] cabinet (which included two Europeans) had been overthrown by the nationalist parliament, a constitutionalist movement was begun under Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha, the leader of which in Parliament was ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muwayliḥī. This party drew up a plan of financial reforms, which was laid before the Khedive, who in April 1879 entrusted Sharīf Pasha with the formation of a cabinet composed of purely Egyptian elements. This new cabinet instituted a Conseil d'État and had a new organic law passed by the Chamber (promulgated on 14 June 1879). After the accession of the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*], Sharīf Pasha's cabinet was remodelled, but the new government was not so nationalist in complexion as the preceding. In August of the same year, the new Khedive refused to approve the constitution drawn up by the Prime Minister, hence on 18 August Sharīf Pasha resigned and was succeeded by Muḥammad Riyāḍ Pasha. Sharīf Pasha then took part in the formation of the "National Society" or "Party" at Ḥulwān, which published a manifesto against Riyāḍ Pasha on 4 November.

During the two years or so of mounting tension between the Khedive and the rising influence in the state of the nationalist elements of the army led by Aḥmad ʿUrābī Bey [*q.v.*], Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha endeavoured to put forward the idea of constitutional reform in order to forestall an attempted putsch by ʿUrābist elements. He became Prime Minister in September 1881, but had to resign in January 1882 in favour of Maḥmūd Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*]. Yet in the late summer of that year, when the Khedive had been restored to power in Cairo by British force of arms and the ʿUrābī revolt crushed, Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha again became Prime Minister (August 1882). He held office during the beginning of the British occupation, but in the end came in conflict with the British government and its Consul-General in Egypt, Sir Evelyn Baring (the later Lord Cromer), when the government required the evacuation of Egyptian forces from the Sūdān in face of the rising power there of the Mahdī [see MAHDIYYA], and resigned in January 1884. He then retired from political life, suffered ill health and died at Graz, being buried at Cairo in April 1887.

By birth, Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha stemmed from the Turco-Egyptian ruling class, so that his attitudes were bound to be more Khedivalist than nationalist, but he managed to establish a reputation for sincerity with the nationalists, who recognised his genuine desire to make Egypt a constitutional state under Muḥammad ʿAlī's house.

Bibliography: Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908, i; Dj. Zaydān, *Mashāhīr al-shark*, Cairo 1910, i, 240 ff.; M. Sabry, *La genèse de l'esprit national égyptien*, Paris 1913; P.J. Vatikiotis, *The history of Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*, London 1980; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl*, Cairo 1982; F.R. Hunter, *Egypt under the Khedives, 1805-1879*, Pittsburgh 1984. See also the Bibls. to ISMĀʿĪL PASHA; KHIDĪW; MIṢR. D. 7: TAWFĪḲ PASHA.

(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-SHARĪF AL-RAḌĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD b. Abī Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā, was born in Baghdād in 359/970, of an illustrious and highly sophisticated ʿAlīd family, and died in 406/1016. His lineage dated back to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, through Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*], the seventh Shīʿī Imām, whence his *nisbas* al-Mūsawī al-ʿAlawī.

His father Abū Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir (not Abū Ṭāhir, as Krenkow writes in *EI*[1], vol. IV, 329), Dhu 'l-Manāḳib ("the pure man of noble qualities") as the Būyid *amīrs* dubbed him, was born in 304/916-17. He was a distinguished man who was extremely influential, both in the caliphal court and among the populace, on account of his noble ancestry and his cultural eminence. In 354/965 he was appointed *naḳīb* or marshal of the ʿAlīds, and given responsibility for the *maẓālim* and for the Pilgrimage. His career was interrupted in 369/979-80, in which year he was imprisoned by the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], with his brother ʿAbd Allāh and numerous other dignitaries, in a fortress in Shīrāz. He had been accused—on the basis of falsified documents—of revealing state secrets and of abuse of trust (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 98). The real charge against him seems to have been the mounting prestige which he enjoyed, prestige which exceeded, if Ibn Taghrībirdī is to be believed (*Nudjūm*, iv, 223), that of the caliph himself. If to this is added the enormous wealth possessed by Abū Aḥmad and coveted by the Būyids, the true reasons behind his detention are easily deduced. It was not until 376/986 that he was freed, following the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and the accession of his son Sharaf al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Rehabilitated, he was reinstated in his official functions and all his property was restored to him.

In the political domain, Abū Aḥmad played an important role. He was entrusted with numerous missions of mediation, all of which he accomplished successfully, through his wisdom and his diplomatic skills. Such was the case, for example, when serious conflict erupted between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs at al-Karkh in 380/990. The consequences could have been very grave had it not been for the intervention of the *naḳīb*, who succeeded in soothing passions and putting

an end to this confrontation (see H.F. Amedroz, *Three years of Buwaihid rule in Baghdad*, in *JRAS* [1901], 619 ff.). Towards the end of his life, Abū Aḥmad suffered poor health and lost his sight. In 400/1009-10 he died, at the age of 97 years (*Dīwān*, ii, 293).

The mother of al-Raḍī, Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn (d. 385/996), was also of ʿAlīd descent, more precisely from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. Her grandfather al-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥakk, poet and man of letters, was the ruler of Daylam. Al-Raḍī apparently had two sisters, Khadīdja and Zaynab, as well as two brothers, al-Aṭhar, mentioned by the poet al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057) in his ode to Abū Aḥmad (*Sikt al-zand*, Beirut 1957, 35), and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (355-493/967-1044 [*q.v.*]), renowned as a writer, poet, theologian, polemicist and leading defender of Imāmism. While the two brothers al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā are often mentioned conjointly, their contemporaries seem to have preferred the former, in particular for his poetic gifts and for his personal qualities (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj*, 39-40).

As regards al-Raḍī's own immediate family, little is known. He apparently had a son, Aḥmad ʿAdnān, known like his grandfather by the cognomen of al-Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Manāḳib. He followed the example of his ancestors in occupying the post of *naḳīb*. Furthermore, after his death, a second son was born, Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsawī (Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmda*, 211).

Intellectual formation.

Al-Raḍī had an education worthy of his rank. While he was still at an early age, and during the absence of his imprisoned father, his mother entrusted him, with his brother al-Murtaḍā, to the eminent Imāmī scholar al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), who taught them Shīʿī theology (*op. cit.*, 41). Al-Raḍī continued his studies under the tutelage of other scholars who were among the most distinguished of the time, such as the grammarian Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), the writer Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), the Mālikī Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṭabarī al-Muḳri' (d. 393/995), the Muʿtazilī al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1024) and the philologist and grammarian Ibn Djinnī (d. 399/1002), among others. Al-Raḍī was very much attached to the last-named, in particular. It was, in fact, Ibn al-Djinnī who encouraged him to pursue his career as a poet. In token of admiration and friendship, the master contributed, at a very early stage, a commentary to his renowned *rā'iyya*, an elegy dedicated to the Ḥamdānid Abū Ṭāhir b. Nāṣir al-Dawla (d. 382/992) (*Dīwān*, i, 490-4), and later, to three other poems (cf. *Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, v, 87).

Thus our poet obtained a rich, diverse and profound cultural training. His exemplary friendship and loyalty towards the Sabian Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (d. 384/994), who was his senior by more than forty years, testifies eloquently to his tolerant spirit and his freedom of thought.

Considered precocious, he composed his first poem at the age of ten years. However, he did not study the Ḳur'ān until after the age of thirty (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 131).

The portrait provided by his biographers, corroborated furthermore by his poems, is that of a man of honesty, sensitivity, sincerity and finesse, a staunch and loyal friend. He was also immensely proud and conscious of his dignity; he accepted no gift from anyone. On the contrary, he was generous and well-disposed towards scholarship and scholars. He had founded a school, the *Dār al-ʿilm* ("house of knowledge"), where the students were lodged and provided for (Ibn ʿInaba, *op. cit.*, 209).

A committed Imāmī, but without excess or fanaticism, al-Raḍī was open to all tendencies. He showed some sympathy for Shāfiʿism and for Muʿtazilism (cf. Ibn ʿAbbās, *al-Sharīf*, 46-7). He made his own convictions clear in declaring (*Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, v, 17) that he had been drawn, in early life, towards Murdji'ism, but that he had later opted for the dogma of the *waʿd* and *waʿīd* (promises and threats in the life beyond), one of the five fundamental principles dear to the Muʿtazilīs (cf. *Dīwān*, ii, 270).

Political activity.

His biographers, led by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (*op. cit.*, i, 34), state that, from an early age, he harboured political ambitions and even aspired to the highest authority in the state, the caliphate itself; some of his verses express this unequivocally (*Dīwān*, i, 358, 536, ii, 167, 408-12). It seems that his friend Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī encouraged him and built up his hopes (*Dīwān*, ii, 89-90; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, 26). This idea, which he cherished throughout his youth, came to nothing, and many of his poems convey a sense of disappointment, of deep dejection and of acute pessimism. He was finally obliged to come to terms with reality and to be content with the honours lavished on him by the Būyids, Bahā' al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in particular. In fact, in 380/990, at 24 years old, he was entrusted with his father's responsibilities (the *niḳāba* of the ʿAlīds, the *maẓālim* and the Pilgrimage), when the latter's state of health prevented him from performing these duties himself. Sometimes, it was the two brothers together who assumed the responsibility. He was probably not officially appointed *naḳīb* until 403/1013. Furthermore, Bahā' al-Dawla persisted in showering him with honorific titles: *al-Sharīf al-Djalīl* ("the venerable noble one") (388/998), *al-Raḍī* ("the well-pleasing") (398/1007), *al-Sharīf al-Adjall* ("the most venerable noble one") (401/1011), *Dhu 'l-Ḥasabayn* ("of the two nobilities") and *Dhu 'l-Manḳabatayn* ("of two virtues"). To this writer's knowledge, in the entire history of Islam no one has ever surpassed al-Raḍī in terms of official honours and distinctions.

Poetic activity.

A writer and scholar versed in various disciplines (Ḳur'ān, *Ḥadīth*, language and literature), he was most appreciated in his role as a poet. His contemporary al-Thaʿālibī (*op. cit.*) asserts that he was considered, in terms of quality as well as quantity, the best poet of the Ṭālibīs, indeed of Ḳuraysh in general. Whatever the case, one thing is certain: al-Raḍī was passionate about his poetry. He was proud and jealous where it was concerned. He never permitted himself to utilise it for material ends, nor to obtain presents and benefits, as was the practice of innumerable poets of his time. He sought only honour and prestige as rewards for his poetry. His panegyric poems were devoted mostly to his relatives and friends; the others were addressed to certain public figures, those whom he genuinely trusted. Among the latter, worthy of mention is the caliph al-Ṭā'iʿ (d. 393/1003 [*q.v.*]), to whom he dedicated numerous laudatory poems revealing sincere affection and respect for the man. One of his most moving poems is that in which he recounts the deposition of the caliph in 381/991 by Bahā' al-Dawla (*Dīwān*, ii, 444-8). He continued to dedicate poems to him until the former caliph's death twelve years later in 393/1003 (*Dīwān*, 197-201). But his relations with al-Ḳādir (d. 422/1031 [*q.v.*]), successor to al-Ṭā'iʿ, were not so favourable. Indeed, he wrote some eulogies addressed to him, but without much conviction. On the contrary, he composed a number of audacious, impertinent and provocative poems which sometimes roused the ire of the caliph, such as that

in which he compares himself to the latter, declaring in his presence (*Dīwān*, ii, 42):

"Alas, *Amīr* of the Believers! We are equal, at the summit of glory ...
Only the caliphate, of which you hold the reins, separates us."

Bahā' al-Dawla was one of the few *amīrs* to enjoy eulogies on the part of this poet, in the guise of appreciation for all the privileges which he had accorded him (*Dīwān*, i, 13-18, 53-64, 277-8, 413-18 and *passim*). But the poems in which al-Raḍī displays innovation and skill of the highest order are those devoted to praise of his father. There are some forty of these, and no other Arab poet has ever produced anything comparable. He treated his father, whose personality fascinated him, as though he were a caliph. On the occasion of every festival, he presented him with a poem. Furthermore, it was the arrest of his father, in 369/979, which gave the first impetus to his poetic genius. He composed one of his very first poems, of unprecedented power (78 verses), full of grief, melancholy and wisdom, when he was barely ten years old (*Dīwān*, i, 305-10). Other poems were addressed to friends or to men of letters, such as al-Ṣābī, the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, Ibn Djinnī, etc. He lauded their merits and especially—something virtually unique in Arabic literature—their art of the pen and their eloquence (*Dīwān*, i, 280-4, 285-9, ii, 199-68 and *passim*.

Besides panegyric, his *Dīwān* covers all poetic genres: descriptive, satirical, amorous and elegiac. But this poet excelled particularly in the last two (*ghazal* and *rithā'*). His *Ḥidjāziyyāt*, some forty poems in which he sang of love and celebrated the beauty of the fine ladies who were performing the Pilgrimage, made him one of the most renowned Arab poets of all time. Neither his official function as organiser of processions of pilgrims, nor the holy places of Islam, nor his social and religious position, hindered him from expressing tender feelings of love. Admittedly, he was careful not to go too far in this respect and he confined himself to declaring his admiration of feminine beauty in delicate, elegant, restrained and measured terms, in a Bedouin style which recalls Djamīl Buthayna (d. 82/701), ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (d. 93/712) or Kuthayyir ʿAzza (d. 105/723), far from the libertine exhibitionism of an Abū Nuwās (d. 197/812) or of an Ibn Sukkara (d. 385/995). It is quite simply a case of innocent, platonic (*ʿudhrī*) love, as he says himself (*Dīwān*, i, 175):

"I have loved but, as God knows,
I have only needed to see, to enjoy it ..."

His elegiac poetry is a model of sincerity and sensibility, full of wisdom, of meditation on man, life and death. Among his most moving elegies, notable are those dedicated to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, to his mother, to his father, to his friend al-Ṣābī and to his master Ibn Djinnī (*Dīwān*, i, 26-30, 44-8, 187-90, 381-6, ii, 63-7, 75-6, 290-6 and *passim*). His last poem of the genre was the elegy addressed to his friend, the writer and poet Aḥmad al-Battī, at the time of his death in Shaʿbān 405/1015 (*Dīwān*, i, 170-1). In this poem, al-Raḍī seems to have a sense of his own impending demise, as he declares (*op. cit.*, 170):

"After you have hurt the one whom you love,
Misfortunes will never spare you!"

In fact, a few months later, his own death supervened. He expired on Sunday, 6 Muḥarram 406/26 June 1016, at 47 years old. He was buried first in his home town, al-Karkh, in the precincts of the mosque of the Anbāriyyīn, in the absence of his brother al-Murtaḍā, who was, it is said, too distressed to attend the ceremony. It was the *wazīr* Fakhr al-Mulk who conducted the funeral prayers. According to Ibn ʿInaba (*op. cit.*, 210-11), the remains of al-Raḍī were said to have been later transferred to Karbalā', to the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn, near the tomb of his father. Numerous poets paid their respects to him, in particular, his brother al-Murtaḍā, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027) and his disciple Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1037).

Works.

Despite his relatively early death, and in spite of his weighty official responsibilities, al-Raḍī had the time to compose numerous works, reflecting his extensive and varied culture. His contemporary al-Nadjāshī (*Ridjāl*, 283) has listed some fifty of them. Particularly worthy of mention are the following: (1) His *Dīwān*, of 10,000 verses, the poems in which are often dated (374-405/985-1015), was assembled by several compilers, his son Aḥmad and Abū Ḥakīm al-Khabrī (d. 476/1083) among others (ed. Bombay and Baghdād 1889, Beirut 1890, 1893, and more recently ed. Dār Ṣādir, n.d.). (2) *Khaṣā'iṣ al-Imām ʿAlī* ("Special characteristics of the Imām ʿAlī") (ed. Nadjaf 1949 and Mashhad 1986): written in 383/994, this work was in fact the draft of a more ambitious project. The author intended at the outset to deal with the characteristic virtues of the twelve Shīʿī Imāms (*Khaṣā'iṣ al-A'imma*). He began with ʿAlī: his biography, his qualities and some extracts from his speeches and his wise aphorisms; this gave him the idea of devoting a second work exclusively to the sayings of ʿAlī, with the object of illustrating his oratorical gifts. With the study of the other Imāms still unfinished, he turned immediately to this new enterprise which culminated in the celebrated *Nahdj al-balāgha* (cf. *Nahdj*, 1-3). (3) *Nahdj al-balāgha* ("The way of eloquence") [*q.v.*] (ed. Beirut 1885, Cairo 1905, 1910, 1925 and ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, n.d. and Beirut 1983): this is the anthology of the speeches, homilies and letters traditionally attributed to ʿAlī, which al-Raḍī compiled in 400/1010 (see on this subject M. Djebli, *Encore à propos de l'authenticité du Nahdj al-Balāgha*, in *SI*, lxxii [1992], 36-52). (4) *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-ta'wīl fī mutashābih al-tanzīl* ("Interpretation of Ḳur'ānic images"), sometimes mentioned under the title of *Maʿānī al-Ḳur'ān al-kabīr* ("Obscure meanings in the Ḳur'ān"): this was a monumental work, considered one of the most important exegeses of the Ḳur'ān. Unfortunately, only the 5th volume has survived (ed. Nadjaf 1936). (5) *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī madjāzāt al-Ḳur'ān* ("Summary of metaphors in the Ḳur'ān") (ed. Cairo 1964, Baghdād 1955): begun on Thursday, 20 Shaʿbān 401/1011 and completed on Sunday, 13 Shawwāl of the same year, this book is probably a summary of the preceding work (cf. *Talkhīṣ*, 288). (6) *al-Madjāzāt al-nabawiyya* ("Metaphors in the *Ḥadīth*") (ed. Baghdād 1911, Cairo 1971). As a talented writer and an admirer of literature, the author wanted to seek out eloquence, rhetoric and metaphor in the three principal sources of the Arabic language, these being the Ḳur'ān, the *Ḥadīth* and the sayings of ʿAlī. It was in this spirit that he composed these last four works. (7) *Rasā'il al-Ṣābī wa 'l-Sharīf al-Raḍī* ("Correspondence with al-Ṣābī"). If al-Ṣafadī is to be believed (*Wāfī*, ii, 374), this correspondence, in prose and in poetry, constituted three volumes. But unfortunately, only an infinitesimal part of it has survived, in a ms. belonging to the Tunisian scholar Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (ed. Kuwait 1961).

Other works, apparently no longer in existence, deserve mention, in particular: (1) *Sīrat wālidih Abī*

Aḥmad (biography of his father), composed in his youth, in 379/990. (2) *al-Ḥasan min shiʿr al-Ḥusayn* ("The fine [poetry] of his friend al-Ḥusayn [b. al-Ḥadjdjādj]). (3) *al-Mukhtār min shiʿr Abī Tammām* ("Anthology of the poems of Abū Tammām"). (4) *Mukhtār shiʿr Abī Isḥāḳ* ("Anthology of the poems of al-Ṣābī"). (5) *Akhbār ḳuḍāt Baghdād* ("Biographies of Baghdādī ḳāḍīs"). (6) *Taʿlīḳ fī 'l-Īḍāḥ* ("Glosses on the *Īḍāḥ*", sc. on the grammatical work of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī), etc ...

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(MOKTAR DJEBLI)

AL-SHARĪF AL-TALĪḲ, the name by which the Andalusī poet, active in Cordova, Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir (b. 347/958, d. by 395/1005), is known. A great-grandson of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, he was imprisoned in Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*] when he was 16 for killing his father out of jealousy over a girl. Among his fellow prisoners were several literary figures, including Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Badjdjānī, who wrote at first love poetry and later *hidjāʾ* on the handsome youth. Among these men, at-Ṭalīḳ developed his skill at poetry, most of which was written in prison. Al-Manṣūr ordered his release in or before 379/989-90, either because of a dream-vision of the Prophet or thanks to the intervention of al-Manṣūr's pet ostrich; the supposedly supernatural cause of his release is said to have given rise to his cognomen, which in one source is said to be Ṭalīḳ al-naʿāma, "released by the ostrich".

Although he is reported to have been a prolific poet, little of his work is extant, and that only in fragmentary quotations. His friend, Ibn Ḥazm calls him the greatest Andalusian poet of his time and compares his rank among the poets of the Andalusian Umayyads to that of Ibn al-Muʿtazz among the ʿAbbāsids because of the "gracefulness of his poetry and the beauty of his similes." Particularly appreciated was his *ḳāfʾiyya* beginning:

ghuṣun[un] yahtazzu fī diʿṣi naḳā
yadjtanī minhu fuʾādī ḥuraḳā

("A bough, quivering on a sandy hillock/from which my heart harvests burning!"); but only 41 verses, probably not the entire poem, are extant. The extant fragments deal mostly with wine and flowers.

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(R.P. SCHEINDLIN)

AL-SHARĪF AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, the name given to a dynasty of scholars of Tlemcen.

1. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, Abū Ṭālib

(a) Life

This scholar (*ʿālim*) of Tlemcen, who was born in 710/1310 and died in 771/1369 or 1370, is the renowned ancestor (*mashhūr*) of a family which has produced several generations of jurisconsults (*fuḳahāʾ*), and more specifically of "philosopher-jurisconsults" (Abū Bakr Ibn Shuʿayb) or philosophers of law, also known as "theoreticians of law" (W.B. Hallaq), particularly distinguished among whom are his two sons. He was nicknamed al-ʿAlawī, being the native of a village situated a day's journey from Tlemcen and called al-ʿAlawiyyīn.

He studied under masters of repute, including Abū Zayd (d. 743/1342) and Abū Mūsā (d. 749/1348), with whom he studied science of law (*fiḳh*), sources of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*) and dogmatic theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*). He also studied under the teacher of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ābilī (d. 757/1356), a citizen of Tlemcen of Andalusian origin (from Avila), later a resident of Fās, where he became the disciple of the mathematician Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321). Among his other distinguished teachers were the savant and mystic ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Madjāsī, nicknamed "the Weeper" (*al-Bakkāʾ*, *Bustān*, 121, tr. 132), the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (who was appointed governor of Bidjāya, where he died in 756/1355), Abū Mūsā ʿImrān al-Mashaddālī (a native of the region of Bidjāya, d. 745/

1344-5), the *ḳāḍī*s Ibn ʿAbd al-Nūr (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, d. 748/1337-8), Ibn al-Ḥasan (Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, d. 767/1366), and the astronomer and mathematician Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār (d. 749/1348-9).

In 740/1339 he set out for Tunis, where he attended courses given by the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (675-749-1277-1348), the commentator on Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲ib (d. 646/1249), studying in particular the chapter concerning Ṣūfism (*faṣl al-taṣawwuf*) in the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, and the shorter and middle-sized commentaries on Aristotle by Ibn Rus̲h̲d, which correspond to the *Organon* and which illustrate the methods of the Greek thinker (the work always begins with the analysis and detailed criticism of the ideas of his predecessors) and his style of discourse.

Al-S̲h̲arīf also engaged in the study of mathematics, of astronomy and of the science of the division of inheritances (*al-farāʾiḍ*). He escaped the "Black Death" of 749/1348, which originated in the Orient and spread throughout the West, decimating the intellectual élite of North Africa. On his return to Tlemcen, and until the capture of this town in 753/1352 by the Marīnid sultan Abū ʿInān, he gave courses which were well attended, among others by students from neighbouring countries.

Abū ʿInān appointed him as a member of his academic council (*al-mad̲j̲lis al-ʿilmī*) and introduced him to his court in Fās. There he gave instruction to the royal family, to the children of the nobility and to eminent individuals of the court (*awlād al-s̲h̲urafāʾ wa ʾl-ʿuẓamāʾ*, *Bustān*, 117). Some of his pupils were to become renowned, such as the notary and astronomer (*muwaḳḳit*) attached to the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyyīn Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madyūnī (al-Ḳādirī, b. 777/1375-6) and the traditionist scholar Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Sarrād̲j̲ (d. 805/1402-3). On the death in 759-1358 of Abū ʿInān and with the consent of the Marīnid *wazīr* ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh, al-S̲h̲arīf al-Tilimsānī accepted an invitation from the sultan of Tlemcen, Abū Ḥammū II (723-91/1323-89) who appointed him an advisor, being impressed by his superb intellectual qualities (*and̲j̲abuhum ʿaḳl^an^*, *Bustān*, 170, tr. 190), his expertise in the theology and law of the Mālikī *mad̲h̲hab* and his pre-eminence in the science of divergences (*al-k̲h̲ilāfiyyāt* or comparative law, which analyses the different schools of Muslim law).

Abū Ḥammū II asked for the hand of the scholar's daughter in marriage, then appointed him director of the Yaʿḳūbiyya *madrasa*, specially founded for the scholar and richly endowed with *ḥubus*. Subsequently, it seems that his descendents had the use of a site where the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Wans̲h̲arīsī, assassinated during a period of instability in Fās, was buried in 957/1550 (al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, v, 280). The precincts of the mosque and the *madrasa* became a royal cemetery; in later times, only the mosque and the *ḳubba* remained, taking the name of the saint Sidi Brāhīm al-Maṣmūdī (d. 804/1401), also buried in the same cemetery.

The life of al-S̲h̲arīf is informative on the climate of religious rivalry between the Mag̲h̲ribī powers, in particular the Marīnid and Zayyānid or ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasties. Anxious for legitimacy, both sought to rely on the prestige of the descendants of the Prophet's family, the *S̲h̲urafāʾ* [*q.v.*]. In fact, the ʿAbd al-Wādids claimed, as is asserted by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (*Muḳaddima*), descent from al-Ḳāsim b. Idrīs and had themselves called, in the Berber dialect of the Zanāta, Ayt al-Ḳāsim. Furthermore, the arrival of the scholar at the invitation of the sultan of Tlemcen was indicative not only of a strategy of alliance destined to enhance the intellectual and cultural prestige of the capital of the central Mag̲h̲rib, but also of a S̲h̲arīfian power-policy, of which one of the most visible aspects was the festival surrounding the celebration of the *Mawlid*.

Al-S̲h̲arīf al-Tilimsānī appears to be a key-individual, an intermediary between the political and the religious, between power and the people, who did not hesitate to defend the *faḳīh*, the marabout or the destitute. Of pleasing physical appearance, he dressed with elegance. He was generous and enjoyed giving advice to people. He was kind-hearted and tolerant towards others, and used his ablutions as a diversion when his irritation was aroused. The prestige which he enjoyed among the dignitaries of the kingdom was supplemented by his popularity and his reputation as a man of piety, capable of producing miracles (*karāmāt*). If he wrote little, this was because when he was not engaged in diplomatic missions (764/1362, 765/1363, 767/1366), most of his efforts were devoted to teaching.

The courses given by al-S̲h̲arīf were characterised by his methodical analyses and the clarity of his language which rendered him a proficient orator. His daily routine began with interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, in which he showed himself an incomparable exegete over a period of twenty-five years. He captivated his audience with his favourite reading, the *Mudawwana al-kubrā* of Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]). His commentary on the *D̲j̲umal* of al-K̲h̲ūnad̲j̲ī (author of the *Kitāb al-ʿUmda*, d. 649/1249) was also a component of his courses. He was an accomplished philologist, skilled in the knowledge of the proper use of words, their etymology and their grammatical forms—useful arts in the study of the abundant judicial literature of the different Mālikī schools (Ḳayrawān, Cordova, Bag̲h̲dād, Cairo, etc.), especially in regard to the Ḳurʾān: its grammatical analysis (*naḥw*), its readings (*ḳirāʾāt*) and its variants (*ik̲h̲tilāf*). Furthermore, the art of poetry, ancient history of the Arabs ("Days of the Arabs", *ayyām al-ʿArab*, and "Days of God," *ayyām Allāh*) and Ṣūfism were subjects in which he excelled. In addition to his mastery of the rational and traditional sciences (*al-maʿḳūl wa ʾl-manḳūl*), and sound judgment (*salāmat al-ʿaḳl*), he was also endowed with profound mystical knowledge which he sought to share with his pupils, initiating them especially into the rejection of material goods.

What emerges from his personality is the image of a sincere Muslim whom affluence did not deflect from the defence of the spiritual, moral and humanist values contributing to the cohesion and dynamism of the city. Among his pupils, many acquired renown: in the first place his own sons, ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the *imām* al-S̲h̲āṭibī, Ibn Zamrak, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, Ibn al-Sakkāk (Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad, d. 816/1413), the *faḳīh* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Madyūnī, the saint and preacher Ibrāhīm al-Maṣmūdī (d. 804 or 805/1401 or 1402), and the jurist Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿArafa al-Warg̲h̲amī (716-803/1316-1400).

Al-S̲h̲arīf al-Tilimsānī is a representative of that class of Mag̲h̲ribī scholars who were employed by the successors to the Almohads in the training of royal functionaries responsible for the sultan's secretariat and for military, religious or judicial administration, in the context of the official teaching of the *madrasas*. Furthermore, the need for such functionaries was augmented by the prosperity of Tlemcen and the development of the diplomatic and commercial relations of the kingdom.

His work is situated in the movement whereby insti-

tutions were re-adapted to Mālikism after the Almohad period. For Ibn Marzūḳ al-Khaṭīb, he revealed a high degree of expertise in the interpretation of the Mālikī doctrine (*Bustān*, 166, tr. 185). According to Ibn Maryam, "he was the last of the great masters of *idjtihād*" seen by this period (*kāna ākhir al-a'imma al-mudjtahidīn al-rāsikhīn, Bustān*, 167, tr. 185). He was responsible for the revival of orthodoxy (*ibid.*, 169, tr. 185), he resuscitated religious law and dispelled heresy (*ibid.*, 167, tr. 185).

In reaction to the Almohad doctrine, illustrated in particular by the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart, the scholar equally versed in the sources (*uṣūl*) of law, permitting the deduction of laws from their principles, and in the applications (*furū'*) of law, exerted his critical sense while applying himself to the original texts. Two methods were combined: *idjtihād*, personal interpretation as a means of rectifying or completing passages in the Mālikī treatises, and *taḳlīd*, using the model of the opinions of Mālikī scholars expressed in the treatises on *furū'*, the mystical sense (*bāṭin*) taking on an ever-increasing importance in the interpretation of sources.

With al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī, the development of the judicial sciences is characterised by an attempt at reconciling these *furū'* with the *uṣūl*, as well as by the more profound study of theology, these various elements forming part of the education dispensed especially in *madrasas*. As with the Ḥafṣid dynasty, the function of *muftī*, initially private and independent, tends to be given official status, becoming an institution designed to bolster the authority of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād. Thus in connection with the school of Bidjāya, and under influences deriving from al-Andalus, from Tunis and from Fās, a judicial practice (*'amal*) is constituted, belonging specifically to Tlemcen and its region, which has left its mark in collections of particular cases (*nawāzil*), where the position of the Divine Law is expressed by an authorised religious scholar (*muftī*), in answer to a question put to him by the jurist (*faḳīh, mustaftī*).

The *fatwā* related by Ibn Maryam (*Bustān*, 178-84) is not so much an example of a judicial decision, an opinion on a point of law delivered by an expert, as a concise survey of the principal issues debated in the 8th/14th century at Tlemcen in the field of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. More specifically, this *fatwā* reflects the pedagogical concern of al-Sharīf, revealing his characteristic method of addressing the problem from different angles (*bi-wudjūh al-naẓar, ibid.*, 178). It gives an insight into his way of contemplating the rules of interpretation of the sources of law from which are derived the legal statutes (*aḥkām*) which should govern the judicial problems (*nawāzil*) which are presented.

The doctrine of al-Sharīf is characterised here by:

– Insistence on the authority of the Prophet as representative of the Supreme Legislator, God;

– His concern to reconcile rules which appear to be contradictory, e.g. by linking the particular to the general case;

– The resolution of conflicts through the rule of abrogation (*naskh*), which can concern an explicit text (*naṣṣ*) or a judicial decision or rule (*ḥukm*);

– A technique close to that of such Ash'arīs as al-Ash'arī himself, al-Djuwaynī, al-Ghazālī and al-Rāzī and to that of mediaeval Christian scholarship (the technique of division and of classification, reference to religious authority, the hypotheses envisaged being most often expressed in the form of the syllogism, the use of copious evidence in argumentation, refutation of the opponent through his own arguments or through *argumentum ad hominem, al-ilzām*). Directly, the accent is placed on the delimitation of the question, the demarcation of the controversial points, and then the reduction of divergencies by the elimination of faulty interpretations giving approbation (*taṣdīḳ*) to the erroneous, then turning in the direction of probable certainty, of equitable solutions;

– A rigorous exegesis aided by an analytic logic bordering on an apodeictic logic which does not impute to the texts more than they show, proceeding through the observation of singular principles which resemble one another to the deduction and detachment of the universal rule (e.g. the Aristotelian concept revised by Ibn Sīnā). Simple allegation (*ḳawl*) needs to be confirmed (*yuḥaḳḳiḳu, ibid.*, 183). His procedure for validation between the valid and the non-valid is close to that of the philosopher (e.g. Ibn Rushd), between the true and the false: simple notions (*ma'ānī mufrada*) are all conceivable, it is their composition (*tarkīb*), which gives the concept (*taṣawwur*) which permits affirmation and negation (*al-īdjāb wa'l-salb*), and especially, truth and falsehood (*al-ṣidḳ wa'l-kadhib*);

– A cautious use of analogy (*al-ḳiyās*). This is a means of avoiding, on the one hand, assimilation by analogy which brings about an interpretation far removed from the basic case (*aṣl*), by stressing the resemblance to the assimilated case (*far'*); and on the other, personal opinion (*ra'y*), especially in the absence of a clear expression of legal rules in the texts (*'ibārāt al-naṣṣ*). The arguments used are non-analogical, arguments *a fortiori* (*faḥwa 'l-khiṭāb*, where the themes are to be found more decisively present in the assimilated case than in the basic case), starting with the implicit meaning of the typical text (*a maiore ad minus* or *a minore ad maius, mafhūm al-khiṭāb* or *dalālat al-naṣṣ*, and *reductio ad absurdum, ḳiyās al-'aks*);

– Utilisation of logic, in the general structure, as in the different developments of the reasoning, which adds richness to the text and clarity as well, giving it persuasive force and avoiding ambiguity. However, its presence is diffuse and takes the form in the course of the text, after the manner of Ibn Ḥazm, of stylistic features apparently not designed or intended (for example, the non-categorical syllogism, or, according to Arabic classification, of, e.g. al-Fārābī, disjunctive conditional syllogism);

The predominance of *idjtihād*, here in the sense of judicial effort (Abū Bakr b. Shu'ayb) where faith and knowledge are partners, and which is tied to the notion of action, will, knowledge, truth, while servile imitation (*taḳlīd*) is the symbol of immobilism, of passivity, or ignorance and of falsehood (*al-ghalaṭ*). But the definition of *idjtihād* is fairly broad as applied by al-Sharīf, who acknowledges absolute *idjtihād* in the case of the independent interpreter, who decides without reference to any doctrine, whereas for al-Ghazālī, for example, the independence of this judgment is only valid within the parameters of the school to which the jurisconsult belongs.

It is the concern for just equilibrium (*i'tidāl*), and the feeling that the certainty obtained is only a probable certainty, which leads the jurist, a devout Muslim, subject to the omnipotence of the Legislator (God), to an attitude of moderation (*hay'at al-tawassuṭ*) and of wisdom (*al-ḥikma*). Thus the judge becomes the arbiter, or finds his role in arbitration (since *ḳaḍā* is to settle a dispute, to arbitrate), as is shown by Aristotle's definition of equity (*aequitas*): "Equity seems to be justice which goes beyond the written law" (*Rhetoric*, i, 1374a).

(b) Works

A book on donations (*al-mu'āṭāt* or *al-mu'āwaḍāt*, exchanges); *Sharḥ Djumal al-Khūnadjī—Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-uṣūl*

(or *K. al-Miftāḥ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* or *Miftāḥ al-wuṣūl fī binā' al-furū' 'alā 'l-uṣūl*), dedicated to the Marīnid sultan Abū 'Inān (749-59/1347-58); a work on predestination and the immutable decrees of God (*Fī 'l-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar*); poems (*ḳaṣā'id*) composed at the time of the *Mawlid*; *fatwās* conveyed in the works of al-Maghīlī al-Māzūnī (d. 883/1478) and of al-Wansharīsī, with those of his sons 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, as well as in *al-Bustān*.

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2. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD, sometimes called Ibn al-Imām, b. 748/1347-8, the elder son of the preceding, who was allegedly informed in a dream that his son would become a scholar. Arriving with his father in Fās, at an early age, he embarked on a multifarious programme of studies which included the Ḳur'ān, as well as the treatise on grammar and logic *al-Djumal* by al-Zadjdjādjī and the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik, under the tutorship of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Zayd, among numerous other classical works. He read the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn with Abū 'Imrān Mūsā al-'Abdūsī. With Abu l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Kabbāb (d. 777/1375) he studied *al-Talḳīn* by 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 422/1030), the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī and the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. With Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn al-Shammā', he read Ibn al-Ḥādjib (*al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-furū'* or *al-Mukhtaṣar al-far'ī*). With the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, whose courses had been attended by his father, he perfected his knowledge of jurisprudence through reading the *Muwaṭṭa'*, *al-Tahdhīb* by the jurist of Ḳayrawān Abū Sa'īd al-Barādhi'ī, and further works by Ibn al-Ḥādjib.

Then, with his father, he studied philosophy in *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* by al-Ghazālī, and dogmatic theology in the latter's *al-Iḳtiṣād fī 'l-i'tiḳād*, and in *al-Muḥaṣṣal* by al-Rāzī, the sciences in Ibn Sīnā (*al-Nadjāt*), then, for the principles of law, al-Ghazālī (*Shifā' al-ghalīl*) and Ibn al-Ḥādjib; in rhetoric, the *Talkhīṣ* and *Īḍāḥ* of al-Ḳazwīnī; in dialectic (*djadal*), *al-Muḳtaraḥ* by al-Barawā'ī (517-67/1124-72); in geometry, Euclid; in logic, *al-Djumal* by al-Khūnadjī, previously studied in depth by his father who had written a commentary on it, and for Ṣūfism, al-Ghazālī again. He also studied the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī and was soon perceived to be superior to his father in scholarship. He then taught at the Great Mosque of Tlemcen, giving instruction especially in the Ḳur'ān, in 'Abd al-Haḳḳ (*al-Aḥkām al-ṣughrā*) and in Ibn al-Ḥādjib (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-far'ī*), in the presence of numerous students, the majority of them from Fās. He received a salary from the Mārīnid sultan Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz (767-74/1365-72) until the restoration of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād. On the death of his father, he was appointed his successor as teacher at the Ya'ḳūbiyya *madrasa* by sultan Abū Ḥammū II. One of his more notable pupils was Ibn Marzūḳ al-Ḥalīd (766-842/1364-1438). When Abū 'Abd Allāh fell ill in 784/1382, his place in the classroom was taken by his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Abū 'Abd Allāh lived for some time in Gharnāṭa, where he was one of the tutors of the great *ḳāḍī* Ibn 'Āṣim, author of the *Tuḥfa*. He perished in a shipwreck between Mālaḳa and Tilimsān in 792/1390.

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2. Studies. A. al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldun in modern scholarship*, London 1981, 103; M. Hadj-Sadok, *Ibn Marzūḳ* in *EI*²; Ḥafnāwī, *Ta'rīf al-khalaf*, Algiers 1324/1906, ii, 236-9, Algiers 1991, ii, 55-9; M.K. Masud, *A history of Islamic law in Spain: an overview*, in *Islamic Studies*, xxx (1991), 34.

3. ABŪ YAḤYĀ 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD, born in 757/1356, brother of the preceding. His name,

as regards the *ism* and the *kunya*, appears to be a combination of that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn and that of Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Sakkāk (*ḳāḍī* of Fās, d. 816/1413), both present on the night of his birth, in his father's house. After apprenticeship with the Ḳurʾān, he studied in particular, with his father, the fundamentals of law and the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, then with his brother ʿAbd Allāh, nine years his senior, whose diligent disciple he became. He also undertook study of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, of the *Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī and of the *Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī, as a pupil of Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd al-ʿUkbānī (*ḳāḍī* of Bidjāya, then of Tilimsān, 720-811/1320-1408). Like his brother, he had Muḥammad b. Ḥayātī al-Gharnāṭī for a tutor in the study of the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī and the *Mukarrib* of Ibn ʿUṣfūr. With the Andalusian Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim b. Riḍwān, he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and the *Shifāʾ* of ʿIyāḍ. During his brother's illness, in 784/1382, he taught in his place, before leaving to give a series of lectures in Fās. Renowned for his skill at exegesis and the analysis of the apparent and hidden (*al-ẓāhir wa ʾl-bāṭin*) meaning of texts, he educated numerous students including the writer and poet Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaghrī, secretary of Abū Ḥammū II, as well as Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Zāghū (782-845/1380-1441), himself an eminent jurist and teacher of the *ḳāḍī* of Māzūnā, al-Maghīlī (d. 883/1478) and of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḳalaṣādī (d. 891-1486), an Andalusian and a resident of Tlemcen who was himself the teacher, in arithmetic and the law of succession of the theologian Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (838 or 839-894/1435-1490). He died in 826/1423.

His works comprise a book on the forgiveness of sins (*Taʾlīf ʿalā ʾl-maghfira*); *Sharḥ al-asrār al-ʿaḳliyya* (of al-Muḳtaraḥ, d. 612/1215-16); and *Sharḥ al-Irshād* (of al-Djuwaynī);

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4. Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, sometimes called Abū Djaʿfar, senior *ḳāḍī* (*ḳāḍī ʾl-djamāʿa*) of Granada, grandson of Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Tilimisānī. With his brother Abu ʾl-Faradj, he attended courses given by Marzūḳ al-Ḥafīd at al-ʿUbbād (Sidi Bou-Medein). He died at Tlemcen in 895/1490. He seems to correspond to the *faḳīh*, the *imām* Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Sayyidī Yaḥyā al-Sharīf in the *Miʿyār* of al-Wansharīsī.

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5. Abu ʾl-Faradj b. Abī Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, brother of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās essentially followed courses given by Ibn Marzūḳ al-Ḥafīd at al-ʿUbbād. The details of this education with its different gradations, were typical of Mālikī instruction. On the occasion of the presentation of the *idjāza*, he was dressed by his master in the robe of the Ṣūfīs (*albasahu khirḳat al-taṣawwuf*) in which Ibn Marzūḳ had himself been clad by his father and his maternal uncle. He died in Tlemcen in 868/1463.

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The al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī family in the cultural life of their time.

The abundant biographical material concerning the al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī family gives a clear impression of the dynamism of intellectual life and of the institutions which formed its environment, in particular the elaborate system of education in Algeria in the 8th/14th century. The instructive evidence conveyed in the biographical notices show a social promotion of scholars, who are above all jurists, which was owed to their personal merit (*ḥasab*) rather than to their genealogy (*nasab*). The traditional sciences play a significant role in the initial training of a jurist in this period, the sources being the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. Judicial logic flourished, as did the theological logic manifested in dogmatic theology (*kalām*), and there seems to have been, in this context, a scholastic tradition at Tlemcen, which is seen, in the following century, in al-Sanūsī, with an original synthesis between theology, logic and Ṣūfism, as well as the jurist, logician and historian al-Ṭanasī (d. 899/1494). As in Christian Europe, the work of Ibn Sīnā is one of the central pillars of education, with the huge encyclopaedia constituted by the *K. al-Shifāʾ* (known and annotated in Latin under the title of *Sufficientia*) as a universal work of reference for the age.

This system of education was developed not only at the instigation and under the control of royal power but also in response to a prodigious appetite for knowledge and to the enthusiasm aroused by new ideas and by the growing social prestige of masters. The attraction of the allowances paid to the students admitted to courses (*al-murattab, Bustān*, 170) and the social utility of studies, success in which brought privileges (*intifāʿ*), honours and the guarantee of public careers in the administration or even in the diplomatic service, or confidential occupations (such as that of notary)—all these factors contributed to an increase in the numbers of students (*ṭalaba*), which created problems of accommodation and catering. The hierarchical ranking of disciplines led to the consolidation of the lucrative scholarship of the time, that of law. However, grammar did not fall into disfavour, as it did in Europe, and the epistolary art (*dictamen* or *ars dictaminis*, corresponding to the art of inditing, *inshāʾ*, which is one of the *ʿulūm al-adab*) in association with the practice of rhetoric, enjoyed a revival on account of the development of commercial and diplomatic relations in the Mediterranean region, which necessitated the composition of more numerous and more complex official documents.

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law and Islam, Second Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference, Wiesbaden 1971; A.L. Tibawi, *Origin and character of al-madrasah*, in *BSOAS*, xxv (1962), 225-38. (H. BENCHENEB)

SHĀRIḤ ÜL-MENĀR-ZĀDE, Aḥmed (?-1067/?-1657), Ottoman historian.

The son of the Ottoman *ʿālim* ʿAbd ül-Ḥalīm (d. 1051/1641-2), he was born probably in Amasya and himself followed an *ʿulemā* career, rising to be a middle-ranking *müderris* in Istanbul. His father being the author of an Ottoman commentary on an Arabic work on jurisprudence, *Manār al-anwār*, the son became generally known by the *laḳab* Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde. He died in Istanbul in Shaʿbān 1067/May-June 1657 (H.J. Kissling (ed.), *ʿUşāḳī-zāde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert* (*Ẓeyl-i Šaqāʾiq*), Wiesbaden 1965, 221-2; Meḥmed Sheykhī Ef., *Weḳāʾ iʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, ms. Süleymaniye, Beşir Ağa 479, fol. 197a; Babinger, *GOW*, 190-1; L.V. Thomas, *A study of Naima*, New York 1972, 136-8).

Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde compiled a world history from the creation to the year 1065/1655 which remained in draft form at his death (Kissling, *op. cit.*). This draft was subsequently presented to the Grand Vizier ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn [Köprülü] Pasha [*q.v.*], who commissioned Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] to write a new Ottoman history based upon it. The earliest references by Naʿīmā to Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's original are to 1018/1609 in the reign of Aḥmed I and the latest to Meḥmed Köprülü Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1065/1655 (Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1864, i, 10; Thomas, *op. cit.*, 138). It is thought that for the intervening period Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's work was incorporated almost entirely into Naʿīmā's history and that the latter's text is therefore heavily dependent upon it (*Taʾrīkh*, i, 10-11, and *passim*; Thomas, 138-9). Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's history was never published separately; the manuscript is presumed lost.

Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde's own sources appear to have been (i) for the late 16th-early 17th centuries, a written history now thought lost but possibly closely related to the chronicle of Ḥasan Bey-zāde [*q.v.*]; (ii) the history by his contemporary Ḳara Čelebi-zāde [*q.v.*]; (iii) his own notes and information from oral informants. According to ʿUshāḳī-zāde, Shāriḥ ül-Menār-zāde was an avid participator in social and official gatherings and was thus well-informed; Naʿīmā regarded him as a shrewd and reliable observer of events (Kissling, *ʿUşâḳî-zâde*, 221-2; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 10).

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(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

SHARIKA, SHIRKA (A.), nouns with a basic meaning of "partnership, association" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.) hence from the same root as the theological term *shirk* [*q.v.*] "associating other gods with God", hence polytheism, and *sharīk*, pl. *shurakāʾ* "partner associated in divinity", both frequent in the Ḳurʾān.

As a term of Islamic law, it takes different forms according to the contents and conditions. According to al-Azharī, it signifies the mixing (*khalṭ*) of two or more assets (*māl*) together with the permission of each partner that the other can trade with it. *Sharika* is principally divided into partnership by property (*milk*), and by contract (*ʿaḳd*). The former originates when two "persons" become owners of one property without a contract. This can occur by choice, when they "accept" the subject through someone's gift. Alternatively, it may be brought about without choice; this is the case in inheritance [see MĪRĀTH]. In both cases, it is not lawful for either partner to perform any act with the other partner's share without his permission.

A partnership contract is controlled by the principle of proposal and consent (*īdjāb wa-ḳabūl*). The classification of companies seems to be incompatible between the various schools of *fiḳh*, the incompatibility probably arising from the varying recognition of authentic sources, as well as from the question of what constitutes a valid partnership. The Ḥanafī school, which permits all kinds of partnerships, appears to have the most consistent and logical classification. One can observe that they divided it from a "liability" point of view into:

(1) Partnership in traffic (*sharikat ʿinān*); this is contracted when each party contributes capital. Each partner would accordingly become an agent of the other but not his bail. Equality in capital, responsibility or profit need not result.

(2) The *mufāwaḍa* [*q.v.*] or equal partnership, is contracted between two persons of equivalent property, privilege and religious persuasion.

From a "subject" point of view, partnership for the Ḥanafīs can be divided into:

(1) Partnership in crafts or trades (*sharikat ṣanāʾiʿ*). This is contracted between two craftsmen in a similar trade, such as cobblers or tailors; they agree to work together and share the profit produced. The condition that Mālik makes for *sharikat al-ṣanāʾiʿ* to be valid is that the partners should be in the same or related trades. The Ḥanbalīs permit this kind of partnership, while the Shāfiʿīs and Imāmī Shīʿīs totally reject it on the grounds that it can only take place in regard to capital and not in regard to work.

(2) Partnership of capital *sharikat amwāl*). This is contracted when two partners put their capital in one project and agree on certain conditions for administration, profit and loss.

(3) Partnership of personal credit (*sharikat wudjūh*). This is contracted when two well-known persons (*wudjahāʾ*) ask others to sell to them goods without payment on the basis of their reputation, and then sell the goods for cash. This use of personal credit is rejected by scholars, including al-Shāfiʿī and Mālik, on the basis that it involves work and money that are not actually present, and that it also involves uncertainty and risk (*gharar*) in the traded subject.

The Ḥanbalīs do not seem to identify "liability" as an element of classification when they place both *mufāwaḍa* and *ʿinān* on equal footing with other divisions based on the subject element.

The *muḍāraba* [*q.v.*], also called by the Ḥidjāzīs *ḳirāḍ* [*q.v.*], is another early Islamic form of *sharika* which has been focused upon by modern Muslim writers in Islamic banking. The main difference between the two forms lies in the instruments that each utilises. *Sharika* uses similar "assets", whereas in *muḍāraba* the owner of various "forms" of assets can be partners, in return for a share of the profits, in accordance with their agreement. The risk for the capitalist is his capital, while for the manager, it is his time and effort.

Sharika, together with profit-sharing, *muḍāraba*, are seen by scholars of Islamic banking as the main legal structures for Interest-Free Banking. The idea of IFB has gradually evolved over the last forty years into a fairly comprehensive, though controversial, model of banking. Partnership arrangements (*mushāraka*), according to John Presley, represent a total of 7%-10% of the total financing package of IFB.

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AL-**SHĀRIKA**, a shaykhdom of the Gulf, named after its capital city, since 1971 one of the seven United Arab Emirates, third in importance and wealth after Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy [*q.vv.*]. The capital is located 14 km/8 miles north of the latter city, on the western side of the Musandam Peninsula in the lower Persian Gulf. Commonly rendered in English as Sharjah, reflecting the dialectical pronunciation al-Shārdja, the town is mentioned as early as the 15th century. The 1985 census counted 268,723 inhabitants, 75% of whom lived in the capital. With a total surface of 2,590 km^2, it has the most fragmented territory of any of the seven emirates. The main body stretches inland from the capital on the coast; in addition, there is an area around Khawr Fakkān, and the immediate surroundings of the town of Kalbā—both on the Bāṭina coast along the Gulf of Oman—and three further small enclaves around the Kalbā area. The precise borders are the result of boundary-drawing exercises by British officials in the 1960s, based on surveys of local loyalties to the various rulers. The Emirate also claims the island of Abū Mūsā in the Persian Gulf—jointly administered with Persia since 1971, but forcibly occupied by the latter in 1992.

Since 1972, the Emirate has been ruled by Shaykh Sulṭān b. Muḥammad al-Ḳāsimī, who was agreed upon by the UAE's Federal Supreme Council as the successor to his brother Khālid. The latter was slain in an attempted coup by his predecessor Ṣaḳr b. Sulṭān, who had himself been deposed in 1965 under British pressure for sympathising with Egyptian and Arab nationalist influence. British control over al-Shārika, which was officially ended in 1971, dated back to the 19th century, as part of Britain's determination to control the Gulf region as a whole [see BAḤR FĀRIS], in the course of which the sea power of the Ḳāsimī (pl. Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*]) ruling family of al-Shārika and Ra's al-Khayma [*q.v.*] was sharply reduced by military means, and which was formalised under a number of agreements culminating in the "Exclusive Agreement" of 1892. Until the early 20th century, the Emirate officially included all the territory north of a line between al-Shārika town and Kalbā, except for the coastal shaykhdoms of ʿAdjmān and Umm al-Ḳaywayn, and the north-easternmost part of the Musandam peninsula. Effective control always fluctuated along with the strength of central power and shifting alliances, however, and rule was decentralised at best. Ra's al-Khayma, after several periods of virtual independence under rival members of the family, was recognised by Britain as an independent shaykhdom in 1921. Kalbā, recognised by Britain as independent in 1936 (in connection with the establishment of an emergency airstrip) was reincorporated into al-Shārika in 1952. The same year, however, al-Fudjayra was recognised as an independent shaykhdom, under the *shaykh* of the Sharkiyyīn tribe who had always made up the majority of this area's population. Al-Shārika, once pre-eminent among the Trucial States on the basis of its sea-going power and trade, lost this status to the Banī Yās [*q.v.*] of Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy, as British naval control increased the importance of the latter's land-based power. A revival came with the establishment of the main British airfield in the Gulf (on the route to India) in al-Shārika in 1932. Yet the commercial growth of Dubayy, as al-Shārika's creek began to silt up, had reversed the situation again by the 1950s. A major dispute with Dubayy was solved in 1985, but a number of others (e.g. with al-Fudjayra) remained outstanding in 1995.

Since independence and integration into the UAE, al-Shārika has remained a sovereign emirate, although some powers (including, since 1976, defence) have been transferred to the federal level. The Amīr rules by decree, but informal consultation plays an important role. The Emirate distinguishes itself from the others by its relatively greater achievement in education (the first modern school in any of the emirates was established here in 1953, and the Amīr himself holds a doctorate from Exeter University), by a relatively outspoken press, and by the fact that alcohol was banned in 1985. Development has taken off on the basis of oil revenues, initially mainly through aid from al-Kuwayt and Abū Ẓabī, but since 1974 also from al-Shārika's own small oil and gas exports. Crude oil output since 1988 has totalled some 40,000 b/d. Some light industry has developed, and agriculture and fishing retain a diminishing part of the labour force, yet their contribution to GDP has been small by comparison to hydrocarbons, construction and services. The development boom since the 1970s has also resulted in large-scale labour immigration, as in the other emirates. The foreign population exceeds the number of nationals, although its proportion is probably somewhat lower than the 80-90% which has been estimated for the UAE as a whole since the 1980s.

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SHARĪSH, the Spanish Arabic place name corresponding to the modern Jerez de la Frontera, in the north of the province of Cadiz. The original Islamic core of the town appeared on the site of the ancient Hasta Regia, 2 km/1.2 miles from modern Jerez. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, the population was apparently moved to a new site, where the town became firmly fixed. The anonymous author of the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries) merely states that Sharīsh "was built in Islamic times".

Documentary evidence shows that Sharīsh at an early date fell within the *kūra* or province of Shadūna [*q.v.*], whose chef-lieu it was, according to some Islamic historian (e.g. al-Rāzī and Ibn Ghālib), but it does not seem to have played any notable role in the period of the Umayyad caliphate, and we do not even have a list of governors. In the time of the Taifas, it came under the authority of the Banū Djizrūn, Berbers who rebelled in Kalsāna during the time of *fitna* and who also controlled Arcos and al-Djazīra, the latter probably corresponding to Cadiz, according

to M.J. Viguera. They held power from 402/1011 to 461/1069, when the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] of Seville attacked them, toppled them from power and absorbed their territory into his own Taifa. This situation seems to have lasted until the arrival of the Almoravids in al-Andalus. Later, Sharīsh was one of the towns which rose against this North African dynasty; it was there that Abu 'l-Ḳamar Ibn ʿAzzūn, who controlled this region as well as Ronda, proclaimed his independence. With other local rebels, he was one of the original members of the "second wave" of Taifas. Ibn ʿAzzūn remained in charge of the administration of this region until the establishment of the Almohads in al-Andalus, to whom he remained faithful. It was under these last rulers that the defences of the town were strengthened and that its walls were built, described by al-Idrīsī; they contained an area of *ca.* 50 ha and sheltered some 16,000 inhabitants.

Towards 1176, the lands of Sharīsh and Arcos were attacked by Ferdinand II, and reached by Ibn Hūd [see HŪDIDS] in the course of his expansionist plans; it was in fact at Jerez that he was defeated by the Castilians in 1230. The Islamic history of the town gradually recedes after the Castilian conquest of Seville in 1248, and it was in vassalage to Ferdinand III. After the Mudéjar revolt of 1264, the population of Jerez, Arcos, Medina Sidonia, Vejer, Sanlúcar, etc. was subdued by Alfonso X. From this time onwards, this region formed the political frontier with the Nasrid kingdom of Granada [see NAṢRIDS].

Concerning the natural resources of Sharīsh, al-Rāzī (4th/10th century) states that the region was rich in all the products of land and sea, and al-Idrīsī mentions the vines and olive and fig trees of its fertile agriculture, placing the town at two days' good journey along the road from Seville. The author of the *Dhikr* describes its pastures and vales, indicating that it was also good for stock-rearing. A famous son of the town was the famed commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222 [*q.v.*]).

Finally, one should note, to avoid possible confusion, that Sharīsha appears in the Arabic sources as a place-name corresponding to Jerez de los Caballeros, in the modern Spanish province of Badajoz.

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(F. ROLDÁN CASTRO)

AL-**SHARĪSHĪ**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS KAMĀL AL-DĪN AḤMAD b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Ḳaysī, grammarian, philologist and littérateur of Muslim Spain (557-619/1181-1222), born at Sharīsh [*q.v.*] (modern Jerez de la Frontera) in the province of Cadiz and died in his natal town.

He functioned mainly as a teacher of Arabic language, but like many of his compatriots, went to the East, probably to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca and probably search of knowledge (*fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*). The biographies of him cite a piece of verse which he composed when resident in Egypt in which he expresses his regrets at ever having left Syria and his admiration for the land's beauty (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ii, 116, 392).

Al-Sharīshī wrote a commentary on the *Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī and another on the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī, as well as treatises on metrics, an anthology of Arabic poetry and a résumé of the *Nawādir* of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*]. But he is above all known as author of a commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], which soon became known in Spain and, from the opening of the 6th/12th century, formed part of the programme of studies for Andalusian scholars (see al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, Damascus 1962, 32-3, 44, 51, 60, 79). Al-Sharīshī produced three commentaries on the *Maḳāmāt*: a large one, literary; a middle-sized one, philological; and a small one, a résumé. The first was printed at Būlāḳ 1284/1867, 1300/1883, and at Cairo 1306/1889. The second exists in ms. at Leiden, no. 415. Amongst some twenty commentaries produced, al-Sharīshī's is undoubtedly the most complete and the most famous; thus the *Maḳāmāt* found their most productive commentator in Spain. In his *Sharh*'s preface, i, 8-9, al-Sharīshī states, in highly respectful terms, that his work is dedicated to the Almohad rulers Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāṣir (595-60/1198-1213) and his son and heir presumptive Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Mustanṣir (610-20/1213-23).

The biographer Ibn al-Abbār, i, 136-7 no. 281, mentions having met the author in *ca.* 616/1219 at Valencia, at the house of his master Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ḥarīḳ, to whom al-Sharīshī then submitted his commentary on al-Ḥarīrī. Al-Ruʿaynī likewise states that he met al-Sharīshī in 615/1218, followed his courses and obtained his authorisation (*idjāza* [*q.v.*]) to transmit the whole of his works (see *Barnāmadj*, 90-1).

In his *Shadharāt*, v, 392, Ibn al-ʿImād confuses Aḥmad with Muḥammad al-Sharīshī (d. 685/12860) and erroneously attributes to this latter person a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī which is the work of the former. Al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, ii, 131-2, in fact draws attention to this confusion.

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(A. BEN ABDESSELEM)

SHĀRIYA, one of the renowned female singers at the ʿAbbāsid court, was born *ca.* 200/815 in Baṣra as a *muwallada* of an Arab father and a non-Arab mother. She died after 256/870, probably in Sāmarrā.

While still a young girl, she was acquired by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], who refined her musical education and made her a competent transmitter of his own compositions. After the death of her master in 224/839, she first served al-Muʿtaṣim, and she reached the zenith of her career under the caliph and musician al-Wāthiḳ. Under al-Mutawakkil, an open competition broke out between Shāriya as a representative of the "romantic" school of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, and the famous ʿArīb, who stood for the "classical" style of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and his school. Their violent rivalry split the public of Sāmarrā into two camps. Shāriya was still active under al-Muʿtazz, who wrote her biography and assembled her song texts in a book entitled *Akhbār Shāriya*. It was handed down by Ḳurayṣ al-Mughannī (d. 324/936) to Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, who used it in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-kabīr*. Al-Muʿtamid was the last caliph to admire her talents, including her skill at cooking. In her songs she showed a predilec-

tion for the "light" (*khafīf*) form of the metre called *ramal* [*q.v.*].

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SHARḲ AL-ANDALUS, an expression which denotes, in the mediaeval Arabic texts and also in contemporary historical usage, the eastern region, adjacent to the Mediterranean, of Muslim Spain. In both cases, the term has a geographical and not an administrative application, and it is difficult to demonstrate *a priori* which regions of the peninsula are being referred to.

The centre of the Sharḳ al-Andalus is the region of Valencia (Balansiya [*q.v.*]), but the expression probably has a wider sense than the modern one of *Levante*. The unfavourable attitude of the Valencians to this last term, which they consider "Castilocentric" and pejorative, seems to have favoured, in contemporary historiography, the use of Sharḳ al-Andalus, which spills over into, in ancient times as now, in a somewhat vague fashion, the surrounding regions.

These last are as follows. To the west, the mountain zones stretching between the region of Valencia and Toledo. They correspond, in their western part (modern province of Cuenca) to the *kūra* or region called that of Shantabariyya [*q.v.*] (Santaver), but the neighbouring regions of Balansiya (Teruel, Albarracin, called Shantamariyat al-Sharḳ [*q.v.*]), and above all Alpuente (al-Būnt) are incontestably part of the Sharḳ. In the north, the zone ventred on the Ebro valley is generally called *al-Thaghr al-aʿlā* "Upper march", but the eastern part (the region of Tortosa) is also called *al-Thaghr al-sharḳī*, and is easily included in the Sharḳ al-Andalus. In the south, the modern region of Murcia traditionally has the name of Tudmīr. This last includes a good part of the province of Alicante, with the town of the same name, Elche and Orihuela, as far as the mountains of the Alcoy massif which separate the *kūras* of Tudmīr and Balansiya. The journal of the Arabists of Alicante, devoted in the first place to the history of eastern al-Andalus, has however been given the name *Sharq al-Andalus*. Finally, the Balearics (al-Djazā'ir al-Sharḳiyya) are more or less part of the Sharḳ, considered in a large sense.

It is, rather, recent historiographical considerations—polemics concerning the history of this region—than historical consistency over a geographical-historical entity, which can justify an article *Sharḳ al-Andalus* in this Encyclopaedia. For, from a historical perspective, it is not very easy to establish the specific nature of the Sharḳ. In the age of the Umayyads of Cordova, the eastern part of al-Andalus, urbanised to only a small degree, is little mentioned in the sources, and it would seem to be, rather, this negative and "backwards" character which ought to be brought out. The break with Antiquity in regard to urban life is very striking. The town of Valencia had very little importance between the 6th and 10th centuries. It was, from a regional point of view, on a level with Játiva (Shāṭiba [*q.v.*]), which is no longer today a considerable centre. The Balearics were only attached politically to Cordova in the first half of the 10th century, and *Madīnat Mayūrḳa* only assumed a certain importance at the end of this period. Tortosa was a frontier town which only slowly came to life. Murcia, founded for military and administrative reasons in 216/831, only became an important centre in the 11th-13th centuries.

This impression of torpor only changes perceptibly with the crisis of the Umayyad caliphate (399-422/1009-31), and very likely marks an evolution already in train: the progressive commercial reawakening of the western Mediterranean in the course of the 10th century probably favoured the development of urban centres along the coasts. Taifas of Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*], sc. military and administrative elements of servile origin, grew up at Tortosa, Valencia and Denia (as also further south at Almeria, which had enjoyed a considerable development in the 4th/10th century) between 400-3/1010-12. It is likely that these elements in the region were reinforced after the beginning of the crisis of the caliphate by the expulsion from Cordova of further Ṣaḳāliba of high rank by the caliph Muḥammad II al-Mahdī, who had been embroiled with them. The most active and long-lasting of these Taifas was that of Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] of Denia [see DĀNIYA], who reigned there from 403/1012-13 till his death in 436/1044-5. He seized control of the Balearics, and tried—without success—to conquer Sardinia. His son ʿAlī reigned for a further thirty years after him. The other Ṣaḳlabī Taifas were less durable, except for the one which took shape in the Balearics after the end of the independent power of Denia, absorbed by the more powerful Taifa kingdom of Saragossa in 468/1075-6. Two successive Ṣaḳlabī *amīrs* retained power in the "eastern islands" until the devastating attack on the islands by a naval expedition of Pisans and Catalans in 507/1114.

At the end of the 11th century, the greater part of the Sharḳ fell under the control of the Cid [see AL-SĪD], who seized power at Valencia in 1087. The Almoravid conquest of the region was put back by a decade or so compared with the rest of al-Andalus, and only took place after the death (in 1099) of the Castilian chief, sc. in 495/1102. During the crisis of the years 540-2/1145-7, which ended Almoravid power in al-Andalus, the eastern region had, like the rest of the country, a disturbed history, with the formation of local, autonomous powers at Valencia and Murcia, both by now amongst the most important economic, political and intellectual centres of Muslim Spain. Whilst Almohad authority was being progressively extended over the rest of al-Andalus, this region became organised into an independent amirate under a military chief formerly of the Almoravid forces, but originally from the north of the region of Valencia, Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Mardanīsh [see IBN MARDANĪSH]. From his capital of Murcia he exercised power over all the Mediterranean side of al-Andalus (apart from Tortosa, conquered by the Christians in 1148). Despite Almohad military pressure, this independent principality, the only Muslim power to have controlled the whole of the Sharḳ (except for the islands), maintained itself all through Ibn Mardanīsh's reign (542-67/1147-72). Strongly anti-Almohad, he recognised in principle the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdād, and welcomed the *fuḳahā'* who had fled from the Almohads,

in part probably for ideological reasons. But immediately after his death, his sons submitted to the Almohads. During the same period, and until 1102, the Balearics, ruled by a power carrying on the Almoravid tradition, that of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], also escaped Almohad domination.

After the fall of Almohad power in the peninsula in 625/1228, distinct powers arose in Murcia and Valencia, whilst an Almohad governor remained in Majorca. Certain texts, mainly a collection of politico-literary letters called the *K. Zawāhir al-fikar*, studied by E. Molina López (*Murcia y el Levante español en el siglo XIII (1224-1266) a través de la correspondencia oficial, personal y diplomática*, résumé of his Univ. of Granada doctoral thesis, Granada 1978), nevertheless testify to a movement of élites and ideas in the eastern region as a whole during this troubled period which preceded the occupation of the capital cities of the Sharḳ by the Aragonese (Majorca in 1229, Valencia in 1238) and by the Castilians (Murcia in 1243). From the standpoint of intellectual and religious life, there seems to have been a fairly different atmosphere at Valencia, more traditional and marked by the dominance of the study of *ḥadīth*, whereas at Murcia mystical currents were very strong (Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn Sabʿīn were natives of the city).

The historiography of the Sharḳ has been favoured, in relation to other regions of al-Andalus, by certain factors. One should probably note here the relative abundance of Arabic sources and contemporary documents on the Reconquest on the one hand, and on the other, some peculiarities in the history of eastern Muslim Spain (it was the Cid's main theatre of action; it seems especially marked by certain traditions going back to the Islamic period, such as in irrigation; and it continued to have an important Mudéjar community after the Reconquest). The main outlines of regional history began to be traced quite early. For the Balearics, by Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes (*Bosquejo histórico de la dominación islamita en las Islas Baleares*, Palma 1888), and for Murcia by Mariano Gaspar Remiro (*Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905). In the first quarter of the 20th century, Valencia was the subject of several works by the Arabist Julian Ribera y Tarragó (collected together in his *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid 1928, but it was quite a long time later that another Valencian Arabist, Ambrosio Huici Miranda, wrote a satisfactory general history of the region (*Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región*, Valencia 1970). This latter work is in part a "rounded" rejoinder to the "Castilocentric" nature of the great work by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (*La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929) and its exaltation of the personage of the Cid.

The somewhat polemical character which this historiography of the Sharḳ al-Andalus assumed in regard to Valencia was accentuated in the 1980s. The idea put forward by Pierre Guichard of an early "Berberisation" of the eastern region (*Le peuplement de la région de Valence aux deux premiers siècles de la domination musulmane*, in *Mélanges de la Casa de Valâzquez*, v [1969]), aroused increasingly clear opposition from several Arabists, principally Mikel de Epalza (*Los beréberes y la arabización del País Valenciano*, in *Miscellanea Sanchis Guarner*, Valencia 1984), María Jesús Rubiera (*Toponimia arabigo-valentna: falsos atroprónimos beréberes*, in *ibid.*), Carmen Barceló (*Galgos o podencos? Sobre la supuesta berberización del país valenciano en los siglos VIII y IX*, in *Al-Qantara*, xi [1990]).

The works of Miquel Barceló and his disciples at the Autonomous University of Barcelona—which have tried to emphasise, above all from the abundant place-name evidence with its clan and tribal aspects (see also Guichard, in his *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropóligica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*, Barcelona 1976), the segmentary aspect of Muslim society in the eastern regions of the peninsula on the eve of the Reconquest—have given rise of refutations of the same kind (Epalza, *Precisiones sobre instituciones musulmans de las Baleares*, in *Les illes orientals d'al-Andalus, V Jornades d'estudis historics locals*, Palma, Majorca 1987). From the archaeological point of view, the "non-feudal" characteristics of Muslim rural fortifications in eastern Spain adduced as evidence by A. Bazzana, P. Cressier and Guichard (*Châteaux ruraux d'al-Andalus. Histoire et archéologie des ḥuṣūn du Sud-est de l'Espagne*, Madrid 1988) have also stimulated polemics. Up to a certain point, these debates, which touch on the nature of society in Muslim Spain, may be considered as marking fresh stages and a prolongation of (whilst fairly well removing them from the centre stage) the controversies between Américo Castro and C. Sánchez Albornoz on the impact of the Arab conquest and the "orientalisation" of the peninsula in mediaeval times.

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SHARḲĀWA or SHERḲĀWA, the common ethnic designation of a Marabout group in central Morocco, belonging to the Shādhilī-Djazūlī brotherhood through the intermediary of the mystic Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tabbāʿ [*q.v.*]. The singular is *Sharḳāwī*, synonym of *sharḳī* (*shargī*, pl. *shrāga*), a geographical ethnic name (cf. on the other hand *Tādilī*, ethnic from Tādlā confined to the *shurafāʾ* of this name, while the geographical ethnic is *Tādlāwī*). The principal *zāwiya* of the Sharḳāwa is in the town

of Abu 'l-Dja'd (modern form, Boujad), in the Tādlā, between the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic coast. It attained importance at the end of the 11th/17th century and henceforth became one of the most frequented sanctuaries in Morocco.

Among the more notable of this Marabout family may be mentioned: 1. the founder of the *zāwiya* of Abu 'l-Dja'd, Maḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Sharḳī al-Sumayrī al-Za'rī al-Djabīrī, d. 1. Muḥarram 1010/2 July 1601; a monograph was devoted to him by one of his descendants, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Khālik b. Muḥammad al-'Arūsī al-Tādilī al-Sharkāwī, entitled *al-Muraḳḳī fī dhikr ba'd manāḳib al-ḳuṭb sayyidī M. al-Sharḳī*; 2. the latter's son, Muḥammad al-Mu'ṭā, d. Rabī' II 1092/April-May 1681; 3. his son Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ, who was the patron of the historian al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] (or al-Wafrānī): a monograph entitled *al-Rawḍ al-yāni' al-fā'iḥ fī manāḳib al-shaykh Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ*, was devoted to him by a scholar of Fās who was *ḳāḍī* of Meknes (Miknāsat al-Zaytūn) in the reign of the 'Alawid sultan Mawlāy Ismā'īl, sc. by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Raḥḥāl al-Ma'dānī al-Tādilī, d. 1140/1728; 4. the son of the preceding, Muḥammad al-Mu'ṭā, who restored the *zāwiya* and wrote a collection of prayers in no fewer than 40 volumes entitled *Dhakhīrat al-ghānī wa 'l-muḥtādj fī ṣāḥib al-liwā wa 'l-tādj* (there is one volume in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, no. 100, cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, i, 36); he died in Muḥarram 1180/June 1766. A monograph was devoted to him by his secretary Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Abdūnī, d. 1189/1775-6, entitled *Yatīmat al-'uḳūd al-wusṭā fī manāḳib al-shaykh al-Mu'ṭā*.

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al-**SHARḲĀWĪ**, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, modern Egyptian poet, story-teller and dramatist, was born in Shibīn al-Kūm, Lower Egypt, on 10 November 1920. He practised law from 1943 to 1945, and was subsequently employed in the Ministry of Education until 1956, but was also active in journalism from 1945, rising to the directorship of the Rūz al-Yūsuf Foundation 1971-7. He was Secretary-General of the Supreme Council for Arts, Literature and Social Sciences 1977-9. He died on 10 November 1987.

Two slim volumes record his extant poetry, which is mostly from the 1940s. It is decidedly romantic on personal themes, ironic and vehement on political ones. His anti-establishment stance in this and in early short stories and sketches brought him into conflict with the censors, and he had a taste of imprisonment in 1946 and 1947. His *al-Arḍ* "The Earth" first published in 1954, portraying villagers rising in revolt against grasping landowners and corrupt authorities, was the first of four novels of the same temper, the social realism aimed at being reduced to a conflict between virtue and villainy. Between 1962 and 1981, he wrote nine plays in verse on resistance to foreign oppressors in modern Algeria and Palestine, and on heroes of the past from al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī to 'Urābī, all represented as champions of social justice. After a book on the Prophet revealingly entitled *Muḥammad Rasūl al-Ḥurriyya* "Muḥammad the Apostle of Freedom" (1962) and another on aspects of Islamic thought (1972), he produced between 1980 and 1987 five books retelling in prose the stories of early Muslim leaders, stressing their humanism and their resistance to social and political pressures that might have compromised their probity.

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SHARḲĪ (*sharkī*), (a., t.) literally "oriental, eastern", with the non-technical meanings in Turkish of (a) song; (b) almost any type of song belonging to Turkish art music, especially as opposed to the folk-song, designates as a technical term: (1) in music a certain form of classical Turkish song; (2) in literature a genre of Turkish strophic poem composed on literary lines with the aim or ultimate result of being set to music.

The genre of lyric called *sharḳī* is composed in accordance with the rules of the Arabo-Persian metrical system (*'arūḍ* [*q.v.*]), in contradistinction to the popular lyric as represented by the folk-song, which is composed according to the original Turkic method of versification (*parmaḳ ḥisābi*, wherein the verses are based not on quantity as in *'arūḍ* but on the number and stress of the syllables). Common to both types of lyric is the strophic composition.

These formal characteristics place the *sharḳī* in the group of *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*], the strophic forms of *dīwān* poetry. The majority of the *sharḳī*s have stanzas of four lines. When the *sharḳī* made its appearance in the 17th century, the *murabba'*, a *musammaṭ* with four-line stanzas, had already been in existence for centuries and it was the *murabba'* that was often set to music prior to the emergence of the *sharḳī*. The rhyme schemes of the *sharḳī* and the *murabba'* are not only almost identical but the rhyme schemes considered to be typical for the *sharḳī* were used in the *murabba'* not only after the *sharḳī* acquired a place in literature, but also, albeit very rarely, before. As to the *sharḳī*, it always made use of the typical *murabba'* rhyme schemes, too.

The sole difference between the typical *murabba'* and the typical *sharḳī* rhyme schemes lies in the first stanza; in the *murabba'* it is *aaaa* (followed by *bbba*, *ccca*, etc.) or *aaaA* (followed by *bbbA*, *cccA*, etc.; the capital letter stands for a refrain), in the *sharḳī* it is *abab* (followed by *cccb*, *dddb*, etc.) or *aAaA* (followed by *bbbA*, *cccA*, etc.) or *aBaB* (followed by *cccB*, *dddB*, etc.). Other variations in rhyme schemes are negligible in number.

Yet the *sharḳī* is not formally restricted to the fourline stanza, as there are—although much fewer in number and of later provenance—*sharḳī*s with stanzas of five or six lines. These generally have the rhyme schemes of the *mukhammes-i mütekerrir* and the *müseddes-i mütekerrir* (*aaaaA*, *bbbbA*, *ccccA* etc.; *aaaAA*, *bbbAA*, *cccAA*, etc.; *aaaaaA*, *bbbbbA*, *cccccA*, etc.; *aaaaAA*, *bbbbAA*, *ccccAA*, etc.; respectively). As in all *dīwān* poetry, the rules of rhyming are strictly observed in the *sharḳī*, in contradistinction to the folk-song where they are not observed as strictly.

The third line of each stanza of the *sharkî* is called *miyān* or *miyān-khāne* ("the middle" and "mid-house" respectively) and is generally the most effective line of the stanza. If repeated as a refrain, the ultimate line or the ultimate and penultimate lines of each stanza are called *nakarāt* "refrain", literally "peckings". (Both of these terms are also used for the description of *sharkîs* set to music.)

The *sharkîs* are generally rather short, comprising 3-5 stanzas (whereas the other types of *musammaṭ* are often longer). The poet states his *makhlaṣ* (pen-name) in the last stanza (as is the case with the other types of *musammaṭ*), though there are exceptions to this rule.

No restrictions with regard to the metres of *ʿarūḍ* used in composing *sharkîs* are known; the preferred metres are *remel* and *hezedj*.

The *sharkî* is generally about the various aspects of love (and to a lesser degree, about the pleasures of life); the tone is light. The *murabbaʿ* shows much more variety with respect to subject matter The language of the *sharkî* is not too intricate, which makes it convenient to be sung. It is simpler than that of the *ghazel*, and generally, but not always, even simpler than that of the *murabbaʿ*, yet still elevated and free trom dialectal forms. Here, too, it differs from the folk-song, which is quite free from restrictions as regards subject matter, imagery, and phraseology.

These characteristics oblige us to consider the *sharkî* not as a truly independent structure of versification but as a genre of lyric that is undeniably closely related to the *murabbaʿ*. The emergence of the *sharkî* can be dated—based on the appearance of examples both bearing the title *sharkî* and having the rhyme schemes in the first stanza that are considered typical of the *sharkî*—towards the end of the 11th/17th century. The first known examples are 11 *sharkîs* by Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm (d. 1077/1666-7), followed by 9 *sharkîs* by Yaḥyā Naẓīm (d. 1139/1727), who himself set his *sharkîs* to music. It is Nedīm (d. 1143/1730 [*q.v.*]) who is regarded as the greatest master of the *sharkî* and who had a lasting influence. The 27 *sharkîs* in his *dīwān* have all been set to music and are considered to be among the outstanding examples of Turkish classical music. After Nedīm, the popularity of the *sharkî* increased, even the Mewlewī *sheykh* and master of allegorical poetry Sheykh Ghālib (d. 1213/1799) wrote 11 *sharkîs*, and we find a considerable number of *sharkîs* by various poets in the 19th century. One of these, Sheref Khanîm (d. 1861), wrote as many as 41. However, the greatest number of *sharkîs* was composed by Enderūnlu Wāṣif (d. 1240/1824-5); 211 poems are to be found in the *sharkiyyāt* section of his *dīwān* entitled *Gülshen-i efkār*.

Yaḥyā Kemāl (d. 1958) was the last great master of this type of lyric, though *sharkî* recitals continue to enjoy considerable popularity in our time.

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AL-SHARḲĪ B. AL-ḲUṬĀMĪ (d. *ca.* 150/767, according to Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 115; *ca.* 155/772, according to al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[3], ix, 139), transmitter of ancient Arabic poetry and *akhbār*, quoted also for lexicographical, genealogical, geographical, and historical data. There is some fluctuation in the sources between al-Sharḳī and Sharḳī as well as between al-Ḳuṭāmī and Ḳuṭāmī; in addition, there is some discussion whether Ḳaṭāmī is the correct reading. The form given here has the best authority. Both names are *laḳabs*, his real name being al-Walīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, with the *kunya* Abu 'l-Muthannā. In his tribal affiliation he was a Kalbī, and he hailed from Kūfa (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 278).

Like his student Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], he is best characterised as an antiquarian of the Arab past. Due to his wide knowledge in the Arab "humanities", he was called to Baghdād by al-Manṣūr and entrusted with the instruction of the future caliph al-Mahdī [*q.vv.*] (*ibid.* and Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 22, cf. also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 251-6 = §§ 2458-63).

Being an *akhbārī*, he is frowned upon by the strict traditionists (e.g. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, iii, 142-3); but this is due to the fact that, with early scholars, the two branches of knowledge have not yet been rigorously separated; in other words, he should not have been regarded as a *muḥaddith*, at all (see the pertinent remarks on al-Sharḳī and similar figures in S. Leder, *Korpus*, 309-10). He is credited by Ibn Ḥadjar with only ten *ḥadīths* anyway, most of them *manāḳīr*.

No titles of books by al-Sharḳī are given in the sources. Ibn al-Nadīm credits him with a *ḳaṣīda* on *gharīb* "rare words" (*Fihrist*, 90 and 170 [the latter a list of such *ḳaṣāʾid*]). Most of the extant *akhbār* and other text units are found in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn* and *al-Ḥayawān*, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, see the respective indices. A field in which his authority is often invoked is the aetiologies of proverbs (Sellheim, *Sprichwörter*, 30-1, 99, 117, 136, 140, 149). In a number of cases his stories, always well told, deviate from other explanations of the same proverb.

This leads us to another aspect of his personality: he is also characterised as a story-teller (*ṣāḥib samar*, in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 279, and cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, v, 302-3, where one of al-Sharḳī's stories is characterised as "women's talk" [*min aḥādīth al-nisāʾ*]). Fittingly, Ibn al-Nadīm lists him among the compilers of love-stories (*Fihrist*, 306). Some of his transmissions are, therefore, likely to be creative "transmissions". This phenomenon, typical of early *akhbārīs*, has been analysed and evaluated by Leder (*Korpus*, 308-14) with regard to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*], one of the scholars who transmitted from al-Sharḳī). It is not meaningful to call al-Sharḳī an impostor (Blachère, *HLA*, i, 126).

Although he is said to have been a transmitter of poetry, he is not mentioned in connection with any specific *dīwāns*, as his absence from the relevant discussions in Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, Blachère, *HLA*, and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-djāhilī*[2], Cairo 1962, shows. This might mean that his poetry transmission occurred only within the framework of his *akhbār*.

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2. Studies. S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Hayṯam b. ʿAdī*, Frankfurt a.M. 1991, index; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague

1954; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, Paris 1952; Ursula Sezgin, *Abū-Mikhnaf*, Leiden 1971, 221; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 115, cf. also ii, 26. (W.P. HEINRICHS)

SHARḲĪS, an Indian dynasty established in the closing years of the 8th/14th century with Djawnpur, [*q.v.*] as its capital. It had a life span of about one hundred years (796-901/1394-1495) during which six rulers—Malik Sarwar Khʷādja Djahān (796-802/1394-99), Malik Mubārak Shāh Ḳaranfal (802-4/1399-1401), Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh (804-44/1401-40), Maḥmūd Shāh (844-62/1440-67), Muḥammad Shāh (862-3/1457-8) and Ḥusayn Shāh (863-901/1458-95)—exercised authority.

The founder of the Sharḳī kingdom, Malik Sarwar [*q.v.*], was a eunuch in the service of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ [*q.v.*]. He was custodian of the royal jewellery and *shaḥna-yi shahr* (City Superintendent). Sultan Muḥammad Shāh entrusted the eastern districts to him and conferred the title of *Malik al-Shark* (Lord of the East) on him. Disturbed conditions helped him in extending his territory. He brought all the rich districts of Uttar Pradesh under his control, and his authority stretched to Tirhut in north Bihār and touched the boundary of Nepal. In the west, Ḳannawdj, Bhodjpur and Udjdjayn were under him. Rulers of Djadjnagar and Bengal were his feudatories. Malik Sarwar died suddenly in Rabīʿ I 801/November 1399 after a brief reign of five years and six months, but he had firmly planted his dynasty. His administrative talent and political realism were extraordinary. His patronage of scholars made Djawnpur a veritable centre of culture and learning.

Malik Mubārak Shāh Ḳaranfal, who succeeded Malik Sarwar, was his adopted son. According to Yaḥyā Sirhindī, he was a nephew of Khiḍr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty [*q.v.*], but some scholars have attributed negroid origin to him. Soon after his accession, he had to face an invasion of Mallū Iḳbāl [*q.v.*], but he successfully pushed him back. Sometime later both Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluḳ and Mallū Iḳbāl marched against Djawnpur. Mubārak set out to face the invaders but died suddenly on the way.

Mubārak's younger brother, Ibrāhīm, who succeeded him, had also to face a joint attack of Mallū Iḳbāl and Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh. Maḥmūd occupied the city of Ḳannawdj [*q.v.*]. Ibrāhīm's efforts to retrieve the fort having failed, he made peace with Maḥmūd. The Hindu ruler of Tirhut was a tributary of the Sharḳīs. In 1402 Malik Arslan attacked and killed its Rādjā, Ganeśvara. Ibrāhīm installed his son Kirti Singh on the throne. Later, when Kirti's son Shiv Singh turned hostile, Ibrāhīm annexed Tirhut. In Djumādā I 809/October 1406, Ibrāhīm marched against Ḳannawdj and conquered it, which immensely enhanced his prestige. Next year, in Djumādā I 810/October 1407, Ibrāhīm marched against Dihlī, but when he reached the banks of the Djumnā he heard that Sultan Muẓaffar of Gudjarāt was moving towards Djawnpur. He hastily turned back. In Muḥarram 817/April 1414, he attacked Kalpī [*q.v.*]. After a feigned retreat he reappeared and captured Mahoba and Ruth. Iradj was then conquered. Ibrāhīm next attacked the fort of Shaykhpur with naptha-hurling engines and catapults. The garrison became nervous and appealed for mercy. Ḳādir Khān was allowed to rule over Kalpī on accepting the suzerainty of Djawnpur, but he later gave up this allegiance and conquered Iradj.

In 817/1414 Ibrāhīm was invited by Shaykh Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam, a distinguished Čishtī saint of Bengal [see ČISHTIYYA] to march against Rādja Ganesh [*q.v.*] of Dinādjpur, who had established himself in Bengal and was oppressing the Muslims (*Maktūbāt-i Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam*, ms. author's personal collection). Ibrāhīm set out with a strong army. Ganesh approached Shaykh Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam with the request to intercede. The saint agreed to his request, provided that his younger son accepted Islam and that Ganesh promised not to harass the Muslims. Ganesh's son Djuda later ascended the throne as Djalāl al-Dīn.

In 840/1437 Ibrāhīm marched against the Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh of Dihlī. The latter sued for peace and arranged a matrimonial alliance, giving his daughter, Bībī Rādjī, in marriage to Ibrāhīm's son Maḥmūd. Ibrāhīm Sharḳī ruled for forty years until his son ascended the throne in 844/1440, with the title of Maḥmūd Shāh. He organised an attack on Bengal (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ii, 782-3), but when the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] of Harāt sent a message urging him to refrain from this attack, he gave up the idea.

In 847/1443 Maḥmūd Sharḳī marched against Naṣīr Khān of Kalpī. The latter abandoned Maḥmūdābād and fled to Čandērī and sought the help of the Khaldjī ruler of Mālwa, who marched (3 Shaʿbān 848/8 January 1444) towards Maḥmūdābād at the head of a huge army. Several indecisive encounters took place between the two armies, but eventually peace was concluded and the Khadjī ruler returned to Mālwa.

Maḥmūd Shāh was deeply interested in the political affairs of Dihlī, as the Sayyid sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam Shāh of Dihlī was his wife's brother. Harassed by his nobles, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn invited Bahlūl Lōdī [see LŌDĪS] from Sirhind. But when Bahlūl himself assumed royal authority, Maḥmūd Sharḳī's wife prevailed upon her husband to attack Dihlī and dislodge Bahlūl. In 856/1452 he accordingly marched against Dihlī. But after a fierce battle at Narela, some 17 miles from Dihlī, Maḥmūd had to retreat. In 858/1454, however, he did capture Dawa, the capital of Udjdjayn.

In 859/1455 a non-intervention treaty was reached between the Lōdī and the Sharḳī sultans, but hardly a year had passed before hostilities started again. Maḥmūd's sudden death in 862/1458 was a serious setback to Sharḳī power. Bībī Rādjī raised his eldest son to the throne under the title of Sultan Muḥammad. Muḥammad endeavoured to patch up differences with Dihlī, but without any lasting effect, and he fell fighting at Dalmaw. His successor Sultan Ḥusayn entered into a four-year truce with Bahlūl. He strengthened his hold over Tirhut, Orissa and Gwāliyār, and in 872/1468 planned an attack on Dihlī. The battle fought at Čandwar being indecisive, Ḥusayn Shāh sought the support of Bayna and Mewāt. In 873/1469 he again marched against Dihlī, but was forced to take to flight, leaving behind even his *ḥarem*. In 875/1471 for the third time he led an army against Dihlī consisting of one lakh of horsemen and a thousand elephants. Through the mediation of Khān-i Djahān Lōdī [*q.v.*], peace was arranged and Ḥusayn returned to Ētāwa. Ignoring his pledged word, he led his armies against Dihlī several more times. In the fifth campaign he was initially successful, but Bahlūl's army made a surprise attack which turned his victory into complete rout. Driven to extremes, Ḥusayn turned round and gave battle to Bahlūl at Rādjhohar, sixteen miles from Farrukhābād. Ultimately, peace was concluded and both sides agreed to keep to their old boundaries. But in 885/1480 he marched against Dihlī

a sixth time. In 888/1483-84 Bahlūl captured Djawnpur, but out of generosity to a fallen enemy, allowed Ḥusayn to retain a small tract in Čunar which had once constituted his family *djāgīr* [*q.v.*]. In 897/1492. Ḥusayn fought against Sikandar Lōdī, at Kathgaṙh, but was defeated and had to flee to Bihār. In 1494 the forces of Sikandar and Ḥusayn fought a fierce battle at Benares, in which Ḥusayn was completely defeated. He fled to Colgong, a dependency of Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*] in Bengal. The ruler of Lakhnawtī received him cordially and assigned the *pargana* of Colgong to him and permitted him to issue his own currency. Sikandar Lōdī stayed in Djawnpur for six months and destroyed all the Sharḳī buildings. Sultan Ḥusayn died in 911/1505, and with him the last vestiges of the Sharḳī dynasty disappeared. Though he did not succeed in achieving his objectives, his tenacity of purpose and mobilisation of resources were remarkable. He never took any defeat as final but carried on his struggle against the Lōdīs till the last moment. Popular support and regional loyalties helped him in his prolonged struggle. He was also a cultured prince, interested in the fine arts, poetry and music.

Under the Sharḳīs, Djawnpur became a renowned centre of culture and a rendezvous of scholars. Tīmūr's invasion drove many *ʿulamāʾ* and divines to seek shelter in Djawnpur, which came to be looked upon as a *dār al-amān* (Abode of Security). Among the distinguished scholars of Djawnpur were included Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī [*q.v.*], Mawlāna Ilāh Dād, Khʷādja Abu 'l-Fatḥ and others. The Čishti saints of Djawnpur, Mānikpur, Kičawča, Kalpī, Kintur and Iradj played an important role in the cultural life of the region. The Ḳalandariyya, the Madāriyya and the Shaṭṭāriyya *silsilas* also flourished there, and Mahdawī *dāʾiras* [see MAHDAWĪS] came to be established there.

The architectural achievements of the Sharḳīs were characterised by a synthesis of Muslim, Djayn and Hindu traditions. Malik Sarwar repaired and redesigned the old palace of Vidjaya Čandra and named it *Badīʿ Manzil* (the Wonderful House). He enlarged the city of Djawnpur and named it *Dār al-Surūr* (the Abode of Bliss). New bazaars were added, old forts were repaired, and bridges, gardens, wells and tanks were laid out by the Sharḳī rulers. Bībī Rādjī also took a keen interest in building activity.

Construction of mosques on a large scale as a symbol of Sharḳī hegemony and political prestige, was a distinct feature of Sharḳī policy. When Sikandar Lōdī thought of destroying these mosques, his real intention must have been to destroy all signs of Sharḳī prestige. The *ʿulamāʾ* prevented him from going that far. Percy Brown has rightly observed, "Had not ... Sikandar Lodi shown his implacable enmity towards the last of the Sharqi kings ... by ruthlessly destroying or mutilating the monuments of that dynasty, its buildings would have provided a provincial manifestation of Indo-Islamic architecture ..." (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 42). The most outstanding mosque was the Atala mosque which was built on the site of the temple of Atala Devi, and concerning it Brown remarks, "in the design of its façade the Jaunpur architects have combined artistic skill with remarkable originality" (*ibid.*, 43).

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AL-SHARḲIYYA, a traditional name for the eastern area of the Sultanate of Oman [see ʿUMĀN], now the official Eastern Region of the Sultanate, which lies in the inland region of Eastern Hadjar, northwest of Djaʿlān and north of the Wahība Sands (see Wilkinson, *Water*, 14, Fig. 5). The main towns of the region are Ibrā, the largest, and Samad, al-Muḍaybī, Sināw and al-Ḳābil. The whole area is a sandy plain interspersed with wadis.

Today, the official, extended region of al-Sharḳiyya is made up of thirteen provinces (*wilāyāt*), including Ibrā, Bid(d)iyya, al-Ḳābil and al-Muḍaybī and also Djaʿlān Banī Bū Ḥasan, Djaʿlān Banī Bū ʿAlī and the port and centre of ship-building, Ṣūr, plus even the island of al-Maṣīra [*q.v.*].

Ibrā is reckoned to have 23 villages and a population of 30,000. It contains the regional government offices and has a thriving commercial life. Al-Ḳābil has 16 villages and a total population of about 30,000. It is famed for its religious learning and horsemanship. Apart from its ship-building, Ṣūr, with its approximately 70,000 inhabitants, is famed for its woodcarving and the manufacture of doors, as well as daggers, jewellery and woven fabrics. The whole region, as in all regions of northern ʿUmān, is scattered with large and impressive strongholds and fortresses.

Bibliography: For the traditional area of al-Sharḳiyya, see J.C. Wilkinson, *Water and tribal settlement in south-east Arabia*, Oxford 1977, 14, Fig. 5. The map also shows the extended region with the additional areas mentioned above. See also idem, *The Imamate tradition of Oman*, Cambridge etc. 1987, especially 262 ff. Useful, too, are Ministry of Information, *Sultanate of Oman throughout 20 years—the promise and the fulfilment*, Oman 1989, and Ministry of Information, *Oman—the modern state*, Oman n.d.

(G.R. SMITH)

AL-SHARḲIYYA, the name of a *kūra* and of a province (formerly, *ʿamal*, now *mudīriyya*) in Egypt.

1. The *kūra* of al-Sharḳiyya which replaced the Byzantine pagarchy of Aphroditopolis, was one of the few districts which received an Arabic name; the latter is explained by its situation on the eastern bank of the Nile.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of its territory, which lay immediately south of the capital of the country, al-Fusṭāṭ. The first capital of the *kūra*, situated on the right bank of the river, was Anṣinā (Antinöe), but the small number (17) of villages in the *kūra* of al-Sharḳiyya allows us to suppose that the next

kūra, Dallāṣ (Nilopolis) or at least al-Ḳays (Kynopolis) lay on both sides of the Nile. The capital of the *kūra* was very probably Aṭfīḥ, since one of the censuses quoted by al-Maḳrīzī gives it in addition the name of Aṭfīḥiyya.

In the Fāṭimid division into provinces, there was a province of al-Aṭfīḥiyya, larger than the old *kūra* (50 villages at the time of Ibn al-Dji̱ʿān).

In the time of the governors of the caliphs, the *kūra* of al-Sharḳiyya enjoyed at times a certain prosperity. On account of an epidemic of plague, ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Marwān transferred the government offices to Ḥulwān; a little later and for the same reason another governor transferred them to Askur (or Sukur) towards the south. To the north of the *kūra* lie the quarries of Ṭurā.

Bibliography: See the art. ATFĪḤ; Kindī, ed. Guest, index, 643; J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 22, 112, 173, 175, 177, 180-2, 184, 185; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. *MIFAO*, iv, 18, v, ch. xi, § 2.

2. The Eastern province of the Delta of Egypt, situated to the east of the province of al-Daḳahliyya and bordered towards its south-west point by that of Ḳalyūbiyya.

The present area of the *mudīriyya* of al-Sharḳiyya corresponds roughly to the following pagarchies of the Byzantine epoch, divisions retained by the Arabs under the name of *kūra*; Bubaste (Basṭa), Arabia (Ṭarābiya) and Pharbaithos (Farbayṭ). The Delta was at this time divided into three large divisions, not administrative in character, which are mentioned by the historians: the Ḥawf al-Gharbī situated to the west of the Rosetta arm, whilst the Baṭn al-Rīf applied to the territory lying between this arm and that of Damietta. All the land which extended to the east of the latter district was called the Ḥawf al-Sharḳī and it is probably this name which gave rise to that of al-Sharḳiyya. The Ḥawf al-Sharḳī included 11 or 12 *kūras* and 529 villages.

At the time of the division into provinces under the Fāṭimids the Ḥawf al-Sharḳī included those of al-Sharḳiyya, of al-Murtāḥiyya, of al-Daḳahliyya and of al-Abwāniyya. Thus delimited, the province of al-Sharḳiyya, which extended farther than at the present time in the direction of Cairo, still included 452 towns and villages (the three other provinces together accounted for 165). It brought annually to the treasury 694,121 dīnārs. The southern part of al-Sharḳiyya was separated from it in 715/1315 at the time of the survey of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and received the name of al-Ḳalyūbiyya. From this time, the province of Sharḳiyya must have shown little variation. Thus reduced it contained, according to Ibn al-Djīʿān, 380 towns and villages and the taxes were valued at 1,411,875 dīnārs. The capital was Bilbays in the Middle Ages, and it was also in this town that the Turkish *Kāshif* resided. It was only during the 19th century that Zaḳāzīk supplanted Bilbays.

Through the province of al-Sharḳiyya passed Trajan's canal (*Traianius potamos*) which connected the Nile with the Red Sea via Lake Timsāḥ and the Bitter Lakes. In order to supply the Holy Cities of the Ḥidjāz with Egyptian cereals, the canal was renovated in 23/643-4 by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ during the reign of the caliph ʿUmar; whence its name of Canal of the Commander of the Faithful (*khalīdj amīr al-muʾminīn*). Having been silted up, the canal was reopened by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim (*al-khalīdj al-ḥākimī*). In al-Maḳrīzī's time it had almost disappeared (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 302 f.).

In Mamlūk times, many of the villages of the Sharḳiyya province were granted as *iḳṭāʿ*s to Bedouin chiefs; the settlement of Bedouins is reflected up to this day by the local dialects (cf. *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, TAVO*, maps A, viii, 12, B, vii, 13, and B, viii, 13). The modern province (*mudīriyya*) of al-Sharḳiyya (capital, Zaḳāzīk) covers 4,702 km^2; the number of inhabitants was in 1897, 749,130; in 1960, 1,820,000; and in 1966, 2,125,000.

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(G. WIET-[H. HALM])

AL-**SHARRĀṬ** ("the manufacturer of string from palm-fibre", *sharīṭ*), ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAYSHŪN, son of a *mudjāhid*, slain in battle which the Spaniards at al-Maʿmūra (al-Mahdiyya = San Miguel de Ultramar) was born at Fās in 1035/1625-6 and died there in 1109/1697 after having adopted Ṣūfism. He is credited with the authorship of a hagiographical collection, but this has sometimes been disputed by his compatriots; this is *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir al-anfās bi-akhbār al-ṣāliḥīn min ahl Fās*. According to al-Kattānī, it was really the work of Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Ḳādirī. In it among the biographies is a synopsis of the *manāḳib* of 99 saints of Fās dating for the most part from the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. They are all included again in the *Salwat al-anfās*. There is a manuscript of this work dated 1203/1788 in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, no. 389.

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SHARSHAL, conventional French form Cherchell, a town of Algeria, the chef-lieu of an arrondissement in the department of al-Aṣnām (formerly Orléansville). It is situated on the edge of the Miliana massif, 95 km/60 miles to the west of Algiers, in long. 2° 29' E., lat. 36° 37' N. The estimated population in 1994 was 22,000 (in 1930, *ca*. 5,500, including 1,500 Europeans). The town is built on a plateau a kilometre broad lying between the sea on the north and wooded hills, the outer buttresses of the massif of the Banū Manāṣir, in the south. The calcareous rocks of the plateau provide excellent building materials, the fertility of the soil and humidity of the climate are conducive to the growth of all kinds of produce. The surrounding country is covered with gardens and vineyards. The harbour, sheltered from the west winds by a little island and from the east winds by Cape Tizirine is small but safe.

History. The advantages of the site of Sharshal were remarked in very early times. The Phoenicians had a trading station here called Iol, which later passed to the Carthaginians. After the Second Punic War, Iol became the capital of the kings of Mauretania. Placed on the throne of Mauretania in 25 B.C. by Augustus, King Juba II gave the town the name of Caesarea and adorned it with monuments and works of art. When, after the death of Ptolemy, successor of Juba, Mauretania had been annexed to the empire the town was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (Colonia Claudia Caesarea) and was the capital

of the province of Mauretania. It was considerably extended and in the second century A.D. had perhaps 40,000 inhabitants (Leveau and Pellet, 1984). Its walls were about 5 miles round. Having previously lost its importance by the partition of the two Mauretanias in the time of Diocletian, it was burned during the rebellion of Firmus (371) and at the beginning of the next century was sacked by the Vandals.

The Byzantines reoccupied it in 585 but never restored to it its past prosperity; at a date which is not accurately known, but probably in the early years of the 8th century A.D., Caesarea fell into the hands of the Arabs. The harbour still existed in the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. de Slane, in *JA* [1842], 184). In the time of al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, tr. de Slane, Algiers 1913, 165) it was in ruins. According to this author there was nothing left at Sharshal but an "anchorage commanded by an enormous town of ancient buildings and still inhabited". Al-Bakrī, however, mentions the existence of several *ribāṭs* where a large crowd of people assembled every year. Al-Idrīsī describes Sharshal as a town of small extent but well populated (tr. Dozy and de Goeje, 103). The surrounding country was occupied by Bedouin families who devoted themselves to cattle-rearing, to growing vines and figs, and they harvested more wheat and barley than they could consume. These circumstances explain the raid made on the town by the Normans of Sicily in 1144. According to Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Bk. iv, ed. Schefer, iii, 52, the town was continuously inhabited during the five centuries that followed the Arab conquest.

During this period, Sharshal was held in turn by the various dynasties which disputed the possession of central Maghrib. After the disruption of the Almohad empire, it fell to the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen, was taken from them by the Marīnids in 700/1300, became a part of the ephemeral kingdom founded about 750/1350 by the Awlād Mandīl and ultimately recognised the authority of the Zayyānids in the reign of Abū Thābit. In the 9th/15th century, fugitive Moors from Spain settled here in large numbers and built 2,000 houses (according to Leo Africanus, *loc. cit.*). The newcomers devoted themselves to agriculture and industry, especially to silk growing, and commerce, but also to piracy. In the first years of the 10th/16th century a Turkish corsair named Ḳara Ḥasan settled at Sharshal but was put to death by Arūdj [*q.v.*], who made himself master of the town and placed a garrison in it. Temporarily liberated from the authority of the Turks as a result of the defeat of Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] by the Kabyles, the people of Sharshal had again to recognise the Turkish government and this time, definitively, in 934/1528. An attempt made by the Spanish to seize the town and make it a base of operations against Algiers failed in 1531.

During the Turkish period, Sharshal simply stagnated. The population never exceeded 2,500-3,000 inhabitants, occupying a limited part of the old town. The depredations wrought by the corsairs who sallied out from it led to its bombardment by Duquesnes in 1682. Turkish authority was represented by a *ḳāʾid*, aided in the administration of local affairs by a council of six notables and supported by a garrison established some distance south on the Wādī al-Hashim. The mainstay of Turkish power, however, was the Marabout family of the Ghubrīnī, whose ancestors had come from Morocco at the end of the 10th/16th century and who had acquired considerable influence throughout this region. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Turks quarrelled with them. Al-Ḥādjdj b. ʿAwda al-Ghubrīnī was put to death by order of the Dey, and his relatives had to take refuge in al-Dahra.

The disappearance of Turkish government in 1830 enabled the Ghubrīnīs to return to Sharshal and become masters of the province. But they found their influence assailed by that of another Marabout family, that of the Brākna who lived among the Banū Manāṣir. Finally, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir who had established a *khalīfa* at Milyāna, forced the people of Sharshal to submit to him. He tried to use the harbour for an attempt to revive piracy. An attack by a Sharshal corsair on a French warship decided the Governor-General Valée to occupy the town in 1840 and to establish there a colony of a hundred European families. The new settlement prospered rapidly, and by 1850 had over a thousand inhabitants. They began the development of the countryside around and this has been steadily continued.

Sharshal has lived through difficult times, but not without handing on to posterity authentic traditions and typically urban values. The eclipses of its prosperity have always been aggravated by the distance and the eccentric positions of the successive capitals of the central Maghrib, from Tāhart to Tlemcen, putting up with the ephemeral ʿĀshir [*q.v.*] or the inaccessible Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.*], and even Bidjāya or Bougie. The present capital, Algiers, has not favoured upheavals.

The long-lastingness of the town's traditions, and also the stability of its population, are well-underlined by the role of the Ghubrīnīs and Brākna, out of whom have arisen the present-day élite, such as the two Bélarbi physician brothers, one of whom was in the service of the Bey of Tunis at the end of the 19th century (Sari, 1988, 225). From 1943 to 1945, Sharshal was the seat of the École Spéciale Militaire Française of St. Cyr.

The present wave of urbanisation has given rise to an unprecedented population increase, reaching 22,000 in 1993 as against 2,287 in 1954.

Bibliography: S. Gsell, *Cherchel-Tipaza*, Algiers 1896; Guin, *Notice sur la famille des Ghobrini de Cherchel*, in *Rev. Afr.* (1873); B. de Vermeuil and J. Bugnot, *Esquisses historiques sur la Maurétanie césarienne*, in *Rev. Afr.* (1870); Shaw, *Travels*, ch. vii; M. Bouchenaki, *Cités antiques d'Algérie*, Algiers 1978; Ph. Leveau and J.-C. Pellet, *L'alimentation en eau de Caesarea de Mauritanie et l'aqueduc de Cherchell*, Paris 1984; Dj. Sari, *L'un des premiers et brillants médecins de l'Algérie contemporaine*, in *CT*, xxxvii-xxxviii, 225-3.

(G. Yver-[Dj. Sari])

SHARṬ (pls. *shurūṭ*, *sharāʾiṭ*), literally, "condition".

1. In Islamic law. Here, it has the sense of "condition, term, stipulation". The term has two major connotations. Generally, it denotes that which does not partake in the quiddity of a thing but upon which the existence of that thing hinges. Ritual cleansing (*ṭahāra*), for instance, is not a constitutive part of prayer (*ṣalāt*) but it is a condition for its validity. In legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), *sharṭ* signifies a condition in verifying the *ratio legis*, the *ʿilla*. *Sharṭ* requires the ruling (*ḥukm*) to be non-existent when this condition does not obtain, and it does not necessitate the presence of the ruling when this condition is present; for if there is a relationship of entailment between the condition and the ruling, then the condition is deemed to be its *ratio legis*, which it is not. Since ritual cleansing is a prerequisite (= condition) for the validity of prayer, prayer would be invalid when cleans-

ing does not obtain. Conversely, ritual cleansing may be valid when prayer may not.

The same distinction between the constitutive elements of a thing and that upon which the thing and its validity depend is likewise maintained in the area of substantive law (*furūʿ*). Here, *sharṭ* denotes the general prerequisites for the validity of a legal act, as opposed to its essential elements (*arkān*, sing. *rukn*). Witnessing, for instance, is a condition for concluding matrimonial contracts, but it is not a constitutive part of it, as is offer and acceptance (*īdjāb* and *ḳabūl*).

In contracts, the term has another specialised meaning, namely, term, condition or reservation. The insertion of these in agreements may be necessary for the agreement to be valid, as we have seen. If they contradict the established law, they render the agreement void. A contractual term that nullifies an agreement is any term that runs counter to the otherwise established conditions of the agreement and that intends to benefit one of the parties to the agreement to the exception of the other(s). A well-known option in contracts is *khiyār al-sharṭ*, which is the agreement of the contracting parties to bestow on one or both of them the right to rescind the contract within a certain period of time. The majority opinion allows for three days, whereas the minority one allows four.

In its plural form, the term is normatively used to denote legal formularies. *Shurūṭ* thus refers to a wide variety of prescribed model documents used in legal transactions including sales, securities, agency, partnership, loans, bankruptcy, preemption, rent, agricultural leases, *waḳf*, bequests, inheritance, custody, oaths, aquittances, interdiction, dowry, marriage, divorce, religious conversion, homicide and penal injuries. A specialised genre eventually developed for the purpose of providing jurists with legally-watertight formulae. The authors and compilers of these formularies became known as the *shurūṭiyyūn* (mainly in the Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī schools), *al-muwaththiḳūn* (in the Mālikī school), and *kuttāb*. The Ḥanafī scholars seem to have played a special role in the creation of *shurūṭ* literature in the early period. Later on, the Shāfiʿī and Mālikī contribution to the further development of the genre was no less significant. The Ḥanbalī legists, on the other hand, do not appear to have devoted much energy to this literature.

Although the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna enjoin the writing down of transactions, the Muslim jurists generally did not consider written documents to be necessary for the validity of a transaction. In fact, the written instrument needs only to be duly attested by witnesses in order for it to be valid. Conversely, without a written document, an oral contract attested by witnesses is deemed both sufficient and valid. Nonetheless, in practical terms, the writing down of transactions was highly recommended, for it constituted a safeguard against distortion, misrepresentation and forgetfulness, all of which were causes for litigation.

In the light of the controversy about the correspondence, or lack of it, between doctrine and practice in Islamic law, modern scholarship draws a distinction between model formularies and those which were used in practice. The former appear in the *shurūṭ* manuals, compiled in a more or less formal fashion by the jurists, often with commentaries and annotation. The latter are found in archives and documentary collections. While these contain details of social and economic significance, including specific information about the objects being sold, rented, bequeathed or otherwise, as well as about the individuals who were parties to them, model documents appear as abstracted formulas, dissociated from any specific context and having little more than strictly legal significance. Their seemingly idealistic nature may lead one to think that a gap separated them from the realities of judicial practice. However, ample evidence suggests that the relationship between model documents and documents used in judicial practice was dialectical: the former were ultimately drawn from the latter, no doubt with some alterations and improvements, including the omission of real names and objects involved in the transaction. The purpose behind the changes made in the actual documents was not only to make them legally watertight but also to provide the notary and the public with ready-made formularies to serve in legal transactions. Thus documents in judicial practice were appropriated from model documents, and these in turn were drawn from the world of practice.

Bibliography: For the definition of the term in legal theory and positive law, see Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1862, i, 752-5; Aḥmadnagarī, *Djāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, 4 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1911-12, ii, 212-13; Bādjī, *al-Ḥudūd fī ʾl-uṣūl*, ed. N. Ḥammād, Beirut 1973, 60; al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, *al-Taʿrīfāt*, Cairo 1938, 110-11. On *khiyār al-sharṭ*, see Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā al-abḥur*, 2 vols., Beirut 1989, ii, 10. Some of the important works containing model *shurūṭ*: Ṭaḥāwī, *K. al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, ed. J. Wakin, Albany 1972; idem, *al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr*, ed. R. Ūzadjān, Baghdād 1974; Ibn al-Munāṣif, *Tanbīh al-ḥukkām*, Tunis 1988; al-Shaykh al-Niẓām *et al.*, *al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya*, 6 vols., Beirut 1980, vi, 160-389; Ibn Abi ʾl-Dam, *K. Adab al-ḳaḍāʾ*, ed. M. ʿAṭāʾ, Beirut 1987, 367-462; Asyūṭī, *Djawāhir al-ʿuḳūd*, ed. M. al-Fiḳḳī, 2 vols., Cairo 1955; Ṭulayṭulī, *al-Muḳniʿ fī ʿilm al-shurūṭ*, ed. F. Sádaba, Madrid 1994. Studies on *shurūṭ* and on the relationship between practice and doctrine are: E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*, in *Annales de l'École Française de Droit de Beyrouth*, ii (1945), 1-99, Wael Hallaq, *Model* Shurūṭ *works and the dialectic of doctrine and practice*, in *Islamic Law and Society*, ii (1995). (WAEL B. HALLAQ)

2. In philosophy. Here, it has the sense of the logical term "hypothesis, condition". In Arabic logic, the term is firmly bound up with propositional thought, and, with *sharīṭa*, constitutes an equivalent to the Aristotelian Greek ὑπόθεσις. Of course, the unique Ḳurʾānic usage of the root has no connotations of formal Greek logic, referring rather to "signs" or "tokens" (*ashrāṭuhā*) of the Last Day (*al-Sāʿa*) (XLVII, 18) in a single verse. Furthermore, Lane (s.v. *sharaṭa*) shows very clearly that one of the earliest secular senses of the Arabic root lay in commerce rather than philosophy or logic. However, by the time of al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], the Arabic term *sharṭ* and its cognates had developed considerably in logical sophistication. The interest which had developed in conditional syllogisms constituted a legacy from Stoic thought. Rescher has stressed the considerable attention paid by the Baghdād School to the syllogism in its commentaries on Aristotle's logical works; noteworthy here were the treatises of Abū Bishr Mattā and al-Fārābī himself. The latter's preferred term for "syllogism" was *ḳiyās*, which came to be the standard rendering of the Aristotelian *syllogismos*. Al-Fārābī made a distinction between the "attributive" or "predicative" syllogism (*ḳiyās ḥamlī*), and the "conditional" or "hypothetical" syllogism (*ḳiyās sharṭī*). The latter was further divided into "conjunctive" and "disjunctive" (*al-ḳiyās al-sharṭī al-muttaṣil* and *al-ḳiyās al-sharṭī al-munfaṣil*). Ibn Sīnā followed al-Fārābī's terminology in distinguishing between *ḥamlī*

and *sharṭī* propositions, and also identified two basic kinds of conditional proposition as "conjunctive" (*muttaṣila*) and "disjunctive" (*munfaṣila*). It is clear that the conditional syllogism was of considerable interest to mediaeval Muslim logicians in the Islamic West as well; as R. Arnaldez reminds us (*EI*[2] art. *Manṭiḳ*), the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm devoted some space to this topic, although the Arabic terminology which he employed to divide up conditional propositions, as adumbrated by Arnaldez, differed somewhat from that of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā outlined above.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the *EI*[1] art. *Sharṭ* and the *EI*[2] art. *Manṭiḳ*): Soheil M. Afnan, *A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969 (esp. s.v. *qiyās*); Fārābī, *Risālat al-Ḳiyās*; J. Lameer, *Al-Fārābī and Aristotelian syllogistics: Greek theory and Islamic practice*, Leiden 1994; N. Rescher, *The development of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1964; idem, *Al-Fārābī's short commentary on Aristotle's "Prior Analytics"*, Pittsburgh 1963; idem, *Studies in the histoy of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1963; F.W. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's commentary and short treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione*, London 1981. (I.R. Netton)

3. In Arabic grammar. Here, *sharṭ* denotes the protasis of a conditional sentence. The apodosis is variously referred to as *djawāb* "response", *djazā'* or *mudjāzāt* "requital". Both *djazā'* and *mudjāzāt* may denote the conditional structure as such, for which the merismus *sharṭ wa-djawāb* is also commonly used, while *djawāb* is applied to several other kinds of clause, though never to the whole conditional sentence.

The rules state that the protasis of real (possible) conditions is introduced by the particle *in*, with *law* reserved for unreal (impossible) conditions and *idhā* only being conditional to the extent that it indicates the time of occurrence of the apodosis (cf. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, Būlāḳ, ii, 311/Derenbourg, ii, 338: *idhā* denotes "future time with a conditional sense"). Hence *sa-azūruka idhā 'ḥmarra al-busru* "I shall visit you when the grapes redden" is correct but not **in iḥmarra 'l-busru* "if the grapes redden". On the other hand *in ṭala'at il-shamsu* "if the sun rises" is permitted because the exact time of sunrise may not be known if obscured by cloud. In practice, the three particles are often confused, and likewise the accompanying verb forms, which ought to be the same in each clause, either both perfect, *māḍī* + *māḍī* or both imperfect, *muḍāri'* + *muḍāri'* (apocopated *madjzūm* with *in* and independent *marfū'* with *law*). The canonical patterns and their many variations are reviewed by Peled, *Conditional structures*, where the contrast with the simplified prescriptions of pedagogical grammars becomes dramatically visible.

Other elements unanimously accepted as having conditional force are the nouns *mā*, *mahmā* "whatever", *man*, *ayyu(-mā)* "whoever", and the particles *aynamā* "wherever", *matā mā* "whenever" (always spelt as two words), *idhmā* "whenever", *immā* (< *in mā*) and *ḥaythumā* "however". The conditional functions of *kayfa(-mā)* "however" and *kullamā* "every time" are disputed. On the other hand *ammā*, whose second clause is always introduced by *fa-*, is often interpreted as a true conditional particle, hence paraphrased by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb*, i, 418/i, 469) as *mahmā yakun min shay'in*.

Among the theoretical issues which attracted the attention of the Arab grammarians are the following.

The operator (*'āmil*) on the two clauses is discussed in the same terms as the equational sentence, i.e. either the conditional particle itself operates on both clauses or only on the first and the whole protasis then operates on the apodosis. Other, dissenting views are advanced, however.

Pseudo-conditionals were extensively analysed, both those in which the protasis is not a true condition, e.g. *itīnī ukrimka* "come to me [and if you do] I will treat you generously", and those in which the apodosis is not the immediate consequence of the condition, e.g. *in atāka zaydun fa-akrimhu* "if Z. comes to you [then] treat him generously", with an obligatory *fa-* before the apodosis.

The structural relationship between conditionals and interrogatives was recognised (cf. *djawāb* for apodosis), which led to a disagreement about the conditional status of *kayfa*.

Whether *law* intrinsically denotes impossibility (*imtinā'*) is much debated in later grammar, though Sībawayhi defines *law* simply as "indicating something which would have happened when [or because] something else happened" (*ḥarf li-mā kāna sa-yaḳa'u li-wuḳū'i ghayrihi*, *Kitāb*, ii, 306/ii, 334). The theological implication of being impossible even to God was not overlooked, cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, lvii (1903), 401, *apud* Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 494 n. 1.

Inversion of protasis and apodosis is generally disallowed. Such constructions as *anā ẓālimun in fa'altu* "I would be wrong if I did this" are explained as elliptical, viz. [*in fa'altu fa*]-*anā ẓālimun in fa'altu* "[if I did this] I would be wrong if I did this".

Serial conditions have legal implications, e.g. *in akalti in sharibti anti ṭāliḳun* "if you eat, if you drink you are divorced" only effects a divorce if the woman first drinks and then eats, though a converse interpretation is also maintained.

In conclusion it should be noted that the situation in contemporary written Arabic is rather fluid; both *law* and *idhā* appear to be encroaching on the functions of *in*, which is becoming correspondingly less frequent in occurrence.

Bibliography: The topic can conveniently be explored in Zamakhsharī, *K. al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. C. Broch, Christianiae 1879, §§ 32, 204, 207, 419-27, 585-94 (same paragraphs in Howell and Ibn Ya'īsh). For Sībawayhi, see A.S. Hārūn (ed.), *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, Cairo 1968-77, v (Index). The important discussion of the various particles by Ibn Hishām is easily located in his *Mughnī 'l-labīb*, Cairo n.d., and cf. A.J. Gully, *Grammar and semantics in medieval Arabic. A study of Ibn Hisham's Mughni 'l-Labib*, London 1995, 42-3, 157-8, 179-83, 229-30; Yishai Peled, *Conditional structures in Classical Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1992, 166-70, has a bibl. of secondary sources, to which may be added Kinga Dévenyi, *The treatment of Arabic conditional sentences by the medieval Arabic grammarians (stability and change in the history of Arabic grammar)*, in *The Arabist* (= Budapest Studies in Arabic), i (1988), 11-42; C.H.M. [Kees] Versteegh, *Two conceptions of irreality in Arabic grammar: Ibn Hišām and Ibn al-Ḥāğib on the particle* law, in *BEO*, xliii (1991), 77-92.

(M.G. Carter)

SHĀSH [see tashkent].

SHASHMAḲOM ("six modes", the Tadzhik form of a compound of the standard Persian numeral *shash* and the Arabic term *maḳām* [*q.v.*]), a term designating the modal and formal concept of art music played in the urban centres of Uzbekistan. It developed in Bukhārā from elements of the local *maḳām* tradition and the *nawba* [*q.v.*] "suite" of Tīmūrid and Shaybānid court music. The earliest known song text collections are said to date back to the middle of the 18th century. Up to the beginning of the 20th century, the *shashmaḳom* flourished in the Emirate of Bukhārā and the Khanate of Khīwa. It consequently had to suffer from Socialist cultural policy. Modern

tendencies develop since the middle of the 20th century. Local differences exist between the ("Uzbek-Tadzhik") Bukhārā and the ("Uzbek") Khwārazm versions. The terminology of modes, metres and genres as well as the bulk of the song texts are Persian-Tadzhik; Uzbek song texts are a rather recent novelty.

The six *maḳom* cycles are called *buzruk, rost, navo, dugokh, segokh* and *iroḳ*. They bear the names of four of the former twelve main modes (*rāst, ʿirāḳ, buzurg, nawā*), and of two former "derived" (*shuʿba*) modes (*dogāh, segāh*). In contrast to the earlier "*nawba* of the masters" that consisted of four or five vocal pieces composed by individual musicians, the actual *maḳom* is characterised by separate cycles of basically five instrumental parts and a varying number of vocal pieces that are transmitted anonymously as a part of a canonical repertoire. The performance of a complete *maḳom* lasts about two hours.

A large part of the Khwārazmian version was written down at the end of the 19th century in tabulatures developed for the *ṭanbūr* [*q.v.*] and the *dutār*. For editions of both versions in staff notation, see A. Jung, *Quellen*.

Bibliography: B. Raḥmānughli and M.Y. Dīvānzāde, *Khārezm mūsīḳī tārīkhčesi*, Moscow 1925; A. Fitrat, *Özbek ḳilāssiḳ mūsīḳāsi va uning taʾrīkhi*, Tashkent 1927; A. Jung, *Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadshiken Mittelasiens. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung des šašmaqām*, Hamburg 1989; O. Matyakubov, *19th century Khorezmian tanbur notation*, in *Yearbook for traditional music*, xxii (1990), 29-35; articles by A. Abdurashidov, J. Elsner, A. Jung, F. Karomatov, O. Matyakubov, S. Matyakubova, and A. Nazarov, in J. Elsner (ed.), *Regionale maqām-Traditionen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin 1992.

(E. Neubauer)

SHAṬĀ, a place in Egypt celebrated in the Middle Ages, situated a few miles from Damietta, on the Western shore of the Lake of Tinnīs, now called Lake Manzala.

This town existed before the Arab period, since it is mentioned as the see of a bishop (Σάτα). There is no reason for giving credence to the romantic story of the pseudo-al-Wāḳidī, which gives as the founder of this town a certain Shaṭā b. al-Hāmūk (var. al-Hāmirak), a relative of the famous Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*]. This Shaṭā is presented to us as a deserter from the garrison of Damietta who helped to secure the possession of Burullus, Damīra and Ashmūn Ṭanāḥ for the Muslim army and who was killed at the capture of Tinnīs, on 15 Shaʿbān 21/19 July 642. Every year at this date, it is the custom to celebrate the anniversary of his death, and to this origin the writers attribute the pilgrimage which still took place at Shaṭā in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

To guard against the maritime attacks of the Greeks, the Arabs stationed regiments of troops on certain parts on the coast, and Shaṭā was amongst the number. This port became in the Middle Ages a very active industrial centre, in this region sharing with Damietta, Dabīḳ and Tinnīs, the manufacture of valuable textiles. Each of these towns probably manufactured a special article since the materials which they exported bore a name indicative of their place of origin. Travellers and geographers never tire of praising the goods of Shaṭā called *shaṭawī*. Very probably there was at this place, in addition to the private industry, a government workshop, a *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, analogous to those of Alexandria and Tinnīs. The historian of Mecca, al-Fākihī, has preserved the text of an inscription embroidered on a cover intended for the Kaʿba. It was the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who ordered it to be made in the year 191/807 at the *ṭirāz* of Shaṭā.

We do not know the part which Shaṭā played in the two occupations of Damietta by the Franks. Certain writers have tried to place at the spot the site of the encampment of Jean de Brienne, but this view has been disputed. Between the two Crusades, Tinnīs had been razed to the ground by order of al-Malik al-Kāmil in the year 624/1227, and as military reasons had probably induced this destruction, Shaṭā perhaps suffered the same fate.

But while the ruins of the former have survived under the name of Tell Tinnīs, a small town now bears the name of Shaykh Shaṭā. In its centre there is the mosque in which the relics of the hero of the Arab conquest, who became the Shaykh Shaṭā, are venerated.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 811; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xix, 162; the bibl. given in J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la geogr. de l'Égypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 112-13; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. *MIFAO*, iv, 80-2; M. Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, ii/1, 243.

(G. Wiet-[H. Halm])

SHAṬḤ or *shaṭhiyya* (A., pl. *shaṭaḥāt* or *shaṭhiyyāt*), a technical term in Sūfism meaning "ecstatic expression", commonly used for mystical sayings that are frequently outrageous in character.

The root *sh-ṭ-ḥ* has the literal meaning of movement, shaking, or agitation, and carries the sense of overflowing or outpouring caused by agitation; thus *mishṭāḥ* is a place where flour is sifted by shaking. In the first available discussion of the term, Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988) defines *shaṭḥ* as "a strange-seeming expression describing an ecstasy that overflows because of its power" (*Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London 1914, 375).

There is no evidence to support the suggestion of Massignon that early ecstatic sayings circulated in the guise of divine sayings reported by the Prophet Muḥammad, or *ḥadīth ḳudsī* [*q.v.*]; the latter have as good a documentation as any early *ḥadīth* collection and are not separately attributed to Ṣūfīs (W. Graham, *Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam*, The Hague 1977, 70). Nonetheless, the early stratum of *ḥadīth ḳudsī* contains similar materials, such as the important *ḥadīth al-nawāfil* (Graham, 173), which anticipates *shaṭḥ* by proposing the possibility of a union with God through love that leads to divinely-inspired speech and action. By the 4th/10th century, authors such as al-Sarrādj had applied the term above all to utterances such as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī's "Glory be to me, how great is my majesty" (*subḥānī mā aʿẓama shānī* [for *shaʾnī*]), and al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallādj's "I am the (divine) truth" (*anā al-ḥaḳḳ*); for a general survey, see C. Ernst, *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany 1985).

Among Ṣūfī authors, the chief responses to *shaṭhiyyāt* (sometimes held simultaneously by the same individual) were (1) to explain them away, either as misquotations, or as the results of immaturity, madness, or intoxication (*sukr*); (2) to regard them as authentic expressions of spiritual states, which should nonetheless be concealed from the unworthy; and (3) to view them as expressions of the profoundest experience of divine realities. Many Ṣūfī authors briefly address the question of *shaṭḥ*, showing a strong ambivalence about apparently blasphemous claims to divinity, mixed with admiration for the spiritual status of their authors, whose words are often quoted anonymously; al-Ghazālī notably belongs to this category. Among those who took these sayings seriously was Djunayd [*q.v.*], who

composed a commentary (*tafsīr*) on the sayings of Abū Yazīd, partially transmitted by al-Sarrādj with his own additions (*Luma'*, 375-408). This may be compared with the collection of Abū Yazīd's sayings transmitted by al-Sahlakī (d. 476/1083) under the title *Kitāb al-Nūr min kalimāt Abī Ṭayfūr* (ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1949, tr. Abdelwahab Meddeb, *Les Dits de Bistami: Shatahât*, Paris 1989).

The most extensive exposition of *shaṭḥ* was provided by Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī ([*q.v.*]; see now also Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī: mysticism experience and the rhetoric of sainthood in Persian Sufism*, London 1995). His Arabic *Manṭiḳ al-asrār* (ed. P. Ballanfat and Ernst, forthcoming), translated into Persian by the author in 570/1174 as *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt* (ed. H. Corbin, Tehran 1966), presents nearly 200 commented examples from 45 different authors (with emphasis on Abū Yazīd, al-Wāsiṭī, al-Ḥuṣrī, al-Shiblī, and al-Ḥallādj, including all of the latter's *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*). Rūzbihān's distinctly apologetic commentary typifies the most positive Ṣūfī attitude toward *shaṭḥiyyāt*. Many of the sayings take the form of "I am" sayings, identifying with God or the divine attributes. The principal Ṣūfī interpretation of this variety of sayings rested on the concept of mystical annihilation of the individual ego (*fanā'*), followed by the subsistence of God in its place (*baḳā'*); this made it possible for God to speak through the individual. Other sayings question the ultimate significance of Islamic rituals and the afterlife. Rhetorically, the audacious style of *shaṭḥ* partook of the form of the pre-Islamic Arab boasting contest (*mufākhara* [*q.v.*]); among early Ṣūfīs, many recorded conversations and sayings show the tendency to exceed the claims of others and discredit them by hyperbole.

Because of the lack of any clear legal definition of blasphemy in Islamic law, *shaṭḥiyyāt* were treated inconsistently by legal authorities; some regarded them as beyond the jurisdiction of the *sharī'a*, especially when subjected to interpretation, while others (e.g. Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*]) viewed them as tantamount to the heresies of incarnation, libertinism, and unification (*ḥulūl, ibāḥa, ittiḥād*) and fully deserving of punishment in terms of apostasy. In practice, the reduction of apostasy to the category of *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*], the Zoroastrian concept of heresy as political crime, meant that *shaṭḥiyyāt* were only prosecuted when political authorities found it desirable to do so. The prosecution of Ṣūfīs such as Nūrī, the executions of al-Ḥallādj and 'Ayn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī [*q.v.*], or the posthumous trial of the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*], are explicable in terms of their political context (*Words of ecstasy*, 97-116; Th.E. Homerin, *From Arab poet to Muslim saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his verse, and his shrine*, Columbia, S.C. 1994, 63).

Non-Ṣūfī intellectuals regarded *shaṭḥiyyāt* with sceptical interest; Ibn Khaldūn regarded them as unintentional products of unconscious ecstasy, which are pardonable except (as in the case of al-Ḥallādj) when they are spoken deliberately (*Muḳaddima*, ed. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Wāfī, Cairo 1379/1960, 1079-80). The philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] found the sayings of Abū Yazīd and al-Ḥallādj to lack intellectual rigour (*Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān*, ed. L. Gautier, Beirut 1936, 4), while his Jewish commentator Moses of Narbonne reinterpreted them to harmonise with Hebrew scripture (G. Vajda, *Comment le philosophe Juif Moïse de Narbonne, commentateur d'Ibn Ṭufayl, comprenait-il les paroles extatiques (šaṭaḥāt) des Soufis?*, in *Actas del primer congreso de estudios arabes e islamicos, Cordoba, 1962*, Madrid 1964, 129-35).

Among later Ṣūfīs, Ibn 'Arabī [*q.v.*] continued the ambivalent attitude toward *shaṭḥiyyāt*, regarding them as a sign of lack of mental control together with an egotistical claim (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Beirut ed., ii, 387.8-388.26, tr. W. Chittick, in *Les Illuminations de la Mecque*, ed. M. Chodkiewicz, Paris 1988, 265-74). He only admitted as legitimate sources of doctrine those sayings (like his own) that are spoken by divine command, without any boasting, although his classification of particular *shaṭḥiyyāt* is remarkably elastic, depending on the context of his argument (Ernst, *The man without attributes: Ibn 'Arabī's interpretation of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*, in *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, xiii [1993], 1-18). The most elaborate response to Rūzbihān's collection of *shaṭḥiyyāt* was supplied by Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*] in 1062/1650 in his *Ḥasanāt al-'ārifīn* (ed. M. Rahīn, Tehran 1973), an abridgement of the *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt* with additional excerpts from later Indian Ṣūfīs. The term *shaṭḥ* has been applied to later mystical sayings of Ṣūfīs in Java (Badawī, 148-58), India, Turkey, Egypt, and North Africa until the present day, with the same mixture of responses as in earlier times, while the sayings of Abū Yazīd and al-Ḥallādj still retain the power to shock their readers.

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(C. ERNST)

SHĀṬIBA, the modern Xàtiva or Játiva, a town of the Sharḳ al-Andalus [*q.v.*], to the south of Valencia. The ancient Roman town (Saetabis) was situated on the Via Augusta; the Arab town saw a shift to the slope of the mountain, which was crowned by a powerful fortress. The surrounding region, irrigated by several rivers, was devoted to agriculture. Shāṭiba is described by the Arab geographers as a commercial centre which had trading links with North Africa and with Ghāna; its location in the network of communications of the Sharḳ al-Andalus no doubt favoured this mercantile activity, and also the development of a specialised industry, that of paper. The superior quality of its defences and its strategic position strongly influenced the history of Shāṭiba, a place of refuge and also the bridgehead for attacks on Valencia and other towns of the Sharḳ. It appears that in the early stages the town was included in the district of Tudmīr, but, at least from the 4th/10th century onward, it belonged to the *kūra* of Valencia. In the first half of this century, Shāṭiba sometimes had a governor appointed exclusively for the town, which was also under the general jurisdiction of the authorities in Valencia.

Information regarding Shāṭiba in the period of the Arab conquest and under the Umayyads is very sparse in the historical chronicles. To the local population there should be added, as elsewhere, Arab or Berber elements such as the Banū Mufawwiz (Ma'āfirids) or the Banū 'Amīra (Nafzids). However, the date of these arrivals is unknown, as is the significance of this influx in relation to the indigenous population. Later, in the

5th/11th century, the Banū Milḥān, Nafzids originally from Huelva, moved to Shāṭiba. The Banū Mufawwiz, according to Ibn Ḥazm, settled close to the town, in the hamlet of Yānuba (Énova). At least a part of this clan became urbanised, producing an important sequence of functionaries and scholars which is documented until the very end of the Islamic history of the town.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Shāṭiba and Djazīrat Shuḳar (Alcira) were under the control of ʿĀmir b. Abī Djawshan, who was one of the Hawwāra Berber rulers of Shantamariyya or Santaver. From 312/924 onward, he resisted attacks by the armies of Cordova, sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Finally, in 317/929, ʿĀmir surrendered the town under favourable conditions which allowed him to settle his affairs at Santaver before making his way with his family to Cordova.

After the fall of the caliphate, Shāṭiba acquired a new importance in the struggles for power in the eastern region of the Peninsula. ʿĀmirid Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*], expelled from Cordova, appropriated a piece of territory for themselves in which they sought to establish a nucleus of political legitimacy, recognising Umayyad or ʿĀmirid princes. In 408/1018, one of these Ṣaḳāliba, Khayrān, proclaimed in Shāṭiba a descendant of al-Nāṣir, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who took the title of al-Murtaḍā. This attempt at Umayyad restoration was of short duration and the Ṣaḳāliba proclaimed, again in Shāṭiba, a grandson of their former patron (al-Manṣūr), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʾtaman, who thus became ruler of Valencia. Furthermore, these Ṣaḳāliba were beset by internal rivalries, fighting among themselves to extend their territories. Mudjāhid of Dāniya (Denia), in particular, sought to dominate the region and supported the rebellion of Shāṭiba and other towns against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 433/1041. The town was recaptured by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but as a result of this war, he lost a major portion of his territory. Both ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his son and successor ʿAbd al-Malik found themselves confronted by mounting problems and were obliged to appeal to Christians, Aragonese or Castilian, for aid. The latter, led by King Ferdinand I, began an assault on the Sharḳ; the ruler of Toledo al-Maʾmūn intervened, deposed ʿAbd al-Malik and took possession of Shāṭiba and Valencia. After the death of al-Maʾmūn, these territories were taken under the control of the ruler of Saragossa, al-Muḳtadir, and Shāṭiba ultimately became subject to his son Mundhir, King of Lārida (Lérida), Ṭurṭūsha (Tortosa) and Dāniya. The last years of the 5th/11th century saw the Almoravids and the Christians in confrontation around Valencia and Shāṭiba. Power at Shāṭiba was in the hands of a certain Ibn Munḳidh when the Almoravid army, under the command of Ibn ʿĀʾisha, captured the town in 485/1092. Henceforward, the Almoravids resisted the threat posed by the Cid [SEE AL-SĪD] to Valencia, but a new army mustered at Shāṭiba, which included many volunteers, was unable to prevent the fall of the capital of the Sharḳ. From Valencia, the Cid led persistent attacks on Shāṭiba and other towns with Almoravid garrisons, and succeeded in routing the Muslim army which was compelled to take refuge in Shāṭiba. A new general, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥādjdj, was appointed to coordinate, from this town, the efforts of the Almoravids against Valencia, efforts which were not to bear fruit for some years. After the conquest of Valencia by the Almoravids, Shāṭiba entered a new phase in its history, perhaps the most splendid. The *amīr* Abū Isḥāk Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn established himself there as governor of the Sharḳ and had the town's defences renovated in 510/1117.

A period of stability began but it was to be disrupted, some thirty years later, by rebellions which threatened the declining Almoravid power. The dignitaries of Valencia offered authority to the *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, while the Almoravid governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ghāniya, took refuge with his family in Shāṭiba. Almoravids fleeing Valencia rallied to Ibn Ghāniya. Protected by its imposing fortress, they made forays into the surrounding countryside, destroying houses and abducting women and children. Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was then obliged to besiege them, aided by the armies of Lerida and of Murcia, and succeeded in expelling them from Shāṭiba in 540/1145. The same year, however, the *djund* rebelled against Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and recognised the authority of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*], the new ruler of the Sharḳ who resisted the progress of the Almohads in the Peninsula for many years. The latter did not take Shāṭiba and towns such as Denia and Valencia until after the death of Ibn Mardanīsh in 567/1171-2.

Again, a period of stability began for the town, the defences of which were repaired; the architectural and artistic remains which have survived date mostly from this period. The Almohads installed tribal contingents (Ṣanhādja and Haskūra) in Shāṭiba, as was the case with other cities of the Sharḳ and of the remainder of al-Andalus. But after the defeat of al-ʿIḳāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609/1212, their power disintegrated. In the dynastic struggles of the Almohads, Shāṭiba took the side of the caliph of Marrākush against al-ʿĀdil, who had himself proclaimed in Murcia. The town was then governed by the *sayyid* Abū Zayd (grandson of the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin) who also controlled Valencia, Denia and Alcira. Abū Zayd later recognised the authority of the caliph al-Maʾmūn, but he was unable to resist the rebellions of Ibn Hūd and of Zayyān b. Mardanīsh. Ibn Hūd, recognised by the people of Shāṭiba as *amīr*, first appointed as governor of the town Yaḥyā b. Ṭāhir, then Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Khazradjī, from a distinguished family of Denia. Yaḥyā held his position for six years until his death in 634/1237. His son Abū Bakr Muḥammad, who was the *ḳāʾid* of the fortress, succeeded him as governor. During this time, the threat posed by the Aragonese intensified, and in 636/1238 King James I took possession of Valencia. The following year, he besieged Shāṭiba and took Alcira. In the face of the Christian advance, sections of the population began to flee the town, making their way with migrants from Valencia and Alcira to the Maghrib, where the caliph al-Rashīd received them. In 642/1244, James I again attacked Shāṭiba. The siege was concluded with an agreement according to which the Aragonese king took possession of part of the fortifications (the *castell menor*), with a promise on the part of the Muslims to hand over the rest of the fortress after a delay of two years. The conditions also stipulated respect on the part of the Christians for the lives, property, customs and laws of the inhabitants of the town. The Christians, however, seized the castle shortly before the end of the specified interval and the population was finally expelled from the town in 645/1248. The emigration was mainly directed towards the southern regions of the Peninsula and towards North Africa.

The intellectual life of Shāṭiba developed especially from the 5th/11th century onward, a period which saw a significant increase in the number of scholars

originating from the town. At the same time, it was visited by some eminent persons, such as Ibn Ḥazm (who wrote there his *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*) or Ibn al-Barr, who settled in the town and died there. But it was especially in the 6th/12th century that Shāṭiba experienced a golden age for the Islamic sciences (the biographical dictionaries give notices of 121 scholars, originating from or born in the town, who died during the course of this century). In this context, the most illustrious son of Shāṭiba was without doubt al-Ḳāsim b. Firruh al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194 [*q.v.*]), who was born in the town and studied there, but spent most of his life in Egypt. An expert in Ḳurʾānic readings, he is best known for a didactic poem (*al-Shāṭibiyya*), based on the work of ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī (*al-Taysīr*) on this subject. The *nisba* al-Shāṭibī continued to be born by scholars long after the Christian conquest, especially at Granada. The best known example is that of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhim b. Mūsā al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388), the author of the *K. al-Iʿtiṣām*.

In addition to part of the fortifications, still *in situ*, the Museum of Játiva preserves the artistic and architectural relics of its Islamic past: Ḳurʾānic and funerary inscriptions, the arches of a bath-house and the remains of a hall once located in the palace of Pinohermoso. The most interesting item, without doubt, is the famous "wash-basin", which has given rise to various interpretations and which is usually dated from the 5th/11th century.

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(MANUELA MARÍN)

AL-**SHĀṬIBĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. MŪSĀ b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-Shāṭibī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 790/1388), a Mālikī *uṣūlī* scholar from al-Andalus.

Although al-Shāṭibī is known by the *nisba* of his family's place of origin, Játiva (conquered by the Christians in 645/1247), he was born and died in Granada. In that town he studied with scholars; of special importance were Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr al-Zawāwī and al-Makkarī al-Djadd (d. 759/1357), both transmitters of Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā* (based upon Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Maḥṣūl*), who instilled in al-Shāṭibī an interest for *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *kalām*; the latter seems also to have introduced al-Shāṭibī to *taṣawwuf* through a special *silsila*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al Sharīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 771/1369), author of *Miftāḥ al-wuṣūl ilā bināʾ al-furūʿ ʿalā ʾl-uṣūl* and an expert on *ʿulūm ʿaḳliyya*, was also al-Shāṭibī's teacher.

Al-Shāṭibī wrote on grammar (*Sharḥ Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, of which there are mss., and *K. Uṣūl al-naḥw*). He also wrote *K. ʿUnwān al-ittifāḳ fī ʿilm al-ishtiḳāḳ*, *K. al-Madjālis* (commentary of the chapter on *buyūʿ* in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*), *al-Ifādāt wa ʾl-inshādāt* (*adab* work in which are autobiographical data, ed. M. Abu ʾl-Adjfān, Beirut 1983). He also wrote poetry. He corresponded with contemporary scholars, especially *muftīs*, on different issues (on his *murāsalāt*, see al-Raysūnī, 106-22). One of them was whether a teacher (*murshid*) is necessary for the Ṣūfī novice (*murīd*). He received answers on this issue from various scholars, including Ibn Khaldūn in his *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahdhīb al-masāʾil*. Al-Shāṭibī's *fatāwā* are preserved in compilations like *al-Ḥadīḳa al-mustaḳilla* (ms. Escorial, no. 1096) and al-Wansharīsī's *Miʿyār* (see López Ortiz, *Fatwàs granadinas*, 85-6; Masud, *Islamic legal philosophy*, 106-9, 119-43) and have been edited by Abu ʾl-Adjfān, Tunis 1984 (2nd revised ed., Tunis 1406/1985). In al-Shāṭibī's *fatāwā* there is adaptation to social change and application of the concept of *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*, i.e. he accepts not only the *maṣāliḥ* (sg. *maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]) which have a specific textual basis, but also those which have not (*mursala*). Al-Shāṭibī's doctrine on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* is developed in his *al-Muwāfaḳāt fī uṣūl al-sharīʿa* (Tunis 1302/1884, Cairo 1341/1923). Al-Shāṭibī also wrote a work against innovations (*bidaʿ*), his *K. al-Iʿtiṣām* (ed. M. Rashīd Riḍā, in *al-Manār*, xvii [1333/1913]; several times reprinted). Al-Shāṭibī himself was accused of innovation and heresy, because he opposed certain practices (see Masud, 104-5) deeply rooted in the life of the Andalusī Muslim community. One of them was the mention of the *sulṭān*'s name in the *khuṭba*. His opposition to this attracted refutations and counter-refutations (Masud, 108-9). On al-Shāṭibī's transmissions, see al-Mudjārī's *Barnāmadj* (ed. Abu ʾl-Adjfān, Beirut 1982, 116-22).

Al-Shāṭibī is one of the most important scholars of the Mālikī *madhhab* and one of its renewers, especially through the notion of *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala*, central to his doctrine on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and also in his *fatāwā*. For example, he allowed certain taxes not mentioned in the *sharīʿa* but made necessary by the economic difficulties of the Naṣrid kingdom in Granada. Al-Shāṭibī's work has had an important influence in the writings of some modern Muslim thinkers, such as Rashīd Riḍā. Since the pioneering monograph of 1977 by M.Kh. Masud (see *Bibl.*), al-Shāṭibī's life and legal doctrine have in recent years been the object of several studies which show the originality and importance of his contribution to *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

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AL-SHĀṬIBĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM B. FIRRUH B. KHALAF b. Aḥmad al-Ruʿaynī, eminent Ḳur'ānic scholar who introduced didactic mnemotechniques in the discipline of Ḳur'ān reading (*ḳirā'a*).

He was born in 538/1144 at Játiva (al-Shāṭiba [*q.v.*]) in Muslim Spain. Although blind, he took up studies in *ḳirā'āt* and *ḥadīth* in his home town, where he also acted for one year as a preacher. He studied first with ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nafzī, then with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Hudhayl at Valencia (Balansiya), concentrating on al-Dānī's *Taysīr*, but taking up as well grammar and *adab*. On his way to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca, he attended lectures by Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī at Alexandria. Upon his return in 572/1175, he established himself at Cairo, where he soon became a renowned Ḳur'ān reader and was appointed by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil head instructor in the disciplines of *ḳirā'āt*, grammar and language in his new-founded al-Fāḍiliyya *madrasa*. Upon Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reconquest of Palestine, al-Shāṭibī payed him a visit at Jerusalem in 589/1193. He died from a painful illness at the age of 52 on 28 Djumādā II 590/19 June 1194, and was buried at the smaller Ḳarāfa cemetery.

Through al-Shāṭibī, leadership in Ḳur'ānic disciplines returned to the East from Andalusia, where it had reigned for over a century with authorities like al-Dānī (d. 444/1053 [*q.v.*]) and Makī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1046 [*q.v.*]), who had substantially developed its theoretical framework of combinatory phonetics. Al-Shāṭibī's most important achievement, which has secured him widespread fame until modern times, is, however, chiefly of a mnemonic kind. Although he wrote several prose compilations on *tafsīr* and Ḳur'ān readings (Brockelmann, I², 521-2, SI, 725-6), the subject of later continuous study has been his didactic poems, the *ʿAḳīlat atrāb al-ḳaṣā'id fī asnā 'l-maḳāṣid* (printed in *Madjmūʿa fī 'l-ḳirā'āt*, Cairo 1929), simply called *al-Rā'iyya*, a rhymed version of al-Dānī's handbook on Ḳur'ānic orthography *al-Muḳniʿ*, and a poem in *ṭawīl*, *Nāẓimat al-zuhr*, on the counting of Ḳur'ān verses. By far most prominent, however, is his *Ḥirz al-amānī fī wadjh al-tahānī* (ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ḍabbāʿ, Cairo 1937), a versification of al-Dānī's compendium of the Seven Readings, *al-Taysīr*, known simply as *al-Shāṭibiyya*, which was to constitute the basis of *ḳirā'āt* teaching from al-Shāṭibī's times until our day, and was also one of the sources used for the establishment of the Cairo edition of the Ḳur'ān in 1924. Al-Shāṭibī's poem is appreciated more especially because it answers the particular need of the discipline, sc. to ease the essential task of memorisation. Not only is the Ḳur'ān itself transmitted almost solely through memorising, but likewise is the discourse about *ḳirā'āt* and even Ḳur'ānic orthography. The reason is evident. Since the Ḳur'ān constitutes itself as text only through recitation, i.e. through being performed as a "speech act" addressed to listeners, the modalities of its performance, i.e. orthoepy and intonation, cannot be conveyed except through oral practice. It is, moreover, the personal presence of the instructor in this art that is considered indispensable, since he—occupying the final position within a chain of transmitters which goes back to the Prophet himself—guarantees the integrity of the tradition's flow from the initial and immediate situation of speech unto the contemporary listeners. The particular affinity of the Ḳur'ān-reading discipline to orality is further enhanced by the interdependence of the elements that constitute the performance of Ḳur'ān reading: the particular version of the text (*ḳirā'a*), the orthoepic rules (*tadjwīd* [*q.v.*]) and the melodical shape of the reading, the cantilena. These three parameters are constantly interacting. Any particular text version (*ḳirā'a*) requires not only a rhythm of its own, but also differs in terms of *tadjwīd*, i.e. particular issues of combinatory phonetics and the location of pauses, from any of the other versions. Again, the melodisation is conditioned by the particular *ḳirā'a*'s rhythm, and may serve to enhance the formal structuring of the text or special aspects of its contents. Finally, *tadjwīd*, the rules concerning pausa location and division of verses, determine the grammatical structuring of the phrases and thus the flow of the melody. Thus the substantially oral nature of the *ḳirā'āt* discipline makes it understandable that, already several generations before al-Shāṭibī, teaching material had been put in the form of didactic poetry. Nevertheless, all of these works were superseded by al-Shāṭibī's long *ṭawīl* poem (1,173 verses), the *Ḥirz*, which adds to the *ḳirā'āt* discourse as such a propaedeutic chapter on general phonetics. The early recognition of the work, enhanced undoubtedly by numerous commentaries, some of which were written by the author's own students (Bergsträsser, *GdQ*, iii, 222-4), may be partly due to al-Shāṭibī's personal fame as a saintly man, observant in his ritual duties, upright towards his colleagues and students, God-fearing and even credited with some miraculous powers. Undisputably, however, the poem itself possesses factual efficiency, due to a decisive new mnemonic device: the introduction of sigla into the presentation of the particular variants. These sigla, pointing at particular readers, transmitters or transmitter groups, appear in the written verse simply as initial letters of single words used within the discussion of the particular Ḳur'ānic lemmata. In order to be recognisable in their meta-lingual function, they have to be marked by a particular colour or repeated over the word they appear in. From Nöldeke (*GdQ*, i, 338) to Bergsträsser (*GdQ*, iii, 219-24), both of whom judged the *Ḥirz* from a merely literary point of view, this practice has been denounced as unconvincing. Since, however, the poem is not meant to be read silently but recited aloud, the mnemonic function of the sigla works on the phonetic level rather than on the visual; read as denoting sounds, not letters, they constitute an important contribution to the pre-modern mnemotechnics. It is only through the recent intrusion of the new phonographic medium into the transmission of Ḳur'ān reading, that the system so deeply imprinted by al-Shāṭibī has become outdated.

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SHAṬRANDJ, the game of chess. The derivation of the word from Sanskrit *catur aṅga* "having four ranks" (Nyberg, 54a) is generally accepted. Arab philologists often argued in favour of a vocalisation *shiṭrandj* and offered more or less ill-advised attempts at etymology (Lane 1551c, and see R. Ermers, in *JAOS*, cxiv [1994], 294b). While the form of the word supports the game's Indian provenience as a war game, chess reached the Near East via Persia, as shown by the many Persian terms employed in it. The Muslim Near East, in turn, transmitted it to Europe. The word itself continued in use on the Iberian peninsula, as in Sp. *ajedrez*. The various vernacular European terms appear to go back to the exclamation *shāh* or *shāhak* indicating peril for the king, or perhaps to the word *shāh* with the definite article (pronounced *ashshāh* "the king") as designating the game itself.

The chronology of its westward march into the Arab world, probably in a sequence of separate episodes, cannot be determined with precision. Even if references to chess should be found in authentic pre-Islamic poetry, which does not seem to be the case, it would not mean a wide acquaintance in Arabia with a game that required a certain educational and economic level. While the abundance of remarks about chess attributed to early Muslim authorities, including the Prophet himself, is clearly due to the concerns of later chess advocates or opponents, it does speak for its early adoption in Islam. The seemingly sudden appearance of a full-fledged specialised chess literature in ʿAbbāsid times and the great popularity then acquired by the game would also point to an earlier reception, even if we allow the doubtful proposition that the dynasty's Persian connections might possibly have had a minor supporting role.

The game was played, as it is today, on a board, usually made of soft material, of eight by eight fields (*bayt*). They were, however, not marked by alternating colours, as shown by the diagrams and in miniatures as late as the 9th/15th century (see S.C. Welch, *Persian painting*, New York 1976, 105, pl. 37), although it would seem logical to assume that the European style as exemplified by Alfonso el Sabio's *Libros de acedrex, dados e tablas* (see A. Steiger, in *Romanica Helvetica*, x [1941]) has, in fact, eastern antecedents. The chessmen, distinguished by the colours "black" and "red", were set up in the familiar manner. Many different arrangements, such as "Indian" and "Persian" forms or circular chess, are mentioned, but the historicity of the attributions might, in some instances, be called into question; they certainly did not enjoy widespread, if any, popularity. Chess sets could be very luxurious; at any rate, the men could not as easily be improvised, as was the case with backgammon pieces (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-5, v, 115, ed. Hārūn, v, 382). Their names were mostly Persian: *shāh* "king"; *firzān* (*firz*) "adviser (?)", queen; *fīl* "elephant", bishop (Ar. = P.); *baydaḳ* "footman", pawn. The forms *firzān* and *baydaḳ* are explained as retrograde singulars from, respectively, *fračīn* > **farāzīn* (Nyberg, 74a) and *bayādaḳ* (modern Persian *piyāde*), see A. Spitaler, in *Corolla linguistica. Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer*, Wiesbaden 1958, 217. Even more disputed than the original of *firzān* is the derivation of *rukhkh* rook, castle, from Sanskrit *ratha* "chariot" through Pahlavi *rakhw*, although it seems preferable to a combination with the fabulous bird *rukhkh* [*q.v.*]. Only the knight is Arabic, *faras* "horse". Among the few divergences from modern convention in their basic moves, the most important is the severe restriction of the queen to one field at a time. In a tradition attributed to ʿAlī, the chessmen are compared to likenesses of living forms, thus making them religiously suspect; this could be explained away by the assumption that they looked more lifelike in the time of ʿAlī than they did later (*Book on chess*, 13); for abstract shapes supposed to be chessmen, see E. Kühnel, *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin 1971, 28 ff., pl. V-VIII.

The numerous problems (*manṣūbāt*, lit. "set-ups") of middle and end games were diagrammed and discussed. Unless a game (P. *dast*) ended in a draw or stalemate, it ended with *shāh māt* "checkmate". No satisfactory Persian etymon for *māt* has as yet been traced. It was apparently understood as Ar. "he died" already in al-Yaʿḳūbī, *History*, i, 103, l. 11, and this remains the preferable explanation; the strange syntax of *shāh māt* is possibly explained as a calque on a corresponding Persian expression. For the extended linguistic usage specific to chess, see the lists in Pareja, ii, pp. ciii-cxxix, and Wieber, 270-344, as well as the brief listing of Persian terms in *EIr*, v, 396, s.v. *Chess*.

It seems quite probable that the earliest written notes on chess were diagrams jotted down by players for their own personal use. Technical monographs were first written in the 3rd/9th century by al-ʿAdlī

and al-Rāzī, who are practically unknown, and in the following century by a certain al-Ladjlādj and the famous littérateur Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī (Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 330-1); this is known from later quotations and *Fihrist*, 155-6, where an unidentified Ibn al-Uḳlīdisī (not a son of the mathematician, see Brockelmann, S I, 387) is added. For the dubious attributions of special essays on chess to al-Djāḥiẓ, see *Fihrist*, tr. B. Dodge, New York 1970, 408; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 78, and to Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī [*q.v.*], see Murray, 169-70.

The popularity and high standing of chess in general education stimulated the literary imagination. The stories on its origins, whose historical core, where there was one, remains obscure, were widely reported. Poets and littérateurs used references to chess in abandon. For instance, the ability of the pawn to transform itself into a queen by traversing the board served to indicate achievement of success from lowly beginnings by travel and other means. Or seriousness could give way to humour: *shaṭrandjiyya* was coined to denote a meat pie containing bones with no meat on them like chessmen, which has the diners move their hands around the bowl (Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Cairo 1352, 298 ff.). A theological twist was injected into the debate about chess by a Muʿtazilī comparison of the metaphysical meaning of backgammon and chess, to the supposed disadvantage of the latter (see NARD; and Rosenthal, 165 ff., quoting Abū Zayd al-Balkhī's essay).

Chess players were ranked in five (exceptionally, six) classes. The highest, that of grand master (*ʿāliya*, pl. *ʿawālī*), at times became part of a professional description. Handicaps could be given to lesser players. Prowess in the game could bring riches and, above all, admittance to high society. Chess was, after all, the royal game "invented for kings and the rich, not for the poor and mean", as al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*], in his monograph on chess, expressed the common thought. Skills like playing blindfold with the back to the board, playing a number of opponents simultaneously, special mixed cases such as playing two opponents blindfold (*ghā'ib^an*) and a third one open (*ḥāḍir^an*), and the like were much admired and no doubt rewarded; but even an ordinary player down on his luck could make a living from chess travelling around in the provinces, presumably by exhibition games and instruction (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 49. ed. Hārūn, iv, 147). A grand master and poet of the 8th/14th century, who was also able to teach Turkish, probably used all three qualifications to provide for his subsistence (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inbā'*, v , 260; idem, *Dhayl al-Durar*, Cairo 1412/1992, 162; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, vi, 151-2). Playing chess forged strong social bonds; it could cement friendships (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 68) or provide constant companionship (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xv, 380; Wieber, 82). It is quite remarkable how often obituaries from the 9th/15th century mention competence in and devotion to playing chess.

Having its fanatical devotees, chess also engendered bitter enemies. An example of choice vituperation by a chess hater is found in al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 18-19 (Wieber, 134-5). Moral objections were raised by religious scholars at an early date and continued to be repeated and refined. They stressed the danger of neglect of prayer and religious imperatives due to absorption in playing and the potentially illegal exchange of money often connected with it, which was probably much more extensive than the sources let on. In sum, they stressed the game's character as "empty and wrong amusement (*lahw bāṭil*)" and thus as something socially undesirable, even if it was recognised as distinguished from other gambling and play activities by its intellectual foundation. Its outright prohibition was attempted by lumping it together with backgammon and other games and amusements such as music, as indicated, for instance, by the title of al-Ādjurrī's work. In the absence of any express reference in the Ḳur'ān and the authoritative *ḥadīth* collections, al-Ādjurrī cited three traditions ascribed to ʿAlī (see above) and a very few others, among them Ibn ʿUmar's dictum that chess was worse than backgammon (cf. also J. Robson, *Tracts on listening to music*, London 1938, 34-5, 56-8, from the related *Kitāb al-Malāhī* of the earlier Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā). A rather detailed survey of legal opinions by the modern editor of al-Ādjurrī seems to suggest to him that they were inconclusive. A grudging classification of *makrūh* was attempted early and continued to be often used. In later times, the defence of chess had to be more forceful. Ibn Abī Ḥadjala, for instance, would claim decisive support by al-Shāfiʿī (see *Kitāb al-Umm*, vi, 213; Wieber, 184) and basic *taḥrīm* by the other schools, with Mālikism often singled out for the negative stance. Under the right social and economic conditions, this was undoubtedly effective to put chess under a cloud, even if an official prohibition such as that supposedly issued by al-Ḥākim (*q.v.*, see above, at vol. III, 79a) was not the rule.

The popularity of the game spilled at times over into other cultural activities. People dreamed about it; thus dream interpreters paid attention to it in their works, for instance, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr*, s.v. The production of chess sets often required highly skilled labour. Miniature painters created vivid chess scenes to illustrate the game's description in the *Shāh-nāma* and other works of Persian literature. A permanent mark on arithmetic was made by the famous story that the legendary inventor of chess asked that he be rewarded by the amount of wheat that would result from placing one grain of wheat (or some other unit) on the first field and then double it by geometrical progression until the sixty-fourth field was reached. This apparently insignificant reward turned out to be more than could be found in all the world. The computation (2^{63} on the last field to a total of 2^{64}-1) proved a challenge to mathematicians calling for a variety of solutions. The story was so impressive that according to Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1963-4, iii, 506), who refers to al-Bīrūnī, the Indians used the procedure to determine the age of the world.

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context of gambling, see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 37-40, 85-96. For Middle Persian etymologies, H.S. Nyberg, *A manual of Pehlevi*, ii, Wiesbaden 1974, has been mainly used. See also J. Robson, *A chess* maqāma *in the John Rylands Library*, in *BJRL*, xxxvi/1 (1953), 111-27.

(F. Rosenthal)

SHAṬṬ (a.), lit. "bank, margin of a piece of water", Fr. Form Chott, also in English conventionally Shott, a geographical term used in the high plains of the Maghrib and the northern Sahara for the saline pasturages surrounding a *sabkha* [*q.v.*]. It has often been confused with this latter term, especially in toponomy of the colonial period, hence one must be very careful when one meets the term. Thus there are found on the high plains the Shaṭṭ Tigrīn in Morocco; in Algeria, from west to east, the Shaṭṭ al-Gharbī, the vast Chott ech-Chergui (Shaṭṭ al-Sharḳī) to the south of the town of Saʿīda, the Zahrez al-Gharbī and al-Sharḳī to the north of Djelfa, and finally, the Shaṭṭ al-Hudna, occupying the depression of the same name. These Chotts of the high plateaux may be found at altitudes of more than 1,000 m/3,280 feet.

In the "Lower Sahara" of the eastern part of the Saharan Atlas (in particular, the massifs of the Aurès and the Nementcha), the Chotts are, on the other hand, found at low levels, sometimes at below sea level in the most westerly depressions: 33 m/108 feet below at the Chott Mérouane (Shaṭṭ Marwān) and 26 m/85 feet below at the Chott Melrhir (Shaṭṭ Malghīr) in Algeria. Further to the east, some less important Chotts link this last to the Shaṭṭ al-Gharsa and then to the very extensive Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd in Tunisia, which stretches out into the Shaṭṭ al-Fadjādj as far as a few tens of kilometres from the Mediterranean in the Gulf of Gabès.

The existence of this string of Chotts (in fact, of *sabkhas*), associated with the presence of shells along their banks (especially of cockle shells, *Cerastoderma glaucum*) has fed the myth of the "Saharan Sea". It is held that this part of the Sahara was recently invaded by the sea and that it would be possible, by excavating a canal from the Gulf of Gabès, to divert the Mediterranean's waters into the Chotts. Although it has been demonstrated that this plan is impossible to realise, it was still a major item in the programme of one Algerian politician who was a candidate in the presidential elections at the end of the 1980s.

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(Y. Callot)

SHAṬṬ al-ʿARAB, the name given to the united stream of the lower Euphrates and Tigris rivers in Mesopotamia.

1. Definitions.

Shaṭṭ (A., pls. *shuṭūṭ, shuṭṭān, shuṭʾān*) meant, originally, one side of a camel's hump, and *shaṭṭ al-wādī* meant a canyon's or a valley's or a stream's bank or side, or the rising ground next to the bottom (*LʿA*, Beirut 1956, vii, 334-5; Lane, *Lexicon*, 1548-9). Eventually, *shaṭṭ* became most commonly used in the sense of a stream's bank. Occasionally, this meaning was expanded to depict a plot of land, apparently close to the bank of a stream (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1955-7, iii, 344). The name Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab ("Bank of the Arabs") currently referring to the tidal estuary formed by the united stream of the two rivers [see al-furāt; didjla], is very unusual, as it uses *shaṭṭ* in relation to the stream itself, rather than to its banks. In modern Mesopotamia-ʿIrāḳ, *shaṭṭ* has indeed often been used to describe a stream. This usage is a relatively recent one. Yāḳūt, who traded in the Persian Gulf, mentions Shaṭṭ ʿUthmān in the Baṣra area as being a plot of land, but he does not mention any Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab in that area (*loc. cit.*).

The early mediaeval name used by both Arabs and Persians was "Tigris" (Didjla) (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr., 76; al-Iṣṭakhrī, Cairo 1961, 57; al-Muḳaddasī, tr. B.A. Collins, London 1994, 12-13). Other Arab names were "Euphrates and Tigris" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa), and "One-Eyed Tigris" (*Didjla al-ʿAwrāʾ*). The reason for the addition seems to be either an island close to the mouth of the river, by the name of ʿUwayr (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 60), or the sand bar at the mouth. A mediaeval Persian (Pahlavi) name for the Tigris (and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab) was Erwand Rūd ("The Sublime River").

The modern Arab name, Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, which was also used by the Ottomans, seems to be the result of extending the name of the Arab (i.e., the western) bank to include the whole river. One of the earliest modern mentions of the united stream as Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab appears in the accounts of the English traveller J.S. Buckingham, who stayed for a few months in Baṣra in 1816-17 (*Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1829, 359-60). The modern Persian name is still Erwand Rūd.

2. Geographical description.

The confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates is just south of al-Ḳurna, and this is regarded as the beginning of the Shaṭṭ, but there is another confluence, some 50 km further south, where another part of the Euphrates flows through the Hawr Ḥammār marshes into the Shaṭṭ just north of Baṣra. The united river flows into the Persian Gulf near the town of Faw. The Shaṭṭ receives also the waters of the Kārūn River [*q.v.*] and its tributaries. The river's width ranges between 400 and 1,200 m, and its length is about 180 km. Its navigable depth is some 36 feet (six fathoms), though there are places where it is twice that depth. It is only 24 feet (four fathoms) deep at the sand bar near the confluence of the Kārūn (Iraqi Port Administration, *Shatt al-Arab survey map*, Baṣra 1964). In the 1920s the sand bar at the mouth of the river was dredged.

The country on both sides is level. Baṣra, where the tide rises and falls some 3 m, is less than 2 m above sea level. The land along the banks is higher than further out, owing to the silt brought down by the stream. Until the mid-1970s, the land was encroaching on the sea at the rate of some 35 km every 1,000 years, but since then this rate has diminished due to much upstream damming. Rich plantations of date palms line the banks for the whole length of the river, sometimes with orange trees underneath the dates. During the Iraq-Iran War (1980-8, see 3. below), these plantations were seriously damaged.

3. Political history.

With the rise of the Ṣafawī dynasty in Persia in the early 10th/16th century [see ṣafawids], wars between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans produced frequent boundary shifts. In 1048/1638 Sultan Murād IV finally recaptured Baghdād. The Treaty of Zuhāb of 1049/1639, which drew a frontier zone, included much of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab well within the Ottoman domain. As a result, it was not mentioned explicitly in the agreement. Subsequent Ottoman-Persian confrontations necessitated further treaties, notably those of Kurdān of 1159/1746 and Erzurūm of 1823, which repeatedly returned to the *status quo* of 1639. Those treaties, too, remained silent in regard to the Shaṭṭ (J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in world politics, a documentary record*, New Haven and London 1975, i, 25-8, 79-80, 219-21). The Shaṭṭ al-

ʿArab appears explicitly in the May 1847 Second Treaty of Erzurūm, reached largely due to British and Russian mediation and intervention. Except for Ottoman recognition of Persian sovereignty over Khurramshahr and its port, sovereignty over the waterway was not defined specifically, but the text implies that it was regarded as Ottoman. In effect, the border ran along the eastern bank. Continued rivalry and arguments led to renewed British-Russian intervention and to the 1913 Protocol of Constantinople, followed by a demarcation commission that published its proceedings in October 1914. In the Protocol, Ottoman sovereignty was recognised over the whole Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and its islands, save only a few, mentioned by their names (including ʿAbbādān [*q.v.*]). Opposite the port of Muḥammara (Khurramshahr) [*q.vv.*], the border ran in the *thalweg*, some four miles above, and one mile below the confluence of the river Kārūn. As defined in the 1914 demarcation proceedings, except for these places, the border was to follow "the low-water level of the left (sc. eastern) bank". Due to the eruption of the First World War and Ottoman reservations, the agreement was never ratified.

Following the War, the British authorities established the Basra Port Directorate which controlled all matters of maintenance, navigation and policing in the Shaṭṭ. In early 1930, the old conflict erupted again and was even brought, in 1934, before the League of Nations. Persia felt that admission of ʿIrāḳī sovereignty over the waterway leading to the large port of Khurramshahr and to the fast-growing port of ʿAbbādān (where the border still ran on the eastern bank) was humiliating and intolerable. As for ʿIrāḳ, because it had no other meaningful outlet to the open sea (whereas Iran had a number of alternative ports), it insisted on retaining the *status quo*. However, in 1937, the two countries signed a new treaty in Tehran, reaffirming the 1913 Constantinople Treaty and the 1914 Proceedings with two important changes in regard to the Shaṭṭ. Firstly, five miles opposite ʿAbbādān, the border was moved to the *thalweg*, as had been the case in regard to Khurramshahr. Secondly, a convention was to be concluded, to cover all matters of [joint?] conservancy and navigation, but because of disagreements, this was never concluded.

The outbreak of the Second World War and the British military occupation of ʿIrāḳ (May-June 1941) and southern Iran (August 1941) meant that navigation on the Shaṭṭ was managed exclusively by the British-controlled Basra Port Directorate. It collected dues and appointed pilots and navigation aids, almost exclusively ʿIrāḳī nationals. This state of affairs remained unchanged after the War. From the mid-1950s, Iran's main objection to the *status quo* shifted to the economic aspects. It protested against the inequity of choosing the pilots and accused the ʿIraḳī Baṣra port authorites of misuse of the funds accruing from the passage fees. In 1960-1, with the revolutionary régime of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim having withdrawn from the Baghdad Pact and being completely estranged from Iran and the West, Iran demanded the moving of the whole border to the *thalweg*. It also tried to appoint its own pilots, but retreated when ʿIrāḳī counter-measures paralysed the port of ʿAbbādān.

In 1969, Iran, conscious of the international isolation of ʿIrāḳ's new (1968) Baʿth régime, demanded a new agreement which would define the border as the *thalweg* throughout the Shaṭṭ and establish a joint commission to supervise maintenance and navigation, complaining of obstruction of Iranian shipping there. When this was refused, Iran abrogated the 1937 treaty. Between 1969 and 1975 relations of the two powers sank to a new low, with Iranian support for Kurds in ʿIrāḳ and attempts to stir up ʿIrāḳī Shīʿīs and ʿIrāḳī attempts to encourage dissidence amongst the ʿArabistān/Khūzistān Arabs, but in 1975 the Shāh and Ṣaddām Ḥusayn did sign a new agreement in Algiers. Conscious of its military weakness, ʿIrāḳ conceded moving the border to the *thalweg* line throughout the Shaṭṭ and agreed to joint maintenance and navigation control, whilst Iran agreed *inter alia* to cease aiding the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ and inciting the Shīʿīs. This agreement did not survive the Shāh's fall. With the triumph of Āyat Allāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], relations worsened, with the latter aiming to export the Iranian Revolution and to support the Kurds again. In September 1980, Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, now (since 1979), President of ʿIrāḳ, declared the Algiers agreement null and void, and all-out war between the two powers began. ʿIrāḳ aimed at securing both banks of the Shaṭṭ and at pushing the Iranian front line far enough eastwards to keep the waterway beyond artillery fire. The fighting which centred round the Shaṭṭ resulted in enormous casualties for both sides; ʿIrāḳ failed to hold Khurramshahr after 1982, whilst Iran failed to capture Baṣra. The superior Iranian navy and its air power and artillery blocked the Shaṭṭ and put ʿIrāḳī shore facilities out of action, and 62 ships were trapped in the Shaṭṭ ports for the duration of the war.

After the cease-fire, peace negotiations failed, but as part of his preparations for the invasion of Kuwayt, Ṣaddām Ḥusayn indicated willingness to begin talks on the future of the Shaṭṭ; these, however, came to an end with the invasion. In 1993 ʿIrāḳ started unilateral dredging operations, so that by 1994 ships were again able to navigate the river, but the conflict over sovereignty is unresolved, and traffic on the waterway remains (1995) far below its pre-1980 level.

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(AMATZIA BARAM, shortened by the Editors)

SHAṬṬĀRIYYA, a Ṣūfī order introduced into India by Shāh ʿAbd Allāh (d. 890/1485), a descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*].

On reaching India, Shāh ʿAbd Allāh undertook a lightning tour of the country. Himself clad in royal dress, the disciples accompanying him wore military garb, carried banners and announced his arrival by the beat of drums. In his *Laṭāʾif-i ghaybiyya* he explained the basic principles of Shaṭṭārī discipline, which he considered to be the quickest way to attain gnosis. Shāh ʿAbd Allah settled at Māndū [*q.v.*] where he set up the first Shaṭṭārī *khānḳāh*. His work was continued by his two disciples, Shaykh Muḥammad Aʿlā, popularity known as Shaykh Ḳāḍī of Bengal, and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ of Djawnpur. The latter had a very dynamic *khalīfa* in Shaykh Buddhan, who popularised the *silsila* in northern India. Shaykh Rizḳ Allāh, uncle of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith of Dihlī, became his disciple. Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn, a spiritual descendant of Shaykh Buddhan, wrote a *Risala-yi Shaṭṭāriyya* on the principles of the order. Later on, Shaykh

Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwāliyār (d. 970/1562-3 [*q.v.*] reinforced the *silsila* by giving it a compact organisation and an ideological direction. A prolific writer, he wrote *Djawāhir-i khamsa, Kilīd-i makhzan, Ḍamāyir, Baṣāyir* and *Kanz al-tawḥīd,* and translated the *Amrit kund* into Persian as *Baḥr al-ḥayāt.* He established intimate relations with the Hindus, and provided an ideological meeting ground with them in his *Baḥr al-ḥayāt.* His hobby was keeping bulls and cows. His successors (like Shāh Pīr of Mīrath [*q.v.*] or Meerut) also kept cows. Among his distinguished *khalīfas* was Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn ʿAlawī, whose seminary at Aḥmadābād attracted students from different parts of the country.

The Shaṭṭārī mystic ideology was based on *daʿwat-i samā*ʾ (control of heavenly bodies which influenced human destiny) and an interiorisation of religious rites. Their social relationship was conditioned by their faith in pantheism. Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth stood up to receive every Hindu visitor. The Shaṭṭārīs established close contact with the rulers, and participated in political affairs also. Shāh ʿAbd Allāh dedicated his *Laṭāʾif* to Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khaldjī. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth helped Bābur in his conquest of Gwāliyār; he and his elder brother Shaykh Bahlūl developed a close association with Humāyūn and instructed him in *daʿwat-i samā*ʾ. Shaykh Ghawth migrated to Gudjarāt when Shīr Shāh came to power, and corresponded with Humāyūn when in exile. Strangely enough, his relations with Akbar were not very cordial, but the latter built the Shaykh's tomb at Gwāliyār, and Djahāngīr built domes over the graves of Shāh ʿAbd Allāh at Māndū and Shāh Pīr at Meerut. The *silsila* lost its importance after Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth. Its mystical influence was overshadowed by the Nakshbandī and the Ḳādirī *silsilas.* However, Shāh Walī Allāh of Dihlī [*q.v.*] and his father had received *idjāzas* for the *Djawāhir-i khamsa.*

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(K.A. Nizami)

SHĀʾŪL, Anwar (1904-84), ʿIrāḳī lawyer, poet, short story writer, journalist, playwright and translator.

He was among the first generation of Jewish writers in literary Arabic language in Arabic characters in ʿIrāḳ, headed by Sālim Isḥāḳ (1877-1948), translator for the German Embassy in Baghdād, Salmān Shīna (1899-1978), the military attaché of the Ottoman army in the German army in ʿIrāḳ, Ezra Ḥaddād (1900-72), educator, and Murād Mīkhāʾīl (1906-86), poet. Shāʾūl was born in Ḥilla and on his mother's side he was the grandson of an Austrian tailor Hermann Rosenfeld, while on his father's side he belonged to the famous Baghdādī Sassoon family. He early lost his mother, and then in Baghdād he studied at the Alliance Française (1918-23), and in 1924 edited Salmān Shīna's literary and social weekly *al-Miṣbāḥ* ("The lamp") (1924-7). He worked as a lawyer and was advisor to the treasury of the ʿIrāḳī Royal Family. At the age of 25 he established and edited his weekly *al-Ḥāṣid* ("The reaper") (1929-38), one of the leading literary, social and political journals during the 1930s, in his main articles criticising the ʿIrāḳī government, its ministers and officials for their greed and shortcomings, as well as the Fascist and Nazi régimes in Italy and Germany and their supporters among the ʿIrāḳī youth. He also composed several poems against Nazi Germany and rejoiced at its fall and defeat, these and his other romantic poems appearing in his anthology *Hamasāt al-zaman* ("The whispers of time") (Baghdād 1956). A second anthology of poetry, most of which was written in Israel after his immigration thither in 1971, was published in Jerusalem 1983.

Shāʾūl was one of the two ʿIrāḳī writers who first wrote short stories; his collection *al-Ḥaṣād al-Awwal* ("The first harvest") contained 31 of these. However, his writings in prose and poetry were much influenced by French literature, and he translated from French, including a collection of stories originally written by American and European writers from various countries, *Ḳiṣaṣ min al-gharb* ("Western short stories").

His contribution to ʿIrāḳī theatre and cinema was important, and included the writing of film scripts and songs. He compiled an *English-Arabic dictionary of printing terms* (Baghdād 1967), and his Press and Publication Company (1945-62) published several important Arabic books. In both ʿIrāḳ and Israel he took an active part in social and literary circles, and published his autobiography *Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī wādī 'l-Rāfidayn.*

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(S. Moreh)

SHAWĀHID (a.), pl. form, of which the sing. *shāhid* (with the following terminology: *istashhada bi-* "call to witness, appeal to the testimony of"; *istadalla bi-* "use proofs drawn from, employ as proof"; *iḥtadjdja bi-* ... *li-ithbāt* "draw argument from ... to establish"; *dalīl, ḥudjdja* "argument, proof, probative authority") denotes a probative quotation (*locus probans*), most often testimony in verse, which serves to establish a rule in the "literary sciences" which, according to the Andalusian scholar al-Ruʿaynī (d. 779/1377 [*q.v.*]), "are six in number: lexicography, morphology, syntax, semantics of the phrase (*maʿānī*), the art of figurative expression (*bayān*) and that of the new style (*badīʿ*)" (*Khizāna*, i, 5; Lane, s.v. *sh-h-d*; R. Paret, in *OLZ*, xi [1935], 690-2; Gilliot, *Les citations probantes*, § 2). In these last three domains, the scholars declare that recourse may be had to the testimony of poets of the four leading categories: pre-Islamic poets, poets who lived both before and during Islam (*mukhaḍrams* [*q.v.*]), Muslim poets (*islāmiyyūn*, i.e. of the first century, poets of the new generation (*muwallads* [*q.v.*]) or moderns (*muḥdaths*; see shiʿr).

I. *Criteria for the acceptance of probative quotations*

As regards the three first above-mentioned disciplines which come under the heading of philology, the criteria of acceptance of poetry as a probative source depend on the attitude towards the language held by the Arab scholars. The general consensus is that it is acceptable to draw conclusions from the poetry of the poets of the first two categories. For the majority of philologists, it is also legitimate to quote as linguistic testimony poets of the third category, such as Djarīr or al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. Regarding poets of the fourth category, most scholars decline to draw conclusions from their verse. However, some are accepted as probative, under certain conditions; such was the case in particular of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]) and of al-Raḍī al-Astarābādhī (d. 686/1287 [*q.v.*]) (*Khizāna*, i, 6; Gilliot, § 6).

Another problem is that of verses which have not been transmitted in their entirety or of which the "author" is unknown. The prevailing opinion is that, if the quotation is made by an authority considered trustworthy in regard to the Arabic language, they may be legitimately used as a source of linguistic argument: "This is why the verses of Sībawayh are the most reliable verse testimony" (*Khizāna*, i, 16; Gilliot, § 16).

While less used by philologists, quotations in prose have given rise to an interesting debate which also involves theological considerations. Those which are drawn from the Ḳurʾān are recognised, whether the transmission of the *variae lectiones* (*ḳirāʾāt*) be "uninterrupted" (*mutawātir*) or "irregular" (*shādhdh*), as declared by Ibn Djinnī (Gilliot, § 8).

Apparently more astonishing, although conforming to the Arabo-Muslim linguistic representation, is the attitude towards *ḥadīth*. The majority of scholars do not accept it as linguistic testimony, because the specialists in *ḥadīth* declare that its transmission according to the meaning (*bi ʾl-maʿnā*) is permitted; as a result, it can never be known for certain that the current version represents the actual words of the one regarded as the best exponent of the Arabic language (*afṣaḥ al-khalḳ*), i.e. the Prophet. Some, such as Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]) see an additional reason for non-acceptance: the fact that the ancient grammarians, such as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, al-Khalīl, Sībawayh, al-Kisāʾī, etc., abstained from the use of prophetic traditions as sources of probative quotations. Here, as often, non-Arabs and those of mixed blood are accused of corrupting the "native purity" of the Arabs; transmitting traditions, "they committed linguistic errors (*laḥn*) without knowing it"! Among grammarians, admittedly the later ones, exceptions in this respect are, among others, Ibn Kharūf (al-Rundī al-Ishbīlī, d. 609/1212) and Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274 [*q.v.*]). The latter especially made extensive use of *ḥadīth*, in particular in his *Sharḥ al-Tashīl*. These two authors were criticised for this, respectively by Ibn al-Ḍāʾiʿ (al-Ishbīlī, d. 680/1281) and by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (*Khizāna*, i, 10-12; Gilliot, §§ 9-10). Others adopted an intermediate position, believing it possible to distinguish between two categories of *ḥadīth*, one where transmission is according to the meaning, the other where the transmitters claim word-for-word representation of the prophetic declarations, especially those which illustrate the "excellence in language (*faṣāḥa*) of the Prophet". From this latter category "it is appropriate to draw probative quotations (*yaṣiḥḥu ʾl-istishhād bi-hi*) in Arabic". This is the position taken by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388; commentator on the *Alfiyya*), followed by al-Suyūṭī (*Khizāna*, i, 12-13; al-Suyūṭī, *Iḳtirāḥ*, 52; Gilliot, §§ 11-12).

Some later authors, influenced by logic and by commentaries on the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]), in particular the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]), have conducted a theoretical analysis of the difference between example (*mithāl*) and probative quotation (*shāhid*). In general, they place the former in the abstract category and the latter in the concrete category. *Shāhid* is appropriate for establishing the rule (*ithbāt al-ḳāʿida*), *mithāl* for illustrating it (*īḍāḥ al-ḳāʿida*) (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshaf*, ed. A. Sprenger, s.v. *mithāl*, on the basis of *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal* by al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389), of the gloss by Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim b. al-Bakr al-Samarḳandi (wrote *ca.* 888/1483), of *al-Aṭwal* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabshāh al-Isfarāʾinī (d. 945/1538) and of the gloss by Ḥasan Čelebi al-Fanārī (d. 886/1481)).

II. *The literature of the genre*

1. In language and in literature.

Since works specialising in grammar and in philology contain a vast number of poetical quotations, the commentaries and glosses composed in this domain are innumerable, the majority of them evidently applying to the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh; among the score of relevant titles, six have been edited or are in manuscript-form (Sezgin, ix, 58-63; Gilliot, § 18). *Al-Djumal* by al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 337/949 [*q.v.*]) has also enjoyed favourable treatment: a dozen commentaries on his verse, of which six have been edited or are in manuscript-form. The same applies to *al-Īḍāḥ* by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987 [*q.v.*]): nine, of which four have survived (respectively, Sezgin, ix, 88-94, 104-7; Gilliot, §§ 22, 23), in particular Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1187 [*q.v.*]), *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. ʿĪd Muṣṭafā Darwīsh, Damascus 1985 (see P. Larcher, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 120-1). There have been, however, few commentaries on the verses quoted in the *K. al-Lumaʿ* by Ibn al-Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]), it being understood that they are themselves hardly numerous. Worth mentioning is that of Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360 [*q.v.*]) entitled *Sharḥ al-shawāhid al-ṣughrā*, which has not survived. In fact, the *K. al-Rawḍa al-adabiyya fī shawāhid ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya* (Ahlwardt 6752; Brockelmann, II², 31, no. 7) which has been identified with this commentary (see *MIDEO*, xx, no. 31) is nothing other than a manuscript of *al-Iḳtirāḥ* by al-Suyūṭī, with an introduction fabricated by a copyist (Sezgin, ix, 174-7; Gilliot, § 24).

The verses quoted in the commentaries on the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik have in their turn attracted the attention of numerous commentators. Examples are Ibn Hishām and his *Takhlīṣ al-shawāhid wa-talkhīṣ al-fawāʾid*, incomplete, also called *Sharḥ shawāhid Ibn al-Nāẓim* (i.e. the son of Ibn Mālik, Abū ʿAlī Badr al-Dīn, d. 686/1287), ed. S.T. ʿAbd al-Sayyid, Cairo 1987 (*MIDEO*, xx, no. 31), or furthermore *al-Maḳāṣid al-naḥwiyya* by al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451 [*q.v.*]), printed in the margins of the *Khizānat al-adab* by al-Baghdādī, Būlāḳ 1299, which comprises commentaries on the verses contained in four commentaries on the *Alfiyya*: (1) *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa* by Badr al-Dīn, son of Ibn Mālik, (2) the *Sharḥ* by Ibn Umm Ḳāsim al-Murādī (d. 749/1348), (3) *Awḍaḥ al-masālik* by Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, and (4) the *Sharḥ* by Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 769/1367) (Brockelmann, I², 359-62, no. 11 and S I). The verses contained in 3 and 4 have also been the object of numerous independent commentaries (Gilliot, § 27).

The verses quoted by Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1249 [*q.v.*]) and by the commentators on *al-Kāfiya* and *al-Shāfiya* have also been the frequent object of

commentaries: the *Khizānat al-adab* by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682 [*q.v.*]), which is a commentary on the 959 *shawāhid* quoted by al-Raḍī al-Astarābādhī in his *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, is the most esteemed. This work of unique quality is not only a model of the genre, but also a veritable encyclopaedia of grammar, poetics, literature, bio-bibliography and even history. Furthermore, the new Cairo edition, now complete, with its two volumes of indices, makes it an indispensable working tool (Gilliot, §§ 1, 26). The same al-Baghdādī is also the author of *Sharḥ shawāhid* [*shurūḥ*] *al-Shāfiya*, ed. M. Nūr al-Ḥasan, *et alii*, with *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* by al-Astarābādhī (the *Sharḥ* of al-Baghdādī is to be found in vol. iv), Cairo 1358/1939, repr. Beirut 1975, and of *Sharḥ shawāhid sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya*, ed. N.M. Khawādja, Faculty of Letters of Istanbul n.d.

The verses of numerous grammatical manuals of Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī have also been subjected to commentary (Gilliot, § 29): 1. *Mughnī ʾl-labīb*, by al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Fatḥ al-ḳarīb*. *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Mughnī*, i-ii, ed. A. Ẓāhir Kūdjān, Damascus 1966, and by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Sharḥ abyāt Mughnī ʾl-labīb*, i-iv, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Rabāḥ and A. Yūsuf Daḳḳāḳ, Damascus 1973-5; 2. *Ḳaṭr al-nadā*, by ʿUthmān b. Makkī al-Zabīdī in *Maʿālim al-ihtidāʾ*. *Sharḥ shawāhid ḳaṭr al-nadā*, completed in 1312/1894, printed Cairo 1324/1906; 3. *Ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb or al-Iʿrāb ʿan ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb*, by Balḳāsim b. M. al-Bidjāʾī (d. 866/1462) in *Sharḥ shawāhid al-ḳawāʿid*, which includes commentary on only a few verses; 4. *Shudhūr al-dhahab* [*fī maʿrifat kalām al-ʿArab*], by Shams al-Dīn M. ʿAlī al-Fayyūmī (d. ?; see Brockelmann, II², 29-30, S II, 1477) in *Sharḥ shawāhid Shudhūr al-dhahab*, Cairo 1281/1864, 1291/1874, 1304/1886.

The criteria for the acceptance of probative verses in the "literary sciences" not being the same as those used by the grammarians, it is not surprising that other verses should also be found illustrated and elucidated in the commentaries of the genre, especially in those which are devoted to the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī, and in particular those which are applied to the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Ḳazwīnī (Brockelmann, I², 353-6; S I, 516-19; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 473-9; Gilliot, § 28): the best known is *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*. *Sharḥ abyāt al-Talkhīṣ* by al-ʿAbbāsī (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAr., d. 963/1556), i-iv, in 2 vols., ed. M. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1947. Its author not only comments on verses of the *Talkhīṣ*, giving information about the poets, but also adds verses which correspond to the subject under discussion.

2. In the Ḳurʾānic domain (Gilliot, iv/B). Works comprising commentaries on the poetical quotations contained in the Ḳurʾānic commentaries, or those which explain the rare words (*gharīb*) of the Ḳurʾān are much less numerous.

Neither the *Sharḥ abyāt al-Madjāz* (i.e. *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* of Abū ʿUbayda), nor the *Sharḥ abyāt Maʿānī ʾl-Zadjdjādj* (i.e. *Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*), both by Ibn al-Sīrāfī (d. 385/995), has survived. One which has survived, but has not been edited, is: Abū Muḥ. Ḥusayn b. Muḥ. b. Ṭāhir al-Sharīf al-Waḥīd (17th century), *Sharḥ shawāhid Madjmaʿ al-bayān* (Brockelmann, S I, 708), on the verses contained in the Ḳurʾānic commentary of the Shīʿī al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153).

Others, which have been edited, include: Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī (Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī, d. 1016/1608), *Tanzīl al-āyāt* [*ʿalā ʾl-shawāhid min al-abyāt*], also entitled *Sharḥ abyāt al-Kashshāf*; Khiḍr al-Mawṣilī (d. 1007/1596), *al-Isʿāf bi-Sharḥ shawāhid al-Ḳāḍī wa ʾl-Kashshāf*, a commentary on the verses which corroborate *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl* by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) and *al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī.

3. On the literature of *ḥadīth* (Gilliot, iv/C). A single example of the genre exists: Ibn Mālik, *Shawāhid al-tawḍīḥ wa-taṣḥīḥ li-mushkilāt al-Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1957, ³1983, a grammatical commentary, divided into 71 questions, on 99 passages in al-Bukhārī's compilation. Three authors at least have composed commentaries on the verses cited in the *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Abū ʿUbayd, but only one of these seems to have survived.

Bibliography (besides the references in the article): ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab* [*wa lubb lubāb lisān al-ʿArab*], i-xiii, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1979-86; Suyūṭī, *al-Iḳtirāḥ*, ed. A.M. Ḳāsim, Cairo 1976; al-Bāḳir (M.ʿA. Riḍā al-Sharīf), *Djāmiʿ al-shawāhid*, Tehran 1274/1857, 1319/1901; A. Fischer and E. Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1934-45; ʿA.M. Hārūn, *Muʿdjam shawāhid al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1972; A. al-Naffākh, *Fihris shawāhid Sībawayh*, Beirut 1970; Sezgin, ii, 89-91; Cl. Gilliot, *Les citations probantes* (šawāhid) *en langue*, to be published in two parts in *Arabica*, xliii (1996), the second part containing a comprehensive list of works and editions belonging to this genre. (Cl. Gilliot)

SHAWĀNKĀRA [see FAḌLAWAYH, BANŪ; SHABĀNKĀRA]

SHĀWAR, Abū Shudjāʿ b. Mudjīr al-Saʿdī, a vizier of the last Fāṭimid caliph, al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], and the statesman who involved the forces of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] in the affairs of Egypt.

He belonged to the Banī Saʿd, semi-settled Bedouin of Djudhām [*q.v.*], a tribal grouping both politically and militarily influential in the first half of the 6th/12th century. In Shawwāl 516/December 1122 Shāwar was released from a long period of Frankish captivity, and was established in *al-ṭāʾifa al-Maʾmūniyya*, the regiment of the vizier Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī [*q.v.*]. He was one of the vizier Riḍwān b. Walakhashī's chief supporters in his disputes with the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], and fled with Riḍwān to Syria. After Riḍwān's defeat in Ṣafar 534/October 1139, Shāwar first retired to Upper Egypt with his Bedouin, then was pardoned but detained in the palace at Cairo.

He was appointed governor of Upper Egypt, based at Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*], by the vizier Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*] in 555/1160. Having feared him as a possible rival, the vizier urged his son and successor, Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], not to provoke Shāwar by attempting to replace him. The advice was not followed and in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 557/November 1162 Shāwar openly rebelled. After an initial reverse at Daldja, he moved with a small band via the Western Desert oases to Tarūdja in the Delta, gathered supporters and descended on Cairo, which he entered on Sunday 22 Muḥarram 558/30 December 1162. Shāwar was proclaimed vizier with the title *amīr al-djuyūsh*. Ruzzīk had fled, was imprisoned and later, suspected of plotting amid growing factional rivalries, was executed in Ramaḍān 558/August 1163. That same month Shāwar sent *khilaʿ* (robes of honour) to Nūr al-Dīn, who accepted them and also the funds sent with them.

On Friday 28 Ramaḍān 558/30 August 1163, Shāwar was toppled from the vizierate by another *amīr* of Bedouin origin, Ḍirghām [*q.v.*]. By Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 558/October 1163, Shāwar was at the court of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus seeking assistance. An interventionary expedition led to Shāwar's restoration (Radjab 559/May 1064; for text of his diploma, see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 310-8) and to the first

clash with the Franks, whose interests and ambitions were already deeply involved in Egypt. Two other campaigns followed (562/1167 and 564/1168-9). For the details of these events, see SHĪRKŪH.

In the end, Shāwar, attempting to exploit now one and now the other of the rival outsiders, the Syrian forces and the Crusaders, was unable to maintain his independence. He had lost the support of the palace, the local élite and even of his own family, by his high-risk policy. The burning of Fusṭāṭ in Ṣafar 564/November 1168, probably on his orders to deny the attacking Crusaders the city and its resources, cost him much popular goodwill, even if the damage and losses were not so catastrophic as they have been portrayed (see W. Kubiak, *The burning of Miṣr al-Fusṭāṭ in 1168. A reconsideration of historical evidence*, in *Africana Bulletin*, Warsaw [1976], xxv). The new dominant force in Egypt was the Syrian army of Nūr al-Dīn, elements of which plotted the assassination of Shāwar on Saturday 17 Rabīʿ II 564/18 January 1169, and its commander Shīrkūh succeeded as Fāṭimid vizier.

Bibliography: ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-miṣriyya*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1897, i, esp. 66-73, 78-81; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. M. Ḥilmī, Cairo 1973, iii, see index; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 439-48, nos. 285a and b. For the full range of historical sources, see SHĪRKŪH. (D.S. RICHARDS)

AL-**SHAWBAK**, a fortress, originally constructed by the Crusaders, in Transjordania, now also the name of the settlement which grew up round it. It lies in lat. 30° 33' N., long. 35° 36' E. at an altitude of 1,382 m/4,532 feet in the south of modern Jordan, on a strategic position commanding the al-Karak-Tafīla-Maʿān mountain road and the mediaeval Islamic route via the Wādī ʿAraba towards Egypt. The surrounding Djabal al-Sharā enjoys a good rainfall and winter snows, favouring woods and agricultural land; in mediaeval Islamic times, its famed apricots were exported to Egypt, according to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. Its strategic position made it a coveted site for both Crusaders and Arabs, and habitation there certainly goes back to the Nabataeans.

It is reported that in 501/1107, the slopes of al-Shawbak formed part of the tributary domain of the Latin king Baldwin I of Jerusalem, under the local authority of a certain al-Aṣfahīd al-Turkumānī. Shortly thereafter, in 509/1115, Baldwin I led a military force which crossed to the site and ordered the establishment of a military fortress adjacent to two small springs, which supplied a well within the fortress that he provided with a cavalry garrison. Baldwin I gave it particular attention when he visited it the following year, and then proceeded to ʿAḳaba, where he constructed a second fortress in order to control the traffic going to the Ḥidjāz and Egypt. Crusader control became firmly established with the construction of the citadel of al-Karak in 537/1142 by Fulk of Anjou, the king of Jerusalem. The land east of the Jordan River constituted a barony, with al-Shawbak (Montréal in the Frankish sources) at its seat, subsequently to be moved to al-Karak. The sources furnish us with the names of the individuals who were in charge of the fortress, such Romanus de Podio/Romain de Puy, etc.

Al-Shawbak was a target of the Fāṭimids in Egypt, who sent a military expedition that pillaged the locality and captured some prisoners in 552/1157. The following year, the Fāṭimids placed the fortress under siege, which lasted over a year, to be lifted only after the king of Jerusalem sent gifts and asked for a truce of friendship (*muwādaʿa*). The Ayyūbids under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn maintained their aggressive policy against the Franks east of the Jordan River. In Ṣafar 567/October 1171, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn laid siege to the fortress, and its garrison surrendered within ten days. However, he departed before its submission when he received news that Nūr al-Dīn Zankī was approaching. The fortress finally surrendered in Rabīʿ I 585/October 1189, two years after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*]. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave both al-Shawbak and al-Karak as an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] to his brother and successor al-Malik al-ʿĀdil.

There were development schemes at al-Shawbak during the Ayyūbid period. Fruit trees were planted and the area, with its rich water resources, was rejuvenated to the extent that contemporary geographers compared it to the vicinity of Damascus. Inscriptions testify to the care that the Ayyūbids extended to it. The Franks recognised the strategic significance of al-Shawbak, and while besieging Damietta in 615/1218, they offered to lift the siege in return for Jerusalem, al-Shawbak, and al-Karak. This request was declined. This may explain al-Malik al-Kāmil's interest in the place, for in 626/1229, he paid his nephew al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd 16,000 Egyptian *dīnārs* to add al-Shawbak to his possessions, which he visited three years later while *en route* to Syria. It was part of the domains of the last Ayyūbid prince in southern Jordan, al-Malik al-Mughīth ʿUmar, from 648/1250 until 659/1261. It then passed to the new Mamlūk rulers following their victory over the Mongols at ʿAyn Djālūt. However, in 692/1292, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl ordered the demolition of the fortress on the advice of the local Bedouin chieftain, for whom it had been a major irritant. Later Mamlūk sultans, and in particular Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjīn, in 697/1297-8, restored the fortress and gave it their continuous attention, as is attested by inscriptions from that period. The great flood (*al-sayl al-aʿẓam*) and earthquake that struck the region in 718/1318 may explain the observation by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī that the fortress was closed at that time.

There is no consensus in the sources regarding the status of al-Shawbak, with some referring to it as a village, others as a town, and others as a city. During the Mamlūk era it constituted an *ʿamal* with a *mutawallī*, and was part of the *niyāba* of al-Karak. Its *mutawallī* was appointed by the sultan in Cairo but reported to the governor of al-Karak. Biographical dictionaries provide the names of some individuals who held this position. A few of them may have been assigned the region as an *iḳṭāʿ*. The citadel, which was one of the postal stations to Cairo, was occasionally the seat of a *ḳāḍī*, under the jurisdiction of the *ḳāḍī* in al- Karak.

The most important Bedouin tribes in the region were the Banū Zuhayr and Banū Suniyyūn. There were also significant numbers of Melkite Christians, who distinguished themselves in trade. Some were rich enough to give financial support to Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ. They formed the majority of the population, which explains why in 700/1300, they and the Christians of al-Karak were exempted from the sultan's edict to change the colour of their turbans from white to blue.

Al-Shawbak during the 10th/16th century was a seat of the *nāḥiya* as part of the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAdjlūn. Two *tapu defters* provide important statistics on the villages:

The revenues according to the first survey was 11,750 *aḳčes*, falling to 14,000 *aḳčes* near the end of the century. Christians paid the *djizya* at the rate of 80 *aḳčes* per head. The decline in population is explained

	Households	Muslims	*Imams*	Christians
Tapu Defter 970 (no date)	145	16	2	11
Tapu Defter 850 (1005/1596)	65			5

by the deterioration in security. Most Christians migrated to the coastal area of Ghazza. The two *tapu defters* provide detailed information about the tribal groups (*ṭā'ifas*), as well as the names of the villages at that time. It is interesting to note that the villagers numbered less households than those of the nomads.

Information about al-Shawbak subsequently decreases, with only occasional references, such as that in 1022/1613, stating that the fortress was inhabited by *fallāḥīn* who provided ʿAlī b. Fakhr al-Dīn with provisions. In 1812, it was visited by J.L. Burckhardt, who mentions that about one hundred *fallāḥīn* families lived there and paid tribute to the Ḥuwayṭat tribe. An uprising took place against the Ottoman garrison there in 1895. The *mutaṣarrif* of al-Karak laid siege to it, and about 200 people and 20 soldiers were killed. During the *Tanẓīmāt* period, it was part of the *mutaṣarrifiyya* of al-Karak. Al-Shawbak was connected by a branch of the Ḥidjāz Railway, no longer extant, which caused the depletion of its forests. Today, al-Shawbak is a *ḳaḍā'* that is part of the province of Maʿān.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 536; *EI*[1] art. s.v. (E. Honigmann), with older *bibl.*; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie a l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 129-34 (information from ʿUmarī and Ḳalḳashandī); *RCEA*, xii; P. Deschamps, *Kerak et les châteaux de La Terre Oultre le Jourdain*, ii, Paris 1939; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 112-13; the standard histories of the Crusades (Grousset; Runciman; Setton and Baldwin, i-ii), see indices; W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter im Heiligen Land*, Munich-Berlin 1966, M.A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century*, Beirut 1975; idem, *Mamlakat al-Karak fi 'l-ʿahd al-mamlūkī*, ʿAmmān 1976; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978; Y.D. Ghawānma, *Imārat al-Karak al-Ayyūbiyya*, ʿAmmān 1980; Ṭ.ʿA. Ḥabaḥba, *al-Shawbak fi 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-widjdān al-shaʿbī*, i, ʿAmmān 1984; S.M. Mūminī, *al-Ḳilāʿ al-islāmiyya fi 'l-Urdunn*, ʿAmmān 1988; M.A. Bakhit and Noufan Hmud (eds.). *The Detailed Defter of Liwā' ʿAjlūn (the district of ʿAjlūn), Tapu defteri no. 970, Istanbul*, ʿAmmān 1989, *Tapu defteri no. 185, Ankara*, ʿAmmān 1991.

(M.A. Bakhit)

al-**SHĀWĪ** (*nisba* from Shāwiya [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Muḥammad, one of the most popular saints (*sayyid*) of Fās, died there on 26 Muḥarram 1014/13 June 1605, and was buried in the *zāwiya* which still bears his name, in the al-Siyādj quarter. Many notices of him are given by the Moroccan hagiographers, and a collection of his *manāḳib* was made by the famous Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī (1058-1110/1648-98), entitled *Muʿtamad al-rāwī fī manāḳib walī Allāh sayyidī Aḥmad al-Shāwī.*

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, lith. Fās 36; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fās. 1310, i, 96; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316, i, 274; Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam*: *Fès*, Paris 1905, 128; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques*, 27, no. 71; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 278. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

SHĀWĪSH [see čā'ūsh].

SHĀWIYA (a., pl. of *shāwī*) "sheep-breeder or herder", a term applied to groups in various parts of the Arab world.

1. The Maghrib.

Here the term, originally applied in contempt, has become the general designation of several groups, of which the most important are, in Morocco, the Shāwiya of Tāmasnā and in Algeria, the Shāwiya of the Awrās. E. Doutté (*Marrâkech*, 4-5) mentions several other groups of less importance. An endeavour has also been made to connect Shoa, the name of a district in Abyssinia, with Shāwiya.

Wherever it is found, the term is applied to Berbers of the Zanāta and Hawwāra, more or less arabicised, mixed with purely Arab elements; almost always, moreover, these ethnic groups seem to have schismatic tendencies.

The massif of the Awrās, occupied by the Shāwiya of the department of Constantine, was in the 8th century the centre of resistance of the Ibāḍi [see ibāḍiyya] Khāridjīs, as the Mzāb still is at the present day. Now among the Shāwiya of Morocco, the successors to the heretical Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] we find a tribe of Mzāb and the memory of "Judaising" ancestors. On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn tells us that at the beginning of the Marīnid dynasty in eastern Morocco, a group of Shāwiya lived in contact with the Zakkāra, whose heterodox practices have been studied by A. Mouliéras.

According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, i, 176-82, tr. i, 271-82) the original home of the Hawwāra (*vulgo* Huwwāra [*q.v.*]) was the province of Tripoli and the adjacent part of the territory of Barḳa; conquered and oppressed by the Arabs, they had scattered through the whole of the Maghrib where, crushed by taxation and having lost that pride and independence which once characterised them, they devoted themselves to sheep-breeding, whence the name ultimately given them. As to the Zanāta, they were nomadic Berbers, like the Arabs, living in tents on the produce of their flocks and spending the summer in the Tell and the winter in the desert from Ghadāmis to the Sūs al-Aḳṣā (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-80).

The name of Shāwiya seems to be first found in Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, i, 22, 16, tr. de Slane, i, 256, tr. Rosenthal, i, 251; *Hist. des Berbères*, i, 179, 10, tr. i, 278; ii, 245, 3, tr. iv, 31; the Shāwiya mentioned in this last passage do not seem to correspond to those of Tāmasnā but to some people of Eastern Morocco, neighbours of the tribes of Hawwāra and Zakkāra).

Next, Leo Africanus (i, 83-4), who calls them *Soava*, tells us that they are African (i.e. Berber) tribes who have adopted the Arab way of living. The majority live at the foot of the Atlas or in the mountain range itself, living by cattle- and sheep-breeding. Wherever they dwell they are always subject to the local dynast or to Arabs. This author already knows two main groups: one in Morocco, in Tāmasnā, the other on the borders of the kingdom of Tunis and the "land of dates" (*bilād al-djarīd*).

It will be readily understood that in the Arab world, the term "sheep breeders" would have a contemptuous significance. As W. Marçais observed, "in ancient Arabia a certain disgrace seems to have been attached to the breeding of the smaller domestic stock. North African opinion has retained a prejudice against the rearers of sheep. The great camel-rearing nomads have nothing but contempt for them. In the middle ages the feeling may have been strengthened by racial antagonism, real or imaginary. But in general at this period, to abandon the camel and adopt the sheep was an avowal of a terrible downfall for a tribe. It meant renouncing the long free travels, the secure refuge of the desert and independence, to submit to local rulers, endure their blows and tolerate their fiscal exactions".

a. Shāwiya of Tāmasnā.

They occupy in the north-east the lower course of the Umm al-Rabīʿ, vast fertile plains which extend to the latitude of the little harbour of Feḍāla. They are descended, according to Leo Africanus (ii, 9), from, the Zanāta and Hawwāra whom the Marīnid sovereigns settled there and who mixed with the remnants of the Barghawāṭa, the ancient heretical inhabitants of the region, as well as with the Arabs brought from Ifrīḳiya by the Almohad Sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr. These Shāwiya now speak Arabic; the modern tribes which seem to be of Berber origin are the Znāta, Medyūna, Mzāb, Mellīla, Zyāyda and the Ūlād Bū-Zīrī.

b. Shāwiya of the Awrās.

They occupy this mountain massif in modern Algeria, between Batna and Biskra. Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-80) already mentions sections of the Zanāta settled in the Awrās alongside of Hilālī Arabs who had conquered them. It is no doubt to their living in a mountainous country that these Shāwiya have preserved a Berber dialect to the present day.

Bibliography: 1. Shāwiya in general: Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, i, 83; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 222, tr. de Slane, i, 256-7, tr. Rosenthal, i, 250-1; E. Carette, *Recherches sur l'origine et les migrations des principales tribus de l'Afrique septentrionale et particulièrement de l'Algérie*, in *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie, Sciences Historiques et Géographiques*, Paris 1853, iii, 147-52, 190; W. Marçais and Abderraḥmân Griga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, 257, n. 37, 258, n. 39.

2. Shāwiya of Tāmasnā: Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, i, 9; Mernol, *L'Afrique*, tr. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1677, ii, bk. 4, chs. i-xii; Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, iii, 135-6; G. Kampffmeyer, *Šâuia in Marokko*, in *MSOS Ar.*, vi (1903); E. Doutté, *Marrâkech*, 2 ff.; *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Châouïa*, esp. i, 109-16, 131-6.

3. Shāwiya of the Awrās: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 1, tr. iii, 179-80; E. Masqueray, *Le Djebel Chechar*, in *Revue Africaine*, xxii (1878), 259-81; De Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904, esp. 123-5; and the bibl. given on 477-80. On their Berber dialect, cf. G. Mercier, *Le Cicouia de l'Aurès*, Paris 1896. See also AWRĀS; BARGHAWĀṬA; BERBERS; MZĀB.

(G.S. COLIN*)

2. Syria and the Arabian Peninsula.

Shāwiya is a flexible term, centering on sheep herding for an urban market, especially live animals for meat. This, of itself, does not have derogatory overtones; what does is the buying of protection (in the past) and herding for wages (in the present), which were and are practised by some participants. *Shāwiya* describes groups who herd sheep as their main livelihood, some of whom have a low political status. Because herders needed to use seasonal grazing grounds or to secure access to markets far from their home base on a regular basis, agreements were made between herders and the "owners" of the grazing grounds and wells, or the markets. Such agreements could be contracts between "equals", groups who saw themselves as close in descent or similar in esteem, and the relationship was thus symmetrical. Those who were distant or lacked esteem paid for protection while using these areas, and thus had asymmetrical agreements.

There is a second question concerning the ownership of the sheep. Some owned the sheep they herded, while others herded sheep belonging to urban owners, village owners, or to camel herding owners, and yet others had flocks of mixed ownership. Herding one's own animals or someone else's was honourable in itself. Esteem or its lack depended on the political arrangements within which the herding took place, and on whether or not the owner and herder saw themselves as equal partners in a mutually beneficial enterprise, or as employer and employee.

These views are the current opinion (1994) of Rwala, Sardiyya, ʿUmūr, Benī Ṣakhr and Ahl al-Djabal sheep-herding tribesmen, using southeastern Syria, Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia. The confusion between a description of a means of livelihood and a description of low political status is common in casual speech, especially when talking about individuals or groups distant to the interests of the speaker. As the view that "we are all *shāwiya* now" might be thought to have modified thinking on occupation and political esteem, tribesmen were at pains to clarify that there is and was no determinative association.

Similar confusion is seen in the literature on *shāwiya* and sheep-herding in the past. Musil (*Arabia Deserta*, 223), speaking of the Bilād al-Shām in the early 1900s, says that the *shāwiya* were a low-status political category who bought protection since they herded sheep and goats, but sheep herders like the Wuld ʿAlī and Ḥessene were held in esteem (*ibid.*, 391). Dickson (*The Arab of the desert*, 109-10), from the 1930s and 40s in Kuwait and eastern Arabia, describes them as an occupational category of people who herd sheep and goats for others. Other sources for Syria, Palestine and Lebanon mention tribes herding sheep and/or goats for peasant, urban and tribal owners, but do not mention *shāwiya*; nor is the term *shāwiya* found in the literature on animal herding contracts (Firestone, 201-8).

Dickson names three *shāwiya* (town usage) or *ḥukra* (desert usage) tribes specialising in herding flocks owned by townsmen or tribal leaders: all sections of the Muntafiḳ confederation, except the al-Saʿdūn shaikhly family; two Muṭayr sections; and the Ahl al-Ghanam of the ʿAwāzim. These latter herded sheep belonging to the ʿAwāzim camel herding sections and flocks of Kuwaiti townsmen. The two lower-status Muṭayr groups herded sheep of the other Muṭayr sections. The Muntafiḳ of Banī Mālik, Āl-Bū Ṣalāḥ, and Adjwād, with their neighbours the Benī Hashāyim and some Shammar, were mostly "of good Arab descent and some married with the best tribes in Iraq" (546). They had agricultural land along the Euphrates, where some members remained all year. From mid-October, herding families moved slowly south for some two hundred miles, until by February they were south and west of Kuwait. Although Shīʿa, they were welcomed since they brought cheap mutton, butter, wool and sheepskins. They returned north at the end

of April with supplies or rice, sugar, coffee and clothes. While south, they paid *zakāt*, accepted in Saudi Arabia but returned in Kuwait.

Burckhardt described share-herding (i, 17-18) between the tribes and the villagers of the Ḥawrān, and it is implicit in the descriptions of livelihood attached to tribal listings in French Mandate records. Low status was associated with the taking of protection rather than sheep-herding as such; some sheep-herding tribes did not take protection and Musil (1927, 215) says the *s̲h̲āwiya* had "eminent chiefs". Share-herding is honourable, since both sides contribute to the success of the enterprise, and the shepherd has real responsibility. Wage-herding is not, as the herder contributes only his labour, the owner making all decisions and being responsible for sheep and shepherd. Since the 1970s, share-herding has become less common because of changes in herding practices with the development of urban markets, increased sheep numbers, decreased pasture areas and greater state control over border crossings. Most wage-earning shepherds, the current *s̲h̲āwiya* in a derogatory use by the Rwala, Sardiyya, and Benī Ṣak̲h̲r, come from tribes of the area of Rakka [*q.v.*] in Syria. The Ahl al-D̲j̲abal and ʿUmūr rarely use employed shepherds, although they sometimes engage in share-herding with urban or tribal partners. The Rwala and others also share-herd, but within the wider domestic groups as an investment strategy rather than as a commercial activity. Métral (1993, 198) mentions the *s̲h̲āwiya* of the Euphrates being among the current seasonal users of the Palmyrene steppes.

S̲h̲āwiya in this region (and it appears to be similar in parts of ʿUmān) is thus a description of sheep-herding as a means of livelihood; the methods of arranging access to the necessary means to achieve this may involve behaviour considered dishonourable.

Bibliography: J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabis*, London 1831; A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, 215, 223; idem, *Manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouin*, New York 1928, 44-5; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français*, Beirut 1930, 54-6. 193-200, 203-9; H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, 109-10, 545-8; Y. Firestone, *Production and trade in an Islamic context*, in *IJMES*, vi (1975), 185-209, esp. 201-8; Françoise Métral. *Elevage et agriculture dans l'oasis de Sukhne* (*Syrie*), in *Steppes d'Arabies*, ed. R. Bocco, R. Jaubert and Françoise Métral, Paris and Geneva 1993.

(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

3. The S̲h̲āwi dialects of the Middle Euphrates valley.

The S̲h̲āwi dialects occupy a large area of Northern Syria on both sides of the Euphrates, beginning east of Aleppo and stretching down to the Syrian-Iraqi border near Al-Bu Kmāl. In this whole area only two or three riverine towns (Dēr iz-Zōr, Al-Bu Kmāl, perhaps Mayādīn) have preserved a sedentary dialect. Typologically, the S̲h̲āwi dialects are Arabic Bedouin dialects of the small cattle herders (*nomades moutonniers*). The data quoted come from the vicinity of Dēr iz-Zōr.

Phonology. The interdentals *ṯ*, *ḏ* and *ḏ̣* (the latter resulting from the merger of O[ld] A[rabic] *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ*) have been preserved over the whole area (*ṯiğīl* "heavy", *iḏin* "ear", *ariḏ̣* "earth", *ḏ̣all* "he remained"). OA *ğīm* has been preserved as a voiced palato-alveolar affricate. OA *qāf* was shifted to *g* and has been preserved as such in the vicinity of back vowels (*nāga* "female camel", *ṯugul* "weight"). In the vicinity of front vowels, including the front varieties of *a* and *ā*, it has been shifted to *ğ*, thus merging with *ğ* < OA *ğīm* (*ṯiğīl* "heavy", *ğilīl* "a little"). Similarly, OA *kāf* has been preserved in the vicinity of back vowels but shifted to a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate *č* in the vicinity of front vowels (*kuṯuṛ* "large quantity", *yākul* "he eats" but *čiṯīr* "much", *ačal* "he ate", *čima* "truffles"). This results in a characteristic alternation of *g*/*ğ* and *k*/*č* in morphemes derived from the same root (*ṯuguḷ*/*ṯiğīl*, *kuṯuṛ*/*čiṯīr*, *yākul*/*ačal* etc.). Over most of the area OA *ġayn* has been shifted to *q*, i.e. a voiceless uvular stop, pronounced like the *qāf* of Modern Standard Arabic (*qanam* "sheep", *ẓiqīr* "small", *qēr* "other"). In addition to the inherited emphatic (velarised) consonants *ṣ*, *ṭ* and *ḏ̣* there is velarised *ḷ*, especially in the vicinity of *g* (< OA *q*), as well as velarised *ṛ*, *ṃ* and *ḅ* (*gāḷ* "he said", *guḷḷ* "small quantity", *kuḅāḅ* "kaboob"); most of these seem to have phonemic status, albeit with a low functional yield.

The OA long vowels *ī*, *ū*, *ā* have been preserved, whilst the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* have been monophthongised to *ē*, *ō* (*bēḏ̣* "eggs", *ğōz* "walnuts"). There are three short vowels *i*, *u*, *a* which, however, in most cases do not reflect the corresponding OA vowels. Whereas *i* and *u* in unstressed open syllables have been elided, *a* in open syllables has been shifted to either *i* or *u*, according to front or back environment, or has been retained in the vicinity of emphatics and pharyngals (*miša* "he walked", *čitab* "he wrote", *kuṃaš* "he seized", *ḏ̣arab* "he beat", *ḥalab* "he milked"). In two subsequent open syllables with short *a*, the vowel of the first syllable has usually been elided (*čtibat* < **katabat* "she wrote", *kṃušat* "she seized", *ḏ̣rubat* "she beat", *ḥlibat* "she milked"). A short vowel *i* or *u* has been inserted between word final -*CC* (*čitábit* < **katabt* "I wrote"). In the sequence *-*aXC*- (where *X* stands for one of the back spirants *x*, *ġ*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, and *C* stands for any consonant) an *a* is inserted between *X* and *C* (the so-called "*ghawa* syndrome": *mxazūn* < **maxazūn* < **maxzūn* "stored", *aḥámar* "red", *ḥalib* "she milks", *ghawa* "coffee").

Morphology. The definite article is *al*- (*al-bēt* "the house"). In the pronoun and the verb, gender distinction in the 2. and 3. persons plural has been preserved. The following paradigm shows the independent personal pronoun and the perfect and imperfect conjugation of the verb *ḏ̣arab* "to beat":

3 sg.	m.	*huwwa*	*ḏ̣arab*	*yuḏ̣rub*
	f.	*hiyya*	*ḏ̣rubat*	*tuḏ̣rub*
pl.	m.	*hum(ma)*	*ḏ̣rubaṃ*	*yúḏ̣urbūn*
	f.	*hinna*	*ḏ̣ruban*	*yúḏ̣urbin*
2 sg.	m.	*inta*	*ḏ̣arábit*	*tuḏ̣rub*
	f.	*inti*	*ḏ̣arabti*	*tuḏ̣urbīn*
pl.	m.	*intum*	*ḏ̣arabtum*	*tuḏ̣urbūn*
	f.	*intin*	*ḏ̣arabtin*	*túḏ̣urbin*
1 sg.		*āni*	*ḏ̣arábit*	*aḏ̣rub*
	pl.	*iḥna*	*ḏ̣arabna*	*nuḏ̣rub*

Bibliography: J. Cantineau, *Etudes sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient* (first part), in *AIEO*, ii (1936), 1-118; O. Jastrow, *Text im Šāwi-Dialekt des mittleren Euphrattals*, in W. Fischer and O. Jastrow (eds.), *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980, 159-64; P. Behnstedt, *Sprachatlas von Syrien*, Wiesbaden 1996. (O. Jastrow)

S̲H̲AWḲ (A.), the verbal noun from *s̲h̲ w ḳ*, meaning "desire, longing, yearning, craving", much used as a technical term in Islamic religious thought and mysticism.

1. *The period before its adoption into Ṣūfism.*

There are various meanings and stages discernible in the development of the term in mysticism:

(a) *In pre-Islamic profane poetry.* Fragments survive attesting a semi-technical usage of *s̲h̲awḳ* as an element of profane love in the ʿUd̲h̲rī tradition (dating from the early 5th century), especially visible in the few extant poems of the two Muraḳḳis̲h̲ [*q.v.*], al-Akbar and al-Aṣg̲h̲ar (see Al-ʿUdhari, *Jāhilī poetry before Imru' al-Qais*, diss., London Univ. 1991, unpubl., 180-92).

(b) *In the Ḳur'ān and in* Ḥadīt̲h̲. The term is not found in the Ḳur'ān, but the idea of yearning figures prominently in the *ak̲h̲bār* ascribed to the Prophet David and in such manifestations of early Muslim piety as collection of prayers or *adʿiya* (sing. *duʿā'*), as in "whosoever yearns for Paradise moves swiftly towards good merit". Its early evolution as a religious term was bound up with scholastic discussions concerning the beatific vision, the possibility of seeing God in the Hereafter [see RUY'AT ALLĀH], involving the idea of the justified believer's yearning to gaze on God's countenance and to meet with him, and *s̲h̲awḳ* was especially stressed as a quality of the Prophet, in Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ's words, cited by al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, "Yearning was composed of one hundred parts. Ninety-nine of these the Prophet possessed, and the one remaining part he divided among mankind" (*al-Risāla al-Ḳus̲h̲ayriyya*, ed. Maḥmūd and S̲h̲arīf, Cairo 1966, ii, 626).

(c) *In pre-Islamic* ak̲h̲bār *literature.* Here, *s̲h̲awḳ* is a central motif in anecdotes from the Jewish and Christian traditions related by early Muslim scholars. Thus lengthy citations from *ak̲h̲bār* on the Prophet David are cited by al-G̲h̲azālī to clarify his mystical conception of *s̲h̲awḳ* (see *Iḥyā'*, iv, 324-5). Such traditions with their explicit association of technical terms like *maʿrifa, hubb, s̲h̲awḳ* and *d̲h̲ikr* show the common ground between early Islamic ascetical piety and the later development of Ṣūfī theosophical theories based on love, yearning and gnosis.

(d) *In mystical tafsīr.* Al-Sulamī's recension of the text of the Ḳur'ānic commentary ascribed to the Imām Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (ed. P. Nwyia, in *MUSJ*, xliii [1967], 181-230) outlines a highly elaborate hermeneutics of love in early pietistic Islam, based on such terms as *s̲h̲awḳ ḥubb*, etc., indicating a possible provenance for the later development of *s̲h̲awḳ* in the sophisticated love theory of al-Ḥallād̲j̲ and his later followers such as Rūzbihān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209). Also, Abū Sahl al-Tustarī [*q.v.*] in his mystical *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān al-ʿaẓīm* expresses the idea that *s̲h̲awḳ* or yearning is merely a reflection of the more essential love and light of God (see G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam*, Berlin-New York 1980, 165-70).

2. *Its adoption into Ṣūfism.*

S̲h̲awḳ actually appears in the earliest vocabulary of speculative Ṣūfism, even antedating such terms as *maḳām* and *ḥāl* [*q.vv.*] in the literature; it expressed both a longing for the beatific vision in the Hereafter and a psycho-spiritual sentiment of yearning as a part of a complex mystical love theory, this last being concerned with the interiorisation of piety, with a focus on the *bāṭin*, the life of the soul, rather than on the *ẓāhir* of public faith. Thus the complementary nature of the two notions is seen as early as the Persian S̲h̲aḳīḳ al-Balk̲h̲ī (d. 194/810), acclaimed by al-Sulamī as a pioneer in K̲h̲urāsān to expatiate on the "mystical states" (*ʿulūm al-aḥwāl*). Soon after his time, there arose debates amongst the mystics about the relationship of love to yearning, and about which was superior. Thus Sarī al-Saḳaṭī [*q.v.*] held that *s̲h̲awḳ* was the "highest station", whereas ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] considered it as the gnostic's greatest defect. Ḥārit̲h̲ al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*] steered a middle course in his *K. al-Maḥabba* (excerpts cited in Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī's *Ḥilya*), that yearning was derived from love, and assisted the lover's pursuit of the divine vision. The imagery of lights and radiance appears in these works, and then in an author like Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), that of fire—the fires of fear, love and yearning. There was a tendency to re-direct yearning towards the beloved of the heart, seen in al-Sarrād̲j̲'s [*q.v.*] *K. al-Lumaʿ*, with a final stage of yearning, that of ineffablity, the subject having passed away (*fanā'*) in the object of yearning.

In his *Iḥyā'*, al-G̲h̲azālī has a lengthy *K. al-Maḥabba wa 'l-s̲h̲awḳ wa 'l-uns wa 'l-riḍā* (no. XXXVII), a comprehensive monograph on the philosophico-theological premises underlying the mystical understanding of the varieties of human and divine love. For him, all love derives ultimately from the love of God. Likewise, there is a first category of *s̲h̲awḳ* based on contemplation and the heart's vision and a second category based on sacred tradition and God's natural and created manifestations. The gnostic's yearning for the Divine Unknown is endless, an infinite *s̲h̲awḳ* which neither lessens in this world nor the next.

The concept appears extensively in the Persian mystical poets from the 6th/12th century onwards. Thus Sanā'ī [*q.v.*] has sections on *s̲h̲awḳ* in his mystical *mat̲h̲nawī* poems the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* and *Sanā'ī-ābād*. We find a special emphasis on the mystical piety of love, *mad̲h̲hab al-ʿis̲h̲ḳ*, with *s̲h̲awḳ al-ḳalb*, a yearning for contemplation of the Beloved in the mystic's heart in this present world, emphasised over *al-s̲h̲awḳ ilā 'l-d̲j̲anna*, seen, e.g. in Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī. But there is also a very thorough treatment of *s̲h̲awḳ* in the Ḥanbalī mystic Ibn Ḳayyim al-Dj̲awziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]) in his *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* (see. J. Bell, *Love theory in late Hanbalite Islam*, Albany 1979), and this continues in later Ḥanbalī authors, such as Marʿī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī (11th/17th century).

Bibliography: See also Tahānawī, *Dict. of technical terms*, Calcutta 1862, i, 770; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kās̲h̲ānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥ. Ibrāhīm Dj̲aʿfar, Cairo 1981; J. Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲, *Maʿārif al-ṣūfiyya*, London 1987, ch. 4 "S̲h̲awḳ", 45-57.

(L. LEWISOHN, shortened by the Editors)

S̲H̲AWḲ, TAṢADDUḲ ḤUSAYN (Nawwāb Mīrzā), Urdu poet (?-1871).

He came from a family of physicians, and his paternal uncle, Mīrzā ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, was a distinguished medical officer in Lucknow at the court of the Nawwābs of Oudh (Awadh); S̲h̲awḳ himself was well educated, not only in medicine, but also in arts and sciences. He owed his skill in poetry to the guidance of Ātis̲h̲ [*q.v.*]. He achieved for his *mat̲h̲nawīs* considerable fame in his lifetime, especially in Lucknow, and even discerning critics like Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī acknowledge his merits (in his *Muḳaddima-yi s̲h̲iʿr-ō-s̲h̲āʿirī*). S̲h̲awḳ paints vivid pictures of the Lucknow of Nawāb Wād̲j̲id ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, with its colourful customs and society. Saksena (see *Bibl.*), 30, includes S̲h̲awḳ among the [seven] "most notable" *mat̲h̲nawī* writers. Yet elsewhere (150) he appears to denigrate Lucknow poets in the genre, who depict love which is not elevated, but "of a low kind", referring specifically to *Ẓahr-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* and other poems by S̲h̲awḳ.

The most famous of S̲h̲awḳ's *mat̲h̲nawiyyāt* is *Ẓahr-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* ("The poison of love"), though from some points of view, others such as *Farīb-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* ("The allurement of love") are sometimes considered superior. Some argue that S̲h̲awḳ retails local stories, posing as the hero himself; others regard his stories as genuinely autobiographical. It is generally thought that his language was quite witty and acceptable, though Ḥālī

in his *Muḳaddima* suggests that it became somewhat unacceptable (554). The story tells how a rich merchant had a beautiful daughter whom the hero, who lived in the same district, saw by chance when she appeared on the roof or balcony of her house. A love affair develops somewhat in the vein of *Romeo and Juliet*. Both the heroine and the hero successively drink poison, but in the end the effect is nullified. The story is important from several points of view. First, the element of magic, which had become normal in the *mat̲h̲nawī*, is absent, save in the description of the failure of the poison to prove fatal. Secondly, the characters are not princely or noble, but ordinary, as indeed are the events. Thirdly, the poems are brief. Fourthly, at a time when Lucknow poetry seemed to concentrate on language, S̲h̲awḳ stressed meaning. A third *mat̲h̲nawī*, *Lad̲h̲d̲h̲at-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* ("The Pleasure of Love"), is his longest, and is more evocative of Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. This and his fourth *mat̲h̲nawī*, *Bahār-i-ʿis̲h̲ḳ* ("The Spring of Love") are said to illustrate his felicitous use of the language of the ladies of Lucknow. S̲h̲awḳ's fame seems to have been short-lived. For example, Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, does not even mention his name; nor do his collections of two other genres of Urdu love poetry—*g̲h̲azal* and the more passionate *wāsōk̲h̲*—seem to have made much impact.

Bibliography: Probably the best account of S̲h̲awḳ's *mat̲h̲nawī* is to be found in Abu 'l-Layt̲h̲ Ṣiddīḳī, *Lak̲h̲nāw kā dabistān-ī-s̲h̲āʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 553-75, which contains substantial extracts from the poems. The sparse information to be found in Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahahbad 1927, has been mentioned. There are various editions of the poetry; interesting comments on it are to be found in Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī's *Muḳaddima*.

(J.A. Haywood)

al-S̲H̲AWKĀNĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, writer, teacher and *muftī* in Ṣanʿāʾ (*ca.* 1173-1255/1760-1839). His opinions and his writings are seen as foreshadowing the Islamic modernism of the first half of the 20th century. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā [*q.v.*] regarded him as the *mud̲j̲addid* "regenerator", of the 12th century A.H. (*Tafsīr al-Manār*, vii, 144). Many of his books exist in modern (sometimes uncritical) editions. In his *al-Ḳawl al-mufīd fī adillat al-id̲j̲tihād wa 'l-taḳlīd* (Cairo, Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī) he argues that it is not necessary to follow one of the established Islamic schools of law or *mad̲h̲āhib*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 818; Sarkīs, 1160; Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm Hilāl, *Wilāyat Allāh wa 'l-ṭarīḳ ilayhā. Dirāsa wa-taḥḳīḳ li 'l-kitāb ... li 'l-Imām al-S̲h̲awkānī*, Cairo 1969, pp. 552.

(J.J.G. Jansen)

S̲H̲AWKAT ʿALĪ (1873-1938), Indian Muslim leader. Elder of the famous "ʿAlī Brothers", S̲h̲awkat was born at Rāmpūr on 10 March 1873. He received a "modern", i.e. English, education at the insistence of his widowed mother, Ābādī Begum (who later played a significant role in the Indian freedom and K̲h̲ilāfat movements) despite the opposition of her male relatives. She pawned her personal jewellery to send S̲h̲awkat to a school in Bareilly, from where he went to the M.A.O. College, ʿAlīgaṙh. He did not show brilliance in his studies, but gained fame as a sportsman.

After his graduation in 1895, S̲h̲awkat was employed in the Opium Department for the next 17 years. He took premature retirement to tour the country as the Ag̲h̲a K̲h̲ān's secretary in order to mobilise public opinion and to collect funds to convert the M.A.O. College into a full-fledged university.

Unlike his younger brother, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], an erudite writer and speaker, S̲h̲awkat was a practical man who fully supported his younger brother in his activities. S̲h̲awkat founded And̲j̲uman-i K̲h̲uddām-i Kaʿba ("Association of the Servants of the Kaʿba") in 1913 to protect the sacred monument in Mecca and to facilitate pilgrimage from India. At about the same time, he assumed the managerial responsibilities of the newspapers published by Muḥammad ʿAlī, (the Urdu daily) *Hamdard* and (the English weekly) *Comrade*, due to the latter's ill-health.

The ʿAlī Brothers were arrested in May 1915 on charges of arousing the Muslims against the British. They remained in prison until December 1919. S̲h̲awkat's pension from the Department of Opium was confiscated at the time of his arrest.

During the next decade the ʿAlī Brothers dominated the Indian Muslim scene and took an active part in the freedom movement. They associated themselves with the Indian National Congress and played a crucial role in bringing it, especially its leader M.K. Gandhi, closer to the Muslims in the country. They played a key role in the Non-Cooperation (*Tark-i Muwālāt*) Movement of the early 1920s, and led the K̲h̲ilāfat Movement [*q.v.*] aimed at protecting the Ottoman Caliphate.

The ʿAlī Brothers were again arrested in 1921 for passing a resolution in the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karachi on 9 July 1921 calling upon Muslim soldiers in the Indian British army to desert from it. They were tried, along with five others, in the famous Karachi Trial of the same year (details in Rafique Akhtar, *Historic trial*, Karachi 1971).

S̲h̲awkat presided over the All-India Khilafat Committee's annual conference in 1923 at Cocanada. This conference formed a socio-political group, Hindustani Sewa Dal ("Indian service corps"), to improve the social conditions of the Indian people. S̲h̲awkat presided over the first session of this organisation at Belgaum in 1924.

At this time, a belligerent Hindu nationalism, including the movement of *Śuddhi* ("purification", i.e. reconversion of Muslims to Hinduism), was raising its head. Muslims demanded assurances of a fair deal in an independent India where Hindus were going to be the majority. (The Lucknow Pact of 1916 had given some weighting to Muslim demands.) The Indian National Congress refused to give any special assurance to Muslims in the Nehru Report and the All Party Conference at Calcutta in 1928, and this caused most Muslim leaders to drift away from the Congress and demand a separate state for Muslims.

S̲h̲awkat resigned from the Congress and settled in Bombay, where he dedicated himself to the advocacy of Muslim causes through the Urdu daily *K̲h̲ilāfat* and the Urdu weekly *K̲h̲ilāfat-e ʿUt̲h̲māniyya*. Towards the end of his life, S̲h̲awkat was elected to the Central Legislative Council. He died in Dihlī on 26 November 1938.

Bibliography: Unlike his younger brother, S̲h̲awkat does not seem to have been the subject of any independent work. See for a detailed account and some primary sources about his life: Mushirul Haq, *Shawkat Ali*, in S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of national biography*, Calcutta 1974, 176-8.

(Zafarul-Islam K̲h̲an)

S̲H̲AWKAT BUK̲H̲ĀRĪ, Muḥammad Isḥāḳ, 17th-century Persian poet, died 1107/1695-6.

He spent the early part of his life in Buk̲h̲ārā, where his father worked as a moneychanger. S̲h̲awkat also took up the same profession, but then set out

for Khurāsān. In 1088/1677-8 he arrived in Harāt and entered the service of the governor Ṣafī Ḳulī Khān Shāmlū. Shawkat was also associated for a considerable time with Mīrzā Sa'd al-Dīn, vizier of Khurāsān, who treated him with great affection and kindness, but eventually he decided to sever all connection from worldly affairs and lead a life of seclusion. Ultimately, he took up residence in Iṣfahān, where he died under conditions of self-imposed poverty. He was laid to rest in Iṣfahān at the cemetery dedicated to the spiritual leader Shaykh 'Alī b. Suhayl b. Azhar Iṣfahānī.

According to some writers, the poet initially employed Nāzuk as his pen-name. His *dīwān* contains *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *ḳiṭ'as* and *rubā'īs*. Most of his *ḳaṣīdas* are in praise of the Imām Riḍā and the poet's chief patron Sa'd al-Dīn. Shawkat is especially noted for his *ghazals*, which are distinguished by an inventiveness in meaning and expression. He is regarded among those poets whose influence was chiefly instrumental in the popularisation of the "Indian style" (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]). Though his work failed to gain recognition from early Persian writers, he was held in high esteem in Turkey where, according to E.J.W. Gibb, "he continued for more than half a century to be the guiding star for the majority of Ottoman poets".

Bibliography: *Dīwān-i Shawkat*, B.L. ms. Add. 7810; *Tadhkira-yi Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn*, Tehran 1334/1955; Shahnawāz Khān Khwāfī, *Bahāristān-i sukhan*, Madras 1958; Muḥammad Ṭāhir. Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1352/1973; Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Sham'-i andjuman*, Bhopal 1292/1875-6; Kishan Čand Ikhlāṣ, *Hamīsha bahār*, Karachi 1967-8; Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Hāshimī Sandīlawī, *Makhzan al-gharā'ib*, ii, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir, Lahore 1970; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natā'idj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1958; Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, i; Browne, *LHP*, iv; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1367/1988.

(Munibur Rahman)

SHAWḲĪ, Aḥmad, Egyptian poet and dramatist. Born in Cairo in 1868 into an affluent family whose genealogy shows a multifarious ancestry, mingling Turkish, Kurdish, Greek and Arab strains, he died in Cairo on 14 October 1932.

It is both convenient and realistic to distinguish between three periods in the biography of the poet. Until 1914, Shawḳī was the poet of the court (*shā'ir al-umarā'*); from 1914 to 1917 he was the poet in exile; and from 1919 to 1932 he enjoyed popular and critical acclaim, bearing the prestigious title of *Amīr al-shu'arā'*.

On leaving the School of Law of Sūḳ al-Zalaṭ in 1887, Shawḳī was awarded a grant to pursue his legal studies at Montpellier. He was resident in France until 1891. Although he considered al-Mutanabbī his principal mentor, influences on him henceforward included Victor Hugo and de Musset, his favourite French poets. Until the outbreak of the First World War, as an official of the Palace, Shawḳī was the poet of the Prince, to whom he addressed eulogies whenever the occasion arose, attempting to some extent to imitate the conduct of al-Mutanabbī with regard to Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*].

When war broke out in 1914, the Khedive 'Abbās was visiting Turkey. The British announced their Protectorate over Egypt, opposed the return of 'Abbās and appointed in his place the Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil. Shawḳī sought to please both the British and Ḥusayn; however, his marked hostility towards Britain's Egyptian policy (especially at the time of the resignation of Lord Cromer) resulted in a limited form of exile; accompanied by his two sons 'Alī and Ḥusayn, he boarded a ship bound for Barcelona and was not to leave Spain until 1919.

Essentially a period of transition, these few years are marked by a relatively small volume of work, lacking any great originality (principally two plays in which he attempts to imitate two celebrated ancient models: al-Buḥturī and Ibn Zaydūn [*q.vv.*]).

On his return to Egypt in 1919, it was the contemporary Egyptian scene which claimed the poet's attention: eulogies and funeral tributes addresed to renowned Egyptians, the Milner Report, reforms at al-Azhar, creation of the Bank of Egypt, Congress of Egyptian political parties, the fiftieth anniversary of the Dār al-'Ulūm—all kinds of events were extolled by the poet, in a style far removed from the panegyrics of the court or from the nostalgic effusions of exile in Spain. The talented singer 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who was his constant companion, was to popularise sung versions of these historical *ḳaṣīdas*.

Despite sometimes acerbic criticism, the laurels awarded to Shawḳī have not withered; the fiftieth anniversary of his death was marked by spectacular commemorative ceremonies which took place in Cairo between 16 and 22 October 1982 and brought together, at the highest level, Egyptian authorities and literary figures from the Arab countries and from Europe, coming to pay their respects to the "Prince of poets".

The sources of inspiration of Shawḳī are essentially the following:

(a) The *Fir'awniyyāt*, chronicles of the centuries in the epic style of Victor Hugo.

(b) The *Islāmiyyāt*, the most celebrated of which was to be popularised by the renowned Egyptian singer Umm Kulthūm (*al-Hamziyya al-nabawiyya*).

(c) The *Turkiyyāt*, celebrating the role of the Turks as defenders of Islam, especially in the Greco-Turkish war of 1921-2.

(d) Egypt: compositions illustrating numerous and very diversified themes, reflecting the current scene and constituting in total a veritable poetical history of contemporary Egypt.

(e) Occasional pieces: panegyrics, funeral odes, *nasībs*.

(f) Theatre: although Shawḳī owes his renown to his lyrical compositions, it should not be forgotten that it was by means of drama that he made his entrance into the literary world, writing, while still resident in France, his first tragedy *'Alī Bāy al-Kabīr*. Much later, he returned to the genre with *Madjnūn Layla* (1916), then with *Maṣra' Kilyubātrā* (1917), *Ḳambīz* (performed at the Ramesses Theatre in 1931), *Amīrat al-Andalus* and *'Antara*, his last work.

Bibliography: 1. Works of Shawḳī. *al-Shawḳiyyāt*, 4th ed., i, *al-Siyāsa wa 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-idjtimā'*, Cairo n.d. (1964?), 302 pp.; ii, *al-Waṣf*, Cairo n.d. (1964?), 198 pp.; iii, *al-Marāthī*, Cairo 1384/1964, 192 pp.; iv, *Mutafarriḳāt fi 'l-siyāsa wa 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-idjtimā'*, Cairo 1384/1964, 216 pp.; *Maṣra' Kilyubātrā*, Cairo 1964, 167 pp.; *Ḳambīz*, Cairo 1946, 159 pp.; *Madjnūn Layla*, Cairo 1965, 160 pp.; *Aswāḳ al-dhahab*, Cairo 1932, 134 pp.; *Amīrat al-Andalus*, Cairo 1932, 157 pp.; *'Alī Bāy al-Kabīr aw dawlat al-Mamālīk*, Cairo n.d. (1932?), 174 pp.; *al-Sitt Hudā*, in *al-Nidā'*, 23 June 1952, p. 8; *'Antara*, Cairo 1948, 139 pp.; *al-Shawḳiyyāt al-madjhūla*, Cairo 1961-2, 2 vols., 319, 336 pp.; *Shawḳiyyāt* in dialectal Arabic: see A. Boudot-Lamotte, in *Arabica*, xx (1973), 225-45.

2. Studies. Faradj al-Sayyid, *Shawḳī wa 'l-Mutanabbī, Naẓarāt fi 'l-djundiyya wa 'l-ḥarb*, Cairo 1969; ʿAbbās Ḥasan, *al-Mutanabbī wa-Shawḳī, Dirāsa wanaḳd wa-muwāzana*, Cairo 1964; Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shawḳī* = collection of articles published in the following reviews: *al-Siyāsa, al-Djadīd, al-Muḳtaṭaf, al-Hilāl*; Ḥasan Sandūbī, *al-Shuʿarā' al-thalātha: Shawḳī, Muṭrān, Ḥāfiẓ*, Cairo 1922; Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, *Shawḳī wa-Ḥāfiẓ wa-Muṭrān*, in *al Hilāl*, xi (Nov. 1968), 88-102; idem, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shawḳī*, Cairo 1948; Aḥmad ʿUbayd, *Dhikrā al-shāʿirayn, Shāʿir al-Nīl wa-Amīr al-shuʿarā'*, 2 vols., Damascus 1932.

On account of its extent, an exhaustive bibliography of the work of Shawḳī cannot be accommodated here. For fuller information two doctoral theses may be consulted: A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Aḥmad Shawḳī, l'homme et l'œuvre*, Damascus 1977; and Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Ṭarābulusī, *Khaṣā'iṣ al-uslūb fi 'l-Shawḳiyyāt*, Tunis 1981, plus, more recently, ʿIrfān Shahīd, *al-ʿAwda ilā Shawḳī aw baʿd khamsīn ʿām^an*, Beirut 1986; P. Cachia, *An overview of modern Arabic literature*, Edinburgh 1990, 110-11, 181-2, 204-5; *The Cambridge hist. of Arabic literature. Modern Arabic literature*, ed. M.M. Badawi, Cambridge 1992, 47-8, 67-71, 358-60. (A. Boudot-Lamotte)

SHAWḲĪ EFENDI RABBĀNĪ, conventional form Shoghi Effendi (b. 1 March 1897, d. 4 November 1957), head or Guardian of the Bahā'ī religion 1921-57.

The great-grandson of Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī Bahā' Allāh [*q.v.*], the sect's founder, Shoghi was born in Haifa, Palestine, for some time the home of his grandfather, ʿAbbās Efendi ʿAbd al-Bahā' [*q.v.*] and later the international centre for the movement. Shoghi was educated in Haifa and at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, after which he spent about a year at Balliol College, Oxford. In November 1921, he was recalled to Palestine on the death of ʿAbbās Efendi.

In his will, ʿAbbās had appointed his grandson first in a projected line of "Guardians of the Cause of God" (*walī-yi amr Allāh*), modelled on the Shīʿī Imāms, whose role was to interpret Bahā'ī scripture and provide infallible guidance on religious matters. Shoghi used his Western-type education and his organisational skills to create a complex international organisation for the Bahā'ī movement. He also had a marked ability to systematise, and, through the medium of several books and innumerable encyclical letters, he fashioned a coherent, schematised picture of Bahā'ī history and doctrine which has subsequently come to be the authoritative version as understood by all modern adherents. His writings, most of which are in English, include an important history of the first Bahā'ī century, *God passes by* (1944), a translation of an early Bahā'ī chronicle of the Bābī movement, *Nabīl's narrative* (1932), and interpretative translations of several important works of Bahā' Allāh (including the *Kitāb-i Īḳān*). He also supervised several volumes of the yearbook, *The Bahā'ī world*, in which a normative presentation of the faith's history, doctrines, and administrative system was developed. He remained in Haifa, creating there the nucleus of the Bahā'ī World Centre, involving extensive buildings and landscaping work.

According to official accounts, on his death in London in 1957, he left no will or verbal instructions as to the future direction of the movement. Being childless, he was expected, according to the terms of ʿAbd al-Bahā''s will, to have appointed another male member of the Bahā'ī sacred lineage to succeed him; but he had by then excommunicated all his living relatives. The line of guardians thus ended with him, and in current Bahā'ī estimation he is now "the Guardian of the Cause" *par excellence*. Overall religious authority within the movement now rests with a nine-man council, the *Bayt al-ʿAdl al-Aʿẓam* (Universal House of Justice), elected every five years. An attempt to continue the guardianship was made by the former president of Shoghi's International Bahā'ī Council, Charles Mason Remey (1874-1974), whose followers form the Orthodox Bahā'ī Faith and its sub-groups, each with its own line of guardians. Given the overwhelming influence of the Universal House of Justice, however, it seems most unlikely that a *wilāyat* system will reappear in mainstream Bahā'ism.

Bibliography: Ruhiyyih Rabbani, *The priceless pearl*, London 1969 (hagiography by Shoghi's Canadian widow); Ugo Giachery, *Shoghi Effendi: recollections*, Oxford 1973 (jejune); ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ishrāḳ Khāwarī *Sukhanrānī-yi Djanāb-i Ishrāḳ Khāwarī*, [Tehran] 1973-74 (uninformative); Dhikr Allāh Khādim, *Bi-yād-i maḥbūb*, [Tehran] 1974-5; Shoghi Effendi, *God passes by*, Wilmette, Ill. 1944, idem, *The advent of divine justice*, New York 1939; idem, *The dispensation of Bahá'u'lláh*, New York 1934; idem, *The Promised Day is come*, Wilmette 1941; idem (tr. and ed.), Nabīl-i-Aʿẓam, *The dawn-breakers: Nabīl's narrative of the early days of the Bahá'í revelation*, New York 1932. For a full bibliography of Shoghi Effendi's English writings, see W.P. Collins, *Bibliography of English-language works on the Bábí and Bahá'í faiths 1844-1985*, Oxford 1990, section V. Several volumes of Persian letters have been published. (D. MacEoin)

SHAWWĀL, the name of the tenth month of the Muslim lunar year. In the Ḳur'ān (sūra X, 2), four months are mentioned during which, in the year 9/630-1, the Arabs could move in their country without exposing themselves to attacks (cf. "the sacred months" in v. 5). These four months were, according to the commentaries, Shawwāl, Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and Muḥarram. In *Ḥadīth*, Shawwāl is therefore among "the months of pilgrimage mentioned in Allāh's Book" (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 33, 37).

In pre-Islamic times, Shawwāl was considered ill-omened for the conclusion of marriages (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v.). In order to prove this opinion baseless, ʿĀ'isha emphasised the fact that Muḥammad had married her in this month (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 10). In the modern Muslim world, there is difference of opinion concerning this point. Among the Muslim Tigré tribes of Ethiopia and Eritrea, Shawwāl is one of the months suitable for celebrating marriages; in ʿUmān, on the other hand, it is considered ill-omened in this respect.

The law recommends fasting during six days following the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* ([*q.v.*]; cf. al-Tirmidhī, *ṣawm*, *bāb* 52, "Whosoever fasts the month of Ramaḍān as well as six days of Shawwāl, has reached the *ṣawm al-dahr*"; cf. also Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 203). Nevertheless, these days usually partake of the solemn character of the "lesser festival". For the same reason Shawwāl bears not only the epithet of *al-mukarram* ("the venerated"), but also such names as *faṭer ḳadām* (Tigré), *bayram* (Turkey), *faṭri 'l-awli* (ʿUmān), *uroë raya* (Acheh).

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate*, in *Isl.*, viii. 228 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 97 ff.; idem, *The Achehnese*, i, 237. (A.J. Wensinck)

SHĀY [see Čay].

SHAY' (a.) "thing, entity".

The philosophical term *shay'* first of all has a generally accepted meaning: it designates that which is perceived concretely by the senses (*mudrak*) and at which a finger may be pointed (*al-mushār ilayhi*), although it

cannot yet be positively defined. However, in this perception, a thing is only a thing to the extent that, in the perception, it is distinct from another. In the plural, *a<u>sh</u>yā'* are objects given purely and simply as existing externally. They are to be distinguished from *a'yān* which signify the same objects, but in the sense that they are thought of in their individualised essence. Zayd and 'Amr are *a'yān*. It could be said that all people, philosophers and theologians included, employ the word *<u>sh</u>ay'* in this vague and general sense; it is a very frequent usage. Thus the Mu'tazilīs speculate as to whether the shadow of a thing (*ẓill al-<u>sh</u>ay'*) is the thing itself or is other than it. Some consider that it is other. Al-<u>Dj</u>ubbā'ī claims that the shadow is not a notion which has meaning in itself (*ma'nā*); the meaning of the shadow is that the thing casts a covering veil, not that it has a meaning in itself (*Maḳālāt*, ii, 96).

An interesting text of Fa<u>kh</u>r al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mabāḥi<u>th</u>*, i, 43-4) sets out the relationship between *a'yān* and *<u>sh</u>ay'*, where it is shown that existence is not that by which the thing is constituted in being (*<u>th</u>ābit*) but that it is the very fact of being constituted in being (*nafs kawn al-<u>sh</u>ay' <u>th</u>ābit^an*). "We mean by existence only the fact that the thing supervenes (*ḥuṣūl al-<u>sh</u>ay'*), is realised and established in being .... If it is said that existence is an attribute (*ṣifa*) which demands that the thing is actualised in individual essences (*ḥuṣūl al-<u>sh</u>ay' fi 'l-a'yān*), we shall say in this regard that it is not possible that the production of the thing in the *a'yān* should be caused by an attribute which is present in it". The demonstration which follows depends essentially on the consequence of such a conception, this being the infinite sequence of causes. The conclusion is that the existence [of things] "is only the fact of being constituted in the *a'yān*".

But the philosophical reflection of the Arab thinkers has led them to state that every person who speaks of a thing will *understand* what is meant by the word which he uses. He has a *mafhūm*. The Arab thinkers underlined the importance of the *mafhūm*, and they showed that it is indefinable, for the good reason that it is by means of it that a definition is possible; it is because it is understood through the word that expresses it that a concept can be defined. Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-<u>Sh</u>ifā'*) has in this sense assimilated the being in the capacity of the being (*ens qua ens*) to the thing, that is to the *mafhūm* of the word "thing". The thing is for him the equivalent of *mā* or of *alla<u>dh</u>ī*: "that which" (in Latin *quod*). It will be said in effect: the being is that which ..., or: the being is something which ...; in other words, the being is defined through the being, or through the *mafhūm* of the word, as the thing is defined through the thing or its *mafhūm*: a thing is some thing which .... Now when "that which" or "something which" is thus said, it is understood what is said, without need of definition. And if nothing were understood, there would be no definition. The thing is therefore the being in terms of being, in other words the fundamental *mafhūm* without which there would be no thought; it is, consequently, the foundation of all thought. Thus everything which is, everything which exists, whether an object (a house, a horse, etc.) or an abstraction (a feeling, a thought, etc.) can be called a "thing", and here there is constant use of the word which may be disconcerting to the Western reader but which is one of the most typical features of Arabic philosophical and theological language.

A question which then arises is: can the non-being be called a thing? Is there a "thingness" (*<u>sh</u>ay'iyya*) of the non-being, of nothingness (*'adam*)? Theologians and philosophers have upheld opposing theses on this topic. At first sight, it is certain that if the thing is the *ens qua ens*, it would be contradictory to say that the non-being is a thing. This problem, which has tormented Arab thinkers, has a parallel in the theme of Plato's *Sophist*.

The Mu'tazilīs reckon that the non-being is cognisable and that it is consequently a thing. Al-<u>Dj</u>uwaynī made a survey of their opinions with the responses of the A<u>sh</u>'arīs (*al-<u>Sh</u>āmil*, 131-8): "If you maintain, they say, that the non-being is cognisable and is not a thing, it would be legitimate to say that there is an object perceived [by the senses] (*mudrak*) which is not a thing, which would be false". And the response is that it would be necessary to prove that there is equivalence between cognisance and sensible perception (*idrāk*). If so, any thing not perceived by the senses would be unkown, which is evidently false. Another Mu'tazilī argument is that we are aware of the negation of the impossible and the nothingness of the non-being. Here there are two negations: nothingness and non-being; impossibility and impossible. But how are we to distinguish between two negations, since negation does not contain within itself any discernment? It is necessary, however, to distinguish between, on the one hand, cognisance of the nothingness of the non-being, and on the other, the non-being itself. Cognisance of the nothingness of the non-being is thus not a non-being, as cognisance of impossibility is not impossible. It follows that the nothingness of the non-being, insofar as it is known, is *something*, since it is essential clearly to distinguish from the non-being the nothingness of the non-being which, itself, is known. And the response is that if that is the case, to distinguish the impossible from the possible, the impossibility of the impossible which cannot exist would need to be an entity (*<u>dh</u>āt*), in other words, a thing which exists.

This being so, al-<u>Dj</u>uwaynī (134) critises the notion of the "thingness of the non-being" (*<u>sh</u>ay'iyyat al-ma'dūm*) and he castigates the Mu'tazilī of Baṣra al-Naṣībī, for whom the non-being, although it is neither an essence (*<u>dh</u>āt*) nor other than an essence, can be called "thing" in a general manner (*iṭlāḳ^an*) and according to the language (*lu<u>gh</u>at^an*). But this recourse to language is based either on reason or on current usage. However, languages are not created by reason but by convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*) or by divine institution (*tawḳīf*). Conventional institution cannot be used for purposes of argument here; as for divine institution, it demands that appeal is made to it only on the basis of Ḳur'ānic usage. Specifically, al-<u>Dj</u>uwaynī's adversaries reckon that they can rely on Sūra XXII, 1: "Yes, the earthquake of the Hour [shall be] a tremendous thing (*<u>sh</u>ay' 'aẓīm*)". God thus calls it a "thing" before it has taken place, which would prove that He is using the word "thing" to denote that which does not yet exist. If it is said that there is no earthquake until the time that it exists, it can equally be said that there is no thing until the time that it exists. Furthermore, the words of the language are taken either in a literal sense or in a figurative sense. Languages, and hence the literal meaning of words, being variable, it is difficult to define in terms of a rational argument the literal meaning of the word "thing". Consequently, it must be acknowledged that this word is, in the majority of cases, used figuratively. It is thus not possible, according to al-Naṣībī's perspective, to justify the thingness of the non-being by a linguistic reference to the literal meaning of the word "thing".

Reflection on the "thing" also involves, on the one hand, the cognisance which God has of creatures, and

on the other, the divine attributes. The first question was of particular interest to the Muʿtazilīs. Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Fuwaṭī did not say that God is aware of things from all eternity; God knows that He is unique, and if it were to be said that He is aware of things from all eternity, this would be to assert that they exist eternally with Him. When he was asked if God has known from all eternity the things that would exist, he answered that this implies that the finger can be pointed at things (*ishāra ilayhā*); only that which exists can be indicated. He did not call "things" that which God has not created and which is not, but he gave this name to that which He has created and to that which He has eliminated and which has become a non-being (*maʿdūm*). Al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] stated that God knows things eternally "in their time" (*fi awḳātihā*), i.e. in relation to the moment when He wills their creation. This leads to the notion that God knows things, not in themselves, but by means of His power and His will to create them. An analogous theory is found in the writings of ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān: God does not cease to know things, substances and accidents. But He does not eternally know corporeal things, nor beings that are made (*al-mafʿūlāt*) and created (*al-makhlūḳāt*). This idea seems close to that of *falāsifa* of the school of Avicenna, according to whom God does not know particulars as such but only their principles and causes. As for Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*], he considered that God does not cease to know things, since things are things before being. Finally, others claimed that God does not cease to know things which have not existed and shall not exist. In fact, He knows all things which He can produce through one of His attributes: He knows them in this attribute (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, i, 219-23).

A further question is: can it be said that God is "before things", or should it simply be said that He is "before", with nothing added? The disciples of ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān say that He is "before", but not that He is "before things", no more than He is after things or the first among things (*awwal al-ashyāʾ*). The disciples of al-Naẓẓām say that the Creator has not ceased to be "the anterior of things" (*ḳablu* [in the nominative case] *al-ashyāʾ*), but not before things (*ḳabla* [in the accusative case] *al-ashyāʾ*). It seems that here it is the case of the absolute anteriority of God, which the *falāsifa* call *taḳaddum* when commenting on Ḳurʾān, LVII, 3, "He is the First"; this is the sense in which the neo-Platonists hold that the One is not a number, i.e. the first of numbers, but transcends the numerical succession; on the contrary, the expression "before things" implies a relationship to the thing which is inappropriate for God. However, the majority of Muʿtazilīs teach that God is "before things" (*ḳabla ʾl-ashyāʾ*) (*Maḳālāt*, i, 249).

As for the attributes of God, are they things or are they not? Some accept it, others deny it, since a thing has attributes, and when the attribute is defined as a thing with its attributes, no progress has been made. Similarly, when it is asserted that the attributes are not things because they are eternal, there is conflict with those who refuse to say whether the attributes are eternal or not; this touches on the problem faced by the Muʿtazilīs when distinguishing between attributes of the essence and attributes of action. If they are taken to be eternal, it is permissible to say that they are not things; but this is the crux of the question. In a general sense, before knowing whether the attributes are things or are not things, it would be necessary to know what they are in relation to God. But if the Ashʿarīs are correct in saying that they are not God and that they are not other than God, then how is it to be determined that they are or are not things? It could, of course, be said that when a particular attribute, such as knowledge or power, is considered, it is a thing by virtue of being an object of thought. But it does not follow that the attributes of God as such are things. The problem of the "thingness" of the divine attributes thus remains unresolved.

Bibliography: Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Shifāʾ* (*al-Ilāhiyyāt*), ed. G.C. Anawati and Saʿīd Zayed, Cairo 1960, i, 30-1; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., Cairo 1950; al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil fi uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nashshār, Fayṣal Budayr ʿAwn and Suhayr Muḥammad Mukhtār, Alexandria n.d.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, 2 vols., Tehran 1966. (R. Arnaldez)

SHAYʿ al-ḲAWM, the name of a Safaitic deity, unknown however in the pantheon of Central and South Arabia. In Safaitic inscriptions he appears as *šyʿhḳwm*, i.e. Shayʿ ha-Ḳawm, and it is only in the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions (see G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*[2], Louvain 1953 = Quillet, *Hist. gen. des religions*[2], Paris 1960, ii, 199-228) that we have the form with the regular Arabic definite article, Shayʿ al-Ḳawm.

The name may refer to a tribal deity in the form of a lion or lion cub, so that Shayʿ Allāh (this theophoric name, probably a depaganisation of the god's name, is found in the lexica, e.g. *TʿA*, v, 398 l. 29) could be parallel to the Biblical Hebrew name Ari-El (cf. Gesenius-Bahl, 65-6); according to Damascius, the ancestral god of Baalbek was worshipped in the form of a lion (W. Robertson Smith, *The religion of the Semites*, Cambridge 1894, [3]London 1927, 444-5). Recent Semitic scholarship has, however, suggested that *shayʿ* means here "comrade, companion", so that good sense may be made of the god's name as "escort, protector of the tribe" or "the fighting men of the tribe". An interesting feature, mentioned in a Palmyrene inscription by a Nabataean soldier, is the description of him as "the god that never drinks wine", a prohibition that may have extended to his devotees.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1987, 153-4 (on the first interpretation); E.A. Knauf, *Dushara and Shaiʿ al-Qaum*, in *Aram*, ii (1990), 175-83, (on the second one), and bibls. cited in both.
(T. Fahd)

SHAʿYĀ (also Ashaʿyāʾ), Isaiah, son of Amos, a prophet sent to Israel, unmentioned by name in the Ḳurʾān (although *tafsīr* works mention him in connection with Ḳurʾān, XVII, 4), but well known in *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* literature, notably for his predictions of the coming of Jesus (ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]) and Muḥammad. The story of Isaiah falls into three periods of prophecy. The account provided by al-Ṭabarī is typical. First, Isaiah is named as a prophet during the reign of Zedekiah (or Hezekiah, as in the Bible) and prophesies the king's death. The second period of prophecy occurs in the time of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (Sanḥārīb). After Isaiah announces that the king's death has been postponed for 15 years (because God has heard the king's prayer), God destroys all of the enemy forces except Sennacherib and five scribes. After parading them around Jerusalem for 66 days, Zedekiah follows the command of God and allows Sennacherib to return to Babylon. So the events become a "warning and admonition" of the strength of God. In the third period of prophecy,

the people are leaving the ways of God in the wake of the death of the king, and Isaiah warns them of doom. This leads to his martyrdom at the hands of his fellow Israelites. Isaiah flees when threatened and takes refuge inside a tree. Satan, however, shows his enemies the fringes of his clothes and they cut down the tree, killing him in the process (see M. Gaster and B. Heller, *Der Prophet Jesajah und der Baum*, in *MGWJ*, lxxx [1936], 35-52, 127-8).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 638-45, tr. M. Perlmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, iv, *The ancient kingdoms*, Albany 1987, 36-42; Abū Rifāʿa al-Fārisī, *Badʾ al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden 1978, 237-50; W. Hoenerbach, *Isaias bei Ṭabarī*, in H. Junker and J. Botterweck (eds.), *Alttestamentliche Studien. Friedrich Nötscher zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmet*, Bonn 1950, 98-119. (A. RIPPIN)

AL-**SHAYB** WA 'L-**SHABĀB** (A.), old age, senescence (lit. "white hair") and youth. This poetic theme of the Arabs has known a long and prolific history and has played, in urban post-Djāhilī poetry, a role analogous to that of the *nasīb* in the moulding of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.vv.*].

According to its etymology, *shabāb* apparently denotes the beginnings of anything. The term, together with *shabība* and *shabābiyya*, signifies not only youth and the beginnings of adulthood, but also the vigour of this age. The synonyms *fatāʾ* and *ḥadātha* are less often used: *ṣibā* is recorded as having the same meaning (*Lieder der Hudhailiten*, Berlin 1884 [= *Hudhaliyyīn*], 96, 1.8; al-Buḥturī, *al-Ḥamāsa*, Beirut 1387/1967, [= al-Buḥturī] 194, ll.18, 19); this period extends from puberty to the end of the thirties, or from 15 to 32 years of age; it is followed by the *kuhūla* (Lane, s.v. *shabāb*).

The root *sh-y-b* features in Safaitic inscriptions in the forms *sh-y-b-t* and *'sh-y-b* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i, iv; G. Lankester Harding, *An index of Pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, 363). *Sh-m-ṭ*, given as an equivalent of *sh-y-b*, seems to have been of more limited use (al-Nābigha, ed. Ahlwardt, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, London 1870, vii, v. 26; *LA*, xiii, 45, 1.5; al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-45, i, 347, 1.10; Abū Dhu'ayb, *Dīwān*, Hanover 1926, 33, 1.6; *TA*, v, 170, 1.25: al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1891, 69, 1.6; Abū Zayd, *Nawādir*, Beirut 1894, 144, 9; *al-Sulayk b. al-Sulaka, akhbāruhu wa-shiʿruhu*, Baghdād 1404/1984, 75). The lexicographers assert in this context that only *shamṭāʾ* can be used for feminine old age. However, in the *Lisān*, a verse is cited which mentions *musbilāt shaybuhunna wābiṭu* ("women despised for letting down their white hair", *LA*, ix, 303, 1.4). *Gh-th-m* (in the form *aghtham*, "grey which is white rather than black") is also used as a synonym (Abū Zayd, *Nawādir*, 52, 1.4: *LA*, xv, 329, 1.22). Finally, it is appropriate to mention *dh-r-ʾ*, which is given as an equivalent of *shamiṭa* (*LA*, i, 74, 1.10, vi, 113, 1.24, viii, 165, 6; Abū ʿUbayda, *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1347, i, 288, 1.1; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿānī*, 1223; al-Buḥturī, 201, 1.5; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, ed. Shākir, xv, 296, 1.2; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, Cairo 1354/1936, i, 480, 1.13, ii, 967, 1.3).

From the outset, semantics provides a hint of the dread engendered by the departure of youth and the appearance of the first signs of old age; thus *rāʿiyat al-shayb*, denoting the first white hair which appears on the head, derives from the root *r-w-ʿ* which expresses fright and terror (Kuthayyir ʿAzza, i, 162; al-Buḥturī, 197, 1.17; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1300, ii, 222; cf. *rayʿān al-shabāb*).

It is very unusual for a poetic theme to link the real and the imaginary to the extent that *shabāb* and *shayb* have done. Initially, the entire theme appears inexplicable, since the Bedouin did not tend to live long. Al-Djāḥiẓ makes the comment in this regard: "There are among the Bedouin those who enjoy great longevity; however, accounts of them, in this respect, are tainted by numerous untruths" (*al-Ḥayawān*, i, 157). It was a society of the young; thus old people and their white hair were all the more visible and their situation all the more problematical.

1. The themes of youth and old age

a) *The real*

It is hard to comprehend the terror expressed in poems on this theme, in the light of the very widespread practice among men of dyeing the hair (*khiḍāb*), so extensive as to serve as a point of reference in the most diverse poetical texts (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1984, 176, where the blood of the slaughtered beast is compared with diluted henna as a dressing for the greying hair of an aged person; al-Buḥturī, 188, 1.7; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Oxford 1918-21, 234, 1.6, 288, 1.20; *LA*, 462, 1.25; *TA*, vii, 337, 1.30; Djarīr, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1354/1935, 18, 1.1). It is related in this context, that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first Meccan to introduce this practice to his fellow-tribespeople; he had discovered the benefits of dyeing during a visit to Yemen, where its use was very widespread (Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Munammaḳ*, Beirut 1405/1985, 112-13; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *al-Awāʾil*, Beirut 1407/1987, 17). Men who resisted this practice must have been few; among the poets, for example, only two, al-Muraḳḳish al-Akbar and ʿAntara, seem to have rejected dyeing. In this context, a certain adage is especially revealing: *al-khiḍābu aḥad al-shabābayn* ("the dyeing of hair constitutes one of the two youths" [al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa 'l-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1961, 388]). Finally, opinions are divided as to its efficacy: while Maḥmūd al-Warrāḳ seems to favour it (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1359-72/1940-53, iii, 50), Mālik b. Asmāʾ sees it as an imperfect solution which is incapable of deceiving female partners (*al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣriyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1383, 188).

Within Islam, this practice receives the endorsement of the law. In *ḥadīth*, the Muslim is instructed to dye his white hair. As early as the 2nd/8th century the following tradition was in circulation: "The Jews and the Christians do not dye [their hair]; you must do otherwise" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Būlāḳ 1313, ii, 240, 309, 401). Another tradition praises henna and *katm* (a black dye which masks the red of the henna (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 147, 154, 156, 169). The sources contain copious information regarding the Companions, the Successors or *tābiʿūn* and the masters of later generations, who used the same products for the dyeing of their hair (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, no. 3, ll.9-13; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār wa-musāmarat al-akhyār*, Beirut 1388/1968, 349-50). Currently, in Salafī circles, this method of rejuvenation is recommended for men (Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *al-Fatāwā*, Cairo 1966, *ṣabgh al-shaʿr*, 390-1; see also al-Māwardī, *al-Amthāl wa 'l-ḥikam*, Alexandria 1402, 152). In concurrence with the *Midrash* (*Pirkei Rabbī Eliʿezer ha-gadol*, Jerusalem 1973, § 51, § 52, 209), Muslim scholars declare that the Patriarch Abraham was the first man to see his hair turn white (*wa-huwa awwalu man raʾā al-shayba fi 'l-dunyā*). Astonished, Abraham asked God what this signified. He was heard to say that it was a warning which urges the attentive man to prepare himself for future life and keep himself from sin. Another tradition, still in conformity with the *Midrash*, relates that Abraham and Isaac were so alike that

people were unable to distinguish one from the other. God smote the father with *shayb* as a means of setting them apart. Others, still speaking of Abraham, assert that *shayb* is a light and a tangible sign of majesty (*waḳār*; this is an accurate translation of the Midrashic term *hādār*; Rabbi Levitas used a formula which was to find lasting favour among the Arab poets, a crown of majesty, *keter hadūr be-rosho, in Pirkei Rabbī Eli'ezer, loc. cit.*). Understanding this, the Patriarch is supposed to have asked God to give him more; his hair then became all white (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, Beirut 1405/1985, i, 281). All of this gives the impression of a very favourable attitude towards this age, which is further confirmed by numerous other *ḥadīths*, (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, no. 2, ll.14-5, 33).

All things considered, the fear of old age can be explained by the extent to which, in pre-Islamic society, the warrior was promoted to a rank of the highest prestige. Youth, indispensable for the practice of this occupation, was considered an inestimable advantage; its loss with the coming of *shayb* must have been regarded as an irreparable misfortune. On the other hand, it seems that the status of the war veteran and that of the old man were among the most precarious. The complaints of Sā'ida b. Dju'ayya on being relegated by his kinsmen to the remotest corners of the camp, in spite of his heroic record, are confirmed by the poetry of the *mu'ammarūn*. All insist on the tribal degradation of the aged hero: his leadership is utterly revoked; the tribe carries him as a dead weight. His kinsmen are ashamed of him, he is frequently scolded, he is relegated to the remotest corners of the tent for fear of his eccentricities and, henceforward, his advice is disregarded.

All lay the blame for their misfortunes on *shayb*; all evoke with nostalgia their glorious youth (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, Cairo 1384/1965, iii, 1122-5; al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Mu'ammarīn*, Leiden 1889, 39, 40, 45, 47). It may be noted that the commentators on the Ḳur'ān, in their interpretation of *ardhal al-'umr* ("the worst period of life", XVI, 79; XXII, 16) have given an image identical to that sketched by the *mu'ammarūn* (utterances attributed to Ibn 'Abbās in al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmi' li-aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo n.d., 3756-7).

Islam, by means of the Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth* and edifying texts, elevated the respect due to aged persons to the level of an essential moral principle. In parallel, there are traditions attacking youth; this impetuous stage is considered a branch (*shu'ba*) of folly (*al-shabāb shu'bat*[un] *min al-djunūn* al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 131, 151). This attitude explains the advice given to young people to attempt to resemble the old (*ibid.*, 85). Finally, a man whose beard was not tinged with white was not regarded as fit to transmit *ḥadīth* (Wakī', *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, ii, 54).

The very significant indications which have just been revealed provide a hint of a situation which is different from, and even opposed to, that described by the poetry of old age; furthermore, the persistence of pre-Islamic themes and their consolidation over the centuries following the disappearance of the *Djāhiliyya* clearly show that this vast corpus of work is dependent on the imaginary. Convention is the utterly dominant factor in this context.

(b) *The imaginary*

Poets dealing with this theme adopted a resolute and monolithic attitude. The two entities are absolutely antithetical, youth being considered the Good and old age representing Evil; such an approach tends to accentuate the conventional nature of this poetry.

1. *Youth*

Youth is a precious possession and is dearly loved (semantic field jointly expressing the beautiful and the good; *ḥasan* = beautiful, al-Buḥturī, 181, l.14; *ḥamīd* and *maḥmūd* = "worthy of praise", *The Naḳā'iḍ of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, Leiden 1905-12, 963, l.10; *al-Aghānī*,[3] xii, 296, l.9; *Le dīwān de Salāma b. Djandal*, Beirut 1910, 7, l.11; *fakhir* = precious, *LA*, xvi, 61, 6; *TA*, ix, 78, 34; *li-llāhi durr 'l-shabābi* = "how excellent is youth", al-Buḥturī, 180, l.8, 186, l.7; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 20). It is the age of vigour (semantic field expressing force, *ḳawī* = "robust", *al-Ḥamāsa*, 144, l.10; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Leipzig 1864-92, 766, l.16; *al-Ḥayawān*, ii, 201, l.2), of great ambitions (see below), of the good life (semantic field expressing recreation and debauchery, *lahawnā* = "we enjoyed ourselves", 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, *Dīwān*, Leiden 1913, 75, l.5; Aws b. Ḥadjar, *Dīwān*, Vienna 1892, 4, l.7; *makhfūḍ al-'aysh* = "living in tranquility", *al-Ḥamāsa*, 576, l.1; *ladhdha* = "pleasures", *al-Naḳā'iḍ*, 457, l.3) and of love affairs (*Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. Wellhausen, 76, l.8, Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 773, v. 9; Salāma b. Djandal, 7, v. 13; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*, Leiden 1904, 147, l.13; 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān*, Vienna 1902, 201, l.3).

2. *The loss of youth*

One is forcibly robbed of this fortunate age ('Amr b. Ḳamī'a, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1385/1965, 48-51; al-Buḥturī, 180, ll.18-21); furthermore, if al-Marzubānī is to be believed, 'Amr was the first poet to mourn over lost youth (*Mu'djam al-shu'arā'*, Cairo 1379/1960, 4). However, Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (*K. al-Ṣinā'atayn*, Cairo 1352, ii, 155) proposes that primacy in this case belongs to 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ. The formulas belong to the semantic field of weeping and lamentation (*'urrītu min al-shabāb* = "I have been robbed [of the attire] of youth") of Abu 'l-'Atāhiya (*al-Anwār al-zāhiya fi dīwān Abi 'l-'Atāhiya*, Beirut 1889, 32; al-Sarī al-Raffā', *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb*, Damascus 1407/1987, iv, 378; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1342, ii, 26); those based on *bakā* ("he wept", 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, 177; al-Buḥturī, 181, l.7-8; Di'bil, clviii, 235), on *djazi'a* ("to show grief", al-Buḥturī, 280, l.16); on *fa-ndub* ("lament!" [imper.], al-Buḥturī, 181, l.8). In other contexts, these are exclamations of overwhelming grief which try to convey the sorrow caused by the irrevocable loss of a precious possession (*yā lahfa nafsī* "what a misfortune", al-Buḥturī, 180, l.18). Furthermore, all the formulae which evoke the departure of youth stress that what is involved here is a loan which must be repaid: *al-shabāb al-musta'ār* ("the youth which has been lent to us", 'Umar b. Rabī'a, *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1901-9, 15, l.3); numerous words and combinations are borrowed from the language of death: *awdā* ("he has perished, death has claimed him", al-Namir b. Tawlab, in *LA*, i, 351, l.17, and ii, 180, l.16; other cases, al-Musāwir b. Hind, *Ḥamāsa*, 225, l.23; al-Aḥwaṣ, in al-Buḥturī, 190, l.6; al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, Cairo 1384, ii, 382; etc.) *fanā* ("he has passed into annihilation", *al-Aghānī*[3], xii, 292, l.6), *wa-kullu shabāb*[in] *ilā … bilan* (all of youth is a journey towards decay, Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 273, l.11; al-Buḥturī, 279, l.12; *Aghānī*[3], xi, 241, l.10); at other times, the language used serves to evoke the absolute impossibility of a hypothetical return of *shabāb: hayhāti minka shabāb*[un] *kunta ta'haduhu* ("how far from you is [a state of] youth that you used to know so well" Thumāma b. 'Āmir al-Badjalī, in al-Buḥturī, 185, l.14) and the well-known *ayā layta [l-]shabāba ya'ūdu yawm*[an] of Abu 'l-'Atāhiya ("is it possible that youth may return one day?" *Dīwān*, 23).

Some ancient poets were acutely aware of the ephemeral nature of this joyous period, issuing an urgent appeal to enjoy the entertainments, pleasures and delights afforded by this age. For 'Alkama, only *shabāb* excuses licentiousness (*Dīwān, al-'Ikd al-thamīn*, London 1870, 137). 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī justifies the antics of the young man (*ladhdhat al-fatā*) by reference to death, tirelessly lying in wait. Since pleasures are regarded as exclusively physical, the age which permits their procurement takes on, in their eyes, an unequalled importance. On the other hand, every hindrance is considered a misfortune: old age is thus an enemy as formidable as *manāyā* (death) and *zamān* (infinite time).

The libertine poets and the great lovers of Damascus and Medina under the Umayyads, and those of the 'Irākī metropolises under the 'Abbāsids, did not differ in their conception of these two antithetical enties. They expressed in convincing fashion the following idea. With old age, the conquest of women becomes impossible, but desire remains as vivid as ever; the problem is how to slake it (*Shi'r al-Ḥārith b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī*, Baghdād 1972, 85; *Shi'r al-Ahwaṣ al-Anṣārī*, Cairo 1970, 175; *al-Mukhtār min shi'r Bashshār*, Cairo 1353/1934, 277, al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr, ḳism shu'arā' al-Shām*, Damascus 1955-64, ii, 121, Ibn al-Buwayn; Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr, *Dīwān*, 73). This is not solely a matter of literature; a few poetical fragments have survived, where spouses mocked their aged partners and their inability to satisfy them (al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1409/1989, vi, 427-8; B. Yamūt, *Shā'irāt al-'Arab fi 'l-Djāhiliyya wa 'l-Islām*, Beirut 1934, 179).

In poetry, the appearance of this tangible sign of old age plunges the victim into a state of despair, the intensity of which may astonish at first sight. Whether it is a case of profane poetry, libertine poetry or that of the *zuhd*, the same tragedies described in the same terms arouse certain suspicions; furthermore, the classification of the poetical material reinforces the impression that what is presented here is in fact a literary fiction. Indeed, some works of *adab* have distributed these quotations according to the well-known pattern of the *maḥāsin* (virtues) and the *masāwī'* (antitheses), in turn praising and deprecating *shayb* and *shabāb*; this process is attested in the work of al-Buḥturī, prior to the 3rd/9th century (al-Buḥturī, §§ 117, 118, 120, 121, contradictory pairs, the first evoking the negative and positive aspects of old age, the second those of youth). The structure of the chapters concerning old age in the work of pseudo-Tha'ālibī is constructed entirely according to this antitheses: paragraphs eulogising *shabāb* and *shayb* are matched by others which denigrate them (fols. 118 a-b, 118 b-119 b). The author surpasses himself in the last paragraph, where the negative and positive aspects of hair-dyeing are compared (*faṣl fī dhamm al-khiḍāb wa-madhihi*, fols. 119 b-120 b).

3. *Old age*

This is an unwanted and spurned guest (*ḍayf baghīḍ*, 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, 176; see also al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, Paris 1870, 107, l.9; al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, 168, l.9; 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, *Dīwān*, 139, l.6), It arouses the fear of the person affected (common semantic field expressing fright, *rā'aka 'l-mashību* "old age has plunged you into despair", 'Abīd, *Dīwān*, 6, l.20; see also *Naḳā'iḍ*, 890, l.4; *djaza'* "panic", *Aghānī*, xiii, 151, l.9, Manṣūr b. Budjra; *al-Aṣma'iyyāt*, 44, l.6, *shayb faẓī'* "dreadful old age"). This guest never comes alone, but is accompanied by a retinue of evils. Those most frequently evoked are worries, solitude and physical decrepitude (Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, Damascus 1381/1962, 184, speaks of feebleness, *ḍa'af*; Ṭurayḥ b. Ismā'īl al-Thaḳafī of his infirm, *mutaḍa'ḍi'*, body, al-Buḥturī, 194, l.20; more specifically, Abu 'l-Nadjm mentions the bent back, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 385, l.2) and mental decay, decline and imminent death. It is in other contexts considered an evil (*sharr*, al-Farazdaḳ, 107, l.9; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 572, l.15).

As soon as it is manifest, and can no longer be concealed, old age provokes the disgust of beautiful women (Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī, *Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. Wellhausen, 76, l.8; 'Alḳama, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 773, l.9; al-Aswad b. Ya'fur, *ibid.*, 348, l.8; al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, London 1928, xxxiv, v. 3; Ibn Ghalaka(?) al-Tamīmī, in Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādir*, 255, l.9; al-Buḥturī, § 120, devoted to the notion; Djarīr, *al-Naḳā'iḍ*, 844, l.2; 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān*, 201, l.3; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 330, l.11; Di'bil, vii, v. 44; xii, v. 52-3; xcvii, v. 3; clviii, the entire chapter, ccx, v. 1-5; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 76, 99, 105-6, 108-9; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 75-6). This notion is attested in the majority of poems which have dealt with this theme, and it inspired one of the most esteemed verses on old age of the 'Abbāsid period:

Lā ta'djabī yā Salma min radjul[in]
ḍaḥika 'l-mashību bi-ra'sihī fa-baka

("Do not be astonished, O Salmā, at a man on whose head the white hair laughs, although he weeps")
(Di'bil, 204)

The poets who are affected by this condition speak of nubile women, insisting that they show restraint. In sprightly and elevated dialogues, and in defiance of his astonishment and indignation, they refer to the loss of potency which accompanies old age and to the dignity of deportment which is required in response to the first appearance of this sign; if he continues to cavort like a callow youth, he will offend social taboos. There is no excuse for excess at this age; dissipation is only to be excused among the young (Ibn Nubāta, *Dīwān*, ii, 407; al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-abrār*, ii, 424-5; *LA*, i, 324, l.9, and *TA*, i, 223, l.28, the maxim *lā shay'a akhzā min zinā'i 'l-ashyabi*, "nothing is more demeaning than fornication by one who is smitten with white hair"). This collection of motifs is called *taṣābī 'l-shaykh*. In secular poetry, this *taṣābī* constitutes the basis of the share of the dialogue allotted to the female interlocutor; it is attested, furthermore, throughout the whole gamut of Arabic poetry until the *nahḍa* ('Abda b. al-Ṭabīb, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 270, l.7; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, London 1970, 116, v. 11-12; Abū Ḥayya, 43, 63, 167, 168; see also Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳaynī, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1968, 23; Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, *al-Aghānī*, x, 16, l.1; Aws b. Ḥadjar, *Dīwān*, 7, 11; Djarīr, in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 307, l.16; al-Farazdaḳ, *al-Naḳā'iḍ*, 869, v. 19; al-Kumayt, *al-Hāshimiyyāt*, Leiden 1904, 27, l.1; al-Namarī, 84; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 76). As regards this last motif, the majority of poets seem to imply that the lady has the right on her side. However, others are determined to refute these accusations. Their vigour, their youth of spirit and their force of personality have not been impaired; they implore the loved one to see *shayb* for what it really is, just a colour. The poet Kuthayyir appeals to 'Azza to continue loving an old man who remains, and always will remain, young (*yā 'Azza hal laki fī shaykh[in] fatā[n] abad[an]*); he is careful to add that, for men of his stamp, biological age has no physiological or psychological influence (for other instances of this type, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 209; Di'bil, cliii, 197-8; al-'Ukbarī, *al-Tibyān*, Cairo 1308, i, 170). Sometimes, in his reply, the poet insistently declares to his partner that his white hair

is not due to age but to fearful ordeals that have been valiantly surmounted (al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 842, l.15, *wa-lāḳītu rawʿātⁱⁿ tushību 'l-nawāṣiyā* "I have faced terrible [battles] and the hair fringing my forehead has turned white;" see also 'Urwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān*, Göttingen 1863, 21, l.3; Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, 368; *al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, 19, l.6). In this context, the same formula is attributed to the libertine al-Uḳayshir and to the *ghazal* poet Kuthayyir: *bihī shaybᵘⁿ wa-mā faḳada 'l-shabāba* ("his hair has turned white although he has not lost his youth", *LA*, ix, 99, l.12; *TA*, v, 85, l.33; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 60, l.9; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī* ii, 729, l.1). On the other hand, in a motif related to that of the *taṣābī*, friends act in the same fashion as the lovely lady and no longer invite the unfortunate man to convivial meetings (Abū Ḥayya, 183; al-Namarī, 69; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 36, 60, 75; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 77). This forced abstinence culminates in their assertion that happiness has disappeared with the ending of youth, *wallat niʿmatu 'l-ʿayshī* ("the joy of life is ended", al-Buḥturī, 180, l.6; 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, 176-7; Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 20).

Also, *shayb* indicates the death of close friends. In the context of the onset of white hair, Ibn Abī Du'ād evokes his weariness at having to make constant visit to cemeteries to pay his respects to deceased friends. In fact, this fearful guest portends the imminence of one's own death (Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo, iii, 299; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, 58; al-Shāfiʿī, *Dīwān*, 13; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, Cairo 1936-8, v, 324; al-Bākharzī, *Dīwān*, i, 159. One *ḥadīth* asserts in this context that white hair is *iḥdā 'l-mītatayn* ("one of the two deaths", *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, ii, 421); it is thus a sign that the end is near.

While this theme is essentially concerned with physical and social degradation and with sexual abstinence, it is a fact nonetheless that this poetry evokes certain changes in behaviour which are on the whole quite avoidable. Diʿbil b. 'Alī al-Khuzāʿī comments that with the onset of old age, he has been transformed from a cheerful hedonist and *bon viveur* into a carping critic (Diʿbil, 44, v. 1: *kāna yunhā fa-nahā ḥīna 'ntahā* "he was criticised; he became a critic when nothing else was left for him;" see also Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 108). The poetry of the *muʿammarūn* stressed this transformation of the personality. Abu 'l-Sammāl al-Asadī declares that grief has become an inseparable companion (*Muʿammarīn*, 65); al-Namir b. Tawlab comments that he is content with the minimum (*ibid.*, 80); al-Rabīʿ b. Ḍabuʿ al-Fazārī admits that, with the whiteness of his hair, he has become timorous (*ibid.*, 9); Labīd laments his own tendency to recount his memories ('Abd al-Salām Hārūn, *Madjmūʿat al-maʿānī*, Beirut 1412/1992, 571). A single positive variation in this catalogue of gloom is that al-Ubayrid al-Riyāḥī takes pride in the wealth of his experience (*ibid.*, 75).

All of this may be true, and may reflect profound distress among people who have nothing to wait for but death. However, it may equally well be a part of the poetic game; in fact, in the same poetic space, the same poet is to be found taking pride in his *shayb*. Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī observes that white hair affects people of distinction (*LA*, vii, 127, l.6; *TA*, iii, 622, l.15; the same assertion figures in the work of Ibn Faswa, in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 143, l.2; al-Marrār al-Faḳʿasī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 143, l.5; 'Umar b. Abī Rabīʿa goes so far as to assimilate with *dhū shayba* the clichés typical of eulogistic poetry or of boastfulness, *wa-dhī shaybatⁱⁿ ka 'l-badri arwaʿa azharā*, a man affected by venerable old age and shining white hair, *Dīwān*, 159, l.8; see also al-Buḥturī, 181, l.13; 182, l.12; 195, l.6; al-Khansā', *Dīwān*, Beirut 1889, 135, l.13). It is appropriate to note that this notion differs from that which declares that *shayb* has not impaired one's former abilities; here, old age is eulogised in its own right. This could, indeed, be seen as a reaction of a compensatory type, but the reality is otherwise; what is involved is a literary theme. Anthologies and works of *adab* attest to this to a point beyond all expectation. In the writings of al-Thaʿālibī, for example, the section dealing with this theme belongs, according to the author's own classification, to the category of *taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ* ("beautification of the ugly", see *Bibl.*); this includes a collection of adages which celebrate the benefits of old age *min bāb taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ*, such as *al-shayb nūrī* ("white hair is my light" [67]). Even the greatest of fools (*al-ghāfil*) "can find here a guide on the way to rectitude thanks to the lights of his senescence" (*idhā shāba 'l-ghāfilu sāra fi ṭarīḳi 'l-rushdi bi-maṣābīḥi 'l-shaybi, loc. cit.*). For his part, al-Mubarrad considers this poetical corpus as belonging exclusively to a convention of composition (*K. al-Fāḍil*, 72).

In the same scheme of ideas, the white hair of courageous young men who have experienced traumatic events is likewise something to be boasted of (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Leiden 1918, i/2, 80, l.10; *al-Naḳā'iḍ*, 442, v. 43); it is attested in martial poems in eulogies conferred upon heroes ('Āmir b. al-Walīd, *al-Aghānī*, xi, 102, l.3; Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1911, 55, v. 22; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Beirut 1340/1921, 300, l.14; Ibn Ẓāhir al-Asadī, in al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 666, l.4; Aʿshā Ḥamdān, in *al-Aghānī*, vi, 41, l.9; Surāḳa al-Bāriḳī, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 879, l.14).

In general, the *fakhr* genre accounts for a large proportion of Djāhili and Umayyad poetry of old age. The pattern is fairly predictable. It is admitted that it is true, my hair has changed colour; that is unimportant, since I have led an exemplary life filled with acts of generosity and heroism in war (Imru' al-Ḳays, *Dīwān*, 230-1, 335; Abū Kabīr, *Sharḥ ashʿār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, 1069-70; Ḥumayd b. Thawr, *Dīwān*, 1384/1965, 94-5; Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, 72-4, 133, 184; 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, in al-Buḥturī, 309). Clearly, these are conventional notions which have long been a part of the genre; sexual prowess and the qualities of *murū'a* are combined to enhance the image of a man and to make of him a perfect model.

4. *Edifying poetry*

The appearance of *shayb* is variously interpreted. On the one hand it is supposed to favour the enhancement of moral qualities and behaviour, assiduous application to religious practices and a total adherence to precepts of prudery (al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1953, ii. 95; al-Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, 417-20). From another perspective, the poetry of *zuhd* is intended to frighten; this is why Maḥmūd al-Warrāḳ and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya consider this sign as a portent (*nadhīr*) of death which sets in motion the process of *ḥiṣād* (harvesting) which gathers up people who are already of advanced age. God sends this advance warning to allow men to prepare themselves on the eve of imminent decease (Maḥmūd al-Warrāḳ, *Dīwān*, 39, 42, 78, 87, 107, 109, 114; Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, 39, v. 3-4, 44-5, v. 3-6 and 13-14, 51-2, starting from v. 4, 67-8, 71-2, 109-10, v. 13-6 and 21-4).

II. Poetical treatment

1. *Evolution of the theme*

At the time of the Djāhiliyya, this theme took on the form of a concise evocation in the framework of *nasīb*. More substantial and of greater thematic impor-

tance are the verses which appear in poems attributed to the *muʿammarūn*, where the contrast *s̲h̲abāb/s̲h̲ayb* constitutes the central axis on which the multiple motifs are brought into play, and the conceptual principle on the basis of which all the evocations can take shape.

With the development of urban civilisation and the appearance of a subsequent culture, poets subject this theme to original forms of literary treatment. In addition to long works, where *s̲h̲ayb* appears in an incidental fashion, fragments dealing exclusively with the theme begin to appear in ever increasing numbers; the latter, much closer to hastily conceived and executed improvisation than to mature and elaborate poetry, adopted this subject with a uniformisation of compounds, of poetic language and of the whole range of comparative tropes. These facile and ephemeral little pieces constitute a large proportion of this corpus. To this category belong the literary games between scholars (the *ik̲h̲wāniyyāt*). Protestations of friendship are found integrated there with the theme of youth and of old age, the poet delights in evoking his old age, the disappearance of beautiful women and of the *nudamāʾ* and the melancholy of a man in the twilight of his life (al-Namarī, 68-9); quite often poems of *ḥanīn ilā 'l-awṭān* ("nostalgia for the homeland") opt for the same treatment, linking the *ḥanīn ilā 'l-awṭān* to the *ḥanīn ilā 'l-s̲h̲abāb* (al-Namarī, 116); al-Masʿūdī, in a subsidiary text of *al-Tanbīh*, at a time of self-assessment, writes with the same feeling of *al-ṣibā* and Bag̲h̲dād (al-Masʿūdī, *Le livre de l'avertissement*, Paris 1846, 66-7).

The *Ẓurafāʾ al-Kūfa* ("the elegant persons of Kūfa) provide this theme with its finest artistic manifestation. Five long fragments by Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārit̲h̲ī (al-Buḥturī, 188-90, nos. 1,000-4) place alongside the habitual lamentations a novelty: *s̲h̲ayb* and *s̲h̲abāb* are treated in tandem, with both considered equally good. Yaḥyā's companion, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, composed one of the best surviving specimens; indeed, this poem of 17 verses begins and ends with lamentations. Between the two, the poet evokes his youth, seen as a personal friend, with good-natured nostalgia (plethora of terms in this register: *k̲h̲alīl, ṣafī, uns, ak̲h̲ū t̲h̲iḳa*); reliving his youth, Muṭīʿ adopts a rapid and petulant rhythm, using the *munsariḥ*, one of the most musical metres of Arabic poetry. The spirit which dominates here is decidedly original. This roué is careful not to represent youth as the time of unbridled dissipation, according to the customary scheme. Like any true friend, he is attentive and encouraging; he offers loyal support, but will countenance no complacency; fighting our natural laziness, he urges us to realise our most noble aspirations; and finally, he is an always available confidant (Von Grunebaum, *S̲h̲uʿarāʾ ʿabbāsiyyūn*, Beirut 1959, 33-4). Von Grunebaum appreciated this poem, which is reminiscent in tone of Theognis of Megara.

In the 3rd/9th century, Ibn al-Rūmī is reckoned to have carried the theme to its highest point. In the prelude to a set-piece, he reflets on his past and completes the balance-sheet of his life, from callow youth to maturity. The structure of this very simple passage, beginning with *s̲h̲ayb* (vv. 1-31) and ending with *s̲h̲abāb* (vv. 32-70), gives it the appearance of an introspection, accentuated by the repetition of *yud̲h̲akkirunī 'l-s̲h̲abāba* ("my youth returns to my memory through ..."). It is important, however, to avoid overestimating the significance of these conclusions; the issue here is of individual arrangements or, if preferred, of happy accidental finds in the framework of a traditional theme (*Dīwān*, i, 255-9). Al-Mubarrad, who was also an excellent judge of poetry, comments in this regard *annahum ḳālū fī bābi taṣarrufi 'l-zamāni wa-taṣarrumi 'l-ād̲j̲āli aḳāwīla maʿnāhā wāḥid^un^* ("they (sc. the poets) have spoken, concerning the chapter on the passing of time and the ending of life, verses of which the sense is identical", Von Grunebaum, *Al-Mubarrad's epistle on poetry and prose*, in *Orientalia*, x [1941], 377-8).

A similar theme, already clearly visible in the various evocations of this theme before Ibn al-Rūmī, is accentuated in later poets: from the 4th to the 9th/10th-15th centuries, poets paraphrase Ibn al-Rūmī in longer pieces and in fragments. The two S̲h̲arīfs, al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā (*al-S̲h̲ihāb*, 28-52; *Dīwān al-S̲h̲arīf al-Murtaḍā*, Cairo 1958, i, 199; *al-S̲h̲ihāb*, 54-84), Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr (*Dīwān*, 73), Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (*Dīwān*, 17, 52, 70, 72, 74, 459, 517, 576, 597-8), al-Fityān al-S̲h̲āg̲h̲ūri (*Dīwān*, Damascus 1966, 51), Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād (*Dīwān*, 257-8) and many others mourn for lost youth and lament the consequences of their *s̲h̲ayb*, using the same poetic language, the same combinations and the same *maʿānī*.

2. *S̲h̲ayb and the transformation of the prelude of the ḳaṣīda*

Under the Umayyads, the *nasīb* genre had more and more recourse to the theme of lamented youth; the refinement of tastes renders it indispensable to the *ḥusn al-tak̲h̲alluṣ*. It is considered an essential intermediate link between love/memory and the quest for a patron. From another perspective, the circumstances of libertine poetry impel the poets, especially in pieces where a certain tension is expressed, to resort to a prelude redolent with an atmosphere of contrast, introducing the pairings of old age/youth and the desired woman/the woman who rejects. This procedure breathes new life into the romantic prelude, since what is observed is a very vivid exchange of opinions, a duel between the beloved woman and the lover poet, all on account of the latter's advanced age and the loss of his hair. This technique of composition also permits the setting-down of accumulations of semantic opposites and thereby arrival at a more dense poetical text (see below).

At the end of the Umayyad age, and especially under the ʿAbbāsids, despite the persistence of the former frameworks (Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī, 34; Abu 'l-S̲h̲īṣ, 36-7), the prelude underwent a veritable revolution on account of the theme of old age. Numerous patterns are attested: (i) the poet retains from the amorous prelude the evocation of the *diyār* ("encampments") and the recollection of his past loves (when he was loved and his hair was black), and two new motifs are introduced, the mention of youth and the appearance of senescence (Abu 'l-S̲h̲īṣ, 34, 36-7); (ii) the appearance of overtures devoted exclusively to *s̲h̲ayb*, without regard to the subject of the poem. In the work of Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī, a *muk̲h̲aḍram al-dawlatayn* poet (d. *ca.* 158/762), the opposition of these two antithetical, integrated elements constitutes the sole texture of the openings of poems. Eleven verses on *s̲h̲ayb* are attested there, a clear sign that the theme has attained full maturity, since it is only by means of it that the introduction of a long, set-piece poem is to be properly furnished (*ḳaṣīda* iii, 42-5, dedicated to al-Ḥakam b. Ṣak̲h̲r al-T̲h̲aḳafī; see also number iv of the *Dīwān*; ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs*, Bag̲h̲dād 1968; 123; Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār, *Dīwān*, 1369/1950, i, 362, ii, 326; al-Ḥusayn b. Muṭayr, *Dīwān*, in *RIMA*, i [1969], 226; Ibrāhīm b. Harma, *S̲h̲iʿr*, Cairo 1389/1969, 226; Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa, *S̲h̲iʿr*, Cairo

1973, 73, 77, 94; Diʿbil, ccx, 254-5, the well-known poem in *-īnā*, where he replies to al-Kumayt b. Zayd, pronounces a eulogy on the men of Yemen and recalls the base deeds of Maʿadd; see also xix, 59-60, the opening of an *urdjūza* dedicated to al-Maʾmūn). The variety of motifs attested in pattern (ii), despite their conventional nature, breathes new life into the prelude, an essential and indispensable component of every poem of this type. Notable here are nostalgia for past youth; the first signs of old age; the appearance of white hair; the mockeries of the beautiful woman; the retort of the elderly poet, his pride wounded, recalling his former vigour and his profligacies; finally, some poets place at the outset of an urban *ḳaṣīda* an introduction in which *nasīb, shabāb-shayb* antithesis and Bacchic poetry are combined (Abū 'l-Shīṣ, 60, 75-6, 105-6).

This transformation of the prelude should come as no surprise; the patrons, the sole recipients of poems of eulogy and occasional verses, had no wish to hear more about, or see themselves associated with, the destruction, disappearance and desolation which rule the theme of *bukāʾ ʿalā 'l-aṭlāl*.

A different elegiac opening was required, and *al-shabāb wa 'l-shayb* was eminently suitable. With the sophisticated play of oppositions and the high literary tone of comparisons and metaphors, it was possible to dabble in sentimentality without dwelling on the theme of the death which was feared, with justification, by members of the aristocracy only too aware of the precariousness of their situation. An old age of high quality offered an excellent alternative. The poet took great care to avoid mention of anything which could be disconcerting to his readers, such as physical decay or death; old age here is ahead of its time, putting forward the image of a man in the prime of life, conversing with a beautiful girl. Perfectly suited to the new mentality, the new introduction silenced the existential anguish of its pre-Islamic predecessor.

3. *Poetic techniques*

For youth, the tendency is to use combinations and metaphors where black is predominant; for old age, working on the assumption of symmetrical opposition, the preferred option is a semantic field based on white. Examples of the former are as follows: *al-raʾs al-aḥwā* ("the black head"), *ḥālik al-lawn* ("of a very dark black colour"), *ghurāb kāna aswada ḥālikī* ("a raven which was black as jet", Abū Ḥayya, 121), *ghurāb ghudāf* ("crow with black [feathers] supplied", *ibid.*, 42). Such are the emblems of *shabāb*. Examples from the opposing side are: *ʿalā wadaḥ^{un} ka-lawni hilālī* ("white hair has appeared, the colour of which is equal to that of the crescent moon", Abū Ḥayya, 63), *raʾs istanāra* ("a head which is illumined", Abū Ḥayya, 43), *ʿaḳārib bīḍ ... lahunna dabīb* ("white scorpions ... which crawl", Abu 'l-Shīṣ, 20), *raʾs ishtaʿal* (ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ, 108, v. 1; cf. Ḳurʾān, XIX, 4).

In fact, this language was destined to establish a whole range of oppositions which have given the theme its characteristic appearance:

Youth	*Age*
shining black	dirty white
bodily vigour	enfeeblement
upright carriage	decrepitude of body
contentment with life	peevish resentment
inexperience and haste	wisdom and equilibrium
decisiveness	irresolution
time of pleasures	time of enforced abstinence
the admired hero	the despised dead-weight

The first column has the overall advantage. Only the fifth item accords superiority to the old, although poets repeatedly insist that they would willingly forgo this asset. On the other hand, comparisons enabled the poets to add a new series of oppositions to the poem and thus to confer on these passages a fairly pronounced air of preciosity. Thus, for example, in the analogy of the jet-black raven applied to the hair of the young man (*ghurāb aswad ghudāf*, see above). The poet opposes to it the shining whiteness of the *ṣabāḥ* ("morning"); this uniting of opposites entails a chain-reaction of a paradoxical, hence quite unexpected nature. This black crow, contrary to what is normally accepted (*ghurāb al-bayn* "the crow of separation") is appreciated and symbolises joy, good fortune and freedom from care, not the sinister desolation of wastelands. Thus all the symbolism associated with black is rejected by this poetry. On the contrary, the *ṣabāḥ* ("luminous morning") of the hair is detested; its light, once it appears, plunges a man into despair, misfortune and sorrow. The poets accumulated such paradoxes in verses and fragments on this theme, contravening ancestral patterns of expression and thought. The end-result, with urban culture, was the emergence of a poetry of *shayb* redolent of "verbal fantasy", in the words of Von Grunebaum.

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S̲H̲AYBA, BANŪ, the name of the keepers of the Kaʿba (*sadana*, *ḥad̲j̲aba* [see SĀDIN; ḤĀD̲J̲IB]), whose authority does not extend over the whole of the sanctuary (*masd̲j̲id al-ḥarām*), nor even as far as the well of Zamzam and its annexes. They are the Banū S̲h̲ayba or S̲h̲aybiyyūn and have as their head a *zaʿīm* or *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*.

Modern works only give brief references to them. Snouck Hurgronje gave the days on which they opened the door of the Kaʿba. He noted that they only admitted the faithful on payment of a fee and quoted the witty Meccan saying: "The Banū S̲h̲ayba are wreathed in smiles; this must be a day for opening the Kaʿba". They found a further source of revenue in the sale of scraps of the covering of the holy house, which was replaced every year by their care [see KISWA]. The embroidered parts reserved in theory for the Ottoman sovereign were given more or less gratuitously to the great personages who represented him at Mecca and on the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*. The remainder, in accordance with custom (Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, iii, 72), was the perquisite of the S̲h̲aybiyyūn, who sold it in the little booths at the Bāb al-Salām (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥid̲j̲āziyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, 139), the ancient Bāb Banī S̲h̲ayba, the principal gate of the mosque. They also sold there the little brooms made of palm leaves, which were all alleged to have been used for cleaning the floor of the Kaʿba, a solemn ceremony in which the greatest personages gloried in participating (Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. Wright, 138; al-Batanūnī, 109). They also had the charge and care of the offerings made by the faithful, which adorn the interior of the holy house. This treasure comprised the most diverse objects, articles of gold and of silver, precious stones, lamps richly adorned, foreign idols, the offerings of converts in distant lands. This treasure was regularly plundered by the Amirs of Mecca, by the governors, by its guardians and even by the S̲h̲aybiyyūn themselves (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 57) although according to tradition, the grand master S̲h̲ayba is said to have defended it against the attempts of the caliph ʿUmar (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Usd al-g̲h̲āba*, iii, 8). They had charge of the interior curtains of the Kaʿba. They had at one time the care of the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm* [*q.v.*] which was considered a dependence of the holy house.

The possession of these diverse functions by the S̲h̲aybiyyūn became latterly so generally recognised that it attracted no attention. They evoked a more lively interest from earlier authors, and especially from the pilgrims. The principal narratives are those of Ibn D̲j̲ubayr in 579/1183 and of Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw in 437/1046. The visit to the Kaʿba accompanied by a *ṣalāt* of two *rakʿas*, made if possible, at the very spot where the Prophet performed them on the day of the taking of Mecca, is a pious act, which is not a part of the rites of the Pilgrimage, but one from which the pilgrims themselves hope to acquire further merit, although the people of Mecca seem to attach but slight importance to it. The dates of the public opening seem to have varied a little (*Le Pèlerinage*, 60 ff.) but the ceremony has remained unchanged. The *zaʿīm* alone has the key of the Holy House, the history of which is given below. When the gangway (*darad̲j̲*), which gives access to the door which is above ground

level, has been put into position by the Shaybiyyūn, their chief advances and, while he is inserting the key, one of his acolytes hides it from the gaze of the faithful. In the 6th/12th century (Ibn Djubayr, 93; *Le Pèlerinage*, 59), he held a black cloth (the 'Abbāsid colour) in his extended hands. A century earlier (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 209), there was a curtain on the door which a Shaybī lifted to allow the *za'īm* to pass and which he let fall again behind him. The Prophet had veiled (*satarahu*) the door on opening it (al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 61). In imitation of the Prophet, the *za'īm* enters alone or with 2 or 3 acolytes, prays the two ritual *rak'as*, then opens the door to the public, whose admission he regulates. The Persian pilgrim as well as the Spanish one made a visit to the Ka'ba and they both noted the miracle, which allowed this very small building to hold at one time such a large number of the faithful. Nāṣir-i Khusraw counted 720 in it at the same time as himself. Ibn Djubayr was particularly interested in the Ka'ba and its *ḥadjaba*. He was present at the reception of Sayf al-Islām Ṭughtigin, the brother of the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (146-7), on whose left hand the *za'īm* of the Shaybiyyūn solemnly entered the mosque; the *za'īm* Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was his chief informant (81). He tells us that during his sojourn, the Amīr of Mecca, Mukthir, arrested the *za'īm* Muḥammad and, accusing him of such baseness of conduct as was "unworthy of the guardian of the Holy House", confiscated his goods and set up in his place one of his cousins, whom popular report accused of the same vices. Then some time after, he saw the *za'īm* Muḥammad, after paying 500 dīnārs to the Amīr, re-established in his office, strutting proudly before the gate of the Ka'ba (163, 164, 166, 179). This act of dispossession does not prove that there was any exact custom which regulated the relations of the Amīr with the Banū Shayba. Under al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), they sent delegates to the caliph at Baghdād to assert, in opposition to the proposals of the governor of Mecca, their right to decide what works were necessary to undertake at the Ka'ba; the master of works sent by the caliph was to apply only to them. When he came to make his first enquiry, the master Isḥāḳ was, however, accompanied by the *ḥadjaba shaybiyyūn*, and also by the governor, by pious individuals and by the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* "the postmaster", in reality the redoubtable intelligence officer of the sovereign (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, i, 210, 11).

The privilege of the Banū Shayba is very old; the historians of the 3rd/9th century Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, al-Ya'ḳūbī and the compilers of collections of *ḥadīths* confirm this; but they pile up proofs of its legitimacy in a way that makes one think it was recent and disputed.

According to tradition, Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], the ancestor of Ḳuraysh, had reserved the guardianship of the Ka'ba (*ḥidjāba*) for 'Abd al-Dār and his descendants. At the time of the conquest of Mecca, it was in the hands of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2378; *Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 7, 372, etc.). Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 331) has a variant story which casts doubts upon the near relationship of 'Uthmān and Shayba, while the genealogy given by the *za'īm* to Ibn Djubayr (81) intercalates an ancestor Shayba unknown to the other authors. 'Uthmān by a happy foresight was converted at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] with other notable personages of Mecca, although several members of his family had perished at Uḥud in the ranks of Ḳuraysh (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1604; *Aghānī*[1], xv, 11; Ibn Sa'd, v, 331, etc.). On the day of the taking of Mecca, he accompanied the Prophet to the Ka'ba and the latter demanded the key from him; in general, the authorities say that he gave it up, but according to one tradition (Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-ḳārī*, iv, 609; *Chroniken*, i, 187), 'Uthmān, a new convert, had to get it from his mother, an infidel, who had charge of it and who refused to give it up. 'Uthmān had to threaten to kill himself before her eyes. According to another authority (*Chroniken*, i, 185), she heard in the courtyard of the house the threatening voices of Abū Bakr and of 'Umar before she decided to give it up (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, ii, 44). But another tradition which does not assume the conversion of 'Uthmān in 8/629-30, shows him on the terrace of the Ka'ba holding the key in his hand and shouting to the Prophet: "If I were sure that he is the Messenger of God, I would not refuse it to him". 'Alī climbed up, held his hand out, took the key and himself opened the door; here 'Alid bias is evident (al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, ii, 460; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, iv, 264). The general tradition is that the Prophet, in possession of the key, opened the door and entered with 'Uthmān, Bilāl and Usāma, prayed two *rak'as* in a spot which is to-day held sacred and went out holding the key in his hand. At this point, the traditions differ once more in detail, but end in the restoration of the key to 'Uthmān; according to one account, the Prophet either on his own motion or because of the appeals of al-'Abbās or of 'Alī, leant on the posts of the door of the Ka'ba and made a speech which ended: "Everything is under my feet except the *sidāna* and the *siḳāya* of the pilgrims, which are going to be restored to those to whom they belong". He gave the *siḳāya* to al-'Abbās and returned the key to 'Uthmān; according to the other tradition, the Prophet came out of the Ka'ba uttering verse 61 of sūra IV, which according to an opinion which al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, v, 86) accepts as only of secondary value, was revealed at this moment and applies to the *sidāna* and the *siḳāya* (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 625; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, ii, 460; *Chroniken*, i, 186).

But 'Uthmān, master of the *sidāna* and of the key, did not exercise his rights; he followed the Prophet to Medīna and died there in 42/662-3 or he was killed at Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in 13/634. No-one mentions him further, and authors take the precaution of making the Prophet say that he returned the *sidāna* to 'Uthmān and to Shayba, and to the Banū Ṭalḥa (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 138; al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, 407; *Usd*, iii, 372; *Chroniken*, i, 184).

This attempt to make the first cousin of 'Uthmān, Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa, be present at the taking of Mecca is unfortunate. Shayba was not yet a Muslim, although some late authors tentatively tried to convert him at the taking of Mecca. They were not able to escape the legend, which grew up round the conversion of Shayba a month later. Shayba sought out the Prophet in the middle of the combat in order to take vengeance for the death of his father, who had been killed at Uḥud by Ḥamza, but from the Prophet a light emanated causing him to lose heart. Muḥammad put his hand upon his heart and caused the demon to depart from him. Shayba was converted (al-Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 64; Ibn Hishām, 845; Ibn Sa'd, v, 331; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1661, 3; *Usd*, iii, 7; *Chroniken*, ii, 46; etc.) and without the writers knowing why, Shayba became the keeper of the Ka'ba; all his family hastened to come to his assistance; his brother Wahb b. 'Uthmān, the sons of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa, those of Musāfi' b. Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa who was killed at Uḥud: "It is

then", concludes al-Azraḳī (*Chroniken*, i, 67), "all the descendants of Abū Ṭalḥa who in general exercise the *ḥidjāba* (*Chroniken*, i, 67)". But according to all the traditionists, it was Shayba who was their chief. It was he who had the power to demolish houses dominating the Kaʿba (*Chroniken*, iii, 15). It was he who came into conflict with Muʿāwiya about the sale of a house and who at the time of the second pilgrimage of the Caliph, not wishing to be disturbed, sent his grandson Shayba b. Djābir to open the door of the sanctuary (*Chroniken*, i, 89). It was he who arbitrated between the two *ḥādjdj* chiefs, the partisans of ʿAlī and those of Muʿāwiya (al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 3448, iii, 2352; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 56-7 = § 3632); one of his sons ʿAbd Allāh or Ṭalḥa was a victim of the "abominable" al-Ḳasrī (*Chroniken*, ii, 37, 38, 175). It was he who appears in one of the versions of the *ḥadīth* where ʿĀʾisha wished to have the Kaʿba opened (*Chroniken*, i, 220, 222, 223). There were discussions with ʿĀʾisha which settled that it was lawful for the Shaybiyyūn to sell parts of the covering (*kiswa*) but only for the maintenance of the poor (*Chroniken*, i, 180, 182, iii, 70-2; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 283); in spite of the efforts of the makers of *ḥadīths*, the question was discussed by jurists and in 621/1224, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil, the nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, purchased from the Shaybiyyūn, for an annual fixed sum, the revenues that they drew from the opening of the Kaʿba and forced them to open it free of charge (*Chroniken*, i, 266). Shayba died in 57/676-7 or under Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2378; Ibn Saʿd, v, 331; *Usd*, iii, 8).

The tradition which gave to the Shaybiyyūn the *ḥidjāba* of the Holy House is an ancient one. It is still perpetuated in the name of the archway, which, beside Zamzam, marks the ancient boundary of the wall of the *masdjid al-ḥarām*. When the former had been enlarged, the new gate, called at the present time Bāb al-Salām, which was in a line with the Kaʿba and the ancient arcade, was called in its turn Bāb Banī Shayba (*Le Pèlerinage*, 132-3). But for this institution, as for many others, the period when it was established and merged in a pre-Islamic institution, remains obscure.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also G. de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, London 1951, 75.

(M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes)

SHAYBA b. ʿUTHMĀN [see shayba, banū].

SHAYBĀN, an Arab tribe, one of the most important *buṭūn* of Bakr b. Wāʾil.

Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, v, 244, attributes to it, following Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamharat al-nasab*, the following *nasab*: Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba b. Saʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil b. Kāsit b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Djadīla (or Djudhayla) b. Asad b. Rabīʿa b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān, as well as an identical *nasab* for the other ancestor, nephew of the first, Shaybān b. Dhuhl b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba or ʿUkūba. But there are several other *nasabs* corresponding to other branches (detailed in Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1982, and al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih fi ʾl-ridjāl*, ed. al-Badjāwī, Cairo n.d.), as well as Shaybān b. Djābir b. Murra b. ʿĀʾis or ʿĀʾish (al-Mawlā Bek, al-Badjāwī and Ibrāhīm, *Ayyām al-ʿArab fi ʾl-Islām*, Cairo 1942, 23), which should be connected with tribal groups arising from Shaybān, such as Murra b. Dhuhl, ʿĀʾish b. Rufāʿa b. al-Ḥārith and ʿAmr b. Ḳays. They form part of the imprecise network of Bakr b. Wāʾil with Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, Dhuhl b. Taym Allāh and ʿIdjl. Al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 163, mentions the presence in Egypt of several *nasabs* for the B. Ṣabra, including the Shaybānī one of Ṣabra b. ʿAwf b. Muḥakkim b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba, with a continuation identical with the one at the head of this article.

During the *Djāhiliyya*, this tribe wintered in Nadjd at Djadiyya, in an area which it shared with the B. Djusham, and moved in summer either to the upper Euphrates, the Djazīra, or eastwards to the middle and lower Euphrates, between al-Ḥīra and al-Ubulla, or even to the southwest of ʿIrāḳ, sharing pastures with Kinda, and around the Gulf. This tribe was celebrated at that time, as in the early Islamic centuries, for the remarkable quality of its poets, its use of a very pure form of Arabic language and its fighting ardour. It was frequently opposed in battle to the Yarbūʿ and Salīṭ b. Yarbūʿ, Taghlib and Tamīm (for these, see the ch. *Ayyām Rabīʿa* in al-Mawlā Bek, etc., *op. cit.*, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 554, ii, 369, 690, iii, 686, iv, 102, 443, 487, with other mentions in the index of places inhabited or frequented by the Shaybān).

The capacity of the Shaybān for risking their lives to satisfy an amorous passion is splendidly illustrated in a story given by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, ed. Zakkār, iii, 1420, also vii, 3116, a vainglorious dispute between a Shaybānī and a Dhuhlī within the clan of Bakr b. Wāʾil, settled by the arbitaration of a man from the tribe of Hamadhān, and vividly recounted.

At the time of Muhammad, the Shaybān behaved as faithful allies of the B. Hāshim, and then more particularly of the sons of ʿAlī and the ʿAbbāsids. Linked personally to the caliph rather than as a member of the *umma* as a whole, the Shaybānī al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha played an important role in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ in the reigns of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, and art. s.v.). After the conquests, the main sphere of action of the tribe remained around the western fringes of Mesopotamia, the Gulf and the Djazīra, and extended northwards to Diyār Rabīʿa and Mudar, as well as to Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. Outside these regions, there were groups of Shaybān also in Khurāsān and northern Syria. After the early Islamic period, Shaybān is less often mentioned than various of the groups descending from it. However, some members, or *mawlā* of the tribe, are mentioned as poets, grammarians and philologists in southern ʿIrāḳ. Abū ʿAmr Isḥāḳ b. Mirār al-Shaybānī (d. *ca.* 210/825 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), one of their *mawālī*, was a leading figure in the school of Kūfan philologists (others cited in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, index).

Under the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, the strength of the Shaybān was still considerable, since one of the first great Khāridjites, Shabīb b. Yazīd b. Nuʿaym al-Shaybānī, was able to raise the Arabs of Diyār Bakr and Rabīʿa, assemble troops of cavalry and march on Kūfa. He was drowned in 77/697 whilst trying to escape from al-Ḥadjdjādj. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī was one of Abū Muslim's close retainers. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī led a Khāridjite movement in 127/745 in the Kūfa area; this was sternly repressed, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk killed in 128/746 (see above, vol. VI, 624). On the other hand, it was by combatting the Rāwandiyya rebels that Maʿn b. Zāʾida al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*], former servant of the Umayyads, was able to secure pardon from al-Manṣūr; he was subsequently killed fighting the Khāridjites. ʿĪsā, a *mawlā* of Shaybān, rebelled with fifty followers, against al-Manṣūr, who sent against him Ziyād b. Mushkān, a *mawlā* of the B. Māzin, who killed him and his partisans (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, 251). In his civil

warfare with al-Ma'mūn, al-Amīn had as one of his generals the chief of the Rabī'a of al-Djazīra, Aḥmad b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, who brought with him 20,000 Arabs. His brother Yazīd (d. 185/801), governor of Ādharbāydjān, fought the Neo-Mazdakite Khurramiyya in Armenia. Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, he fought and in 179/795 killed his Khāridjite fellow-tribesman al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Shārī, and he combatted Khazar incursions into Armenia. He took part at al-Hādī's side in the warfare against the Iranian ruler in Ṭabaristān, Wandād-Hurmuzd. In 207/812-13, al-Ma'mūn sent a son of Yazīd's, Mukhālid or Khālid, at the head of a troop of Rabī'a against 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sarī. In 216/831-2, Yazīd's brother 'Abd Allāh led an expedition into the Gharbiyya of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 173, 178-9). The greater part of such Shaybānī commanders as these were great lovers of poetry and patrons of poets.

'Īsā b. Shaykh b. al-Salīl al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] appears in al-Mutawakkil's reign, was governor of Ramla in Palestine *ca.* 251/866, then in Damascus, then governor of Armenia, probably up to his death in 269/882-3. His son Aḥmad was governor of Diyār Bakr, Taro and Arzene. He probably had to combat his Khāridjite fellow-tribesmen in the Djazīra and at Mawṣil on behalf of al-Mu'taḍid, dying in 285/898 and having as his successor his son Muḥammad, from whom al-Mu'taḍid seized by force his last possession of Āmid in 286/899. Muḥammad was assigned a house in Baghdād but then imprisoned. In the accounts of these episodes, the quality of poetic composition for both men and women of his family is stressed. At the beginning of the Carmathian propaganda, in the Sawād of Kūfa, together with several tribes of Rabī'a, from Bakr b. Wā'il or Yashkur, Shaybān are mentioned at the side of 'Ā'ish, 'Ābbās, Dhuhl, 'Anaz(a), Taym Allāh, Tha'l (Tha'laba?) and Ḍubay'a b. 'Idjl (al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ed. Shayyāl, Cairo 1967, i, 156; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1961, 6, 46-8). Individuals with the tribal *nisba* are mentioned in northern Syria and in Persia. Thus under the walls of Aleppo, the great commander Ibn Rashīḳ was attacked with a lance and killed by Ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī (Canard, *Sayf al-Daula. Recueil*, Algiers 1934, 400). The tribe is mentioned with other Ḳaysī ones with whom it acted in common. Thus Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, the 'Uḳaylid *amīr* of Mawṣil and Aleppo, wishing to attack the Saldjūḳ Tutush at Damascus, gathered around him the tribes of Numayr, 'Uḳayl and Shaybān, as well as the Kurds and *Mawālida* (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, 114; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. al-Dahhān, Damascus 1954, ii, 80).

After the 5th/11th century, the tribe of Shaybān as such is less often mentioned, and it is difficult to follow the subsequent fortunes of this highly-fragmented group. The last mention of it in the index to Ibn al-Athīr stems from 501/1107-8, when 85 warriors from Shaybān were killed at the side of Ṣadaḳa b. Mazyad al-Asadī in lower 'Irāḳ (*Kāmil*, x, 448).

The Arab Banū Shaybān should not, of course, be confused with the Shībānids [*q.v.*] or Shaybānids of Central Asia, descendants of the Mongol prince Shībān b. Djoči b. Čingiz Khān.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also the various arts, in this Encyclopaedia on the various al-Shaybānīs. No diachronic study of the history of the tribe seems to have been attempted, one going beyond the simple listing of a restricted number of pieces of information concerning the Shaybān; such a work would be valuable for our knowledge of the acculturation, and then integration, of the nomadic Arabs within the conquered lands. (TH. BIANQUIS)

AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN b. Farḳad, jurist of the Ḥanafī school [see AL-ḤANAFIYYA] of the very highest eminence, immediate disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa and of Abū Yūsuf [*q.vv.*].

I. *Biography*

Usually called "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan", or simply "Muḥammad", in classical judicial literature, al-Shaybānī was the scion of a prosperous family, *mawlās* of the Banū Shaybān, originally from Ḥarastā in the vicinity of Damascus. It was at the end of the Umayyad dynasty that the father of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, a soldier, emigrated to 'Irāḳ and settled in Wāsiṭ, where Muḥammad was born in 132/750; it was in Kūfa, the home town of Abū Ḥanīfa, that the latter grew up.

Attracted at a very early age to the "quest for knowledge" rather than to a military career, according to the biographers (see, e.g., al-Dhahabī [d. 748/1347], *Manāḳib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa wa-ṣāḥibayhi Abī Yūsuf wa-Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*, Cairo n.d. 49-60), al-Shaybānī studied in Kūfa as a pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa himself for a period of time which must have been short (two years according to al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, Beirut n.d. 142), since the latter died in 150/767 when al-Shaybānī was barely eighteen years old. In fact, it was mostly as a result of study with his senior, Abū Yūsuf, the leading disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa, that al-Shaybānī became, at a very early age, a jurist whose increasing renown was soon to arouse the resentment of his master. In Kūfa, al-Shaybānī had other teachers as well, including Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Awzā'ī [*q.vv.*], with whom he trained as a traditionist (*muḥaddith*). At an unknown date, he also visited Medina, staying there two or three years (al-Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Rabat 1983, i, 171), in order to study with Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*]; he transmitted a version of the latter's *Muwaṭṭa'*, with the addition of his own annotations and commentary (last dated edition, Beirut 1984).

At twenty years old, al-Shaybānī was already teaching in one of the mosques of Kūfa where his prowess as an orator (he was reckoned a particularly fine exponent of the Arabic language), as a traditionist and as an expert in religious law "proved by the method of *ra'y* [*q.v.*]" attracted numerous students to him.

While a resident in Baghdād, al-Shaybānī was appointed judge (*ḳāḍī*) of al-Raḳḳa by Hārūn al-Rashīd with whom, in the light of various episodes recounted by the biographers, his relations were not always amicable (al-Shaybānī had an exalted opinion of his position and also, it seems, of himself), although he remained an influential member of his entourage until he was relieved of his duties, probably *ca.* 187/803, and returned to Baghdād, where he resumed his educational activities. It was during this period that his teaching exerted the widest influence, over, in particular, the most prestigious of his pupils, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī [*q.v.*], who was later to compose a refutation addressed to him (the *K. al-Radd 'alā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*, in *K. al-Umm*, Cairo 1906, vii, 277-303) while retaining immense admiration for him. Another of his leading pupils was 'Īsā b. Abān (d. 221/836). Among his other, lesser-known disciples were Ibrāhīm b. Rustam al-Marwazī (d. 211/826), Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr (d. 217/832), Khalaf b. Ayyūb al-Balkhī (d. 205/820, 215 or 220), Mūsā b. Naṣr al-Rāzī (d. ?), etc. (for a list of scholars who transmitted traditions (*ḥadīth*) according to al-Shaybānī, see al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, 50).

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī died, either in 187/803 or, which is more likely, in 189/805, according to the biographers, in Khurāsān (at Ranbuwayh or at Rayy), where Hārūn al-Rashīd had taken him as part of his entourage, having reinstated him in his judicial position. He died on the same day and in the same place as the eminent grammarian and philologist al-Kisāʾī, leading Hārūn al-Rashīd to remark that he had buried *fiḳh* and grammar side by side.

II. *His work and thought*

(a) The body of work, almost all of it preserved and published, which is attributed to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, enormous. But, as has recently been shown by N. Calder (*Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993, 39-66), extreme caution is required, concerning not so much the authenticity of this attribution but rather the precise nature of the latter. At that time, there can be no doubt that the very notion of a "book", having a single and identified author, did not exist in erudite circles: a certain disciple would collect the teachings of one or another scholar which he eventually committed to writing, accompanied by his own embellishments or commentary; this compilation would then be handed down from disciple to disciple, each in turn adding his own commentary, until a final version came into being, and was attributed to an ancient authority.

Since in the Ḥanafī school, as it developed during the classical period, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was seen to be accorded the role of the one who set down in writing the *fiḳh* of the first Ḥanafīs, (principally Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and himself), it is particularly difficult to make sense of his bibliography. There is no doubt, for example, that the treatise on *fiḳh* currently published under the title of *Kitāb al-Aṣl* (ed. al-Afghānī, Ḥaydarābād 1966-72, and Beirut 1990; partial Ger. tr. Wiendensohler, *Mängel beim Kauf nach islamischem Recht*, Walldorf-Hessen 1960; separate edition of the *K. al-Buyūʿ wa l-salam* by Ch. Chehata, Cairo 1954), which is also known by the name of *al-Mabsūṭ*, and which is attributed to al-Shaybānī, is in fact a compilation of forty-seven short texts on *fiḳh*, considerably adapted over the years, which Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995), an early bibliographer, attributed to him in his renowned *Fihrist* (Beirut 1978, 287-8). The *K. al-Aṣl* played a vital role in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, to such an extent that, according to some of its leading scholars, for a Ḥanafī jurist it was sufficient to memorise it for being considered a *mudjtahid* (al-Imām ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Sharḥ Adab al-ḳāḍī li ʾl-Imām Abī Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Khaṣṣaf*, Beirut 1994, 19).

Besides this collection of opuscula, dealing with different aspects of practical law and assembled into a single whole, al-Shaybānī is also the author, again according to Ibn al-Nadīm and later biographers, of various works, including the *K. al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (Ḥaydarābād 1936), *K. al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (publ. in the margins of the *K. al-Kharādj* of Abū Yūsuf, Būlāḳ 1884, Lahore 1909; partial Ger. tr. by I. Dimitroff in *MSOS*, xi/2 [1908], 60-206), the *K. al-Siyar al-kabīr* (publ. with the commentary of al-Sarakhsī, Ḥaydarābād 1916-17 and Cairo 1957) and the *K. al-Siyar al-ṣaghīr*, tr. M. Khadduri, *The Islamic law of nations*, Baltimore 1966. The *K. al-Aṣl*, the four works mentioned above and *al-Ziyādāt* belong, according to a classification established by the Ḥanafī biographers, to the *ẓāhir al-riwāya* of the school, in the sense that their transmission, from the origin, was supposed to be faultless, uninterrupted and substantially attested.

According to the same biographers, other texts attributed to al-Shaybānī did not enjoy the same status in terms of the quality of their transmission, with the result that their current content was considered dubious (a remark in fact applicable, from a viewpoint of contemporary criticism, as has been observed above, to the entire corpus of al-Shaybānī). Among the published works attributed to al-Shaybānī and also worth mentioning, besides the revision of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik already noted, are the *K. al-Āthār* (Lahore 1910 and ed. al-Afghānī, Beirut 1993 with an excellent introd.), the *K. al-Ḥudjdja ʿalā ahl al-Madīna* (Ḥaydarābād 1965-71), the *K. al-Makhāridj fi ʾl-ḥiyal* (ed. Schacht, Leipzig 1930, repr. Hildesheim 1968) and *al-Amālī* (Ḥaydarābād 1941). For more details regarding the work of al-Shaybānī, editions and the innumerable commentaries which it generated, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 421-33.

Since Abū Ḥanīfa himself wrote nothing on the subject of *fiḳh*, and since Abū Yūsuf apparently left behind only a very few texts, it is essentially through the intermediary of the work attributed to al-Shaybānī (and, to a lesser extent, that of al-Shāfiʿī) that the judicial opinions developed by and around Abū Ḥanīfa (and more generally, in the legal circles of Kūfa) can, with a reasonable degree of certainty, be known. This explains why E. Sachau, and other orientalists who shared his assessment, considered that al-Shaybānī had played a decisive role, more important even than those of Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf, in formulating the doctrines of the Hanafī school and, more generally, of Islamic law (Sachau in *SBWAW*, *phil-hist. CL.*, lxv, 723). This appraisal is, however, perhaps excessive, for two reasons. On the one hand, as explained above, al-Shaybānī cannot really be considered in anything other than a remote sense the real author of the corpus attributed to him; on the other, the vocation of *fiḳh* was originally supposed to be, and to remain, an orally transmitted discipline. It was probably only at the time when *fiḳh* definitively lost this quality, and its preferred mode of transmission became the written form, that al-Shaybānī was to have this monumental and systematic corpus, originally fragmentary and definitely far less voluminous, attributed to him by the later Ḥanafīs (the same thing occurred within the confines of the Shāfiʿī school in respect of the *K. al-Umm* attributed to al-Shāfiʿī) and in this regard, the role of the great Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī (d. 490/1097 [*q.v.*], i.e. three centuries after al-Shaybānī) seems to have been definitive. Furthermore, so far as the Ḥanafī biographers are concerned, al-Shaybānī invariably occupies only the third rank, after Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf, in the hierarchy of authorities of the school.

(b) The thought of al-Shaybānī, as has been shown by J. Schacht (*The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1979, 306-10, and *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 45) represents considerable progress in relation to that of his two masters in Kūfa, Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf, and in many respects it prefigures the rift between the schools, dominant at that time, known as "local", and the "personal" schools which were to succeed them, as reflected in the work of his pupil al-Shāfiʿī. In this regard, it is relevant to note that, in addition to texts of practical law, al-Shaybānī seems also to be the author of a small number of writings on topics of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]: a *K. Idjtihād al-raʾy*, a *K. al-Istiḥsān* and a *K. Uṣūl al-fiḳh* are attributed to him in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (Fakhr al-Islām al-Bazdawī also attributes to him a *K. Adab al-ḳāḍī*, to which he refers in *Uṣūl al-Bazdawī*, ed. with al-Bukhārī's commentary *Kashf al-asrār*, Beirut 1991, i, 59-60). Study of the classical

literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, which often draws attention to opinions of al-Shaybānī, tends to confirm the impression that he was also a theorist of *fiḳh* (see, e.g. al-Lāmishī, *Kitāb fī Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, Beirut 1995, index).

As recounted by a classic of Ḥanafī literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (*Uṣūl al-Bazdawī*, 59-61), the doctrine of al-Shaybānī relating to the respective roles of "reasoning" (*ra'y*) and of tradition (*ḥadīth*) in the elaboration of *fiḳh*, a doctrine which firmly insists on their necessary complementarity (*lā yastaḳīmu al-ḥadīth illā bi 'l-ra'y wa-lā yastaḳīmu al-ra'y illā bi 'l-ḥadīth*), seems to be in perfect harmony with the *fiḳh* which he effectively formulated and which Schacht has successfully analysed, comparing it with that of his predecessors. On the one hand, al-Shaybānī takes care to justify his legal doctrine on the basis of traditions traced back either to the Prophet, or to other authorities (where necessary, he feels free to quarrel with the latter); thus "he fills his books with *ḥadīth*" (al-Bazdawī, 61). He appears in this context to stand apart from other jurists of Kūfa, and from Abū Yūsuf in particular, in according, in a non-systematic manner, priority to traditions attributed to the Prophet over those of the Companions (*al-Ṣaḥāba* [*q.v.*]). It is known that al-Shāfiʿī, for his part, was to accord probative worth to Prophetic traditions exclusively; on this point also, al-Shaybānī gives the appearance of being the initiator of Shāfiʿī-like theses (Schacht, *Origins*, 27-34). On the other hand, the judicial reasoning, the *ra'y* of al-Shaybānī, is considerably more rigorous and systematic than was that of Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf or Mālik. In a word, he tends to associate himself with the strict "analogical reasoning" (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]), of which al-Shāfiʿī was to give, in the *Risāla*, the first formal theorisation available to modern scholarship. It is not impossible that, in his *K. Idjtihād al-ra'y*, which is unfortunately lost, al-Shaybānī had preceded him in this project.

In theological matters, al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1163 [*q.v.*]) and other heresiographers assert that, following the example of Abū Ḥanīfa Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī adhered to the Murdjiʾī doctrine [*q.v.*] (*Livre des religions et des sectes*, tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Louvain 1986, i, 433; on the very close relations between Ḥanafism and Murdjiʾism, in which al-Shaybānī is just one of the participating players, see W. Madelung in *Isl.*, lix [1982], 32-39). A *Credo* (*ʿAḳīda*), preserved in manuscript form, is attributed to him, but not one of his biographers mentions its existence.

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(E. CHAUMONT)

AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, ABŪ ʿAMR ISḤĀḲ B. MIRĀR, lexicographer belonging to the Kūfan school, who is often quoted under his *kunya* Abū ʿAmr. He was probably born somewhere around 120/738 in Kūfa and lived to a very great age. The biographies mention several years as his date of death, but the most probable date of death is 213/828 (Diem, *Das Kitāb al-ǧīm*, 10). According to a report in Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 58, l. 11), his mother was a Nabaṭī and he knew some of her language. His foreign descent is confirmed by a remark in Ibn Khallikān (i, 201, l. 6) who says that he was a *mawlā*. It is not certain whence his *nisba* ash-Shaybānī was derived; according to most sources, he received this *nisba* because he educated the sons of some members of the Banū Shaybān.

Al-Shaybānī was trained in grammar and lexicography, as well as *ḥadīth*; his teacher in poetry was al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*]. In his theological opinions he may have been a Muʿtazilī; in a report in Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, vi, 84) he is said to have maintained that the Ḳur'ān was created. Among his pupils were the lexicographers Ibn al-Sikkīt and Abū ʿUbayd [*q.vv.*] and the traditionist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who quotes him as a source in his *Musnad*. His fame rests mainly on his qualities as a collector of poetry. He is reported to have collected the *dīwāns* of more than eighty tribes, which have not been preserved. Both his son ʿAmr and his grandson Muḥammad b. ʿAmr transmitted lexical explanations to poems from him. In the Kūfan line, the transmission through his grandson to Abū Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Marwazī (d. 298/910) was preserved in the *Madjālis Thaʿlab* (e.g., i, 137; ii, 479, 485) as a later addition to the manuscript.

Abū ʿAmr was the author of several lexicographical treatises, most of them dealing with specialised semantic domains, such as the terminology of human anatomy (*khalḳ al-insān*) and that of camels and horses. He is also said to have written a book called *al-Nawādir* and a collection of rare expressions from the *ḥadīth* (*gharīb al-ḥadīth*) (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 121-3). The only work that has been preserved is his *K. al-Djīm* (in some sources called *K. al-Lughāt* or *K. al-Ḥurūf*; according to others these are independent books). This book was transmitted mainly by two lexicographers, al-Sukkarī [*q.v.*] and Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmiḍ (d. 305/918), a pupil of the Kūfan grammarian Thaʿlab. Both recensions seem to have been used in the unique Escorial manuscript (no. 572; for a description of this manuscript see Diem, 12-14).

In the *K. al-Djīm*, each chapter contains words beginning with the same radical, without further criteria of division. There is a large amount of association within each chapter, so that even words beginning with different radicals are quoted when the context leads him to do so. Unlike his contemporary al-Khalīl [*q.v.*], he followed the usual alphabetical order of the Arabic alphabet rather than a phonetic order. Earlier investigators, who did not have the possibility of study-

ing the entire treatise, believed that the reason for its name is that the dictionary stops with the letter *djīm*, but Diem's analysis has shown that this is not the case, since the Escorial manuscript contains the entire alphabet. The reason for its being called thus cannot be that the book started with the letter *djīm*, either, since the Escorial manuscript starts with the letter *hamza*. The reason for the name must have been unclear from an early date onwards, since the biographers were puzzled by this question, too. Al-Suyūṭī, for instance, mentions that he believed for some time that the book was called thus because it started with the letter *djīm*, but then he saw a manuscript in which the first letter was the *hamza*. According to the explanation in the *Ḳāmūs*, the word *djīm* was a substantive with the alleged meaning of *dībādj* "brocade".

It is not unlikely that the treatise as we have it is an unfinished version. From the biographical literature we know that Abū ʿAmr did not transmit the book to any of his pupils, possibly because he intended to revise it thoroughly, but never got around to doing so. In its present form the classification and analysis of the words is rather confused. Not only is there no apparent order in each chapter, but within each lemma the information is given haphazardly.

The main corpus for his collection of words was probably his own collection of Djāhilī poetry. Within each lemma he quotes systematically and in a fixed order from 17 different *dīwāns*. The total number of poetic lines quoted is about 4,300 as against only two verses from the Ḳurʾān (Diem, 60). Krenkow's evaluation of the book as a prime source for our knowledge of pre-Islamic dialects is not confirmed by the later analysis made by Diem (74-7), since his only contribution to the study of the *lughāt* is a small number of lexical items. In general, al-Shaybānī does not elaborate on the meaning of the words, and he discusses only rare words that apparently occurred in his collection.

Although quotations from the *K. al-Djīm* are found in all the major dictionaries, including the *Ḳāmūs* and the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, most later lexicographers did not know the work first hand, but quoted it through Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (Diem, 118-9). In the *Lisān al-ʿArab* he is not one of the most frequently quoted authorities, but still the index to the *Lisān* mentions him 92 times. For some of the *shawāhid*, the *K. al-Djīm* remains the only available source.

Al-Shaybānī is almost never quoted on grammatical doctrine, but Abū Ḥayyān has a quotation from his *K. al-Faraḥ*, which is not mentioned anywhere else, in which he discusses the priority of the agent over the object in syntactic terms (*Tadhkira*, 305, cf. 538, 668, about morphology). Elsewhere (*Manhadj*, 405, l. 32), the same author reports a syntactic opinion from al-Shaybānī which had been transmitted from him by the grammarian al-Akhfash.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, i, 116; Krenkow, in *EI*[1] s.v.; Sezgin, viii, 121-3; Suyūṭī *Bughya*, i, 439-40; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. Amer, Stockholm 1963, 56-8; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i, 201-2; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 68; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Cairo, vi, 77-84; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1950-73, i, 221-9; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1984, 204; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1954, 91-2; Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *Tadhkirat al-nuḥāt*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Beirut 1986; idem, *Manhadj al-sālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, ed. S. Glazer, New Haven 1947; *Madjālis Thaʿlab*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo n.d.; W. Diem, *Das Kitāb al-ǧīm des Abū ʿAmr aš-Šaibānī. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Lexikographie*, diss., Univ. of Munich 1968; J.A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography. Its history and place in the general history of lexicography*, Leiden [2]1965, 92-7.

(K. Versteegh)

SHAYBĀNĪ, Abū Naṣr Fatḥ Allāh Khān, 19th century Persian poet, born around 1241/1825 in Kāshān, died 20 Radjab 1308/1 March 1891.

He came from a noble family claiming descent from the Shaybānī tribe, from which he took his pen name. His grandfather held the governorship of Naṭanz, Kāshān, Djawshaḳān and Ḳum during Āghā Muḥammad Khān's reign (1193-1212/1779-97), whilst his father, Muḥammad Kāẓim Khān, was employed under Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1250-64/1779-97) and later served as financial agent of the governor-general of Kāshān and Hamadān. In accordance with the family tradition, Shaybānī also was identified with the court and government, early having access to the court of Muḥammad Shāh and acting as companion in attendance to the heir-apparent (afterwards Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, r. 1264-1313/1848-96). In later years he was involved from time to time in important official assignments. However, despite his official preoccupations, he was essentially a private individual seeking a life of seclusion. Consequently, he resigned from public affairs and went to live on his estates. He finally decided to settle down in Tehran and died there.

Shaybānī's attachment to Ṣūfīsm, and the influence it had on his poetic outlook, may be discerned in the introspective trend often depicted in his verse. As a writer, he was competent in both prose and poetry. Included among his representative writings are his prose and verse *Durdj-i durar* "A casket of pearls", and collection of odes *Fatḥ u ẓafar* "Victory and triumph". His major prose work is the *Maḳālāt-i Shaybānī*, which is autobiographical in nature, and was composed in 1273/1856-7.

Shaybānī's poetic career spanned over a period of some fifty years, from the last part of Muḥammad Shāh's reign to about the end of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's time. His output comprises *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs*, *ḳiṭʿas* and *dū-baytīs*. A selection of his verse, probably prepared by the poet, was published in Istanbul in 1308-9/1890-1. His style of writing follows the trend of the old masters, such as Rūdakī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*], and may be identified with the Khurāsānī school of Persian poetry. He is among the leading poets of the Ḳādjār period who revolted successfully against the predominance of the "Indian style" (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]), and strove for a "return" (*bāzgasht*) to early indigenous forms. However, the real contribution of Shaybānī's verse must be sought in the choice of his subject and the mood of his poetry. He was perhaps the first poet to criticise openly in several of his poems the decadent state of contemporary society and politics—a theme that was to become the stock-in-trade of the Persian poets in the post-Constitutional period. Moreover, his verse often reflected a subjective element that was new to native literary tradition, and evoked certain parallels with the pessimism and ultra-realism in the European literature produced during the second half of the nineteenth century (see R. Levy, *Persian literature*, London 1948, 99).

Bibliography: Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii/2, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1340/1961; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ii, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1365/1986; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Shīrāzī ("Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh"), *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, iii, ed. Muḥammad

Dja'far Mahdjūb, Tehran (?) n.d.; Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī (Mu'allim Habībābādī), *Makārim al-āthār*, iv, Isfahān 1352/1973; *Fihrist-i kutub-i khattī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, iii, Tehran 1318-21/1939-42, 518-20; Kāsim Ghanī, *Fath Allāh Khān Shaybānī*, in *Yāddāsht-hā-yi Duktar Kāsim Ghanī*, x, London 1983, 152-7 (publ. originally in *Āyanda*, iii/1 [1323/1944], 30-4); Muhammad Kazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i mu'āsirīn*, in *Yādgār*, v/3 (December 1948), 96-8; Muhammad Mu'īn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1371/1992; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Yahyā Āryanpūr, *Az Sabā tā Nīmā*, i, Tehran 1350/1971.

(Munibur Rahman)

AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad, Abu 'l-Yusr al-Kayrawānī al-Riyādī "the mathematician" (223-298/838-911), *adīb* and author of *rasā'il*.

He was born in Baghdād, where he pursued his studies before making his way to Ifrīkiya in 261/874 during the reign of the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Aghlab (261-90/874-902). Unfortunately, little is known concerning the life in Baghdād of this prolific letter writer and poet. Besides the valuable information regarding him supplied by Ibn al-Abbār in his *Takmila* (i, article 454, p. 174), stating that al-Shaybānī was the disciple and friend of writers such as al-Djāhiz, al-Mubarrad and Ibn Kutayba, and of the poets Di'bil, Abū Tammām and al-Buhturī, substantial evidence concerning his life in the East is lacking. The same cannot be said of his life in Ifrīkiya, which began in 261/874 when he was 38 years old. Al-Shaybānī settled in Aghlabid Ifrīkiya after wanderings which took him as far as Spain. He was received at Kayrawān by the three last Aghlabid *amīrs*, including Ziyādat Allāh III (290-6/902-9), who treated him with lavish generosity and entrusted to him the post of director of the Bayt al-Hikma. It is again Ibn al-Abbār who states that this epistolary writer was at the head of the Bayt al-Hikma during the reign of Ziyādat Allāh (*op. cit.*, 174). Al-Shaybānī was opportunist enough to turn away from his Aghlabid patrons just before their deposition, in a bloodless coup, by the Fātimids (296-362/909-73), and what is more, he composed panegyrics in honour of the caliph al-Mahdī (297-322/910-34); as a reward, he retained his post at the head of the above-mentioned establishment until 298/911, the date of his death at Kayrawān.

Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī was a talented writer and a first-rate scholar, seeking to combine the pertinence of ideas and flexibility and elegance of expression with the rigour of the language. In fact, he established himself as a master of the epistolary genre on account of his flowing style, his pure language and his zest. The few biographical sources which mention him attribute to him the titles of numerous works including *Sirādj al-hudā fi 'l-Kur'ān wa-i'rābih wa-ma'ānīh*, *Musnad fi 'l-hadīth*, *Lakīt al-mardjān* (after the model of the *'Uyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Kutayba), *Kutb al-adab*, *al-Murassa'a wa 'l-mudabbadja*. As for *al-Risāla al-'adhrā'*, composed without any doubt by al-Shaybānī and addressed to his friend and correspondent Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 279/892), as is proved by the unique manuscript which contains it (Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Taymur no. 80), it is "one of the most ancient treatises on administration and public life" (Gottschalk, in *EI*², iii, 880a). This letter achieved immediate and considerable success and was rapidly transmitted throughout the Muslim world; it has been continually studied, annotated and used as an educational text. However, Kurd 'Alī, who was the first to have the opportunity of establishing the unique text of the *Risāla* of al-Shaybānī (see M. Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*, Cairo 1331/1913, 176-93) and who cannot have known everything about this Aghlabid letter writer, inadvertently attributed it to Ibn al-Mudabbir, this leading into error Zakī Mubārak in his *Étude critique sur la Lettre Vierge d'Ibn al-Mudabber* (*sic*), Cairo 1931, and Gottschalk in his art. IBN AL-MUDABBIR (*loc. cit.*).

In this context, the following points should be noted:

(1) The *kunya* of Ibn al-Mudabbir is Abū Ishāk and not Abu 'l-Yusr, as claimed by Kurd 'Alī, Zakī Mubārak and Gottschalk (see on this topic, *Aghānī*, Beirut 1380/1960, xxii, 151; Yākūt, *Mu'djam al-'udabā'*, Beirut, i, 226; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, i, 56).

(2) The Title of the *Risāla* as it is found in the Cairo manuscript is the following: "The virgin letter, concerning the criteria of rhetoric and of the instruments of writing, sent by Abu 'l-Yusr Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Shaybānī to Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. al-Mudabbir (*al-Risāla al-'adhrā' fī mawāzīn al-balāgha wa-adawāt al-kitāba, kataba-hā Abu 'l-Yusr Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Shaybānī ilā Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. al-Mudabbir*).

(3) Several paragraphs of the *Risāla al-'adhrā'* have been reproduced in the *'Ikd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi and attributed without any hesitation to al-Shaybānī, although Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi gives no title to this letter (see al-*'Ikd*, Cairo 1365/1944, iv, 155-205).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *al-Risālat al-'adhrā'*, ms. Cairo Taymur coll., no. 80; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 173-4; idem, *I'tāb al-kuttāb*, Damascus 1380/1961, 78; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, Beirut 1983, i, 162-3; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349, 68; Khushanī, *Tabakāt*, Baghdād 1372, iii, 288; Makkarī, *Nafh al-tīb*, Beirut 1388/1968, iii, 134; Fayrūzābādī, *al-Bulgha fi ta'rīkh a'immat al-lugha*, Damascus 1392/1972, 3-4; H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Warakāt*, Tunis 1965, i, 243-4; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, Beirut 1389/1969, i, 57; M.M. Labidi, *La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les Aghlabides*, diss. Tunis 1414/1994.

(Mohamed Mokhtar Labidi)

SHAYBĀNĪ KHĀN [see SHĪBĀNĪ KHĀN].

SHAYBĀNIDS [see SHĪBĀNIDS].

SHAYDĀ, MULLĀ, 17th century Persian poet of India, commonly known as Mullā Shaydā, born in Fathpūr Sīkrī, near Āgra, d. in 1080/1669-70.

His father was a native of Mashhad, from where he migrated to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar. It is reported that Shaydā was attached initially to a nobleman who spotted his poetic talents, and eventually introduced him to the Emperor Djahāngīr so that he became enrolled among the *ahadīs* or "gentlemen troopers", a class of servants employed mostly for household duties. Later, he decided to seek employment with 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]), writing a *kasīda* in praise of the latter and sent it to him at Mandū, and after some time, was released from the royal staff and joined Khān-i Khānān's service in Burhānpūr.

Another patron whom Shaydā served was Prince Shahriyār (d. 1037/1628), the ill-fated youngest son of Emperor Djahāngīr, who was blinded and subsequently executed. Thereafter the poet entered the service of the Emperor Shāh Djahān among the *ahadīs*. In course of time, he retired from his job, living comfortably on the government pension granted to him, and settled in Kashmīr where he died.

Shaydā has been described as an irascible person provoked easily on mere suspicion, and he composed satirical verses attacking several of his contemporaries, so that his behaviour made him many enemies,

and he was often a target of their hostility.

Evidence is lacking about the actual extent of Shaydā's poetical output. Estimates in this connection vary from 50,000 to 100,000 couplets. The poet is also said to have composed a *mathnawī*, entitled *Dawlat-i bīdār*, "The awakened fortune", modelled after Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*. It seems that Shaydā was negligent in the preservation of his works. The *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira* gives a description of a copy of Shaydā's works used by Āzād for his account of the poet. The contents of this manuscript included 14 lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* and a *ḳiṭʿa* dealing with some of the ornaments of rhetoric. A manuscript of Shaydā's *ghazals* is in the British Library; it contains a total of some 1,200 couplets.

Shaydā has won critical approval for his poetic achievements, being represented as a follower of the old school. In the *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī* he is depicted as one of the talented poets of his time who had a probing imagination, and could conceive novel subjects, but showed mental apathy in their arrangement. He wielded a facile pen which enabled him to compose lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* within the smallest amount of time. His knowledge of prosody was excellent, and is seen in his frequent use of difficult metres and rhyme.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, B.L. ms. Or. 2849; ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*, iii, ed. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Calcutta 1931; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, i, ed. Kabīr al-Dīn and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Calcutta 1867; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *Shāh Djahān-nāma* (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*), iii, ed. Ghulām Yazdānī and Waḥīd Ḳurayshī, Lahore 1972; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1352/1973-4; Shāhnawāz Khān Khʷāfī, *Bahāristān-i sukhan*, Madras 1958; Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush, *Kalimāt al-shuʿarā* (*Tadhkira-yi Sarkhush*), ed. Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Dilāwarī, Lahore 1942; Shēr Khān Lodī, *Mirʾāt al-khayāl*, Bombay 1324/1906-7; Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Arzū, *Madjmaʿ al-nafāʾis*, Bankipore ms., Catalogue, viii; ʿAlī Ḳulī Khan Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, B.L. ms. Add. 16729; Mīr Ḥusayn Dūst Sanbhalī, *Tadhkira-yi Ḥusaynī*, Lakhnaw 1875; Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira*, Kānpūr 1871; idem, *Sarw-i Āzād*, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) 1913; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1958; Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Hāshimī Sandīlawī, *Makhzan al-gharāʾib*, ii, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir, Lahore 1970; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1367/1988; Ḥusām al-Dīn Rāshidī (ed.), *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarā-yi Kashmīr*, i, Karachi 1967; Amīr Ḥasan ʿĀbidī, *Mulla Shayda*, in *Indo-Iranica*, xx/1 (1967), Persian section, 1-14; M.L. Rahman, *Persian literature during the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, Baroda 1970; Punjab University, *Urdū dāʾira-yi maʿārif-i Islāmiyya*, xi, Lahore 1975.

(Munibur Rahman)

SHAYKH (a.), pl. *shuyūkh*, denotes etymologically "someone whose age appears advanced and whose hair has gone white", used for a man over fifty years old (*LʿA*, Beirut 1988, vii, 254; *TʿA*, Cairo 1869-89, ii, 267-8). The Ḳurʾānic usage of *shuyūkh*, in XL, 67, is in this sense. From pre-Islamic times onwards, the idea of authority and prestige has accordingly been attached to the term, so that *shaykh* is used for the chief of any human group, whether the family (al-Zabīdī states that a woman's *shaykh* is her husband, *TʿA*, ii, 268), a tribe, a trade guild, etc. In the early Islamic context, *al-shaykhānⁱ* denotes either the two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut n.d., 357) or the two best-known traditionists, al-Bukhārī and Muslim (*ibid.*, 346). The term *shaykh* may be applied to the head of a religious establishment (*madrasa*, *dār al-ḥadīth*, *ribāṭ*, etc.), and to any Muslim scholar of a certain level of attainment (in the biographical collections, the term is generally linked with others, such as *imām*). In the peripheral regions of the Islamic world, *shaykh* may have various meanings. In India, it denotes a category of the descendants of the Prophet or *ashrāf* [see hind. ii, at vol. III, 410a], whilst in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time, the inhabitants of Mogadishu applied it to their sultan (*Riḥla*, ii, 182, tr. Gibb, ii, 374-5).

The term *shaykh* is often found with a complement. The *sh. al-balad* can be the equivalent of the mayor of a town, or more simply, an employee looking after the good management of the town (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 809). Amongst the Ḥafṣids of Tunis, the grand vizier had the title *sh. al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, in reference to the Almohads, whose heirs the Ḥafṣids claimed to be (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, 266). On the purely religious level, the honorific title *Sh. al-Islam* [*q.v.*] is found, also the function of *sh. al-iḳrāʾ* (master in instruction of the Ḳurʾān readings), and the designation *sh. al-Sunna* for traditionists or other persons scrupulously observing the *Sunna*.

In Ṣūfī mysticism, the *shaykh* is the spiritual master (pls. *shuyūkh*, *mashāyikh*). Having himself traversed the mystical path (*ṭarīḳ*(a) [*q.v.*]), he knows its traps and dangers, and is therefore essential for the aspiring novice or *murīd* [*q.v.*], who must place himself totally under his guidance (termed *iḳtidāʾ*; see esp. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Beirut, iii, 75-6; al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Beirut 1983, 83). He thus becomes the novice's spiritual father and "educator", *al-shaykh al-murabbī* (see e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahdhīb al-masāʾil*, Tunis 1991, 224, 226) or *sh. al-tarbiya*. His closeness to God makes him a *walī* or saint, and provides a firm basis for his authority; the Ṣūfīs interpret in this sense the *ḥadīth* "the *shaykh* has the same position amongst his followers as the Prophet in his community" (see e.g. the *K. Khatm al-awliyāʾ* of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Beirut 1965, 489, and on this tradition, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, no. 4969). A wider circle than his spiritual disciples seek out the Ṣūfī master not for *tarbiya* but for the spiritual influence, *baraka* [*q.v.*] emanating from him; in this case, he is envisaged as the *sh. al-tabarruk*. The *shaykh* usually officiates in a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] founded on his personal initiative (most of the *shaykhs* whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met in the course of his travels were heads of this kind of institution). In Persia, the *shaykh* of a *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*] had a similar spiritual charisma, but in the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk Near East the *khānḳāh* became a public institution, and its *shaykh*, nominated by the ruling power, belonged more to the class of *ʿulamāʾ* or administrators than to the Ṣūfīs. At Cairo and Damascus there was a supreme *sh. al-shuyūkh*, charged with the office of controlling the practice of *taṣawwuf* and whose role was often more political and diplomatic than spiritual (whence al-Subkī's severe judgement on this pompous title, see his *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, Beirut 1986, 96). At a later period, the Ottomans introduced a *sh. al-ṭuruḳ* ("head of the mystical paths" rather than "of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods") in each major city of the empire, with the same function as the *sh. al-shuyūkh*. At the beginning of the 19th century, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] set up a *sh. mashāyikh al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*, with authority over the whole range of Egyptian brotherhoods.

One should also note that titles like *shaykh*, *sh. al-shuyūkh* or *sh. al-mashāyikh* are equally used for the heads of trade and professional guilds (see, e.g. above,

vol. II, 967b, and III, 206a), evoking the affinities which existed between *taṣawwuf* and *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. In later Ṣūfism, the *sh. al-sadjdjāda* denoted the successor—corporeal or spiritual—of the eponymous head of the order; the prayer carpet, *sadjdjāda* [*q.v.*], considered as stemming from the master, symbolises the transmission of spiritual authority to his "heir". Finally, a woman in whom is recognised the quality of a spiritual master (above all, *vis-à-vis* other women) is still today called *shaykha*.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): See the art. *shaykh* in ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥifnī, *Muʿdjam muṣṭalaḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Beirut 1987. On the *sh. al-shuyūkh*, see L. Fernandes, *The evolution of a Sufi institution in Mamluk Egypt: the* Khanqah, Berlin 1988, 47-54. On the *sh. al-mashāyikh* in Egypt, see M.T. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Ṣiddīḳ*, Cairo 1323, 379-80, and esp. P.J. Luizard, *Le soufisme égyptien contemporain*, in *Egypte/Monde arabe*, ii (1990), 44. For a parallel between the *shaykh* of Ṣūfism and that of *futuwwa*, see J.-C. Vadet, *La Futuwwa, morale professionelle ou morale mystique*, in *REI*, xlvi (1978), 57-90.

(E. Geoffroy)

SHAYKH ʿADĪ [see ʿadī].

SHAYKH ĀDAM, Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Ṭayyib Shāh b. Malik b. Ismāʿīl, the successor to Dāwūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Ḳuṭb Shāh in 1021/1612 as the twenty-eight *dāʿī* of the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in India known as the Dāwūdī Bohras.

According to Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Madjdūʿ (*Fahrasa*, ed. ʿAlīnaḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 118; the text is corrupt and not clear), Shaykh Ādam was a descendant of either Siddharāja Jayasimha (or Jayasingha), the Rādjput ruler of Gudjarāt (1094-1143), who was converted to the Ismāʿīlī faith by Mawlāya ʿAbd Allāh, or a descendant of the latter missionary who had come from Yemen. He lived in Aḥmadābād and died there on 7 Radjab 1030/28 May 1621. The year of his birth is unknown, but Muḥammad ʿAlī, the author of *Mawsim-i bahār* (Bombay 1301/1884, iii, 259-64) states that while he was still a young boy he studied with Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, the first Indian to be appointed as the head of the *daʿwa* in 946/1539. The latter lived in his native place Sidhpur [*q.v.*] for five years after becoming the head of the *daʿwa* and then went back to Yemen, where he died in 974/1567. If Shaykh Ādam studied with Yūsuf b. Sulaymān while he was still in Sidhpur, he must have been at least ten years of age or older, which implies that he was born before 940/1533. According to the same author, he then served Djalāl b. Ḥasan, the twenty-fifth *dāʿī*, who succeeded Yūsuf b. Sulaymān and attained prominence during the time of the succeeding *dāʿī*, Dāwūd b. ʿAdjab. In 998/1590 he was delegated by the *dāʿī* to preach and propagate the *daʿwa* in the Deccan (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār*, ms. collection of Zāhid ʿAlī, 541 ff., 625-8). After the death of this *dāʿī*, the Bohra community was divided over the succession dispute; a great majority upheld the succession of Dāwūd Burhān al-Dīn and came to be known as the Dāwūdīs, whereas a minority accepted the claims of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan, the grandson of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, and became known as the Sulaymānīs. During this time of crisis Shaykh Ādam firmly stood by the *dāʿī* Dāwūd Burhān al-Dīn, defending his succession before the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar.

His *Kitāb palī mīdū* deals with the beginning of the Mustaʿlian *daʿwa* in India, the arrival of Mawlāya ʿAbd Allāh (sent from Yemen by Lamak b. Mālik) in Cambay, and the legend about the conversion of Siddharāja Jayasimha, and the subsequent history of the *daʿwa* until the author's time (al-Madjdūʿ, *Fahrasa*, 118). It is an important source for the history of that early period: manuscript copies of it are, however, very rare.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 190.

(I. Poonawala)

SHAYKH al-BALAD "the Chief of the City", the title given in Ottoman Egypt during the greater part of the 18th century to the most powerful bey in Cairo.

By the early 18th century real political power in Egypt no longer rested with the pashas, the official representatives of the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, but with the military grandees—at first Janissary regimental commanders and then exclusively with the Mamlūk beys, who accepted the nominal Ottoman sovereignty, and whose supremacy was decided by fierce power struggles among military factions and households. The strongest bey was called by various appellations, such as *Amīr Miṣr* ("the commander of Cairo"), *Kabīr al-Ḳawm* ("the senior of the people", i.e. the Mamluks), *Kabīr al-Balad* ("the senior of the city"), until these titles were superseded by *Shaykh al-Balad*, a title which expresses not only his supremacy but also the limitation of his power to Cairo; he could not extend his rule to all of Egypt, owing to the weakness and fragmentation of Egyptian government, notably in Upper Egypt where the Arab tribes were virtually autonomous.

Shaykh al-Balad was not an official Ottoman title, and the Ottomans strongly objected to it, as it expressed the *de facto* rule of the beys and the mere symbolic position of the Ottoman pashas in Cairo. In several official decrees issued in the years 1138/1726 and 1143/1730, the Ottoman government calls this title "a devilish innovation", the source of all the trouble in Egypt, and threatens with death whoever uses it. With their accustomed flexibility, however, the Ottomans eventually put up with this show of Egyptian semi-independence, and an edict issued by the sultan in 1159/1746 names ʿUthmān Bey, a former *Amīr al-Ḥādjdj*, as *Shaykh al-Balad*.

The first bey who is called *Shaykh al-Balad* in the sources was Muḥammad Bey Čarkas in the third decade of the 18th century. During the second half of that century, the ascendancy belonged to the Ḳāzdughli Mamlūk faction and the *Shuyūkh al-Balad* came from them. By far the most famous and powerful one was ʿAlī Bey *Bulut Ḳapan* ("the cloud catcher", known as "the Great") whose incumbency (1173-87/1760-73) marked the first attempt since the early 16th century of a rebellion in Egypt against the central Ottoman government. He was succeeded by Muḥammad Abu ʾl-Dhahab [*q.v.*], ʿAlī Bey's Mamlūk, who finally turned against him and demonstrated loyalty to the Ottomans.

The title survived as long as the beys held effective power in Cairo, until the French invasion of Egypt in 1798.

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(M. Winter)

SHAYKH ḤUSAYN, a saint (*walī*) of Ethiopia, whose *ḳubba*, in the Bale or Bali region of Oromo province, is the goal of an important popular pilgrimage. There are various orthographies of his name: Scec Hussèn, Schech Ussen (Italian), Shaykh Ḥusayn (Arabic), Shék Husén (Oromo, Amharic), Sheekh Xuseen (Somali), etc.

Sh. Nūr Ḥusayn is said to have lived *ca.* A.D. 1200. Coming from Merca, on the Somaliland coast, or possibly from Harar, he was reputedly the first great preacher of Islam in the region. He was a thaumaturge, who also had the gift of ubiquitousness. In the 16th century, the Oromo, then followers of traditional religions, came from the south or from the east, gained control of the region and took over the cult passed on to them by the Hadiya-Sidama peoples. Later, the cult became strengthened through a confusion with the one centred around Abba Muda (son [?] of the eponymous ancestor of the Oromo). Today, a syncretistic character of the cult of Sh. Ḥusayn is discernible, but it is only with great prudence that one can set up the equations Abba Muda = Shék Husén and Waaqa (the Oromo supreme deity, identified with the Heavens) = Allāh, God.

The place where his tomb is situated, Annajina (or Dire Shék Husén) is 250 km/155 miles as the crow flies to the south-east of Addis Ababa, to the east of Gobba, on the right bank of the upper course of the (*webi*) Shebelle [*q.v.*], at an altitude of 1,489 m/4,884 feet. The region is one of Arsi (Amhar. Arusi) Oromo farmers and herdsmen. The sanctuary's fame is such that it extends to the whole of the Oromo and Somali lands of the Horn of Africa, and each year attracts tens of thousands of devotees. A main pilgrimage takes place on the anniversary of the saint's death and a second one during the *ḥadjdj* month, both at the full moon. The ritual is inspired by that of the Meccan Pilgrimage and by practices dating from the time before the Oromo embraced Islam. But these last probably borrowed from the syncretism already reached by the Sidama.

The pilgrims (*djila*) arrive in groups, on foot or on riding beasts. They all carry a long, forked stick (*ulee*), which has a practical use but is, above all, a sign of their status as pilgrims, which opens to them doors of hospitality. They begin their devotions as soon as they gain sight of the sanctuary.

Within the sacred area properly so-called, bounded by an enclosure, even if it is forbidden to cut down trees, out of respect for their spirit (*ayyaana*), it is nevertheless recommended that shreds of cloth or skin should be hung from their branches as offerings. Near to the pool of Dinkiro, which is fed by a miraculous spring, there stands the mosque of Shaykh Ḥusayn. The tomb is in a crypt reached through a low door. The faithful crowd into there, praying, crying, singing and covering themselves with the white dust of the soil or of the walls kneaded with saliva. Outside the grills of the mausoleum, the crowd sings hymns with alternate verses (*baro*) and dances.

The pilgrim then visits sites in the valley of Kachamsaré: the Serpent Grotto, where can be seen the snake which the saint petrified by his single glance; the Grotto of Sins, where the pilgrim sets apart some of the miraculous earth and white stones which he then throws into the Valley of Sins in order to be purified from his faults; the Grotto of Grass, where he makes a vow whilst pulling a sprig of grass; etc. Strange rock formations which abound in the region are everywhere attributed to the saint's actions. The rites to be fulfilled also include fumigations with plants and incense, and the drinking of coffee and chewing of *ḳāt* [*q.v.*] (Oromo *chaatii*). Divination, and cults of possession and exorcism, are likewise practiced.

The whole of the sacred site is in the hereditary custody of one family, the Wau of the Gamuoro tribe, adherents of the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīḳa*. The mosque, built at Annajina by ʿAbd al-Shakūr, *amīr* of Harar [*q.v.*] 1197-1209/1783-94, and dedicated by him to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (the maternal uncle of Sh. Ḥusayn, according to local tradition!), is the sole rallying-point for members of the Ḳādiriyya brotherhood. In the minds of many of the faithful, pilgrimage to Sh. Ḥusayn replaces the Pilgrimage to Mecca and allows the poor to fulfil the obligation of *ḥadjdj*.

The cults of Shaykh Ḥusayn, of his kindred and that of his disciples, are very strongly alive in the region. His father's *ḳubba* is situated at Annajina near to the Imaro pool, one of his sons is honoured at Harar, another in the neighbourhood of that same town, etc. The most important of these accessory sanctuaries, arising only in the second half of the last century, is that of Sof Omar (Ar. Ṣūfī ʿUmar). This is made up of a group of grottoes along the course of the Web (Amhar. Wäyb) river, some 60 km/37 miles to the south of Annajina, grottoes in which the homonymous personage is said to have lived. This mystic—one of the 6,666 disciples of Sh. Ḥusayn, according to popular enthusiasm—may have come from the Tegray/Tigré region in the north of Ethiopia in the 18th century. Sh. Ḥusayn's devotees (*garūba*, pl. *garūbatta*), frequenters of these sacred places, wander around the region, and well beyond it, living off alms.

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SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM (A.), an honorific title in use in the Islamic world up to the early 20th century, applied essentially to religious dignitaries.

1. Early history of the term.

The title first appears in Khurāsān towards the end of the 4th/10th century. While honorific titles compounded with *Islām* (like ʿIzz-, Djalāl-, and Sayf al-Islām) were borne by persons exercising secular power (notably the viziers of the Fatimids, cf. M. van Berchem, in *ZDPV*, xvi [1893], 101), the title of Shaykh al-Islām has always been reserved for *ʿulamāʾ* and mystics, like other titles of honour whose first part is *Shaykh* (e.g. *Shaykh al-Dīn*; the surname of *Shaykh al-Futyā* is given by Ibn Khaldūn to the jurist Asad b. al-Furāt, cf. *Muḳaddima*, tr. de Slane, i, p. lxxviii). Of all these titles only that of Shaykh al-Islām has been extensively used. Though apparently used in some instances purely as an honorific, the consistency with which the title appears in the major cities of Khurāsān,

and the fact that no two persons bear the title in the same place at the same time, suggests a functional connotation. Some *Shuyūkh al-Islām* were Ṣūfīs and others scholars of *ḥadīth*. There is no evidence that they were generally known as *fuḳahā'* or that they delivered *fatwā*s. Rather, they seem to have been among the most admired or influential *'ulamā'* in their milieux, and there are indications that their function was to authorise the initial convening of a class for a new teacher in a city during the period before the *madrasa* took over this function. The biographer of one Shaykh al-Islām, the Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī Abū Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] of Harāt, praises him for "the ordering of *madrasas*, teachers (*aṣḥāb*), and convents and the holding (*nuwab*) of classes", see R.N. Frye (ed.), *The histories of Nishapur*, The Hague 1965, first ms. of al-Fārisī, fol. 33b; second ms. of al-Fārisī, fol. 82b). Further indications of an educational function for the Shaykh al-Islām are given by R.W. Bulliet, *The Shaikh al-Islam and the evolution of Islamic society*, in *SI*, xxxv, 53-67.

While the office is attested in a number of Persian cities in the 5th/11th century, it seems not to have spread in its functional form to the west. In Syria and Egypt, Shaykh al-Islām became a title of honour but not an official title. It was bestowed on jurists whose *fatwā*s attained a degree of fame and acceptance, such as Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], who was called Shaykh al-Islām by his supporters but denied the title by his adversaries. Later uses of the title under the Il Khāns, the Dihlī Sultanate and Tīmūrids indicate an *'ālim* of high rank performing various functions in the religious and educational arena. These figures were not generally *muftī*s. To the west, however, by 700/1300 the title had gradually become associated with the deliverance of *fatwā*s. This was the case in Syria and Egypt, but opinions differ as to whether Shaykh al-Islām was purely title or designation of the local *muftī* in Anatolia during Saldjūḳ and early Ottoman times. Insofar as it designated an office of any kind, however, it was a local rather than a state one, contrary to the practice in contemporary régimes to the east of Persia, where it was more often, though not invariably, a state post conferred by the ruler.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J.H. Kramers-[R.W. Bulliet])

2. In the Ottoman empire.

The title *shaykh al-islām* is most famously associated with the Ottoman office of the *Muftī* of the Capital, which is to say, for by far the greater proportion of its existence, the *Muftī* of Istanbul. While several early, not altogether trustworthy uses of the title *shaykh al-islām* occur in documents around the turn of the 14th century (M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve ictimaî tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1971, 62, n. 1), these perhaps reflecting a continuance of Saldjūḳ usage, its earliest use as a title of the *Muftī* of the Capital—with which office it became exclusively associated amongst the Ottomans—is found in the so-called *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*] of Meḥemmed II relating to state organisation (*TOEM*, supplement to parts 13-15, 10), traditionally dated to *ca.* 1480. Whatever the truth in general in the debate over the authenticity of this important document, it is certainly the case that the extant manuscripts, which date from the early 17th century, are shot through with anachronisms, of which this may well be one. It nevertheless appears that the Ottomans used the term "*Muftī*" and "*Shaykh al-Islām*" interchangeably and often together (as indeed in the passage referred to), the former being by far the more common designation in earlier centuries, the latter gaining the greater currency with the passage of time, and particularly from the 18th century (cf. İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 174).

The origins of the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*, or *Muftī*, are obscure from the point of view both of the identity of the first few holders of the post and of the reasons for its creation. On the former point, two separate Ottoman traditions exist in the form of lists of the holders of the office, one found at least as early as the *Dewḥa-yi meshā'ikh-i kibār* of the 18th-century writer Müstaḳīm-zāde (Müstaḳīm-zāde Sulaymān Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi: d. 1202/1787-8 [*q.v.*]), the other, rather earlier, in the *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh* by Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]. Müstaḳīm-zāde's list begins with Mollā Shems al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Fenārī (Mollā Fenārī, d. 834/1431 [see fenārī-zāde]), *Muftī* in Bursa, that of Kātib Čelebi with Khiḍr Beg (d. 863/1459 [*q.v.*]), the first *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, to whom, Kātib Čelebi says, the office of *Muftī* of Istanbul was also given at the time of the conquest (1453). Though Kātib Čelebi's account has found favour with certain later authors (e.g. Ḥusayn Hezārfenn [*q.v.*], d'Ohsson, Hammer-Purgstall), that of Müstaḳīm-zāde—which depends ultimately on the statement in Tash-köprü-zāde (*al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniyya*, Arabic text in margin of Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 87) that Mollā Fenārī was "*muftī* in the Ottoman lands" (*muftī fi 'l-mamlaka al-'Uthmāniyya*), this being the first occurrence of such a title in his work—has generally, and rightly, been preferred. (On the considerable problems posed by both lists with respect to the *Muftī*s of the 15th century, see R.C. Repp, *The Müftī of Istanbul*, London 1986, 137 ff.)

If the uncertainties about the facts of the lives of the 15th-century *Muftī*s make it difficult to fix a reliable line of succession, the exiguous nature of the evidence about their activities renders it equally difficult to define their functions and rôle. Several certainly, and perhaps all, taught at important *madrasas* while holding the office of *Muftī*. Fakhr al-Dīn al-'Adjamī (d. 873/1468 ?), the second (or third ?) *Muftī*, is remembered for having prevented the young Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] from coming under the influence of the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*], a fact which suggests that he (like some later *Muftī*s) may have been regarded as a personal religious adviser to the sultan: it is also noteworthy that he, unlike his one, possibly two predecessors, but like all his successors, did not hold the office of *ḳāḍī* simultaneously with that of *Muftī*. Mollā Gūrānī (d. 893/1488 [see gūrānī]), while *Muftī*, conducted an investigation into the suspect conduct of a highly-regarded scholar, while Mollā 'Arab (d. 901/1495-6) was likewise involved in several investigations of suspected heresy and was also active in persuading Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] to make peace with the Mamlūks in 896/1491. No function can be shown to be exclusive to the 15th-century *Muftī*s, however, and none common to all of them (apart, possibly, from teaching), except, importantly, the issuing of *fatwā*s [*q.v.*], which they and all their successors, at least until the time of Abu 'l-Su'ūd (d. 982/1574 [*q.v.*]), did personally. Their pay was low, certainly compared with that of the *ḳāḍī 'askers* and *ḳāḍī*s [*q.vv.*], and there is no evidence that they were at this stage regularly consulted on affairs of state (the *Muftī* was not in the 15th century, or ever, a member of the imperial council, the *dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*]).

Despite the apparent lack of definable duties, however, several bits of evidence suggest that the office of *Muftī* was one of considerable importance from its inception. Early testimony to this effect is found in

the account of the Burgundian courtier Bertrandon de la Broquière, who was granted an audience with Murād II [*q.v.*] in Edirne in Radjab 836/March 1433. In describing Murād's entry into Edirne, he notes that he was preceded by "the grand caliph, who is amongst [the Ottomans] as the Pope is amongst us"; the editor of the work appears certain to be correct in identifying "the grand caliph" as the *Shaykh al-Islām* Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjamī (*Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. Ch. Schefer, *Recueil de voyages et de documents*, xii, Paris 1892, 181: cf. Repp, *op. cit.*, 115-16, 120). This same Fakhr al-Dīn is likewise found in the place of honour, on the sultan's right hand, at a learned discussion during the circumcision feast of two of the sons of Meḥemmed II in 861/1457. As further evidence of the importance of the office one should note that several outstanding scholars of the time such as Mollā Fenārī, Mollā Khosrew (d. 885/1480-1 [see KHOSREW MOLLĀ]) and Mollā Gūrānī held it as the culmination of distinguished careers. And finally in this connection, for all the doubts about the authenticity of the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II alluded to above, the passage therein concerning the *Muftī* cannot be ignored: "The *Shaykh al-Islām* is the chief of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *Muʿallim-i Sulṭān* [*Khʷādja/Hoca*] is similarly the head of the *ʿulamāʾ*. It is fitting for the Grand Vizier to place them above himself out of respect. But the *Muftī* and the *Khʷādja* are many ranks higher than the other viziers and also take precedence over them." (On the questions of precedence thus raised, see further Repp, *op. cit.*, 192-6.)

The contrast between, on the one hand, the ill-defined and apparently relatively modest duties performed by the early *Muftī*s and, on the other, the considerable prestige which the office of *Muftī* seems to have enjoyed from its very beginnings, is illuminating in several respects. The lack of evidence concerning any significant administrative duties consistently and exclusively performed by the 15th-century *Muftī*s makes it difficult to accept that an administrative purpose can have lain behind the founding of the office. Thus R.W. Bulliet's thesis that the explanation of its creation lies in an attempt by the sultans to control the Muslim religious establishment by the control of the educational system through the *Shaykh al-Islām* appears untenable (*The Shaikh al-Islām and the evolution of Islamic society*, in *SI*, xxxv [1972], 53-67). (The view that the Ottoman sultans attempted to control the religious establishment is entirely tenable, but this process was accomplished through the creation of a highly elaborated hierarchy of learned offices which began in the time of Meḥemmed II (d. 886/1481), long before the *Muftī* came to head it.) Similarly, Walsh's assertion that the right to issue *fatwā*s was confined to the *Shaykh al-Islām* from the inception of the office (implicitly as a means of developing a more unified system of law) is unsustainable [see FATWĀ. ii. Ottoman Empire, and further, Repp, *op. cit.*, 299-300].

Walsh's recognition of the peculiarly non-secular character of the office is noteworthy, however, a point reflected also in the most plausible of the explanations offered by Kramers for the foundation of the office, namely that it represents "a survival of the ancient mystical religious tradition in the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded alongside of the secular power, a religious authority having no judicial powers but representing, so to speak, the religious conscience of the people" (art. *Shaikh al-Islām*, in *EI*[1]). To regard the creation of the office of *Muftī* as meeting a need for a distinctively religious figure in the state, one who would stand apart from the secular government, who would embody the authority of the *Sharīʿa* and who would perhaps even provide a religious sanction for the régime, offers the basis for an explanation of the creation of the office which is consistent with such few facts as are known and which at the same time throws a different light on some apparent peculiarities connected with it. It is in this sense that the separation of the office of *Muftī* from a simultaneously-held post of *ḳāḍī*—an office held in deep suspicion by the more devout *ʿulamaʾ*—which occurred with the appointment of Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjamī is important. The *Muftī*'s relatively low salary and his not being a member of the *dīwān-i humāyūn*, moreover, far from being signs of the relative unimportance of the office in the 15th century, as they have usually been regarded, should rather be seen as a conscious effort to protect the office from the taint of secularism. Why the need for such an office was felt—whether in some way it was a response to the defeat at the hands of Tīmūr (804/1402), which had been widely seen as divine retribution for the godlessness of the reign of Bāyezīd I (1389-1402: see H. İnalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 155) and/or possibly to heterodox movements in the first quarter of the 15th century—cannot be known on the basis of the evidence currently available.

Notable amongst the 16th-century *Muftī*s were Mollā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Djamālī [see DJAMĀLĪ], Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*], and Abu ʾl-Suʿūd [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī al-Djamālī's long period as *Muftī* (908-32/1503 to 1525-6) saw the office acquire significant additional duties in the form of the responsibility for the teaching at Bāyezīd II's newly-built *madrasa* in Istanbul (in later times assumed by a deputy, the *ders wakīli*) and for the supervision (*naẓāra*) of his *awḳāf*, this latter responsibility being one not infrequently assigned by the sultans to the Grand Vizier. He is likewise credited with having restrained Selīm I [*q.v.*] on several occasions from harsh acts on the grounds of a proper concern for that sultan's welfare in the after-life; though angered, Selīm attempted to reward him with appointment to the offices of the two *ḳāḍī ʿasker*s combined, an offer which ʿAlī Djamālī refused.

Kemāl Pasha-zāde (d. 940/1534), with Abu ʾl-Suʿūd perhaps the most noted of Ottoman scholars of the classical period, is also associated with him in a famous assessment of their respective accomplishments as *Muftī*: "Truly the effect of their *idjtihād* [individual reasoning] was the harmonising of the Ottoman *ḳānūn*s [*q.v.*] with the noble *Sharīʿa* and the ordering of religious and state affairs on the best possible basis" (Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī [see ʿAṬĀʾĪ], *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī takmilat al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 185).

It was in Abu ʾl-Suʿūd's tenure of the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* (952-82/1545-74) that it was to become the head of the already well-established learned hierarchy and to take on definitively the form it was to have until the 19th century. Greatly valued by Süleymān I [*q.v.*], Abu ʾl-Suʿūd strove, as the passage just quoted suggests, to bring together the requirements of the *Sharīʿa* and those of the administration of the state into a workable legal framework. He was active in the issuing of private *fatwā*s as well as *fatwā*s on matters of public policy. In the latter category, his *fatwā* authorising the taking of Cyprus from Venice (see Pečewī, *Taʾrikh*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1281-3, i, 486-7) may represent the first time a *muftī*'s *fatwā* was regarded as sufficient religious sanction for an important matter of state policy (in later centuries, the *Muftī* appears

to have become at the least the spokesman for the *ʿulamāʾ*, though he continued to consult widely before delivering his opinion: cf. I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, 7 vols., Paris 1788-1824, iv, 511-13, 528. On the difficult question of the status of the *Muftī*s' *fatwā*s, see Repp, *op. cit.*, 113-15, 212-21, 279-90). If not actually instituted before his death, the *Muftī*s' close involvement in appointments to the higher offices in the learned profession, a function which they took over from the *ḳāḍī ʿasker*s, was certainly mooted in Abu 'l-Suʿūd's time, with the intent that he should take on this fundamentally important duty (Repp, *op. cit.*, 293-5). Abu 'l-Suʿūd's achievements were recognised by substantial rewards, notably a greatly enhanced salary which, at least from 973/1566, came to surpass that of the *ḳāḍī ʿasker*s.

Further systematic work needs to be done on the nature of the office in the 17th and 18th centuries, during which time (and indeed until the end of the empire) the *Muftī* was recognisably a state official, having gradually been absorbed into the hierarchy, at its head, from the previous position of having stood entirely outside it. He was now frequently, if not invariably, drawn into the decision-making process, in which he played an important part, on matters of state policy such as the making of war and peace or the deposition of a sultan, not in the forum of the *dīwān-i humāyūn*, of which, as mentioned earlier, he was not a member, but through the medium of "consultations" (*müs̲h̲āwere, mes̲h̲were*). The very much greater involvement in affairs of state and the consequent demands on his time meant that the function of the preparation of *fatwā*s, and particularly "private" *fatwā*s, a function of such importance in the early years of the office, passed largely into the hands of a deputy, the *fatwā emīni*, who became with the passage of time a highly influential figure in his own right (on this post, and the organisation of the *Muftī*'s deputies generally, see Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 195 ff.; U. Heyd, *Some aspects of the Ottoman fetvā*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii [1969], 35-56). It might be speculated that this absorption into the learned hierarchy, at its head, of an office which had originally stood outside it, and much of whose *raison d'être* lay in its independence from the secular government, had its cost. Certainly in purely material terms, though the *Muftī*s gained greatly in terms of salary, perquisites and defined powers, they lost the tenure of the office for life which the early *Muftī*s had almost without exception enjoyed; removal from the office was by now a common occurrence.

In 1241/1826, following the destruction of the Janissaries, Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] gave the residence of the Ag̲h̲a of the Janissaries near the Süleymaniye mosque to provide an office for the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* and his department. The *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s now for the first time had a permanent location for their work, having previously carried out their functions in their own residences or in rented accommodation [see BĀB-I MES̲H̲ĪK̲H̲AT]. The diminution of the powers and influence of the *ʿulamāʾ* generally in the 19th century affected the position of the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*s as well: they gradually lost their influence, more particularly after the revolution of 1908. The last holder of the office, the 131st, resigned on 4 November 1922 in the wake of the abolition of the sultanate a few days earlier. The office came formally to an end following the abolition of the caliphate on 3 March 1924.

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(R.C. REPP)

S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ MŪSĀ NAT̲H̲RĪ, modern Persian writer dealing in historical novels. The details concerning his life are at the best sketchy. By profession, he was involved in educational activities, serving as principal of the government college *Nuṣrat* in Hamadān and as Director of Education in Kirmāns̲h̲āhān (for his latter designation, see *Armag̲h̲ān* [March-April 1930], 73). He edited the periodical *Ittiḥād* which was published from Hamadān in 1293/1914 (Ṣadr Hās̲h̲imī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i d̲j̲arāyid u mad̲j̲allāt-i Īrān*, i, Iṣfahān 1343/1964-5, 46). An article from him, entitled *S̲h̲āʿir kīst* "Who is a poet?", appeared after his death in the July-August 1968 issue of *Armag̲h̲ān*, suggesting that he died not later than that year.

S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Mūsā Nat̲h̲rī was among the pioneers of the modern historical novel in Persian. His first work in that genre, entitled *ʿIs̲h̲ḳ u salṭanat* "Love and kingship", was published at Hamadān in 1337/1919 (repr. Bombay 1342/1924), and deals with the exploits of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid dynasty. The material for the narrative was borrowed by the author from the French translation of Herodotus's account and historical works in French, as well as from the Avesta. The author claimed that his work was the first historical novel in Persian composed after Western literary models, but Buzurg Alavi has pointed out that Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā K̲h̲usrawī's *Shams u tughrā* is earlier (1328/1910). However, as a piece of fiction, it hardly stands up to artistic scrutiny. According to the criticism of E.G. Browne (*LHP*, iv, 465), the book "is overloaded with dates, archaeological and mythological notes and prolix historical dissertations." It was the first of a trilogy; the others, which appeared later, are *Sitāra-yi Līdī* "The Lydian star" (Bombay 1344/1925-6) and *Sargud̲h̲as̲h̲t-i s̲h̲ahzāda k̲h̲ānum-i Bābilī* "The story of a Babylonian princess" (Kirmāns̲h̲āhān 1311/1932). These show only a slight advance upon their predecessor, and not surprisingly have received little attention from Persian critics. The only aspect of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Mūsā Nat̲h̲rī's literary exercises finding approval concerns his language, which tends towards a simplified form. His works, therefore, must be judged not so much for their artistic merit as for their place in the overall historical evolution of modern Persian fiction.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ ṢAFĪ [see ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN ARDABĪLĪ].

AL-S̲H̲AYK̲H̲ SAʿĪD, a monsoon harbour on the straits of Bāb al-Mandab [*q.v.*], lying just north of the so-called Small Strait on a cape whose high cliffs dominate the island of Mayyūn [*q.v.*]. This Strait is also called Bāb Iskandar because Alexander the Great is said to have built a town here. The harbour, named after S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Saʿīd whose tomb is found on the northern side of the cape, has been identified by Sprenger and Glaser with ancient Ocelis or Acila, which is mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy and in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, and conceals perhaps some

name like ʿUḳayl. The harbour is said to have belonged to the pre-Islamic Ḳatabān [*q.v.*], then to the so-called Gebanites and finally to the Ḥimyarites. Its name is also connected with Mahra b. Ḥaydān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf, the ancestor of the Mahra [*q.v.*].

The cape was acquired from the local sultan by the French admiral Mahé La Bourdonnais in 1734. Napoleon Bonaparte wished to garrison the cape, a proposal which was also suggested by the French government to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha [*q.v.*]. When the latter was preparing to put the plan into force in 1838, he encountered the resolute opposition of the British, who occupied Aden in 1839 and established a coaling station on Mayyūn (Perīm) in 1857. The cape was bought from the local sultan ʿAlī Tabat by a Marseilles firm, and turned over to the Société de Bāb al-Mandab in 1871. In 1884 the harbour was occupied by the Turks, who fortified the cape, notwithstanding continuous but fruitless attempts by the French to enforce their claims. Al-S͟hayk͟h Saʿīd was bombarded by the British in 1914, but the Turks held out, being supported in 1915 by troops sent by the Zaydī Imām Yaḥyā b. al-Manṣūr. The Turks even bombarded Mayyūn and temporarily closed the Straits of Bāb al-Mandab.

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(A. Grohmann-[E. van Donzel])

S͟HAYK͟H AL-ṬĀʾIFA (see AL-ṬŪSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN).

AL-S͟HAYK͟H AL-YŪNĀNĪ, the disguise of one of the participants in the transmission of authoritative Neoplatonic thought to Islam based upon a translation of large portions of books IV-VI of the *Enneads* of Plotinus. Fragments with this designation have been recovered without, however, allowing a reconstruction of the form and extent of his work. It is also debatable whether al-S͟hayk͟h al-Yūnānī was substituting for the name of a given philosopher and even might have belonged to the entire lost Arabic Plotinus source. The wide range of meaning of *s͟hayk͟h* [*q.v.*] permits a choice between "Greek Teacher" and "Greek Old Man"; occasional Greek references to some Neoplatonists as *gerōn*, among them Porphyry (see Kutsch), might perhaps tip the scales in favour of "Old Man", whether Porphyry's role in the Arabic Plotinus reflects historical links [see FURFŪRIYŪS] or not (see Zimmermann). In addition to the fragments from the *Enneads*, al-S͟hayk͟h al-Yūnānī is credited with a brief treatise on topics of Neoplatonic philosophy. In this case, as well as in other references, there can hardly be any doubt that he was understood to be one and same person, even where he is brought into contact with ancient philosophers or, rather mysteriously, is described as a pupil of Diogenes (see *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. D.M. Dunlop, 56-7, 58-61). The manifold problems connected with this figure cannot be separated from the entire complicated and fateful history of the Arabic Plotinus, for which see UT͟HŪLŪD͟JIYĀ.

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(F. Rosenthal)

S͟HAYK͟HIYYA, an important school of speculative theology within Twelver S͟hīʿism, influential mainly in Persia and ʿIrāḳ since the early 19th century. Although at times its leaders have been excommunicated and its doctrines condemned as heretical, S͟hayk͟hism (also known as the Kas͟hfiyya) has accommodated itself fairly successfully with the majority Uṣūlī establishment and is generally regarded as a school (*mad͟hhab*) rather than a sect (*firḳa*). Bābism [see BĀB, BĀBĪS] began in the 1840s as a radical development of S͟hayk͟hī heterodoxy.

1. Early history.

The origins of S͟hayk͟hism are to be found in a highly original attempt to effect a synthesis between (1) the theosophical S͟hīʿism of Mullā Ṣadrā S͟hīrāzī [*q.v.*] and the School of Iṣfahān, (2) the waning Ak͟hbārī tendency, and (3) what Amanat calls a "diffuse gnosticism", influenced by crypto-Ismāʿīlī and related ideas. Later S͟hayk͟hī doctrine owes much to a wish to play down the school's own distinctiveness and effect a compromise with the Uṣūlī establishment.

The school's originator, S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī (1166-1241/1753-1826 [*q.v.*]), is still reckoned one of the leading S͟hīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* of the early Ḳād͟jār period, and a thinker of considerable force. His early life in al-Aḥsāʾ, a backwater with few provisions for religious learning, was unpropitious for one with ambitions to scholarship; but by the time of his arrival in the S͟hīʿī shrine colleges of ʿIrāḳ in the early 1790s, he already possessed a prodigious knowledge, not only of *fiḳh* and *kalām*, but of the theosophical texts that were to form the basis of a wide-ranging critique in later years.

More importantly, he had experienced numerous dreams and visions, chiefly of the Imāms, allowing him to claim privileged understanding of the Ḳurʾān and Traditions. This claim to intuitive knowledge sets al-Aḥsāʾī apart from the representatives of the two main currents of S͟hīʿī thinking then contending for dominance: the Uṣūlīs, with their emphasis on *id͟jtihād* through reasoning, and the Ak͟hbārīs [see AK͟HBĀRIYYA in Suppl.], who stressed a literal adherence to the texts themselves, without recourse to *id͟jtihād*.

Having acquired licences from several eminent *mud͟jtahids*, in 1221/1806 al-Aḥsāʾī travelled to Persia. Here he remained for almost twenty years, patronised by Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh [*q.v.*] and a succession of Ḳād͟jār notables. He lived mainly in Yazd (1806-14) and Kirmāns͟hāh (1814-21), where he enjoyed the patronage of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā and wrote some of his most important books, including the *S͟harḥ al-ziyāra al-d͟jāmiʿa al-kabīra* (his *magnum opus*) and commentaries on the *Risāla al-ʿilmiyya* of Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kās͟hānī and the *ʿArs͟hiyya* and *Mas͟hāʿir* of Mullā Ṣadrā.

In 1822 in Ḳazwīn, al-Aḥsāʾī first encountered a

charge of apostasy, and in the last four years of his life, spent largely in Karbalā', he became the object of a campaign of vilification. He died on his way to Mecca on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1241/27 June 1826, aged seventy-three.

Al-Aḥsā'ī was succeeded in Karbalā' by a younger Persian disciple, Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī (d. 1259/1844; birth dates range from 1198/1784 to 1214/1799-1800 [*q.v.*]), like his mentor the product of a non-clerical family. Rashtī remained in Karbalā' until his death and, despite repeated denials that he had established a new *madhhab* within Islam and insistence that he was no more than an expounder and defender of the views of al-Aḥsā'ī, became an effective focus for the allegiance of a small but influential grouping of *'ulamā'* and laymen. A school had effectively been created: on Rashtī's death, his followers split into radically different factions. This division, which has recently been studied in some detail by Amanat, Bayat, and MacEoin, is of wide significance, since it encapsulates some of the most important tensions in Ḳādjār Shī'ism.

The two most extreme divisions to emerge after 1844 were Bābism, which rapidly outgrew its Shaykhī origins to proclaim a new revelation and a new *Sharī'a*, and a conservative branch based in Tabrīz. This latter group included leading *'ulamā'*, merchants, government officials, and notables; after a period of wholesale separation from the religious mainstream, it merged with it and lost its character as a distinct school.

The successive claims of Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, the Bāb [*q.v.*], were a logical development of several strains in Shaykhī thinking, most importantly the emphasis on intuitive knowledge and the concept of a single individual, the Perfect Shī'ī or *bāb*, who could act as an infallible guide to the Imām. Both al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī seem to have been regarded (and to have regarded themselves) in this light; the latter divided the dispensation of Islam into two distinct periods: a cycle of outward observances (which came to an end after twelve centuries) and one of inner truth (which began with the appearance of al-Aḥsā'ī).

2. Kirmānī Shaykhism.

The Bāb's chief rival for the allegiance of the school was Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī (1225-88/1810-70), the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Khān Ẓahīr al-Dawla, the governor of Kirmān and Balūčistān (1803-24) and one of al-Aḥsā'ī's leading patrons in Persia. A member of the ruling Ḳādjār family by birth and marriage, Karīm Khān's role as a religious leader in the Kirmān region was both strengthened and complicated by his position as the senior member of the powerful Ibrāhīmī clan and his control of its financial resources. The history of Kirmānī Shaykhism is closely linked both to the fortunes of the Ibrāhīmī family and wider political developments.

A prolific writer and would-be polymath, Karīm Khān sought to reconcile Shaykhī teaching with Uṣūlī orthodoxy, insisting that the school agreed in all its main principles (*uṣūl*) with traditional Shī'ī doctrine, while differing only in practice (*furū'*). The clear heterodoxy of the Bāb and his followers was both an impetus to this policy and an aid in furthering it. Hence his ambivalence over the doctrine of the Fourth Support (*al-rukn al-rābi'*), with which he became particularly associated. In a novel reworking of the traditional five bases of religion (divine unity, prophethood, resurrection, divine justice, and the imamate), Kirmānī reduced them to three (knowledge of God, prophethood, and *imāma*) and added a fourth pillar, knowledge of the friends and enemies of the Imams. In its original formulation, this doctrine leaned towards recognition of a single, divinely-appointed mediator between the Imām and the faithful (identified with al-Aḥsā'ī, Rashtī, and, it would seem, Kirmānī himself). Later, however, almost certainly as a reaction to the Bāb's advancement of similar claims, this was modified to a more general advocacy of the *'ulamā'* and other holy figures as representatives of the Imām. In many respects, this debate prefigures that around Khumaynī's concept of *wilāyat al-faḳīh* and whether its application should be to a single individual or a collective body of *mudjtahids*.

Kirmānī's most significant break with the doctrine of an inspired guide came, however, with his appointment of his own son, Muḥammad Khān (1263-1324/1846-1906) and the creation of a spiritual dynasty similar to those found in Ṣūfism. Leadership of the school was passed down through a series of Ibrāhīmī khāns (generally known by the title Sarkār Āḳā): Ḥādjdj Zayn al-'Ābidīn Khān (1276-1360/1859-1942), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān (1314-89/1896-1969), and 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān (d. 1979). This period saw mounting conservatism, particularly with regard to social reform and acceptance of Western ideas. Bayat speaks of intellectual stagnation in a situation where original Shaykhī doctrine was taught privately while public profession was made of orthodoxy (Bayat, 181).

During the leadership of Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Khān, tension between Shaykhīs and their opponents, known as Bālāsarīs, erupted into violence on several occasions, culminating in virtual civil war in 1905 (MacEoin, *Bālāsarī*). Identification of the Shaykhīs with Ḳādjār interests, and Muḥammad Khān's own hardline royalist stance, encouraged a widening of the issues to a point where the original dispute was eclipsed by growing agitation for a constitution.

Following the assassination of 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution of 1979, the headquarters of the school was moved to Baṣra in 'Irāḳ, where leadership passed to Ḥādjdj Sayyid 'Alī Mūsawī.

At its height in the last century, Shaykhism was an influential school with converts in all the main Persian cities, 'Irāḳ, India, and eastern Arabia. In Persia, the membership included high-ranking government officials and even Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*]: in this respect, it appears to have been an acceptable alternative to Ṣūfism, following the collapse of the Ni'matullāhī revival of the early 19th century.

3. Doctrine.

In broad terms, Shaykhī doctrine differs very little from that of orthodox Twelver Shī'ism, and is generally little further from it than the views of the theosophical thinkers: if anything, al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī made greater efforts than Ṣadrā and his followers to remain part of the official religious system. Despite an obvious debt to Ibn al-'Arabī and the Shī'ī theosophers, al-Aḥsā'ī disagreed with them on several important issues, in particular the doctrine of the oneness of existence (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*). Since God remains ontologically separate from and inaccessible to creation, al-Aḥsā'ī emphasised the role of the prophets and imāms as intermediaries between the divine and human worlds. Within this context, he regarded the imāms as the four causes of creation: active (they are the locations of the divine will); material (all things have been created from the rays of their lights); formal (God created the forms of all creatures from the lights of their forms); and final (God created all things for their sake).

It was this view that led to one of the earliest arguments against al-Aḥsā'ī, namely, that he held the

imāms to be creators instead of God. Although he denied this criticism in its extreme form, and argued that his views were based on well-known traditions, there is no doubt that the imāms and their role as manifestations of the divinity played a central role in his theology. Belief in the necessity for the continuing presence of an imām combined with al-Aḥsā'ī's own conviction of the possibility of visionary contact and inspiration to produce a central doctrinal focus on intermediacy in each generation.

This itself led to the view that religious truth has developed through the ages, mankind being likened to a growing child in need of progressively stronger diets. Alongside the idea of an age of inner truth succeeding one of outward observance, Shaykhī teaching proposed that humanity had either come of age or was about to do so—a doctrine which had its strongest impact on Bābism and its successor, Bahā'ism [*q.v.*].

Rashtī's belief that a new age of spirituality had started with al-Aḥsā'ī seems to have given rise to speculation within the school as to the possibility of the advent of the Twelfth Imām's imminent advent, but how extensive such chiliastic expectation really was it is very hard to establish. The Kirmānī Shaykhīs naturally play down all suggestions of messianism, while modern Bahā'īs exaggerate its role on the basis of oral statements. In their writings, both al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī adopt a conventional attitude to the question of the Imām's return. Nevertheless, the fact that Rashtī's death was immediately followed by a frantic outburst of millenarianism suggests that, at the very least, talk of living gates to the Imām had excited speculation that the Mahdī himself might soon make his appearance.

In their lifetimes, however, orthodox criticism of al-Aḥsā'ī and Rashtī found a particular focus in the former's teaching on the eschatology of the individual. In several works—notably the *Sharḥ al-ziyāra*—he developed an original doctrine of resurrection based on a complex system of physical and spiritual bodies (for details, see MacEoin, *Cosmology*, Corbin, *Terre céleste*, 146-74). According to this scheme, man possesses four bodies: two *djasad* and two *djism*. For the orthodox, the crucial problem with this system, which involves resurrection in an interworld known as Hūrḳalyā, was its denial of a return for the first *djasad*, the fleshly body of terrestrial elements. Although the Shaykhī doctrine does not entirely spiritualise the process of resurrection, it tended to be interpreted in that way by the school's opponents.

4. Literature.

The corpus of written materials produced by the school's leadership is enormous, although very little has been penned by adherents. A great deal still exists only in manuscript form, although the Shaykhī community of Kirmān has made microfilm copies of all the originals in its own library. Their Sa'ādat Press has published reliable editions of works by all the shaykhs, amounting to several hundred volumes, and plans to issue more. A full bibliography of Shaykhī writing from al-Aḥsā'ī to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān may be found in the latter's *Fihrist*, to which Momen's *The works of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī* is useful addition.

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SHAYKHŪ, LUWĪS, conventionally L. Cheikho, with the correct name Rizḳ Allāh b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Yaʿḳūb (1859-1927), Jesuit scholar and polygraph. He was the author of many works on Arabic language and literature, especially, Christian Arabic, and founder of the journal *al-Mashrik*. Originally from upper Mesopotamia, he spent most of his life in Beirut.

Born at Mārdīn [*q.v.*], now in Turkey, he came to Beirut at the age of nine for secondary education. He entered the Jesuit order in 1874, studied for four years in France, and on his return to Lebanon, taught in the Jesuit secondary school in Beirut where he began publication of his *Madjānī al-adab*. After further studies at the Université de Saint-Joseph, in England, Austria and Paris, where he became familiar with libraries there and with current orientalist scholarship, he returned in 1894 to Beirut and stayed there substantially until his death, devoting himself to work on Arabic language and literature and to editing *al-Mashrik*, founded by him in 1898.

A catalogue of his impressive literary output, virtually exhaustive, has been given by C. Hechaïmé, his successor as editor of *al-Mashrik*, in his *Bibliographie analytique du Père Louis Cheikho, avec introd. et index*, Beirut 1979, which also includes (161-78) everything which had until then appeared on Shaykhū, during his lifetime and afterwards, and in both the Arab world and that of Orientalist scholarship.

Of his 2,750 writings, the greater part of which—though not the most important—appeared in *al-Mashrik*, some 979 titles are devoted to Christianity and its writings, not directly concerned with Arabic studies. But his major works included his anthology of Arabic literature, the *Madjānī al-adab fī ḥadā'iḳ al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1882-3, 6 vols.; his *Sharḥ* on it, 3 vols.; and its *Fahāris*. The whole work had a great success, with many editions. He edited, from manuscript, the Arabic version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] (1905), the *dīwāns* of Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiyya (1886, 1887), of al-Khansā', and above all, of the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī (1910). In the

field of philology, he edited Ibn al-Sikkīt's *K. Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* and *K. al-Alfāẓ*; two general works on the Arab literature of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century respectively; and his *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibl. Or. de Beyrouth* (191-3-26), a library of which he was in effect the founder and the donor of a large part of its mss.

A lifelong concern of Shaykhū was to highlight the contribution of Arab Christians to the Arabic language and literature, a topic little noticed until his time. It was this fact, plus criticisms from some Western and Arab scholars, which led him to write, from 1910 onwards, one of his most important and controversial works, *al-Naṣrāniyya wa-ādābuhā bayna ʿArab al-Djāhiliyya/Le christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam.* He had already written on the topic earlier in his career, but this work excited, when gathered together in three vols. 1912-23, lively polemics, well studied in Hechaïmé, *Louis Cheikho et son livre: Le christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam*, Beirut 1967. Shaykhū was criticised for including as Christians poets whose religious allegiance was doubtful or unclear, but Hechaïmé points out that he had the over-enthusiasm of a pioneer but was breaking new ground in bringing the topic forward for critical assessment and examination.

Yet undoubtedly his major achievement was *al-Mashriḳ*, founded in 1898 and having appeared, with interruptions from the two World Wars, continuously ever since; it is thus, with Zaydān's *al-Hilāl*, the sole journal of the late 19th century to have survived till the present time. His declared aim for it was "strenuously to support the cause of the Christian religion, and to promote seriously the disciplines of oriental scholarship and the diffusion of the sciences". Like many other founders of journals of the *Nahḍa*, he threw himself totally into it, writing numerous articles, almost all its reviews of works appearing at the time: a total of 2,700 writings, making up *ca.* 7,000 pages. If some of his apologetic concerns are now less prominent, the journal remains highly valuable for reconstituting the intellectual milieu of the late 19th century in the East, and is an immensely valuable source on the Arabic language and literature of its time.

Shaykhū, disregarded by some, strongly criticised by others, at times not always himself showing a sense of discernment, could never be ignored, given the stature of his personality, his immense literary output and his restless character. He remains, with others of his colleagues at Beirut, such as L. Maʿlūf, A. Ṣalḥānī, H. Lammens and J.B. Belot, a major figure in Arabic letters of the *Nahḍa*.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Brockelmann's notice, S III, 428, is very short and has errors. Those of Y.A. Dāghir, Beirut 1956, ii, 515-24, of Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, viii, 161-2, and Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* ⁵Beirut 1980, iii, 246-7, are equally succinct.

(L. Pouzet)

SHĀYḲIYYA (*sic*; the name comes from the eponym, Shāyḳ; there is no medial *hamza*), a tribe of the northern Nilotic Sudan, first mentioned in 1529 (R.S. O'Fahey and J.L. Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London 1974, 28). The approximate historical boundaries of their territory stretched from al-Dabba, at the southern end of the great bend of the Nile, upstream to just above the Fourth Cataract.

Despite claims to ʿAbbāsid descent, the Shāyḳiyya are undoubtedly Arabised and Islamised Nubians (J.L. Spaulding, *The Old Shaiqi language in historical perspective*, in *History in Africa*, xvii [1990], 283-92). In the 16th century, they were subjects of the Fundj Sultanate [*q.v.*] under the latter's northern governors, the ʿAbdallāb. At the end of the 17th century the Shāyḳiyya revolted against ʿAbdallāb rule; thereafter, they were *de facto* independent until the Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1820, which they fiercely resisted.

On the eve of the 1820 conquest, the Shāyḳiyya were divided into four kingdoms—Ḥannikāb, Kadjabī, ʿAdlānāb and ʿUmarāb. Under Turco-Egyptian rule (1820-85), many Shāyḳiyya horsemen served the régime as irregular soldiers (*bāshībūzuḳ*), while others took service with the Khartoum traders in the southern Sudan. During the time of the Mahdist rebellion and state (1882-98 [see MAHDIYYA]), many Shāyḳiyya went over to the Mahdī, while others resisted. During the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1898-1956), many Shāyḳiyya joined the Sudan Defence Force; upon independence in 1956, a significant proportion of the officer class were Shāyḳī.

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(R.S. O'Fahey)

SHAYṬĀN (A.), evil spirit, demon, devil.

1. In pre-Islamic Arabia.

According to the lexicographers, *shayṭān* is derived from the verb *shaṭana* "to detain somebody in order to divert him from his intention and his destination", *shaṭan* being "a cord" and *shāṭin* "an evil man". The verbs *shayṭana* and *tashayṭana* signify "to behave like the *shayṭan*".

The *shayṭān* is an evil, rebellious spirit, inhabiting Hell-Fire; he cannot be seen, but he is imagined as a being of great ugliness (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 213). Proverbs underline his wickedness, his cunning and his malice. He is called by this name for having turned aside from the righteous path and for rebellion; hence the name is applied to any impertinent rebel among humans, *djinn* and animals (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, Beirut 1957, iii, 384). Defining the *djinn* [*q.v.*], al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 291) states: "If he is faithless, dishonest, hostile, wicked, he is a *shayṭān* (demon); if he succeeds in supporting an edifice, lifting a heavy weight and listening at the doors of Heaven (*istirāḳ al-samʿ*) he is a *mārid* (rebel); if he is more than this, he is an *ʿifrīt* (powerful demon); more still, he is an *ʿabḳarī* (genie of great intelligence)". Prior to this (vi, 191) he has declared: "If he is pure, clean, untouched by any defilement, being entirely good, he is a *malak* (angel)".

This definition corresponds closely to the notions of the pre-Islamic Arabs, for whom the *shayṭān* is a rebellious *djinnī*. This emerges from Ḳurʾānic statements, which on numerous occasions evoke a degree of identity between *shayṭān* and *djinn* or *djānn*. This applies in particular to the passages relating to the story of Solomon (II, 102; XXI, 82; XXXVIII, 377), to the Revelation (XXVI, 210, 221; VI, 112, 121), to the guarding of the doors of Heaven (XV, 17; XXXVII, 7; LXVII, 5) and to the kidnapping of humans by spirits (VI, 71). There are numerous passages where *shayāṭīn* denotes the deities of paganism (II, 14; IV, 76, 117, 119-120; V, 90-1; XIX, 44-5; etc.). The same sense is also given to *djinn* in VI, 100, and XXXIV, 41.

In the most ancient Arab traditions, reflected in the lexica, in the Ḳurʾān and in the *Ḥadīth* and the

Akhbār, the *shayṭān* is seen as a "genie", sometimes good and sometimes evil. He accompanies man in all his activities. The Prophet is reported to have said: "There is not one of you who does not have a *ḳarīn* derived from the *djinn*" and "There is no descendant of Adam who does not have a *shayṭān* attached to him (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 242, 246, quoting Muslim, see *Concordance de la Tradition Musulmane*, s.v. *shayṭān*). This "inseparable companion" appears in Ḳur'ān L, 24, 27, as a second witness on the Day of Judgment, in parallel with the *sā'iḳ* and *shahīd* (v. 21) who is the man's guardian angel. The angel being a foreign importation, the composer of the text has judged it appropriate to mention his rival, more familiar to those for whom the Revelation is intended.

A man's activity seems to be conditioned by the presence of this *ḳarīn* beside him or within him. Through his superhuman intelligence, the latter seems to be at the origin of all progress. In fact, in the Ḳur'ānic story of Solomon, it is said that the latter received from God, among other favours, *shayāṭīn* builders (*bannā'*) and divers (*ghawwāṣ*), functions which were imposed upon them (XXXVIII, 37). Al-Djāḥiẓ, speaking of the intelligence of the *shayṭān*, writes: "The *shayāṭīn* are, by comparison with us, more subtle, less harmful, more intelligent, less curious, of lighter body, of more extensive knowledge and of more profound wisdom. For proof of this, all that is needed is general agreement that there is nothing on the earth that is of marvellous innovation, subtle, majestic, nor any secret or manifest transgression, emanating from passion and desire, which is not the consequence of a solicitation by the *shayṭān* and a seduction exerted by him" (*Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, vi, 83-4). In fact, in the folklore of pre-Islamic Arabia, every work "of genius" is attributed to the *shayṭān* (e.g. the construction of Iram Dhāt al-'Imād).

One of the well-known roles of this *ḳarīn*, called *tābi'* "follower" or *ṣāḥib* "companion", is to act as inspirer to soothsayers and prophets (see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 91 ff.). The Angel Gabriel, inspirer of the Prophet, is called *shayṭān* by a woman of Ḳuraysh (*abṭa'a 'alayhi shayṭānuhu* "his *shayṭān* has been late in coming"). It was after this delay on the part of the Angel that sūra XCIII was revealed (see al-Bukhārī, ed. Būlāḳ 1289/1872, i, 146).

Still better known is the *shayṭān* of the poet. Al-Djāḥiẓ relates that the Arabs "claimed that every great poet (*faḥl*) had a *shayṭān* of whom he was merely the mouthpiece" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 225-9). This *shayṭān* could have its own name: that of al-Farazdaḳ was called 'Amr (see I. Goldziher, *Die Ginnen der Dichter*, in *DZMG*, xlv [1891], 685 ff.; Tor Andrae, *Mahomet, sa vie et sa doctrine*, Paris 1938, 28, compares this *shayṭān* to the "muse" of the poet). It was reckoned to be either male or female: Abu 'l-Nadjm boasted that the *shayāṭīn* of all the other poets were female, whereas his was male (quoted in *La divination arabe*, 74, no. 1); another claimed that, despite his youthful age, "his *shayṭān* was the greatest among the *djinn*" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *loc. cit.*). The poet was in a relationship of absolute dependence with regard to his *shayṭān* (see e.g. *Aghānī*, vii, 67, quoted in *La divination arabe*, *loc. cit.*). This dependence and the loyalty which it supposedly entailed earned poets the nickname of *kilāb al-djinn* "the dogs of the *djinn*" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *loc. cit.*).

The Ḳur'ān abhors the poet on account of the mystical and magical nature conferred upon him, both through the mystery of the secret knowledge which he possesses and through the fact that he is the habitation of a spirit at whose behest he speaks and composes his verses; all of this makes him a dangerous member of society. Ḥudjr, the last king of Kinda, is supposed to have expelled his son Imru' al-Ḳays and to have "sworn not to dwell in his presence in order to avoid the shame [which would have attached to him], resulting from the fact that his son spoke in verses" (*Aghānī*, ix, 44; *La divination arabe*, 74). Accused by his enemies of being a poet, Muḥammad vehemently refutes the charge. Numerous sūras stress the absence of any similarity between his message and that of the poet: "We have not taught him poetry" (XXXVI, 69); "This is not the speech of a poet" (LXIX, 4). The basis of this reaction was definitely the belief deeply ingrained among Arabs that poetic inspiration was demonic in origin. The spirit which inspired Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], Muḥammad's own poet, was, at the outset of his career, a female *djinnī*. A text of al-Djāḥiẓ exposes an attempt at the depaganisation of poetic inspiration in Islam. In effect, the Prophet would have replaced this *shayṭān* with "the holy spirit" (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*). "Speak, he was told, and Djibrīl shall be with you; 'holy spirit' being one of the names given to Djibrīl" (*Ḥayawān*, *loc. cit.*; *La divination arabe*, 72-3). The *djinnī* of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ made him swallow a hair-roller in his sleep and caused him to rise; he rose speaking in verse, something that he had never done before, and he became the poet of the Banū Asad (*Aghānī*, xix, 84; *La divination arabe*, 73).

The angelology and demonology of primitive Islam remained rudimentary and anthropomorphic. "The conception of inspiration and revelation from these sources is deeply felt. The *ḥadīths* assembled by Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 131 f.) regarding the various attitudes of the Prophet at the time when he was under the influence of inspiration, illustrate such a conception" (*La divination arabe*, 75 ff.). For more substantial information, see Fahd, in *Sources orientales*, viii [1971], 155-214, section *Angels, demons and djinns in Islam*.

Bibliography: Besides the references made in the text, ample documentation is to be found in the article mentioned above (212-14) and in the voluminous notes. See also Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987. For the pagan deities (Nuhum, Ḳuzaḥ, Ṭāghūt, etc.) considered to be *shayāṭīn*, see idem, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, index s.v. *shayṭān*. The notions of al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Damīrī, al-Ḳazwīnī, etc. have been assembled by G. van Vloten in *Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern*, in WZKM, vii [1893], 169-87, 233-47, viii (1894), 59-73, 290-2. In this article, the emphasis is laid on lexicographical material. See also: A.S. Tritton, *Spirits and demons in Arabia*, in *JRAS* (1934), 715-27; A. Eichler, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran*, Leipzig 1928; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i, Leiden 1896, where *djinn*, *shayṭān*, *hidjā'*, *la'na*, etc. are examined.

Among the Arabic sources, the following should be cited: Ṭabarī, i, 79 ff. (where there is a compilation of traditional notions on the origin and organisation of angels, demons and *djinn*); Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, i, 55-63 (Ger. tr. with commentary by S.J. Ansbacher, *Die Abschnitte über die Geister und die wunderbaren Geschöpfe aus Kazwini's Kosmographie*, Kiel 1905; F. Taeschner, *Die Psychologie Ḳazwīnī's*, Kiel-Tübingen 1912). Considering the importance of the material contained in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of Djāḥiẓ (the references of van Vloten being based on manuscript sources), the passages concerned are the following (ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Beirut 1388/1969): i, 153, 300: *shayṭān al-ḥamāṭa*; i, 153, 300;

iv, 133; vi, 192: *ḥayya* - *shayṭān*; i, 153; vi, 193: the pride of the *shayṭān*; i, 291; vi, 190-1: definition of the *djinn*; vi, 194-5: the *djinn*, the ascetics and the traditionists; iv, 39-40; vi, 211: *ruʾūs al-shayāṭīn*; vi, 220-2: images of *djinn*, *ghūls*, angels and humans; vi, 22: *ḥadīths* on the existence of the *shayāṭīn*; vi, 225-9: the *shayāṭīn* of the poets; vi, 230, 265-81: *istirāḳ al-samʿ*; vi, 231-3: *shayāṭīn* of Shām and of India; i, 299, 300; vi, 213, 214, 218: *varia*.

(T. Fahd)

2. In the Ḳurʾān and Islamic lore.

The word is used 70 times in the Ḳurʾān in the singular form, including six times in the indefinite (IV, 117, XV, 17, XXII, 3, XXXVII, 7, XLIII, 36, LXXXI, 25), plus 18 times in the plural *shayāṭīn*, always definite. Etymologically, the word is related to the Hebrew *sāṭān*; the route of its passage into Arabic is not evident, although it is generally thought to have passed into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic).

In the singular usage, al-Shayṭān is a personal name equivalent to Iblīs [*q.v.*] and its employment is parallel to the Jewish and Christian use of the name. The relationship between the names Iblīs (used only 11 times in the Ḳurʾān) and al-Shayṭān is noteworthy. The name Iblīs figures mainly in the stories of the creation of Adam and the subsequent fall of the devil (the context of 9 passages is "bowing" before Adam). Al-Shayṭān, on the other hand, is the one who tempts Adam and Eve, but his role in scripture extends well beyond this one myth. Iblīs, then, is the one who is proud and disobedient, while al-Shayṭān is the tempter and it is in that role that the emphasis falls within the Ḳurʾān in speaking of him in other contexts as well. The two names are used within the same narrative (II, 30-9) in such a manner that it does not seem possible to suggest that there has been a blending of separate myths related to these two names. The implication (most likely derived from Christian sources) may be that, within the telling of the myth which is reflected in the Ḳurʾān, Iblīs gained the name al-Shayṭān after his disobedience (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 80).

According to the Ḳurʾānic picture, among Satan's attributes are his ability to cause fear (III, 175), cause people to slip (II, 36, III, 155), lead astray (IV, 60), precipitate enmity and hatred (V, 91), make people forget (VI, 68, XVIII, 63), tempt (VII, 27, XLVII, 25), cause to forget (XII, 42), and provoke strife (XVII, 53). He is described as a comrade to unbelievers (IV, 38), a manifest foe (VII, 22), an enemy (XII, 5). Guile (IV, 76), defilement (VIII, 11) and abomination (V, 90) are associated with him. The image of evil as a "path", like that of righteousness, is conveyed: Satan takes steps and his followers take steps towards him (II, 168, 208, VI, 142, XXIV, 21; see also IV, 83). Satan is thus seen as an influence towards a number of specific as well as more general sins, actions which take people away from God. Among his tools to do this are a number of vocal attributes: he calls (XXXI, 21), simply speaks (XIV, 22, LIX, 16), promises (II, 268), and whispers (VII, 20, XX, 120; see also L, 16, CXIV, 4-5). The subtlety of the evil influence is especially suggested by the onomatopoeic *waswasa* ("whisper") in its root repetition, in its insistence that Satan does not just call or speak but comes over and over again.

The proper name al-Shayṭān may be distinguished from the Ḳurʾānic plural usage *shayāṭīn*, which is often thought to reflect Arabian notions of devils, although it is used in a sense which is not unknown within the Biblical tradition also (e.g. "adversaries" in 1 Samuel, XXIX, 4). These "devils" can be humans or *djinn* [*q.v.*; see Ḳurʾān, VI, 112] and come in varying ranks [see e.g. ʿifrīt]. The references suggest that the word is used to refer to the hosts of evil (e.g. Ḳurʾān, II, 102, VI, 121), the evil leaders among humans (e.g. II, 14, VI, 112) and mischievous spirits very similar to *djinn* (e.g. VI, 71, XXI, 82). They are the friends of the unbelievers (VII, 27), they make evil suggestions (XXIII, 97) and they were believed by Muḥammad's opponents to be the source of his inspiration (XXVI, 210, 221) (see A.T. Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings: the emergence of the Qurʾanic doctrine of* tawḥīd, in *Jnal. of the American Academy of Religion*, thematic issue, XLVII [1979], 744-5).

The phrase *al-shayṭān al-radjīm* in XVI, 98 (see also III, 36), which has led to widespread practices for protection from the evil influence of Satan, especially in Ḳurʾānic recitation (*istiʿādha* [see taʿawwudh and tadjwīd]), presents its own particular problems. While the word *radjīm* [see radjm] literally means "stoned" and is sometimes taken as a reference to the stoning of the pillars of Satan in the ḥādjdj [*q.v.*] and related to the stories of Abraham and the sacrifice of his son, it has been suggested that the word is an Ethiopic loan word from meaning "accursed" (see A. Jeffrey, *Foreign vocabulary of the Quran*, Baroda 1938, 139-40). The indefinite usage in the phrase *kull shayṭān radjīm*, "every accursed satan", in XV, 17, and LXXXI, 25, suggests a plurality of such satans. This may be understood as parallel to the construction *kull shayṭān marīd*, "every rebel Satan", in XXII, 3, and XXXVII, 7 (see also IV, 117). The linking of these to a literal notion of stoning Satan is probably derived from LXVII, 5 (see also XXXVII, 6-7), which speaks of "lamps" (*maṣābīḥ*) in the heavens (i.e. stars) being objects to throw at the satans.

In *Ḥadīth*, the name Satan continues its Ḳurʾānic prominence, with Iblīs not mentioned often (8 lines of references to Iblīs, versus about 120 lines to al-Shayṭān, in A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance*, viii, Indices, *ad loc.*). Satan is spoken of as the cunning force of evil who interferes with human activity. He is especially prevalent at prayer: "ʿĀʾisha asked Muḥammad about those who glance about in prayer. He said, 'That is the portion which Satan steals from the prayer of anyone.'" (al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb badʾ al-khalḳ, bāb ṣifat Iblīs wa-djunūdihi*). God provides assistance to the believer against Satan, although each person has a satan resting on his shoulder as a constant tempter who is spoken of as "my satan". From here, the popular image of satans, their appearance and their influence develops.

In exegetical material and other literature reflecting more popular images, the Ḳurʾānic predominance of the evil influence of al-Shayṭān on humans becomes overtaken by the personality of Iblīs, ultimately reaching the point of Ṣūfī meditation on the "disobedience of Iblīs" because of his ascetic, worshipping nature and because of his personality which reflects human ambiguity and complexity [see iblīs]. This is by no means to the total neglect of the word *al-shayṭān*, however. Rūmī, for example, suggests in his *Mathnawī* (ed. and tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1925-40, iii, 3196), "The ego and Satan were also one from the beginning and were enemies and enviers of Adam" in common with a motif which identifies the "lower" self with Satan in the Ṣūfī struggle against the *nafs* (see e.g. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, 113).

In theological thinking, the existence of al-Shayṭān

as a force of evil has been accepted without a great deal of speculation as to its implications. The emphasis in Islamic thinking has always been that individuals are responsible for their own "fall", as in the case of Adam, and while the role of Satan as a tempter is real (and satisfies a human psychological need, as F. Rahman points out), he provides no excuse for evil behaviour on the part of the individual. Al-Ash῾arī's statement in his credal summary (*Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 296) "And that God bestows His sustenance upon His servants, be it lawful or prohibited; and that Satan whispers to men, and makes them doubt, and tramples upon them" reflects the acceptance of the reality of Satan but affirms his lack of real power to effect evil.

Bibliography (in addition to sources mentioned in article): *Tafsīr* tradition, esp. on the *isti῾ādha*, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1955, i, 111-13; E. Beck, *Iblis und Mensch, Satan und Adam. Der Werdegang einer koranischen Erzählung*, in *Le Muséon*, LXXXIX (1976), 195-244; Fazlur Rahman, *Major themes of the Qur'ān*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1980, 121-31; P.J. Awn, *Satan's tragedy and redemption. Iblīs in Sufi psychology*, Leiden 1983. (A. Rippin)

SHAYṬĀN al-ṬĀḲ "the demon of the arcade", the name by which non-Shī῾ī Muslim authors usually referred to the Imāmī Shī῾ī theologian of the 2nd/8th century Abū Dja῾far Muḥammad (b. ῾Alī) b. al-Nu῾mān b. Abī Ṭarīfa al-Badjalī al-Kūfī (also called al-Aḥwal "the squinter"). No precise dates for him are known; it is only known that he died after 183/799, if it is true (as al-Baghdādī and then al-Ṣafadī state) that he was one of those who "categorically affirmed" (*ḳaṭa῾a*) the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

At the outset, his by-name of Shayṭān does not seem to have been felt as derogatory. Ibn al-Nu῾mān functioned in Kūfa as a money-changer (*ṣayrafī*), at the spot called *Ṭāḳ al-maḥāmil* "Arcade of the litters"; it was his skill in detecting spurious coins which is said to have earned him the by-name. This does not affect the fact that, in general, Imāmī authors themselves prefer to call him Mu'min al-Ṭāḳ, Shāh al-Ṭāḳ or, more simply, Ṣāḥib al-Ṭāḳ. In Sunnī heresiography, his followers are habitually called the Shayṭāniyya, the sole exception being al-Shahrastānī, who uses the term Nu῾māniyya.

Shayṭān al-Ṭāḳ was a skilful controversialist, and had discussions notably with his compatriot Abū Ḥanīfa. Amongst his works (all lost) there appear amongst others several pro-Shī῾ī works of propaganda (*K. al-Imāma*, *K. al-Radd ῾alā 'l-Mu῾tazila fī imāmat al-mafḍūl*, *K. al-Djamal fī amr Ṭalḥa wa 'l-Zubayr wa-῾Ā'isha*, etc.), as well as a *K. al-Ma῾rifa*, and also what was probably a treatise on *fiḳh* called *If῾al lā taf῾al* "Do, don't do!". He was also a poet in his spare time, and al-Marzubānī cites him in his anthology of poets of the Shī῾a.

In *kalām*, his theses cannot be differentiated from those of the Imāmī theologians of his time, except on points of detail. Like the great majority of them, he thought that, basically, God only has knowledge of things at the moment when He created them; that our own personal "items of knowledge" (i.e. those concerning God) cannot be the result of an act of reasoning, but it is God who creates them within ourselves by "constraint" (*al-ma῾ārif kulluhā iḍṭirār*); that ability to act (*istiṭā῾a*) is simply health (*ṣiḥḥa*) and is necessarily, arising from this fact, anterior to the act. Going further, in this respect, than Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], he held, like the other Hishām (sc. b. Sālim al-Djawālīḳī), that all that exists in this present world is body, including our movements and all our other acts. It thus seems also that, whilst not allowing himself to apply formally this term to God (cf. al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 216 ll. 14-15; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 404 ll. 8-9), he represented Him as likewise being a body; according to al-Kulaynī (*al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, Tehran 1375/1955, i, 101 ll. 1-2), he pictured God, like Hishām b. Sālim and others, "with a hollow body as far as the navel, and the rest full and solid (*ṣamad*)".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Tehran 1391/1971, 224; Kashshī, *Ma῾rifat akhbār al-ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 122-6; Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 228; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Nadjaf 1356/1937, 161-2; idem, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1961, 302, 359; Marzubānī, *Akhbār shu῾arā' al-shī῾a*, Nadjaf 1388/1968, 83-92; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 104-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, v, 108-9, 300-1; Ash῾arī, *Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. ῾Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 69, 71; idem. *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 260; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Badrān, Cairo 1947-55, 403-6, tr. Gimaret and Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, Paris 1986, i, 539-41; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin-New York 1991-3, i, 336-42, v, 66-8.

(D. Gimaret)

SHAYYĀD, a term that meant primarily "speaker" or "one who recited or sang stories or poems in a loud voice", as used in Persian and Turkish between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries. Although probably the emphatic form of the Arabic root *sh-y-d*, meaning "one who highly praised someone or something", it was never used in Arabic. Indeed, Arabic commentators and writers sought its meaning in the Persian word *shayd* ("deceit") and equated it with *kādhib* ("liar"). Thus some saw it as the Arabic emphatic form of *shayd*, i.e. as an Arabised Persian term. *Shayyād* was not included, however, in the great Persian dictionaries of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. It was first listed in the *Ghiyāth al-lughāt* published in 1242/1826-7, but not all subsequent Persian dictionaries included it. All this has contributed to much confusion about its true meaning.

Shayyād seems to have first appeared in Sa῾dī's *Gulistān* (656/1258) and later in such works as Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī's *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* (730/1330) and Aflākī's *Manāḳib al-῾ārifīn* (754/1353-4). Disagreement over its meaning began with the earliest translations of, and commentaries on, the *Gulistān*. Some writers generally equated it with "liar" or "trickster", but others, almost all the 10th/16th-century Turkish writers, defined it as a person who elegantly addressed assemblies or told tales and, in the course of doing so, raised his voice; and they used it interchangeably with the Persian *ḳiṣṣakhwān* (Turkicised as *ḳiṣṣakhān*). Sometimes they added to this the connotation of "conjurer" or "masquerader", making it synonymous with the Persian *ma῾rakagīr*.

Some 19th-century European writers, based on Sylvestre de Sacy, also added to *shayyād* the meaning of "dervish". In *EI*[1], s.v. *Shaiyād*, F. Köprülü categorically made this word synonymous with *ḳalender* or vagabond dervish, as well as *῾ayyār* [*q.vv.*]. He also provided his own subjective definition to link *shayyād* to "dervish". He did not, however, provide any historical evidence to show that *shayyāds* were a special Bāṭinī dervish group in Anatolia between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, as he believed. Because some dervishes, including poets like Shayyād Ḥamza [*q.v.*], had the byname *shayyād*, he assumed that this was a term for another kind of dervish. In his *Risāla-yi ta῾rīfāt*,

the 10th/16th-century Turkish poet Faḳīrī, whom Köprülü cited in this regard, provides no proof that *shayyāds* had any relationship to Bāṭinism or being dervishes as such. He only says that, shouting at the top of his voice, a *shayyād* would describe the battles of ʿAlī and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib in an exaggerated manner. A *shayyād* could be a dervish, but Faḳīrī does not mention this word in his discussion of dervish groups. Moreover, neither Wāḥidī (*fl.* beg. of 10th/16th century) in his *Menāḳib-i Ḥādjdja-yi Djihān*, nor Ḳaraḳash-zāde ʿÖmer Efendi (*fl.* end of 10th/16th century) in his *Nūr al-hudā li-man ihtadā*, in their accounts of contemporary dervish groups, mention this term. Aflākī, in his *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, mentions *shayyāds* in the circle of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī and his first *khalīfas* [*q.v.*]. But again, this does not mean that *shayyāds* were by definition any group of dervishes. From much of the contextual evidence, F.N. Uzluk has, in fact, concluded that *shayyāds* were minstrels or *saz* [*q.v.*] players who were often found at Mawlawī gatherings (*Şeyyad sözü hakkında araştırma*, in *DTCFD*, viii [1949], 587-92).

It is especially worthy of note that the great Ottoman historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (d. 1008/1600), in his *Mawāʾid al-nafāʾis fī ḳawāʾid al-madjālis*, never discusses *shayyāds* in the context of dervish groups, although he had a thorough knowledge of such groups and included them in this work. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī characterises *shayyāds* and *ḳiṣṣakhāns* as people who told lies without reason and swore oaths in order to convince their listeners of what they were saying. This resulted from their attempts to explain unbelievable events in an exaggerated manner. Altogether, the *shayyāds* appear to have been a class of people who had the profession of speaking as narrators or storytellers in a loud voice before large groups. In the early 11th/17th century, the term *shayyād* began to disappear from use and was replaced by such words as *ḳiṣṣakhān*.

Bibliography: For a thorough discussion, see *İA*, art. *Şeyyād* (Ö.F. Akun). (G. Leiser)

SHAYZAR, a town of northern Syria, on the right bank of the Orontes (*nahr al-ʿĀṣī* [see AL-ʿĀṢĪ]) some 20 km/12 miles to the north-west of Ḥamā, ancient *Sizara*, Byzantine Greek *To Sezer*. It is mentioned from earliest recorded times in Egyptian texts, notably the Amarna tablets. The town was refounded by the Seleucids at the end of the 4th century B.C. under the name of Larissa, but resumed its original name in the Roman period. The name Shayzar is attested in the pre-Islamic Arabic literature, e.g. in Imruʾ al-Ḳays. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 131, the town was conquered by the Arabs under Abū ʿUbayda in 17/638; under the Umayyads, it became an *iḳlīm* or district of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ.

All through the mediaeval period, Shayzar, which controlled one of the Orontes crossings, held a strategic position of the first order. At the end of the 4th/10th century, it was a pawn in the struggles amongst the different masters of Syria: Byzantines, Fāṭimids and Ḥamdānids. Thus the Greeks occupied it 968-70 and again in 994-8, it having passed in the interim into the hands of the Ḥamdānids and then the Fāṭimids. After 999, for nearly 80 years, the town reverted to the Byzantine emperors.

The real apogee of the town came at the end of the 5th/11th century with the installation of the Banū Munḳidh [*q.v.*] at Shayzar in 474/1081. Five princes of this family governed it until 552/1157: Sadīd al-Mulk ʿAlī (474-5/1081-2), then his son Abu ʾl-Murhaf Naṣr (475-91/1082-98), and another of his sons, Abū Salāma Murshid (491/1098), who renounced power in favour of one of his brothers, Abu ʾl-ʿAsākir Sulṭān (491-?549/1098-?1154). The last Munḳidh prince, Tādj al-Dawla Muḥammad, son of the preceeding, died in 552/1157. The Banū Munḳidh, from the Arab tribe of Kināna, had settled in northern Syria at the opening of the 11th century when they entered the service of the Mirdāsids [see MIRDĀS, BANŪ] of Aleppo. The latter ceded to them, in the first place, *ca.* 1025, the territories at around Shayzar which they were controlling at that time. In 474/1081 Sadīd al-Mulk ʿAlī purchased from the Byzantine bishop of al-Bāra the town of Shayzar, and from this time onwards, the Banū Munḳidh resided in the citadel of Shayzar. We know of the town's history under them especially well from the autobiography, the *K. al-Iʿtibār*, of a member of the family, Usāma Ibn Munḳidh. For three-quarters of a century the family succeeded in forming their territories into an autonomous, petty principality. But it was the object of many covetous rivals, given its position at the centre of the ambitions of the princes of Antioch, Aleppo and Damascus. The Munḳidh *amīrs* nevertheless succeeded in preserving their autonomy autonomy by diverse means. The payment of tribute to a nearby prince assured them of protection, as in the 1080s with the prince of Aleppo Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, and also enabled them to obtain the evacuation of hostile armies from their territories. Thus in 1110 and 1121, there was secured the departure of the Franks of Antioch, who had established themselves on the fringes of Shayzar. The same means were used in July 1133 regarding the prince of Damascus, Shams al-Mulūk, who was besieging the fortress. The Munḳidh princes conducted a skilful policy of alliances and of playing off one power against the other. Thus in the 1080s, the *amīr* married one of the daughters of the Saldjūḳ of Damascus Tutush, who was at that time envisaging the conquest of the whole of Syria. In the 1120s, at the time when the Crusaders were at their most dangerous, Abu ʾl-ʿAsākir Sulṭān succeeded in establishing friendly relations with King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. After the end of that decade, the decisive alliance was that with the new ruler of Aleppo, Zangī, which allowed Shayzar to resist the implicit alliance between the Börids or Būrids of Damascus and the Crusaders. Even so, the principality was in real danger on two occasions during the first half of the 6th/12th century. First, the Assassins or Ismāʿīlīs succeeded within a few hours in seizing the fortress of Shayzar, left temporarily deserted by the Banū Munḳidh. Then in 1138, the citadel was besieged by a coalition organised by the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus and including the Crusaders and the Damascenes. The town was saved by a lifting of the siege before it could succeed, probably to be connected with dissensions in the besiegers' camp.

The Munḳidh period of Shayzar's history was also one of a relatively significant cultural development of the principality, due first of all to members of the ruling family such as the prince-poet Abū Salāma Murshid, or his famous son Usāma, both famed in the realm of letters. There were also a number of refugees from the Crusaders, fugitives from places like Tripoli, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān or Kafarṭāb at the court of Shayzar. These included political refugees, such as the *amīr* of Tripoli Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn ʿAmmār in 502/1109, but above all, scholars and teachers of Usāma like the poet Ibn al-Munīra and the Andalusian grammarian Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who had worked at the *dār al-ʿilm* in Tripoli.

The violent earthquake of 552/1157 brought about the death of the greater part of the Munḳidh fam-

ily, who were present at an entertainment in one of the rooms of the citadel at the time of the quake. Nūr al-Dīn profited from the opportunity to seize Shayzar in face of the Franks and the Assassins who were coveting it. The town was given to a family who were probably of Kurdish origin, the Banu 'l-Dāya, who, apart from a brief period of disgrace 570-2/1174-6, administered it for Nūr al-Dīn, for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and then for the Ayyūbids of Aleppo until 630/1233. The first governor of this family, Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Dāya, was the foster-brother of Nūr al-Dīn. His successors were his brother Sābiḳ al-Dīn ʿUthmān and then the latter's son and grandson ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd and Shihāb al-Dīn Yūsuf. Yūsuf was dismissed by the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, probably because he had for a certain time given allegiance to al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam of Damascus. Shayzar then lost its relative autonomy and was given to a Kurdish *amīr* called Ibn al-Dunyār, who was directly responsible to the Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo. The fortress, whose garrison had been reduced after the end of the Banu 'l-Dāya, was dismantled some years later in face of the Mongols.

The town of Shayzar was divided into a lower town or *madīna* (in European sources, *suburbium, pars inferior civitatis*), occupied today by a hamlet, and an upper town dominated by the citadel (*kalʿa*) (the *praesidium, oppidum, pars superior civitatis*). The lower town, to the north of the fortress, between it and the bridge used as a crossing over the Orontes, was several times occupied by besiegers, although it was probably protected by a wall. The fortress, however, was sited on rocky outcrop oriented north-southwards and called by al-Dimashḳī, 205, "the cock's crest". On the southern side, to strengthen the site's defences, a deep ditch had been dug by cutting into the rock for several metres. Of the fortress of the Banū Munḳidh, nothing remains for certain, everything having been destroyed by the earthquakes between 552/1157 and 565/1170. The oldest remains now visible are ostensibly, according to Max Van Berchem, those of the southern keep, said to date from the time of Nūr al-Dīn. The inscriptions still *in situ* speak of works undertaken by the Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo al-Malik al-ʿAzīz in 630/1233, and then, after the devastating appearance of the Mongols, by the Mamlūk sultans Baybars (659/1260) and Ḳalāwūn (689/1290). From the 14th century onwards, mentions of Shayzar become rare. The fortress never recovered the importance which it has had in the 12th and 13th centuries, and was probably definitively abandoned under the Ottomans.

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AL-**SHAYZARĪ**, AMĪN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-GHANĀ'IM MUSLIM b. Abi 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. Sanad al-Dawla Djamāl al-Mulk Abi 'l-Faḍā'il Niʿma b. Sanad al-Dawla Abi 'l-ʿAṭā' Arslān (Raslān) b. Yaḥyā, *adīb*, poet and astronomer.

His grandfather and great-grandfather belonged to the *mamālīk*, in the rank of an *amīr*, of Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188 [see MUNḲIDH], lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Shayzar [*q.v.*] on the Orontes. His father (d. after 565/1169) was an *adīb* and poet at the court of Usāma, but acquired also a reputation as grammarian (*naḥwī*) in the Great Mosque at Damascus (ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kharīda* [al-Shām], Damascus 1375/1955, i, 575-9); Ibn al-Ḳiftī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 273; Ibn Khallikān, Beirut 1389/1969, ii, 524-5, in no. 310). Al Shayzarī was born in Damascus where he also grew up; later he went to Yemen at the court of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Muʿizz Ismāʿīl b. Ṭughtigīn (r. 593-8/1197-1201). To the latter he dedicated his anthology *ʿAdjā'ib al-ashʿār wa-gharā'ib al-akhbār*, consisting of 25 chapters. The unique manuscript, dated 690/1291, is in the Maktabat Dār al-ʿUlūm al-Islāmiyya in Peshawar; a modern copy of this manuscript is at Leiden (R. Weipert, in *ZGAIW*, ii [1985], 241, in addition to Brockelmann, S I, 460 and to Sezgin, ii, 80). Al-Shayzarī composed a second anthology soon after 622/1225, called *Djamharat al-Islām dhāt al-nathr wa 'l-niẓām*. It comprises 16 books, which start with *madḥ* and end with *djawāb/khiṭāb*, and each has 10 chapters, the first 5 of which—according to the author—always deal with poetry (*naẓm*) and the other 5 with prose (*nathr*; with very many verses!) of poets and literary people of the Islamic period, i.e. from the 1st to the 7th centuries A.H., occasionally with exact dates. The work was composed for the last Ayyūbid in Yemen, al-Malik al-Masʿūd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad (r. 612-26/1215-29) and contains at the end of each of the 16 books—additionally also, in other places—a poem in his honour composed by the author, who sporadically designates himself as *mamlūk*, and a second one by his son Aḥmad. This *adab* work is an interesting and informative source, for it gives not infrequently *abyāt* (with explanations), *ḥikāyāt, rasā'il* and excerpts or accounts of all sorts from texts, from traditions of the period and of families, and from his own life, preserved otherwise only covertly or not at all (cf. Brockelmann, I[2], 302, S I, 374, xi, 5; see for this *Arabica*, i [1954], 237; Kh. Mardam Bak, in *MMIA*, xxxiii [1377/1958], 3-20). The unique manuscript of Leiden of 697/1298 is available in a facsimile edition by F. Sezgin, Frankfurt/Main 1986 (with reference to the Ph.D. thesis by M.D. Ahmad, *An introduction to and analysis of the Leiden ms. ... with a critical edition of some ... passages*, Oxford [1954?]). Another work by al-Shayzarī which has been preserved (al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*[4], Beirut 1979, vii, 223) and which was also composed on behalf of al-Malik al-Masʿūd, is *ʿĀdāt al-nudjūm*, an almanac "which closely resembles the celebrated *Calendar of Cordova*. The astronomical information contained in al-Shayzarī's almanac, such as the solar meridian altitude (52½° at the equinoxes) and midday shadow lengths for each month, indicates that the work was *not* compiled for use in the Yemen" (D.A. King, *Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen. A biobibliographical survey*, Malibu 1983, 22; idem, *A survey of the scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library*, Winona Lake, Indiana 1986 [= American Research Center in Egypt, Catalogs, vol. v], 66). When and where al-Shayzarī died cannot be ascertained.

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(R. SELLHEIM)

SHEBEK [see SHABAK].

SHEBELLE, a river of the south of Ethiopia and of Somalia, the Shabeelle or Webi Shabeelle, perhaps thus named because it was pointed out to the first travellers as the river (Som. *webi*) [of the land of] leopards (Som. *shabeel*, sc. *Felis pardus nanopardus*), an animal which abounds in these regions. But the dwellers along the river simply call it "the river" (Som. *webi-ga*). The name of the Shebele, an ethnic group settled before the Somali, may have played a role.

It is the longest stretch of water in the Horn of Africa, both in regard to its length (2,488 km/1,546 miles) and in regard to the extent of its catchment area (200,000 km²). It rises in Ethiopia on the fringes of Bale, Arsi and Sidamo, at Hogiso, at an altitude of 2,680 m/8,790 feet, 225 km/140 miles south of Addis Abeba, to the north of Mount Guramba and not far from the sources of another important river, the Ganale, which combines its waters with other rivers to form, in Somalia, the Juba. After the explorations of Christopher (1843), Sacconi (1883) and Baudi di Vesme (1888, 1891, etc.), its course was explored and its sources pinned down by an Italian expedition under the Duca degli Abruzzi, Luigi Amedeo di Savoia (1928-9).

After an origin in rugged country, it flows in a vast bend towards the north-east, rapidly losing height, and then turns southwards. In its upper course it receives numerous affluents from the Harärge and Arsi mountains before forming the southwestern border of the Ogādēn [*q.v.*]. When approaching Mogadishu [see MAḲDISHŪ], at Balʿad it runs parallel to the coast for 1,200 km and ends its course in a marshland between Jilib (Gelib) and the sea, not far from the mouth of the Juba, with which, when very swollen with flood waters, it may sometimes join up.

The Shebelle is, with the Juba, the only permanent river in Somalia. Both of them traverse arid regions, in such a way that they have been compared to the Tigris and Euphrates and the region which they encompass in Mesopotamia. The river has made possible sedentary and agricultural life along its banks, which contrasts with the nomadism dominant on the plateaux through which it flows. The first attempts at modern agricultural activity were made by the Italians. Carletti, governor of Somalia 1906-10, reserved several million hectares for colonists, and an experimental agricultural station was opened in 1912; but it was only after the First World War, under the Fascist governor De Vecchi (1923-8), that new efforts led to a transformation of the economy of Somalia. The main protagonist here was the Duca degli Abruzzi, who set up the Società Agricola Italo-Somala (1920) and was able to involve the population there (the Bantu Shidle, etc.) in projects for producing cotton, sugar, bananas, rice, oil-yielding seeds, etc. The economic value of the valley has continued up to our own time, and has called for numerous hydraulic works in damming the waters and dividing them up into channels, thereby compensating for the river's irregularity of flow. An important barrage is planned in Ethiopia.

The populations of the lands traversed by the river are in overwhelming majority Cushitic and Muslim, Oromo on the Ethiopian side and Somali in the Somalia Republic.

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(A. ROUAUD)

SHEBÎN ḲARAḤIṢÂR [see ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR].

SHEBṢEFÂ (SHEBIṢEFĀ, SHEBṢAFĀ) **ḲADÎN**, Ottoman princess (d. 1220/1805), probably the sixth in rank among the *ḳadîns* of Sultan ʿAbdülḥamīd I. She was the mother of a prince who died young and of Princess Hibetullāh Sulṭān (b. 1202/1788). In 1212/1798 she acquired the *čiftlik* of Djihān-zāde Ḥüseyin Beg, and also owned agricultural land in the vicinity of Salonica or Selānik [*q.v.*], apart from a pension out of the funds of the Istanbul customs. Shebṣefā Ḳadîn is noted for the foundation bearing her name in the Istanbul area of Zeyrek, established in 1202/1787 according to the inscription over the entrance to the mosque. Originally built on different levels, the foundation consists of mosque, primary school and *česhme*, along with the grave of the foundress. A *waḳfiyye*, dated 1220/1805, specifies that the school was also to be open to girls, a provision which has earned Shebṣefā Ḳadîn the reputation of a pioneer in Ottoman female education.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SHEFÎḲ MEḤMED EFENDI, called Muṣarrif-zāde, Ottoman imperial chronicler, poet and prose stylist, d. 1127/1715, best known for his *Shefîḳ-nāme*, a history of the events of the year 1115/1703.

Little is known of his family and early years. He was born in Istanbul, and later adopted the pen-name Shefîḳ. His father is thought to have been employed in the accounts office of the imperial kitchens (*maṭbakh-i ʿāmire*). Meḥmed himself entered the bureaucratic service as a clerk (*kātib*) *in the dīwān-i hümāyūn*, where he later rose to become head of one of its scribal bureaux. In the 1690s he served as a clerk in the Ottoman military campaigns against Venice, Austria and Russia. Around the beginning of the 18th century, his fortunes took a distinct turn for the better when he became a confidant of Rāmī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], the incumbent *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb* [*q.v.*], an office which was even then evolving into the Ottomans' Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After Rāmī Meḥmed became *Wezīr-i Aʿẓam* in 1115/1703, Shefîḳ Meḥmed was named an official chronicler of the realm, although apparently without the title of *waḳʿa-nüwīs*.

Shefîḳ Meḥmed's principal work, the *Shefîḳ-nāme*, records in heavy, allegorical style the so-called *Edirne Waḳʿasî*, the events surrounding the deposition of Sultan Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*] in 1115/1703, and the role of Muṣṭafā's imperial *Imām* and *Sheykh al-Islām* Sayyid Feyḍ Allāh Efendi [*q.v.*]. The same "Edirne Episode" was also responsible for the fall of Shefîḳ Meḥmed's patron Rāmī Meḥmed, and consequently for his own eclipse. Although the same events are discussed in another of his works, entitled *Muwaḍḍaḥ-i Shefîḳ-nāme*, this version has been all but overlooked because of the *Shefîḳ-nāme*'s fuller, if opaque, treatment. F. Babinger in *EI*¹ refers to yet another manuscript on the same subject, called *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAbd Allāh*, which he attributes to Shefîḳ

Meḥmed as well. A copy of the work, bearing this title, is apparently held by the Vienna National Library, but its relationship to the other manuscripts remains in question. Manuscript copies of the *Sheftḳ-nāme* and *Muwaḍḍaḥ* can be found in numerous libraries in Turkey and Europe. Of the variously titled versions (if they are all, indeed, Shefīḳ Meḥmed's), only the *Sheftḳ-nāme* has been printed. Although probably written around 1118/1706, that is, about three years after the events described, it was first published in 1866. Later editions appeared in the 1870s, sometimes including either the commentary of Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha (entitled *Rawḍat al-kāmilīn*, printed Istanbul 1289/1872-3) or that of Shefīḳ Meḥmed's contemporary, ʿAbd Allāh Meḥmed b. Aḥmed Efendi. Manuscript copies of both commentaries are also available in many of Istanbul's libraries, including Istanbul University, Topkapı Sarayı and Süleymaniye. Although Shefīḳ Meḥmed remained active through his historical writings and poetry in the years after the 1115/1703 revolution, he did not achieve wide public notice until 1125/1713, when his friendship with the new *Wezīr-i Aʿẓam*, Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], secured him a place in the *Wezīr*'s circle of intimates and he was rewarded with the chief post in the small accounts bureau (*küčük muḥāsebedjilik*) of the *ewḳāf*. He died in Istanbul in 1127/1715. Like many Ottoman littérateurs, he was proficient in Persian and Arabic, and was a member of the Mawlawī Ṣūfī order [see MAWLAWIYYA].

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(MADELINE C. ZILFI)

SHEHIR EMĀNETI (T.), a term used for two successive institutions of the Ottoman empire.

The first of these appears in the person of the *shehir emīni* mentioned in the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II as ranked below the *defterdār* and *defter emīni* but above the *reʾīs ül-küttāb*, without his function being defined. His appearance just after the conquest of Constantinople led Byzantine scholars of the 19th century, perhaps inspired by a passage of Count Andreossy, who translated this function as "prefect of the town" and followed by some Turkish authors (ʿOthmān Nūrī, in *Medjelle-yi Umūr-i Belediyye*, i [Istanbul 1922], 1358-9), to put forward the hypothesis that this official was the successor of the Byzantine *eparchos*, himself the heir of the Roman *praefectus urbis*. However, later Turkish scholars, starting with Fuat Köprülü (*Bizans'in osmanlı müesseselerine te'siri*, Istanbul 1931, 266-7), have rejected this idea, noting, quite rightly, the dissimilarity between the two offices. In effect, the eparch, the leading administrator of the capital, responsible for its provisioning, judge and police chief and deputy for the emperor during his absence (L. Brehier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1949, 186-92), seems rather to have fulfilled the urban functions of the Grand Vizier, or at least those of his lieutenant, the *ḳāʾimmaḳām*, than the much more modest ones of the *shehir emīni*, who appears to have functioned more like intendant of the royal buildings in pre-Revolutionary France.

The *shehir emīni*'s functions, so far as they can be deduced from the various documents in which he is mentioned, involved the construction, repair, provisioning and payment of salaries of the personnel of the imperial palaces in Istanbul, sc. the New one (Ṭopḳapî) and the Ancient one, as well as those of Ghalaṭa Saray and of Ibrāhīm Pasha, serving as barracks for the *ʿAdjemī oghlans*. Together with the *maṭbakh-i ʿāmire emīni* (head of the imperial kitchens), the *ḍarbkhāne emīni* (head of the imperial mints) and the *arpa emīni* (head of the imperial stables), he was one of the four great civilian dignitaries (*khʷādjegān*) of the outside administration (*bīrūn*) of the palace. He was thus the superior in rank of the head architect and his services, and supervised the building of the imperial buildings, apart perhaps from the greatest building operations, such as complexes of religous buildings, etc., for which an *ad hoc* supervisor was appointed.

He seems to have been a more important personage in the 16th century, and often to have been assimilated to the military class, since we see a *müteferriḳa* becoming *shehir emīni* and a *shehir emīni* becoming a *čāwūsh bashî*, than he was in the 18th century, when the office was held by persons previously in the rank of *ketkhüdā*. This decline in status entailed a conflict of authority with that of the chief architect, and in 1831 the two functions were suppressed and replaced by that of the director of imperial buildings (*ebniye-yi khāṣṣe, müdīri*), but the appointment to this latter office of the last chief architect, ʿAbd ül-Ḥalīm Bey, shows that it was really the second which absorbed the first.

The second *shehir emīni* appears 24 years after the disappearance of the first when, in a report of 13 June 1855, the High Assembly of the *Tanẓīmāt* proposed suppressing the Ministry of *Iḥtisāb*, which had in 1826 succeeded to the functions of the traditional *muḥtesib* with the same functions of urban policing, and its replacement by a *shehir emīni* flanked by a municipal council made up of "the members of the trade corporation with the highest profile" (ʿOthmān Nūrī, *op. cit.*, 1371-2). If this new office of *shehir emāneti*, translated in texts of the time as "Préfecture de la ville", seems directly inspired by the French prefectorial system, whilst taking into account the assimilation of the term *shehir emīni* to that of town prefect, proposed by Andreossy, the duties for which he became responsible, of cleansing and keeping tidy the city, as well as the new *shehir emīni*'s responsibility to tour the markets and bazaars, merely perpetuated the functions of the old *muḥtesib*.

The date of the creation of this new office corresponds to that of the Crimean War, when the presence of a large number of foreigners in the Ottoman capital brought a demand for municipal services like paved streets and street lighting. Since neither the ancient services of the *iḥtisāb* nor those of the *shehir emīni* were capable of responding to the new needs of a municipality, the *intiẓām-i shehir ḳomisyonu*, translated into French as "Commission municipale" was set up on 6 May 1856 with the participation of several members of the city's European colony. It made up the nucleus of the "sixth circle", *altîndjî dāʾire*, the first municipality of the Ottoman empire, limited to the quarters of Pera (Beyoğlu) and Ghalaṭa, largely occupied by Europeans and the non-Muslims subjects of the Porte. Founded in December 1857, it was merged after 1869 in the Istanbul municipality with the creation of a municipal council responsible to the *shehir emīni*, who thus became mayor of the city.

After the foundation of the Republic, a *shehir emāneti* was also created for Ankara on 16 February 1924. Finally, by the law of 3 April 1930, a uniform system of municipalities (*belediye*) was created for the whole country.

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xi, 91, xii, 51, 76; Aḥmed Wāṣif Ef., *Meḥāsin ül-āthār we ḥaḳāʾiḳ ul-akhbār*, repr. Istanbul 1978, 185, 239, 282, 363; Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye'de şehirciliğin tarihi inkişafi*, Istanbul 1936, 122-48; Pakalın iii, 322-7; Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Ef., *Taʾrīkh*, repr. Istanbul 1989, 154, 212, 228, 241, 244, 387, 462, 514, 539, 764, 769; Shemʿdānī-zāde Fīndiḳlīlī Süleymān Ef., *Mürʾī 'l-tewārīkh*, repr. Istanbul 1978, 144, 152, 157; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 374-8; Gibb and Bowen, i, 84-5, 127, 130, 133, 356-7; St. Yerasimos, *Occidentalisation de l'espace urbain: Istanbul 1839-1871. Les textes réglementaires comme sources d'histoire urbaine*, in D. Palzac (ed.), *Les villes dans l'empire ottoman: activités et sociétés*, i, Paris 1991, 97-119; Yerasimos, *La planification de l'espace en Turquie*, in *RMMM*, 1 (1989), 109-22.

(St. Yerasimos)

SHEHIR EMĪNI [see shehir emāneti].

SHEHIR KETKHÜDĀSĪ (t.), an official of the pre-modern Ottoman empire, who had financial and administrative duties. His prime function was to collect the specified taxation from a town or its quarters (a function thus corresponding to that of the *shaykh al-balad* in Egypt), whereas the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] acquired tax-farming rights in the rural areas of the provinces. As with the *aʿyān*, the office of *shehir ketkhüdāsī* tended to become hereditary; and there was, obviously, much scope in it for oppression of the taxpayers. Having lasted from the time of Süleymān the Magnificent, the office was abolished in the early 19th century as part of Maḥmūd II's [*q.v.*] reforms.

Bibliography: Pakalın, iii, 317-18, and see baladiyya. 1. Turkey. (Ed.)

SHEHR [see shahr].

SHEHR-I SEBZ [see kash].

SHEHZĀDE (p., T.), a title of Ottoman princes.

The term *shehzāde* (or *shāhzāde*, from Pers. *shāh* "king" + *zāda* "born of"), "prince", was one of the titles used for the male children born to a reigning Ottoman sultan. It is said to have been introduced by Meḥemmed I (816-24/1413-21) for his own sons, and over subsequent decades gradually superseded the earlier term *čelebi*. *Shehzāde* came into use around the same time as the title *pādishāh* [*q.v.*], as part of the general elevation of Ottoman political and cultural pretensions following Meḥemmed I's reunification of the state, and continued in use until the reign of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd I (1187-1203/1774-89), when *efendi* became the preferred princely title.

As a title (particularly from the mid-10th/16th century onwards), *shehzāde* was regularly used in conjunction with the basic title *sulṭān* [*q.v.*], by which all adult sons of the reigning sultan were also known: i.e. "Shehzāde Sulṭān X" (and even "Shehzāde Sulṭān X Khān [*sic*]", the designation applied by Pečewī to all six sons of Aḥmed I, see *Taʾrīkh-i Pečewī*, Istanbul 1281/1864, ii, 347-9). A clear distinction was thus made between the ruler and his sons. *Shehzāde* was also widely used in a purely descriptive sense, synonymous with *oghul*, "son": e.g. *shehzādeleri Sulṭān Bāyezīd... we Sulṭān Muṣṭafā* "his [Meḥemmed II's] sons Sultan Bāyezīd... and Sultan Muṣṭafā" (Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü 'l-Feth*, ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1977, 84).

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SHEKER BAYRAMI [see ʿīd al-fiṭr].

SHEMʿDĀNĪ-ZĀDE Süleymān Efendi, also known as Fīndiḳlīlī Süleymān Efendi, 18th century member of the Ottoman *ʿulemāʾ*, provincial judge (*ḳāḍī*), and author of the *Mürʾī 'l-tewārīkh*, was born in Fīndiḳlī, Istanbul, at an unknown date. He was the son of a Tokat merchant, Shemʿdānī Meḥmed Agha, who reputedly stood up to rebels who were attempting to raid the Istanbul Customs Office during the events of the Patrona Khalīl [*q.v.*] rebellion in 1143/1730. He was later recognised for his bravery by the Grand Vizier Yegen Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who had been the Customs Officer in Istanbul at the time of the events in question (Aktepe, p. xvii). Süleymān Efendi, then, was a member of a prominent Istanbul family, which had settled in Istanbul at least by 1143/1730, if not earlier. He apparently preferred the religious profession over commerce, and chose to be a judge (Aktepe, p. xviii). Information on his career is scant, but a few details are scattered throughout his history. He is known to have been appointed judge at Ismāʿīl in Rumeli in 1178/1765, where he served as a guide and host for the passage of Selīm Giray Khan into Ottoman territory. Of other Balkan towns, he was appointed to Beypazarı and Pravişte at dates unknown. In 1183/1769, he was appointed to Ankara; in 1185/1771, to Tokat and in 1190/1776, to al-Fayyūm [*q.v.*] in Egypt. He died in Istanbul in 1193/1779, and was buried in Eyyūb (Aktepe, pp. xvii, xviii).

Süleymān Efendi wrote his *Mürʾī 'l-tewārīkh* as a supplement to Kātib Čelebi's [*q.v.*] *Taḳwīm al-tewārīkh*, written in 1058/1648, and extended by Meḥmed Sheykhī and Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*] to 1145/1733. Süleymān Efendi had intended to end his work with 1188/1774, presenting it to the new sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*], but he extended it to 1191/1777 to include some of the post-war events and appointments (Aktepe, pp. xxi-xxii). He acknowledged his debt to the official historians Ṣubḥī and ʿIzzī Süleymān, whose works he consulted and incorporated until the year 1165/1752. The value of the work lies in Süleymān Efendi's original contribution for the period from 1165-91/1752-77, especially for the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish War, when, as *ḳāḍī* of Tokat, for example, he was responsible for enrolling a regiment of Janissaries for the battlefront (Aktepe, ii/b, 61). His description offers historians one of the few realistic pictures of the difficulties of 18th-century Ottoman mobilisation, and his work supplements the other chronicles of the same period, those of Enwerī and Wāṣıf [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii, 86; *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 144; Babinger, 306-7; *Mürʾī 'l-tewārīkh*, Beyazit ms. 5144, published in Istanbul in 1919, with foreword by Aḥmed Tewḥīd; additional biographical data and an analytical bibliography of manuscript copies in M.M. Aktepe's edition, *Şemʾdânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi târihi Mürʾi't-tevârih*, Istanbul 1976-81. (Virginia Aksan)

SHEMʿĪ, the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of a Turkish translator and commentator of Persian literary works who flourished in the second half of the 10th/16th century. In his own works and in most of the biographical sources only this name is mentioned. B. Dorn, referring to "two manuscripts" of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, asserted that he was properly called Muṣṭafā Darwīsh. Even more uncertain is the name Shemʿ-Allāh Perzerīnī which Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir attributed to him; this was based perhaps on the confusion with another Shemʿī, a Ṣūfī poet from the town of Prizren [*q.v.*], or Perzerīn, who belonged to the mystical tradition of Sheykh Wefā (d. 896/1490-1) and died in 936/1529-30 (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 287, and Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7,

210-2, tr. O. Rescher, Tübingen 1950, i, 164-5). The dates mentioned in the sources for the death of the commentator Shemʿī, sc. about 1000/1591-2 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 53) and 1005/1596-7 (Thüreyyā), cannot be correct because his commentary on Djāmī's *Subḥat al-abrār* was completed in 1009/1600-1, and as late as 1012/1603-4 a verse translation of *arbaʿīn* traditions, entitled *Miftāḥ-i futūḥāt*, was dedicated by Shemʿī to Sultan Meḥemmed III (see Blochet, ii, 169). Also, very little is known about his life. He is described as a man of mystical inclination who made a living as a private teacher of "the sons of the people and the servants of the great and the exalted" (Naʿīmā). The numerous commentaries on Persian classics which he wrote are obviously related to this profession. Several of these works were dedicated to officials of the Ottoman court during the reigns of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95) and Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603).

Shemʿī wrote commentaries on: (1) Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Pand-nāma*, with the title *Saʿādat-nāma*, and a dedication to Zīrek Agha, a courtier of Murād III (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 68; Dorn, 333-5; Dozy, ii, 115; Rieu, *Turkish mss.*, 154-5; Blochet, i, 319; H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, xiii-xvi [1961], 232-3). (2) *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* by the same (1005/1596-7), at the request of Ḥasan Agha, the *agha* of the Janissaries (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 190; H. Ritter, in Oriens, xi [1958], 55). (3) Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, dedicated to Ghaḍanfer Agha, the *ḍābiṭ-i Bāb al-saʿādet* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 975). (4) Saʿdī's *Gulistān* (977/1569 or 979/1571), at the request of Meḥmed Čelebī, the intendant of the sultan's gardens (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 231; Pertsch, 93-4; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, ii, 607; idem, *Turkish mss.*, 156-7; Blochet, i, 350, 384; Ateş, 193). (5) *Būstān* by the same (about 1000/1591-2) (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 53; Rieu,*Turkish mss.*, 156; Ateş, 198; Leiden, ms. Or. 12448). (6) Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmi's *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī* (*ca.* 999/1590-1) in six books, by order of sultan Murād III (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 375; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, ii, 589; idem, *Turkish mss.*, 155). (7) Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān* (981/1574), for his patron Aḥmed Ferīdūn (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 273; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, ii, 631; idem, *Turkish mss.*, 158). (8) Djāmī's *Bahāristān* (between 982-7/1574-9), dedicated to the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollī [*q.v.*] Meḥmed Pasha (cf. e.g. Dozy, ii, 357; Rieu, *Persian mss.*, 755). (9) *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* by the same (1006/1597), for Meḥemmed III's *Khādim* Ḥasan Pasa (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 219; Pertsch, 105; Dozy ii, 120; Ateş, 443). (10) *Subḥat al-abrār* by the same (1009/1600), dedicated to Ghaḍanfer Agha (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 575; Blochet, ii, 331; Ateş, 439). (11) Shāhī, *Dīwān*, for his patron Aḥmed b. Meḥmed (cf. e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 286; Dozy, ii, 119-20; Blochet 341).

Shemʿī used a fairly simple method. Invariably, the main element of his comment was a full Turkish paraphrase of the Persian text, to which very short explanatory remarks were added. Not inappropriately the term "translation" (*terdjüme*) is sometimes applied to his commentaries. His work, as well as that of his confrère Surūrī [*q.v.*], is often criticised in Sūdī's [*q.v.*] commentary on the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ.

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SHEMS al-DĪN GÜNALTAY, in modern Turkish, Şemseddin Günaltay, 20th-century Turkish statesman and historian. A prolific historian and a professor, Shems al-Dīn Günaltay (1883-1961) served as the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic during its decisive transition to a multi-party system in the mid-century.

After obtaining a degree in science at a teachers' college, he graduated from the University of Lausanne, where he studied natural sciences. Privately, he mastered Arabic and Persian. After teaching and serving as principal at various high schools, he was in 1914 appointed *müderris* or professor of Turkish history and the history of Islamic nations at the University of Istanbul. He also taught the history of religion and Islamic philosophy at the Süleymāniyye Madrasa. In 1915 he became a member of the Ottoman Parliament, where he served until its dissolution. During the national liberation struggle (1919-22), he was a member and Deputy Chairman of the Istanbul Municipal Council.

A staunch supporter of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk [*q.v.*]) and his successor, President İsmet İnönü [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Günaltay served more than 30 years as a parliamentary deputy (first for Sivas, then for Erzincan). From January 1949 to May 1950 he was Prime Minister. As such, he introduced legislation for direct parliamentary elections and enabled Turkey to have its first free national elections, as a result of which his party fell from power. From May 1950 to his death in October 1961, Günaltay was successively parliamentary deputy, Chairman of his party (the Republican People's Party) for Istanbul and Member of the Council of Deputies and Senator.

During much of his political life, Günaltay continued to teach history at the University of Istanbul. He also served as President of the Turkish Historical Society from 1941 onwards.

Bibliography: Günaltay's major scholarly works include *Taʾrīkh-i edyān* ("History of religions", 1922), *Islām taʾrīkhi* ("History of Islam", 1925), *Islāmda taʾrīkh we müwerrikhler* ("History and historians in Islam", 1923-1925), *Islām dīnī taʾrīkhi* ("History of the Islamic religion", 1924), the 5-volume *Mufassal Türk taʾrīkhi* ("Comprehensive history of the Turks", 1928-1933), the 4-volume *Yakın şark tarihi* ("History of the Near East", 1937-51, and *Türk tarihinin ilk devirleri* ("Early periods of Turkish history", 1937).

(Talat Sait Halman)

SHEN-SI, Shaanxi, a province in the northwest of China, bounded in the north by the province of Suiyüan, in the south by the provinces of Ssu-ch'uan and Hu-pei, in the west by the provinces of Kan-su and Ning-hsia, and in the east by the provinces of Shan-si and Hê-nan. Shen-si has been of geographical and political importance, as many dynasties (from the Cho in the 12th century B.C. to the Tang in the 10th century A.D.) established their régimes in this area, previously called Kuan-chung. The capital of Shen-si is Hsi-an (previously called Ch'ang-an), which was a cosmopolitan city in the past.

It was a centre of Muslims during the Tang (A.D. 618-907), Sung (A.D. 960-1279) and Mongol-Yüan (A.D. 1206-1368) periods. Muslims were assigned an autonomous district in the city during the Tang period, and one of the oldest Chinese mosques, named Hua-chüeh-hsian Ta-shi (also called Tang-ta Shi), originally built around A.D. 742, is located here.

After the Mongol conquest of China, a mass Muslim migration from Central Asia into China took place. In 1289, when the Mongol prince Ananda (who succeeded his father Prince Mangala) was appointed as Prince An-hsi to govern Shen-si, more Muslims were brought into this province. Ananda and his son Ürlüg Temür had close contact with Central Asian Muslims. It is said, according to the author of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, that they were converted to Islam and gave strong support to it. Muslim communities in Shen-si, especially in the north, thus increased and gradually developed into one of the biggest Muslim population concentrations. (By the mid-19th century, before the great rebellions, the Muslim population in Shen-si was probably around 4,000,000; but after the suppression of the rebellions, the population was reduced to around 500,000.)

Chinese Islamic *madrasa* education has been regarded as starting from Shen-si, and from there spread all over China. Hu Têng-chou (1522-97), a Shen-si native of Hsien-yang, with the Islamic name Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ilyās, was the founder of the so-called Shen-si school of Chinese *madrasa*-mosque education (another one is the Shan-tung school). Hu's teaching was said to emphasise interpretation of the doctrine of *Tawḥīd* and Islamic philosophy. He adopted a great number of Arabic works as textbooks, and invented a so-called Ching-t'ang Yü (*madrasa* language) in his *ḥalḳa* teaching. Ching-t'ang Yü is, in fact, a hybrid of Chinese and Islamic (Arabic and Persian) languages. This language is still employed in Islamic college teaching at the present time. Hu's inclination to an Arabic form of Islam, since he spent quite a long period studying in Arabia, distinguished the Shen-si school from the Shan-tung school, which was more inclined to Persian Islam.

Shen-si has always been rather a poor province in natural resources, while its people were notorious for being truculent and violent in nature. Likewise, Shensi Muslims were also known for their militant characteristics. Throughout modern Chinese history, Muslims from this region played a significant role in local rebellions; however, it was not until the mid-19th century that Shen-si Muslims fought for their own lives and religion. Shen-si Muslim insurrections in 1860s and 1870s resulted from social, economic and religious conflicts between the Han and the Muslims, and political oppression from corrupt local Manchu bureaucrats. It has also been suggested that the Muslim insurrections echoed the Taiping Revolt. Muslim rebellions in Shen-si, were certainly influenced by the Djahriyya Ṣūfī (a sub-order of the Naḳshbandiyya) reform movement led by Ma Minghsin [*q.v.*] early in the 19th century. Ma's movement stimulated the Muslims' consciousness and strengthened their Islamic identity. The best known Shen-si Muslim rebel leader was Pai Yen-hu [*q.v.*], who later, together with his followers, fled to Sinkiang to join Yaʿḳūb Beg's [*q.v.*] movement, then fled to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia and eventually settled there; they were the forefathers of the present Dungans.

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(Chang-Kuan Lin)

SHENLIK (t.), an Ottoman term for public festivities which marked special occasions and, unlike ceremonies limited to certain groups, involved the participation of the entire populace.

The main festivities of the empire included religious ones such as the commemoration of the death of Ḥusayn on 10 Muḥarram, the eve of the Prophet's birthday and the end of Ramaḍān, marked and celebrated by holidays. The Pilgrimage provided other opportunities for public festivities: the departure of the royal caravan and pilgrims for Mecca on 12 Radjab and their return on the third month of the year were publicly honoured. On the return of the Pilgrimage caravan, for instance, houses were decorated, the pilgrim's door was painted green, and everyone sought the pilgrim's blessing and intercession. Another religious celebration of non-Muslim origin occurred on 23 April when all celebrated St. George's Day, on which the Muslims commemorated Khiḍr, as a festival for spring when many went on picnics.

Non-religious public festivities included the girding of the sultan which marked the formal acknowledgement of his succession, as well as the birth or circumcision of his children, the sons' initiation into formal education, the wedding of a member of the sultan's family or some noted dignitary, and the reception of certain ambassadors. Another major occasion was the departure of the Ottoman army on campaign, often accompanied by the firing of cannon, beating of drums, and performances by military bands; major victories and the homecoming of the army were also extensively observed, with mock battle scenes and illuminations. Fireworks, including small rockets (*fishek*), were often the most significant feature here. In many instances, the sultans also promoted spectacular pageants, mock battles between Muslims and Christians, water triumphs, illuminations and fireworks in order to keep up the morale of the populace in times of defeat and other calamities. There were also parades of trade guilds before the sultan, lasting for as long as three days or more, in which they displayed their professional techniques on large floats. The mingling of religious with secular events often enhanced its splendour. Many Ottoman works, such as the *Sūrnāme-yi hümāyūn* (Topkapı Palace Archives doc. no. R. 283) and *Sūrnāme-yi Wehbī*, (Topkapı, Palace Archives doc. no. A. 3539), contain depictions of such public festivities.

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(Fatma Müge Göçek)

SHERBET (Ar. Pers. Tk.), a fruit-based drink; the term is derived from the Arabic *sharba*, meaning a drink or beverage. Sherbet was first recorded in English in the early 17th century, and there are many other European cognate forms, viz. *sorbet* (Fr.), *sorbetto* (It.), *sorbete* (Sp.), etc. According to Turkish and European sources, in Istanbul sherbet was made from a variety of ingredients, of which the most common was lemon juice, mixed with sugar, honey and water, and sometimes with musk and ambergris, often cooled with ice or snow in summer, and served warm by itinerant vendors in the winter time. Other ingredients might include violets, *nīlūfer* (water-lily flowers), rhubarb, roses, lotus, tamarind and grapes. Richard Knolles, *The general history of the Turkes*, London 1621, describes a dinner given for foreign ambassadors in Istanbul in 1603, when "the table ... thus furnished, the guests without any cerimonie of washing sat downe on the ground ... and fell on their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which drink they call Zerbet"; elsewhere he mentions that it is made of "the juice of lymons, water and sugar". George Sandys, *A relation of a journey begun An.Dom.1610*, London 1615; an anonymous manuscript in the British Museum of 1027/1618 (Add. 23880); and J.-B. Tavernier, *a new relation of the Inner-Part of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio*, London 1677, all describe the composition and serving of sherbet in detail.

The Turkish historian Ewliyā Čelebi, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, tr. J. von Hammer, London 1834-50, lists the ingredients of a variety of sherbets, and another fruit-based drink, *khō shāb* (possibly with an alcoholic content) which was equally popular in the 17th century. He names the various districts where the sherbet-makers lived, such as Top Hane, Fındıklı and Scutari, and their special products. He also describes a procession in 1042/1633, when the merchants of musk sherbets (*eshribe-yi mümesseke*) "pass exposing to public view in china vases and tankards every kind of sherbet made of rhubarb, ambergris, roses, lemons, tamarinds, etc., of different colours and scents, which they distribute among the spectators".

The lemon juice which was so important a component of sherbet, came from lemons (*līmūn*), almost exclusively imported from the island of Chios; see Sandys, Du Loir, *Les Voyages*, Paris 1654, and R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1962, for the Turkish sources. Sherbet was served in pottery or glass covered bowls; a Turkish painting of a *sherbetdji* shows the sherbet seller at his stall, working a hand-pump in order to activate a sherbet fountain (Warsaw University Library, Teka 171, no. 536). A by-product of the sherbet industry was the ingenious invention, at Kütahya in the early 12th/18th century, of pottery lemon-squeezers with a concealed trap; see J. Carswell, *The lemon-squeezer: an unique form of Turkish pottery*, in *IV^eme Congres International d'Art Turc*, Univ. de Provence, Etudes historiques 3, Aix 1976.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constantinople 1890, s.vv. *sharāb*, *sherbet*, *sherbetdji*.

(J. Carswell)

SHEREF, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (1853-1925), late Ottoman historian and statesman.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref was born in Istanbul, the son of a chief clerk at the Imperial Arsenal (*Ṭopkhāne-yi ʿāmire*), whose family hailed from Safranbolu in northwestern Anatolia. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref graduated from the famous Galatasaray Lycée in 1873. After this he taught at several different establishments, from the *Makhredj-i Aḳlām* (a college for civil servants which existed between 1864 and 1876) to the *Dār al-Fünūn* (University), which was re-opened in 1900, having been closed since 1880. All through the long reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]) he was a central figure in the educational establishment, serving for sixteen years as director of the Civil Service Academy (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) and for fourteen as director of the Galatasaray Lycée.

After the Constitutional Revolution in 1908, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref gained even more prominence. He was appointed to the Senate (remaining a member until the end of the Empire) and was made Minister for the *Defter-i Khāḳānī* (Revenue Register). He also served as Minister of Education for three short spells and as Minister of Pious Foundations (*Ewḳāf*) and President of the Council of State. As Minister of Education, he took the initiative in founding bilingual (French-Turkish) "model" (*nümūne*) secondary schools.

From 1909 until the end of the empire in 1922 he was the last offical chronicler (*waḳʿa-nüwīs*) of the Ottoman Empire. In this capacity, he finished the eighth and last volume of the history of his predecessor Luṭfī Efendi. His own chronicle of the years 1908-18 has remained unpublished. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref's importance for the study of Ottoman history lies not so much in any great originality or depth but in his work as an organiser and populariser. He published fourteen books and numerous articles. Some of the former, such as the *Taʾrīkh-i dewlet-i ʿothmāniyye* (1883) and the *Fedhleke-yi taʾrīkh-i dewlet-i ʿāliye-yi ʿothmāniyye* (1884) were widely used as textbooks in schools. He also wrote a regular historical column for the newspaper *Waḳit* ("Time"). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref was instrumental in establishing history as a modern discipline in Turkey. The most important step in this direction was the establishing in 1910 of the *Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*, (Society for Ottoman History). This society, of which he became permanent president, concentrated on translating European works on Ottoman and Turkish history and on text editions. Its main aim, the publication of a large-scale Turkish history of the Ottoman Empire, was not realised during his lifetime, but the institute's journal, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni Medjmūʿasi* (*TOEM*), published from 1910 to 1924 and continued under the title of *Türk Taʾrīkhi Endjümeni Medjmūʿasi* until 1928, was the first of its kind in the Empire.

In 1923, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref was elected to the National Assembly in Ankara as one of the representatives for Istanbul. He also headed the Turkish Red Crescent Society. In 1925 he fell ill; he died at Istanbul at the age of 72 and was buried in his native Eyüp.

Bibliography: Efḍal ül-Dīn [Tekiner], *ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān Sheref Efendi terdjüme-yi ḥālī, ḥayāt-i resmiyyesi we khuṣūṣiyyesi*. Istanbul 1927; İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul n.d.; M. Orhan Bayrak, *Osmanlı tarihi yazarları*, Istanbul 1982; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1977; Murat Belge (ed.). *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1985, vi.

(E.J. Zürcher)

SHEWḲĪ BEG (Şevki Bey in present-day Turkish orthography), Turkish composer of great popularity, was born the son of a comb-maker in 1277/1860 in the Fātiḥ quarter of Istanbul. The exceptionally gifted young man was accepted at the Sultan's music school (*Mūzīḳa-i hümāyūn mektebi*) under the aegis of Callisto Guatelli (1868-99), and studied there under

the celebrated composer Ḥādjdjī ʿĀrif Beg (Hacı Ârif Bey, d. 1302/1885). Strongly addicted to alcohol and unable to pursue a normal existence, he lived a dervish-like (*rindī*) variant of a Romantic artist's life. At the age of 31, he died on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1307/19 July 1890 and was buried at Beylerbeyi on the Bosphorus.

Shewkī Beg, sometimes called the "Turkish Schubert", is known for his songs in the form of *sharkī* (*şarkı*), the "Lied" form of Turkish art music that had gained a new quality and popularity by the compositions of his famous teacher. In his own lyric-melancholic style, Shewkī Beg composed several hundred *sharkī* songs. In contrast to Ḥādjdjī ʿĀrif Beg, he contented himself with a relatively small selection of modes (*maḳām* [*q.v.*]/*makam*) and metres (*uṣūl*/*usûl*). About one-third of the pieces attributed to him are composed in one and the same *maḳām*, called "lovers" (*ʿushshāḳ*/*uşşak*)—a remarkable correspondence to the main subject of his song texts. The most popular of these texts were recorded, together with indications of mode and metre, in contemporaneous and later song text collections.

Some of his melodies have survived in musical notation. Suphi Ezgi (1870-1962), who knew Shewkī Beg personally, is said to have written down 120 of his songs. He published fifteen of them in his voluminous book on Turkish music (see below). A few more are included in other printed and handwritten song collections.

Bibliography: Suphi Ezgi, *Nazarî ve ameli türk musikisi*, i-v, Istanbul 1933-53, *passim*; İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Hoş sadâ*, Istanbul 1958, 276-8; Y. Öztuna, *Şevki Bey*, Ankara 1988 (lists 234 works, presents 140 song texts; full bibl.); idem, *Büyük türk mûsikîsi ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1990, ii, 355-9.

(E. Neubauer)

SHEYKH-OGHLU, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muṣṭafā (modern Turkish: Şeyhoğlu, Sadrüddin Mustafa) (b. 741/1340-1), sometimes referred to as Sheykh-zāde, under which name he was dealt with in *EI*[1]. He should not be confused with the translator of *Ḳirḳ wezīrler ḥikāyeleri* [see sheykh-zāde. 3].

Poet, translator and court dignitary, Sheykh oghlu was an important figure in the development of Ottoman *dīwān* poetry, especially the *methnewī* genre, in the 8th/14th century. He extended the focus of the *methnewī* to romance and human love rather than just religion and mystic love, an approach seen also in the *Djemshīd we-Khurshīd* written in 805/1403 by his rival Aḥmedī [see aḥmadī]. Outstripped as a lyricist by the latter, Sheykh-oghlu also drew less attention than later writers of such *methnewīs* as *Leylā and Medjnūn*, *Yūsuf and Zelīkhā* and *Khusrew and Shīrīn*. He is, however, a figure about whom many contradictory and erroneous statements have been made in the sources both old and recent, Turkish and European. Most common of the errors, which we find in the earliest of Ottoman literary biographies, the *Hesht bihisht* of Sehī (d. 994/1586 [*q.v.*]), is to identify him with Djemālī the nephew of Sheykhī [*q.v.*], who completed his uncle's *Khusrew ü Shīrīn*, used the *laḳab* of Sheykh-zāde or Sheykh-oghlu, and was still alive in the last decade of the 15th century (see Hüseyin Ayan, *Şeyhoğlu Mustafa* Ḫurşîd-nâme (Hurşîd ü Ferahşâd), *inceleme-metinsözlük-konu dizini*, Erzurum 1979, 8; and Ömer Faruk Akün in *İA*, art. *Şeyhoğlu*).

Sheykh-oghlu's birthdate is given as 741 or 742 (1340-1), but it is not known where he was born, nor when and where he died. A statement at the end of his *Kenzü 'l-küberā* indicates that he completed that work in 789/1401, but he must have died after 804/1401 and before 812/1409.

The name Muṣṭafā, by which he has been known over the centuries, was one acknowledged by Sheykh-oghlu himself and recorded also by Aḥmedi, but it has now been shown that be also used the name Ṣadr al-Dīn. As a result, two translations (see below), previously credited to an unknown Ṣadr al-Dīn have been credited to Sheykh-oghlu (Zeynep Korkmaz, *"Ḳābūs-nāme" ve "Marzubān-nāme" çevirleri kimindir?*, in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı* [1966], 267-78; Kemal Yazuv, *Şeyhoğlu* Kenzü'l Küberâ ve Mehekkü'l-Ulemâ (*inceleme-metin-indeks*) Ankara 1991).

Statements in Sheykh-oghlu's works show that his forebears included high officials and scholars, and that his family was an influential one at the court of the Germiyān *amīrs* of Kütahya [see germiyān-oghullarī]. It seems that he was brought up there during the reign of Meḥmed b. Yaʿḳūb I and given a *medrese* education. As an adult, he acted as chief of chancery and treasurer to Meḥmed b. Yaʿḳūb's successor Süleymān Shāh (d. 789/1387). Süleymān was a ruler well-known as a patron to men of letters, encouraging them to execute translations from Arabic and Persian and to produce original works in Turkish. On the death of Süleymān, Sheykh-oghlu served the Ottoman Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd until that ruler was defeated by Tīmūr at Ankara in 805/1402, after which he transferred his allegiance to Bāyezīd's son, Prince Süleymān supporting him in the struggle for the throne.

There is still uncertainty about Sheykh-oghlu's total literary output. Poems by him appear in some old collections and he is said to have written an *ʿAshḳ-nāme*, but no manuscript has been discovered. Well-known are his *Khurshīd-nāme* and a *Kenz ül-küberā*. The former, a *methnawī* romance completed in 789/1387, comprises close to 8,000 *bayts* (see Ayan, 24 ff.). In his preface, Sheykh-oghlu refers to it also as *Shehristān-i ʿushshāḳ*, and sources have labelled it variously as *Khurshīd ü Ferahshād* (or *Ferakhshād*), *Khurshīd ü Ferrukhshād*, or simply *Ferrukh-nāme*. The text indicates that, although Sheykh-oghlu began the work for Süleymān Shāh of Germiyān, after the death of that patron in 789/1387 he presented it to Bāyezīd. As for the origin of the work, Sheykh-oghlu's statement that it came from "a pleasant Arab story" (A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 295), has to be weighed against the fact that it draws heavily on the *Shāh-nāmā* and the general literary tradition of Iran for themes and motifs, but also includes strong personal views as well as elements from the history and traditions of the Turks (see Ayan, 31 ff.). Most of the characters in the work have Persian names, exceptions being Bogha Khān the Tatar ruler, and Turumtay his vizier (which, Akün suggests, indicates a memory of Īlkhānid days in Anatolia). The introductory sections cover the usual topics required of a *methnewī*, and the main story is structured on the motif of falling in love "sight unseen", one frequently encountered in both Persian and Turkish literature, the protagonists being Khurshīd, daughter of the Khān of Īrān, and Ferahshād, son of the ruler of the Maghrib. The *Kenz ül-küberā*, a prose work liberally interspersed with verse, was completed in 803 Radjab/March 1401 and is believed to have been Sheykh-oghlu's last work. Categorised by Kemal Yavuz as the second example (after the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]) of a "Mirror for Princes" in a Turkic language, the work resembles in format, but is not a translation (as has been suggested) of Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī's *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* (Yavuz, *op. cit.* 10-11). It opens with appropriate

introductory material. Then in four chapters Sheykh-oghlu discusses the status and responsibilities of rulers, state officials, legislative, scholarly and religious functionaries, supporting his views with anecdotal material that shows him to be well-versed in scholarship and literature, and makes the work an important source of information on 9th/15th-century society.

As for the two translations now credited to Sheykh-oghlu, and undertaken at the command of Süleymān Shāh, these are: (1) *Marzubān-nāme* (believed to be the earlier), based on the Warāwīnī version of the original 4th/10th-century work, was itself later translated into Arabic [see MARZBĀN-NĀMA]. With its didactic nature, typical of Persian *andarz* literature, the use of animal fables as in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and motifs in its frame story reminiscent of *Ḳutadghu bilig*, the work must have been especially attractive to Sheykh-oghlu, and presumably influenced the writing of his own last work, *Kenz ül-kübera* (see Yavuz, 11). (2) *Ḳābūs-nāme*, written by the Ziyārid ruler of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] for his son Gīlān Shāh in 475/1082-3, a work also in the *andarz* and "Mirror for Princes" tradition.

In addition to Sheykh-oghlu's importance for the literary, intellectual and social aspects of Anatolia, he has a place in the development of the Turkish language as a literary vehicle in the 8th/14th century. Said to have complained (fashionably) about the unsuitability of Turkish as a vehicle for poetry, he nevertheless stressed the importance of producing works in that language and is praised for the style that he accomplished (see Akün, 483, and Ayan, 11, 15; the Zeynep Korkmaz study of the *Marzubān-nāme* supplies a detailed analysis of his language).

Bibliography: The main sources are given in the article. For further titles and details of mss., see the bibls. in Akün, Korkmaz and Yavuz.

(KATHLEEN BURRILL)

SHEYKH-ZĀDE, the name of various figures in Ottoman Turkish literature.

1. A name sometimes used in reference to SHEYKH-OGHLU, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muṣṭafa [*q.v.*].

2. The *lakab* of Djemālī, nephew of Sheykhī [*q.v.*].

3. An unidentified Ottoman writer referred to by sources also as Sheykh-zāde Aḥmed or Aḥmed-i Mīṣrī and said to have presented to Murād II a collection of stories, *Ḥikāyet-i erbaʿīn-i, ṣubḥ u mesā*, translated from Arabic. The Arabic original is considered no longer extant and, contrary to earlier studies, a recent work in Turkey (Mübeccel Kızıltan, *Kırk vezirler hikâyeleri. Metin-dizin-kaynakça*, doktora tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi 1991) posits that two writers are involved, an Aḥmed-i Mīṣrī who translated the work from Arabic and presented it to Murād II (1421-51), and a Sheykh-zāde who took up the text later, presenting it to both Murād II and Meḥemmed II (1451-81). The collection of stories, related in a frame-style format and centred on the motif of a chaste youth and lustful stepmother, is well-known in English through E.J.W. Gibb, *The history of the forty Vezirs*, London 1886.

(KATHLEEN BURRILL)

SHEYTĀNLİḲ (Grk. Gyaros, vernacular Gioúra), the Tkish. name (lit. "devilry, craftiness") for an island of the Aegean Cyclades group, lying to the northwest of Syros or Shire [*q.v.*]. From Roman times onwards, up to the period 1936-74, it has served as a place of exile and imprisonment for political prisoners, but may also have acquired its name from its great vulnerability to pirate attacks. In Byzantine times, as in Antiquity, shells for purple dye were fished for there (see K.R. Setton, in *Speculum*, xix [1944], 196). From 1206 to 1566 it was part of the Archipelago Duchy of Naxos (see NAKSHE and map XIV in Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman empire*), but was seized temporarily by Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1537; it then became part of a petty Italian maritime state with strong Roman Catholic influence until the Ottomans took it over in 1617 (see K.R. Setton, in *Camb. med. hist.*, iv/1², 426). Greek pirates used it as a base during the War of Independence (1821 onwards), preying on European shipping, as attested by the contemporary Jourdain (*Méms. hist. et militaires sur les événements de la Grèce*, Paris 1828, ii, 225). At present, the island is uninhabited.

Bibliography: See also the bibls. NAKSHE, PARA, SANTURIN ADASÎ and SHIRE.

(A. SAVVIDES)

SHEYYĀD ḤAMZA, modern Turkish Şeyyad Ḥamza, a 7th/13th-century Turkish mystical poet mentioned in 10th/16th-century biographies but about whose life details are elusive.

He probably lived mainly in the Akşehir-Sivrihisar area, and a tombstone in Akşehir [see AKSHEHIR] is reported to be that of a daughter Aṣlī Khātūn (Rıfkı Melûl Meriç, *Akşehir türbe ve mezarları kitabeleri* in *TM*, v, 179). Mehmed Fuad Köprülü was the first to note him in this century, publishing a 15-*beyt* remnant of a *methnewī* of his contained in Egerdirli Ḥādjdjī Kemāl's *Djāmiʿ al-neẓā'ir* (on this genre see Nihat Sami Banarlı, *Resimli Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1971, 617-8) and characterising him and his *laḳab* as typical of the Bāṭinī trends [see BĀṬINIYYA] current in Anatolia during the period of the Mongol invasion (see Köprülü's *EI*¹ art. SHAIYĀD ḤAMZA). Subsequent research has uncovered more of Ḥamza's works, produced other theories on his *laḳab* (see Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke şiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1968, 13-15, and *İA* art. *Şeyyad* by Ömer Faruk Akün, cf. also SHAYYĀD), and questions about his Bāṭinī connection, pointing to his importance as a predecessor of Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] and his place in the early experimental period of Ottoman literature. Ḥamza was familiar with both the folk and *dīwān* poetic tradition. Some of his folk poems contain coarse elements and reflect the turmoil of 7th/13th-century Anatolia. In general, however, they express with simple lyricism his moral and religious views. His *dīwān* works include *naʿts* (in praise of Muḥammad), a *naẓīre* on a *ghazel* of Rūmī, amatory verse and admonitions concerning the vanity of the world and inexorable death. Important is his 1529-*beyt methnewī* entitled *Destān-ı Yūsuf* ("Epic [or Tale] of Joseph"), a work based on the Ḳur'ānic version of the Joseph story [see YŪSUF U ZALĪKHĀ], uniting popular Islamic tradition with mystic concepts. The format, while adhering in general to the Persian *mathnawī* tradition, replaces interspersed *ghazels* with five *nükte* or moral commentaries. The poem's general tone is strongly reminiscent of folk narrative. The Turkish (largely free of Arab- or Persianisms) requires frequent prosodic licence to achieve the chosen (*remel*) metre, and the rhyme structure lacks polish. The M.A. thesis (1992) of Stephanie B. Thomas at Columbia University comprises a study of the work in the context of the Joseph tradition, with an annotated translation of a 952/1545 manuscript as published by Dehri Dilçin (*Şeyyad Hamza: Yusuf ve Zeliha*, Istanbul 1945). Another 76-*beyt methnewī* is entitled *Hādhā dāsitān-i Sulṭān Maḥmūd* ("This is the tale of Sultan Maḥmūd [of Ghazna]"). Its topic (found earlier in Persian) is an encounter between Maḥmūd and a poor dervish. A dialogue between the two debates the worth of worldly values, establishing that control of the lower self (*nefs*), not rank and riches, ensures a place in Paradise (Sadettin

Buluç, *Şeyyad Hamza'nın bilinmeyen bir mesnevisi*, in *TM*, lxxv [1968], 247-57).

Bibliography: For additional sources, see the work of Banarlı cited above; *IA* art. *Şeyyad Hamza* (Sadettin Buluç); and Metin Akar, *Şeyyad Hamza hakkında yeni bilgiler*, in *Türklük Araştırmaları*, ii (1986), 1-16. (Kathleen Burrill)

SHIHAWRĪ [see shihrī].

SHĪʿA, in the broad sense, refers to the movement upholding a privileged position of the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*]) in the political and religious leadership of the Muslim Community. The name is derived from *shīʿat ʿAlī*, i.e. the party or partisans of ʿAlī, which was first used in the inter-Muslim war during ʿAlī's caliphate distinguishing them from the *shīʿat ʿUthmān*, the partisans of the murdered caliph ʿUthmān opposed to ʿAlī. The present article will deal with the origins and early development of the Shīʿa until the emergence of the major sectarian branches. For these, see the individual articles on Ithnā ʿashariyya, Ismāʿīliyya, Zaydiyya, etc.

In the lifetime of Muḥammad, his close kin enjoyed a raised religious status of purity recognised by the Ḳurʾān. As his kin (*dhawu 'l-ḳurbā*), there were counted the descendants of his great-grandfather Hāshim and, to some extent, the descendants of Hāshim's brother al-Muṭṭalib. They were, like the Prophet himself, not allowed to receive or to handle alms (*zakāt*) as these were considered unclean. In compensation for this exclusion they were entitled to receive a portion of the *khums*, the fifth of war booty reserved to the Prophet, and of the *fayʾ* [*q.v.*], property which fell to the Muslims without war effort. After Muḥammad's death, the establishment of the caliphate by Abū Bakr on the basis of a privileged position for the tribe of Ḳuraysh as a whole, and the confiscation of Muḥammad's property, deprived the Prophet's Family of the special status, as they were disinherited and lost their title to their Ḳurʾānic share of the *khums* and *fayʾ*. The Banū Hāshim vainly protested against these developments by refusing to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr for six months. The disestablishment of the Family of the Prophet after his death was the ultimate motive for the rise of the Shīʿa.

As leader of the Banū Hāshim was first generally recognised Muḥammad's cousin ʿAlī because of his close association with the Prophet, his marriage to Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima and his early merits in Islam. Early Shīʿī support, however, was not restricted to him and his descendants. Throughout the Umayyad age there was broad awareness that the Prophet's Family comprised all of the Banū Hāshim, as is evident, for instance, in the poetry of al-Kumayt entitled *Hāshimiyyāt*. There were, however, preferences, partly on a local basis, for some particular branch of the Family. In Baṣra, descendants of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim occasionally enjoyed support as kin of the Prophet since they were settled there. In Kūfa, where ʿAlī resided during his reign, his descendants were most often preferred to others. Support of descendants of al-ʿAbbās and of ʿAlī's brother Djaʿfar should not be seen as an illegitimate deviation from early Shīʿī backing of the ʿAlīds.

A popular movement in favour of ʿAlī first emerged in Kūfa under the governorship of al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba during the first half of ʿUthmān's caliphate. Its spokesmen, many of them Ḳurʾān readers (*ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*]), later appear as leaders of the *shīʿat ʿAlī* under the latter's caliphate and, if they survived, after his assassination. They were calling for the removal of ʿUthmān from the leadership and for allegiance to ʿAlī. One of them, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar [*q.v.*], became the leader of the Kūfan revolt which overthrew ʿUthmān's governor Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] and installed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] in his place. He also led the Kūfan rebel group which joined the groups from Egypt and Baṣra converging on Medina to press for the resignation of ʿUthmān. Although he and the Kūfans did not join in the siege of the caliph's palace carried out by the Egyptians, he played a major part in securing the succession of ʿAlī to power against the rival candidacy of Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*] and subsequently in rousing Kūfan support for ʿAlī against ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr in the Battle of the Camel, in spite of the neutralist stand of the governor Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

ʿAlī's reign bore from the outset the character of a counter-caliphate. He was heralded by his supporters and officials as the most excellent of Muslims after the Prophet, and was acclaimed in poetry and eulogies as the *waṣī*, the legatee, of Muḥammad. Such claims, which put the legitimacy of the caliphate of his predecessors in question, lent the conflict between him and his opponents a religious dimension apart from the political one. Already in the Battle of the Camel, ʿAlī's opponents spoke of a "religion of ʿAlī (*dīn ʿAlī*)", a notion deeply resented by the Prophet's cousin, who insisted that he represented the religion of Muḥammad.

ʿAlī's own attitude to the legitimacy of his predecessors' reign, as expressed in his speeches and letters, was complex. He praised Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's conduct in office highly and reprimanded any of his followers who depreciated them. He severely criticised ʿUthmān for misgovernment and arbitrary innovations. Holding that ʿUthmān had provoked the rebellion against himself, he refused to condemn the rebels, while not expressly condoning the murder of the caliph and distancing himself from any personal involvement in the rebellion. He asserted that he personally had a better right to the succession of Muḥammad than any other Companion, on the basis of his close kinship and association with him as well as his outstanding merits in the cause of Islam. The Community of the Faithful as a whole deserved blame for having turned away from him after the death of Muḥammad. It was ʿAlī who first gave the *ḥadīth* of Ghadīr Khumm [*q.v.*] publicity by inviting those Companions who had heard the Prophet's statements there to testify on the square in front of the mosque of Kūfa. These statements have traditionally been understood by the Shīʿa as an implicit appointment of ʿAlī to the succession in the leadership of the Community. ʿAlī made plain that he considered the Family of the Prophet to be entitled to the leadership of the Community as long as there remained a single one of them who recited the Ḳurʾān, knew the *sunna* and adhered to the true faith.

The most basic distinguishing beliefs of the Shīʿa thus go back to ʿAlī, who must to this extent be considered its founder and first teacher. This fact has been largely unpalatable to Sunnī historiography, which therefore created and propagated as the founder of the Shīʿa the figure of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], the malicious Yemenite Jew who first stirred up the rebellion against ʿUthmān and invented the doctrine of ʿAlī being the legatee of Muḥammad, ending up with extremist fiction denying the death of ʿAlī and deifying him. Only this latter aspect may well have had a historical foundation. Ibn Sabaʾ appears to have been active in al-Madāʾin after ʿAlī's death and to have propagated belief in his return (*radjʿa*) and ultimate victory over his enemies.

When ʿAlī was assassinated in 40/661, his parti-

sans in Kūfa were evidently convinced that only a member of the Prophet's Family could legitimately succeed him. Although ʿAlī, probably following the Prophet's precedent, refused to appoint a successor after having been mortally struck, his eldest son al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*], grandson of Muḥammad, was immediately recognised without dissent. A few months later, al-Ḥasan abdicated in favour of the Umayyad Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] on the basis of a treaty which stipulated a full amnesty and safety of life and property for the *shīʿat ʿAlī* and which denied Muʿāwiya the right to appoint a successor. According to some accounts, it provided for al-Ḥasan to succeed him, according to others for election by a council (*shūrā*), evidently on the model of the electoral council appointed by ʿUmar. Although the abdication aroused general disappointment and some protest among the Shīʿa, it was not regarded as a renunciation by al-Ḥasan of his ultimate title to the leadership, and he continued to be recognised as the legitimate Imām. Al-Ḥasan died in 49/669 or 51/671, poisoned, it was widely suspected, by one of his wives at the instigation of Muʿāwiya. The Shīʿa now turned to his younger brother al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] and, disaffected by what they regarded as the oppressive and vindictive nature of Muʿāwiya's rule, urged him to rise to restore the legitimate reign of the Prophet's Family. Although by character more inclined to pursue the leadership actively than his brother, al-Ḥusayn declined to act as long as Muʿāwiya was reigning, evidently recognising the continued validity of al-Ḥasan's agreement.

The Shīʿī riot in Kūfa in 51/671, for which Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] and other leaders were executed, was not an attempted revolution but an incident intentionally provoked by Muʿāwiya and his governor Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] with the aim of crushing latent opposition to the Umayyad rule. Muʿāwiya had, in breach of the spirit, if not the letter, of his treaty with al-Ḥasan, ordered his governor of Kūfa, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*], to curse ʿAlī from the pulpit in the Friday prayers and to insist on the presence of several Shīʿī leaders, among them Ḥudjr. Al-Mughīra had done so, but failed, evidently against Muʿāwiya's intentions, to discipline those who protested against the cursing. Al-Mughīra's successor Ziyād took the occasion of pebbles being thrown at his deputy in protest against the cursing to intervene, ordering the rounding-up of Ḥudjr and other Shīʿī leaders. There was some fighting between police and rioters in which no-one was killed. Ḥudjr eluded Ziyād for a time, finding refuge in the quarters of various tribes. Eventually, he surrendered voluntarily on the promise of being sent to Muʿāwiya. Ziyād drew up an accusation of armed rebellion against the Shīʿī leaders and had it signed by representatives of the Kūfan nobility. Muʿāwiya offered them pardon if they would renounce their loyalty to ʿAlī and curse him. As they refused, he ordered the execution of Ḥudjr and five others. The law of Islam and practice so far prevalent allowed only imprisonment and exile for insurrection. These executions amounted to murder. The incident, rather than crushing the opposition, inflamed the sense of outrage of the Kūfan Shīʿa.

After the death of Muʿāwiya and the succession of his son Yazīd [*q.v.*], the Kūfan Shīʿa and many of the tribal leaders wrote letters to al-Ḥusayn inviting him and offering him their backing. Al-Ḥusayn had, together with other members of the Islamic aristocracy, declined to pledge allegiance to Yazīd during Muʿāwiya's lifetime and, after his death, fled from Medina to the Sanctuary in Mecca in order to avoid being forced to do so. He sent his cousin Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*] ahead of him to test the ground in Kūfa. On receiving at first a favourable report from Muslim, al-Ḥusayn set out for Kūfa. Determined action by the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, however, induced the Kūfan tribal leaders to abandon their backing of the revolt. Muslim b. ʿAḳīl was killed, and al-Ḥusayn soon faced a Kūfan army preventing him from proceeding or returning. He and over twenty members of the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt*, brothers and sons of al-Ḥusayn, sons of al-Ḥasan, and descendants of ʿAlī's brothers ʿAḳīl and Djaʿfar, were massacred at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680.

The violent death of the Prophet's grandson at the hands of a Kūfan army, after the Kūfans had first invited him and then failed to stand up for him, had a profound effect on the Shīʿa. The passion motive, the call for repentance and martyrdom, became permanent aspects of Shīʿī spirituality. In immediate reaction, a movement of penitents (*tawwābūn*), calling for self-sacrifice and revenge for al-Ḥusayn, sprang up among the old partisans of ʿAlī led by Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī. It gathered strength after the death of the caliph Yazīd as Kūfa came nominally under Zubayrid rule. In 65/684-5 some 4,000 volunteers left Kūfa, visited Karbalāʾ to weep and make vows on the grave of al-Ḥusayn, and moved against an Umayyad army near ʿAyn al-Warda. They were defeated, and the majority, including Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, were killed.

As the old guard leaders of the Shīʿa were killed off, new forces came to the fore. After the death of the caliph Yazīd, al-Mukhtār b. ʿUbayd al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*], nephew of ʿAlī's governor of al-Madāʾin Saʿd b. Masʿūd, sought the leadership of the Shīʿa in Kūfa, promising to take revenge for the blood of al-Ḥusayn more effectively than his rival Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. When the latter was killed, most of the Shīʿa turned to him, although some of the conservatives remained aloof from his movement. Al-Mukhtār claimed to be acting on behalf of ʿAlī's non-Fāṭimid son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], whom he proclaimed the Imām and the Mahdī [*q.v.*], who would restore justice on earth. This choice was natural after the death of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, since Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was the only surviving son of ʿAlī closely associated with him during his reign. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya gave limited encouragement to al-Mukhtār, especially to his aim to seek revenge for al-Ḥusayn, but declined to assume personal leadership of the movement and to come to Kūfa. Al-Mukhtār took possession of Kūfa by revolt in 66/685. Although he attempted to reconcile the defeated tribal chiefs, initially restraining his followers from taking revenge on those involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn, conflict soon arose as he accepted substantial numbers of non-Arab clients (*mawālī*) into the ranks of his movement. The tribal chiefs staged a revolt but were defeated. Now fully in control, the radical Shīʿīs took revenge for al-Ḥusayn, seeking out and killing those most guilty in his death. Shortly afterwards, the Kūfans defeated a Syrian army on the river Khāzir, killing ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. Many of the tribal chiefs and their supporters had found refuge in Baṣra, governed by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], and agitated for action against al-Mukhtār. The latter was killed as the Baṣrans took Kūfa in 67/687. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr allowed the Kūfan nobles to massacre their opponents, and 6,000 to 8,000 of al-Mukhtār's followers are said to have been killed.

The movement founded by al-Mukhtār survived,

however, and spread, chiefly among the lower classes, outside Kūfa also. It was commonly called that of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], after the chief of al-Mukhtār's bodyguard Abū ʿAmra Kaysān [*q.v.*], and espoused a distinctly messianic Shīʿism. The name Sabaʾiyya also applied to it by early contemporaries evidently connects it with the earlier messianic teaching of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ concerning ʿAlī in al-Madāʾin. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya continued to be recognised as the Imām and Mahdī until his death in 81/700. After his death, which was denied by many, he was generally expected to return and to reign in glory. Other beliefs and practices of the followers of al-Mukhtār also aroused hostility and scorn among conservative Shīʿīs as well as Sunnīs. Al-Mukhtār had made predictions in rhymed prose like the pre-Islamic soothsayers, and was widely called by his opponents a magician or false prophet although he did not claim prophethood. He instituted or allowed the public veneration of an empty chair, practiced especially by some Yemenite tribes. The chair was said to be a relic from ʿAlī and was compared to the Ark of the Covenant of the Jews. The failure of some of al-Mukhtār's predictions to be realised is said to have given rise to the doctrine of *badāʾ* [*q.v.*], the possibility of a change of God's will. Upholding a radical interpretation of ʿAlī's attitude towards the caliphs preceding him, the Kaysāniyya definitely rejected their legitimacy.

The usurpation of the rights of the Family of the Prophet by the early caliphs was also at the core of the Shīʿī teaching of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8) in Mecca. Ibn al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], cousin of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, had been drawn by the caliph ʿUmar close to himself and became initially ʿAlī's most trusted associate during his reign, though there arose later disagreement between them. After ʿAlī's death he backed al-Ḥasan's caliphate, urging him to resume his father's war against Muʿāwiya. After al-Ḥasan's resignation he became the main spokesman for the rights of the *ahl al-bayt*. He consistently countered the reports of Abū Bakr's daughter ʿĀʾisha which described her father as the closest intimate of Muḥammad, chosen as his successor by his appointment to lead the communal prayers during Muḥammad's final illness. Contrary to her claim, the Prophet had not insisted on Abū Bakr leading the prayers when she pleaded for him to be excused. Rather, he had suggested that ʿUmar should lead them. The latter declined, however, to take precedence before Abū Bakr. ʿUmar had thwarted the mortally ill Muḥammad's intention to dictate a testament as guidance for the faithful, insisting that the Prophet was delirious and the Ḳurʾān was sufficient guidance for them. Muḥammad had not died in ʿĀʾisha's arms, as she claimed, but leaning on ʿAlī's chest. Although critical of some aspects of ʿAlī's conduct, Ibn al-ʿAbbās made clear that the Banū Hāshim, and he himself, were convinced of ʿAlī's legitimate right to the succession to Muḥammad, of which he was deprived by Abū Bakr with the backing of the majority of Ḳuraysh. Muḥammad's kin had protested against Abū Bakr's usurpation, first by burying the Prophet privately in his house, thus denying the caliph the occasion to do the last honours for his predecessor. The election of Abū Bakr in the Hall of the Banū Sāʿida, which took place at the time of the preparation of Muḥammad's burial, had later been described by ʿUmar in public as a *falta*, a precipitate, arbitrary act, excusable only because God had bestowed success on it. Abū Bakr had illegitimately denied the Banū Hāshim their inheritance from the Prophet and their Ḳurʾānic share of war booty and *fayʾ*. ʿUmar had attempted to satisfy their just claim by offering them partial restitution, but they had declined his overtures as being insufficient.

Ibn al-ʿAbbās warned al-Ḥusayn of the danger of his rising and did not back it. Jointly with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, however, he resisted the demands of the anti-ʿAlid counter-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr that they should pledge allegiance to him. Ibn al-Zubayr imprisoned them together, and they were freed by a Kūfan Shīʿī cavalry troop sent by al-Mukhtār. Ibn al-Zubayr accused ʿAbd Allāh b. al ʿAbbās and his brother ʿUbayd Allāh of trying to "raise the banner of Abū Turāb (sc. ʿAlī) which God had lowered and of gathering the muddleheads from ʿIrāḳ around themselves."

The descendants of Fāṭima were, after the massacre of Karbalāʾ, for a generation eclipsed in the leadership of the Shīʿa. Al-Ḥusayn's only surviving son ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [*q.v.*] kept aloof from Shīʿī activity and attracted no substantial following. Al-Ḥasan's senior son al-Ḥasan also avoided involvement with the Shīʿa. Only al-Ḥusayn's grandson Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], after his father's death in 94/713-14 actively engaged in Shīʿī teaching, while refusing to be drawn into revolutionary activity, and became the founder of systematic Shiʿī religious law. His teaching in particular raised the religious rank and spiritual authority of the Imāms who were endowed with a divinely inspired knowledge. The Imām was described by him as *muḥaddath*, "spoken to" by the angel of revelation. The term was taken from a variant reading of Ḳurʾān, XXII, 52, "We have not sent before you any Messenger of Prophet" adding "or *muḥaddath*", which was contained in the codex of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās and was interpreted as a form of revelation ranking below that reserved for prophets. The Imām was not expected, however, to add in any way to the message and the law revealed by the Prophet, but rather to preserve it in its integrity through his divinely-granted authority. The world was in permanent need of such an Imām and could, in the absence of a prophet, never exist for a moment without him. In a hostile environment, the Imām was protected by his and his followers' license and obligation to practice *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], the precautionary concealment of their religious beliefs and practice.

Al-Bāḳir's legal and ritual teaching comprised most of the features which were later seen as distinctive of Shīʿī law, such as the *ḥayʿala* in the call to prayer [see ADHĀN], the prohibition of the *masḥ ʿalaʾl-khuffayn* [*q.v.*] in the ritual ablution, and the permission of *mutʿa* [*q.v.*], temporary marriage. The latter permission (which was not upheld by Zaydī and Ismāʿīlī law) also reflects influence of the doctrine of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, who taught that *mutʿa* had been practised in the time of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr and had been prohibited only by ʿUmar. Al-Bāḳir's quietist conduct aroused little suspicion among the authorities, and he was widely respected as a traditionist among Sunnī scholars. Among the Shīʿa in Kūfa, his prestige was widely recognised.

The activist Shīʿa who had backed al-Mukhtār went underground after his death. The leadership in Kūfa fell to Salama b. Budjayr of the Banū Musliya Madhhidj. His father Budjayr b. ʿAbd Allāh had been a close associate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and al-Mukhtār, and was executed by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. Salama became intimately attached to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's son Abū Hāshim, who took a more active part than his father in the organisation of a

tightly-knit secret movement spreading S͟hīʿī revolutionary propaganda. After his father's death, Abū Hās͟him was recognised by the movement as their Imām. After Abū Hās͟him's death in 98/718 there were rival claims among his followers, that he had appointed as his successor either the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās or the Dj̲aʿfarid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbd Allāh. Salama b. Bud̲j̲ayr is said to have recognised the ʿAbbāsid, but he died shortly afterwards. Decisive was the arbitration of the dispute by Abū Riyāḥ Maysara al-Nabbāl, a *mawlā* of the Azd, in favour of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The Banū Musliya and their clients now backed the ʿAbbāsid and, after him, his son Ibrāhīm. The movement had, still under Abū Hās͟him, begun to spread to K͟hurāsān, mainly through the missionary activity of Bukayr b. Māhān, son of a client of the Banū Musliya. While in Kūfa its appeal remained limited, it attracted a broad following among Arab and Persian Muslims during the last decades of the Umayyad caliphate.

A few years after al-Bāḳir's death, his brother Zayd b. ʿAlī came to visit Kūfa in a dispute about a debt. He was immediately surrounded by S͟hīʿīs who persuaded him to lead a rising. Initially, he enjoyed broad backing, but his refusal to denounce Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as apostates and to condemn their conduct, even though he upheld the prior title of ʿAlī to the succession to Muḥammad, was taken by many of the former supporters of al-Bāḳir and other radicals as a motive to withdraw. They now generally recognised al-Bāḳir's son Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] as the legitimate Imām. Zayd's revolt failed and he was killed in 122/740.

The schism during Zayd's revolt was decisive for the further development of the S͟hīʿa, giving rise to its Imāmī and Zaydī branches. Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, who may be considered the founder of the Imāmiyya, closely followed and elaborated the teaching of his father. The teaching authority of the Imāms was further strengthened by the doctrine of their immunity from error and sin (*ʿiṣma* [*q.v.*]). The imāmate was based on a divinely-guaranteed explicit designation (*naṣṣ* [*q.v.*]) of the Imām, and, after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, was handed down from father to son among the descendants of the latter. Knowledge of and obedience to the rightful Imām were incumbent upon every believer. By ignoring the explicit *naṣṣ* of the Prophet for ʿAlī and by backing the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, the mass of the Community had fallen into apostasy. The radical tendencies of the following of Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ were strengthened by their gradual absorption of the remnants of the Kaysāniyya and adoption of some of their controversial doctrines like *badāʾ* and *rad̲j̲ʿa* and their messianic expectation of the Mahdī. This expectation was blunted, however, by al-Ṣādiḳ's strict prohibition of his followers engaging in revolutionary activity and his insistence that the rising of the legitimate Imām as the Ḳāʾim or Mahdī would occur only in the distant future. The nascent Imāmiyya thus combined radical S͟hīʿī religious dogma with political quietism.

The sectarian movement arising out of the supporters of Zayd's revolt, later known as the Zaydiyya, was, by contrast, moderate in its S͟hīʿī doctrine and deviation from the religious views of Sunnism, but politically militant. The imāmate could be claimed only by someone prepared to rise with the sword actively seeking the leadership, in addition to being qualified by religious knowledge. The first Imām after al-Ḥusayn was thus Zayd b. ʿAlī. Neither his more learned brother al-Bāḳir nor his father were Imāms. There was no need for an Imām at all times and, after ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, no designation of a successor, though recognition and support of a legitimate claimant was a religious obligation. The Imām was not immune from error and sin and had no superior teaching competence; rather, a collective religious authority of the Family of the Prophet was generally acknowledged. Since the designation of ʿAlī as Muḥammad's successor had been obscure (*naṣṣ k͟hafī*), the Community, in recognising Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as caliphs, had not fallen into a state of apostasy but at most into a state of sin. Others held that their caliphate was justified since ʿAlī had recognised it. Messianic tendencies were generally weak among the Zaydiyya.

Zayd's son Yaḥyā, who escaped to K͟hurāsān after the collapse of his father's revolt, was tracked down by the Umayyad authorities there and killed in 125/743. His murder strengthened the hand of the S͟hīʿa in K͟hurāsān, and revenge for Zayd and Yaḥyā became one of the slogans of the rapidly-expanding revolutionary movement. The leader of the movement was now, after the death of the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, his son Ibrāhīm. Its propaganda, however, was in favour of the reign of "the one agreed upon of the Family of Muḥammad (*al-riḍā min Āl Muḥammad*), suggesting a broad choice among the Banū Hās͟him.

As the imminent overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate became predictable, leading representatives of the Banū Hās͟him met in a secret gathering at al-Abwāʾ, on the road to Mecca, to discuss the choice of a common candidate for the reign. Present were especially Ḥasanids and ʿAbbāsids, including Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. The senior Ḥasanid, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, promoted the candidacy of his son Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a namesake of the Prophet, whom he had been grooming for the role of the Expected Mahdī. He gained the support of the ʿAbbāsid Abū Dj̲aʿfar, the later caliph al-Manṣūr, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*], received the pledge of allegiance of those present. However, Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, who arrived later, refused to recognise him as the Mahdī and maintained that he would not pledge allegiance to him in the presence of his father ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, the senior among the descendants of ʿAlī. Given the large following of Dj̲aʿfar in the S͟hīʿa, his opposition was a severe setback for the efforts to unite the Prophet's Family behind a common leader, and this encouraged the ʿAbbāsids to seek the caliphate for their own candidate.

The rivalry between ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids erupted into open conflict as soon as the Family of the Prophet achieved their victory over the Umayyads. As the ʿAbbasid Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was discovered, imprisoned, and killed by the last Umayyad caliph Marwān, the ʿAbbāsids fled to Kūfa. The local leader of the revolutionary movement there, Abū Salama al-K͟hallāl [*q.v.*], sheltered them but hesitated to pledge allegiance to Ibrāhīm's chosen successor Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ. In accord with the general sentiment in Kūfa, he was inclined to back an ʿAlid candidate. His hand was forced, however, by the K͟hurāsānian army commanders who pledged allegiance to Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās. A few months later he was murdered for his display of disloyalty by an emissary of Abū Muslim al-K͟hurāsānī [*q.v.*]. The inaugural address of al-Saffāḥ, partly delivered by his uncle Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, stressed the right of the ʿAbbāsids to rule as members of the Prophet's Family and denounced those S͟hīʿīs who asserted a superior title of the ʿAlids.

The Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh remained,

together with his brother Ibrāhīm, in hiding after the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and his supporters spread propaganda for him as the Mahdī. The second ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, was seriously worried and made vain efforts to find him, imprisoning his father and at least nine others of his Ḥasanid kin as they refused to reveal his whereabouts. When Muḥammad revolted in Medina in 145/762-3, al-Manṣūr murdered his imprisoned kinsmen. In spite of widespread popular backing, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were defeated and killed. Al-Manṣūr now gave his own son and heir-apparent Muḥammad the title *al-Mahdī* in an attempt to attract popular messianic sentiments to the ʿAbbāsid house. His bloody repression of the Ḥasanids, however, rather strengthened the pro-ʿAlid sympathies in the Shīʿa. The Zaydiyya first restricted their backing to the Ṭālibids, the descendants of ʿAlī's father Abū Ṭālib, and then the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

The Khurāsānian Shīʿa, who had initially recognised the imāmate of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, were at the same time substantially reduced, first by the defection of the supporters of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī after he was killed by al-Manṣūr, then by al-Manṣūr's suppression of those extremists deifying him, and finally, by the defection of the supporters of his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had been appointed by al-Saffāḥ to succeed al-Manṣūr but was replaced by the latter's appointment of his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī. Al-Mahdī tried during his reign to tie the ʿAbbāsid Shīʿa more closely to the ruling house by denying the imāmate of ʿAlī and his offspring and by asserting the sole right of al-ʿAbbās and his descendants to the Prophet's succession. His son Hārūn al-Rashīd saw no interest in maintaining a Shīʿī following and preferred to identify fully with orthodox Sunnism. The ʿAbbāsid Shīʿa disintegrated under his reign. The attempt of his son al-Maʾmūn to recover broad Shīʿī support for a caliphate of the Banū Hāshim, including ʿAlids as well as ʿAbbāsids, by appointing Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ's grandson ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his successor, ended in failure. There was stubborn opposition from the ʿAbbāsids and little appreciation among the Shīʿa, who were now upholding the sole right of the descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima. When ʿAlī al-Riḍā died, al-Maʾmūn did not seriously renew his efforts. The ʿAbbāsid caliphate had become virtually Sunnī and the Shīʿa strictly ʿAlid.

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SHIʿĀR (a.), a term having various significations. The root *sh-ʿ-r* involves, *inter alia*, the ideas of knowing something; being aware of something; being a poet; being hairy; notifying, making aware of something; marking something; etc.

Shiʿār stems from the latter semantic field. It denotes:

1. The rallying signal for war or for a travel expedition, war cry, standard, mark indicating the place of standing (*wuḳūf*) of soldiers in battle or pilgrims in the Pilgrimage (ʿArafa: the idea of "recognising" this mark). The war-cry of the Prophet's Companions was "*Amit, amit*! O victorious ones, go forward, go forward!", thus presaging victory (*TʿA*, s.v.). The ancient Arabs departed for the Pilgrimage as for war, round their chief and their banner, with each tribe having its own fixed place at ʿArafa and Minā [*q.vv.*] around the standard or the decorated tent of the chief. They had their own cry, imitating that of the totem animal or bird of the tribe, and also the distinctive ritual formula of the *talbiya* [*q.v.*], indicating readiness to serve the chief and also uttered before the completion of the separate rites of the Pilgrimage. See on this, T. Fahd, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, in *Le pèlerinage. Etude d'histoire des religions*, i, Paris 1974, 65-94.

2. The idea of a mark is extended to the *budna*, victim intended to be slaughtered in sacrifice (*hady*) at the time of the Pilgrimage (see refs. in Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 136, 143), marked by a knife-cut on the two sides of the back (*sinām*). Whence *shiʿār* is synonymous with *idmāʾ* "to draw blood". *Ushʿira* can be said of a slain ruler instead of *ḳutila*, and it was said of ʿUmar when a man wounded him on the forehead at the time of the throwing of stones at Minā, *ushʿira amīr al-muʾminīn*; he was murdered on his return from the Pilgrimage. The blood-money for the *mushʿar* was 1,000 camels (*TʿA*, s.v.).

Shāʿira, denoting the *budna*, is extended, in the plural *shaʿāʾir* (Ḳurʾān, II, 158, XXII, 32, 36) to all the rites of the Pilgrimage: standing places, journeyings, runnings, throwing of stones at Minā, sacrifices, the *talbiya*, etc. *Al-Mashʿār al-Ḥarām* (II, 198) is the journey between ʿArafa and Minā and that between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

3. The places where these rites were performed were also called *mashāʿir*. A *mashʿar* was any place or thing which puts one in the presence or gives a feeling of the sacred or of a divinity: symbols of the divine, such as animals, trees, hills and standing stones. According to H. Lammens, *ishʿār* denoted the place where victims meant for sacrifice were marked; similarly, *manāsik* (Ḳurʾān, II, 128, 200, XXII, 34, 67) originally denoted the places where sacrifices to the gods were offered, places along roads and on the Pilgrimage route, marked by the presence of some source of coolness (water, a tree or a rock), eventually denoting those cult places frequented by the pious (cf. *TʿA*, vii, 87). On those places marked out as sacred (*mashāʿir*, *anṣāb*, *mawāḳif*, *manāsik*, *djamarāt*, *masādjid*, etc.), see Lammens, *Les sanctuaires préislamites das l'Arabie Occidentale*, in *MUSJ*, xi (1926), 39-169, at 78 ff.; Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 238 ff.

4. *Shiʿār* also denotes the distinctive clothing, etc., which the Dhimmīs [see dhimma] were required to wear in ʿAbbāsid and later times; see for this, ghiyār.

Bibliography: Given in the article. On the *manāsik*, see the refs. in Brockelmann, S III, index, 962. (T. Fahd)

SHIʿB DJABALA, one of the three most famous *ayyām* [*q.v.*], battle-days of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, the other two being the First Day of al-Kulāb and Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. The *yawm* is variously dated to around A.D. 550 or 570. The two main contestants in this *yawm* were the tribes of Tamīm and ʿĀmir, in which ʿĀmir emerged victorious over Tamīm.

The chief instigator of the *yawm* was the Tamīmī chief Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra, who wanted to avenge the

death of his brother Maʿbad at the hand of ʿĀmir after he had been captured at the *yawm* of Raḥraḥān during the preceding year. Laḳīṭ was able to muster against ʿĀmir a large tribal host, consisting of almost the whole of Tamīm, Asad, Dhubyān and al-Ribāb. In addition to these tribes that belonged to Muḍar, the large tribal group, Laḳīṭ invoked and received the assistance of the Lakhmid king of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān, who sent to him his brother Ḥassān, and of the Kindī king in Hadjar (Yamāma), al-Djawn, who sent to him two of his sons, according to one account Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr. The confederate tribal host advanced against ʿĀmir, ʿAbs and other tribal contingents, which had fortified themselves in the ravine or *shiʿb* in the mountain called Djabala in Nadjd; hence the name of the *yawm* as Shiʿb Djabala. A stratagem, conceived by the ʿAbsī chief Ḳays b. Zuhayr that sent the ferociously thirsty camels out of the ravine, followed by the infantry, and then the cavalry of ʿĀmir and ʿAbs, carried the day. Laḳīṭ fought heroically but was killed, as was one of the two Kindī chiefs, while the other was captured.

The *yawm* was remarkable for the participation of the prestigious Kinda [*q.v.*]; the battle is sometimes referred to as Yawm al-Djawnayn after the two Kindī chiefs; and one of them, Muʿāwiya, assigned the banners to the various tribal detachments before the battle was joined. But the *yawm* also contributed to the further decline of Kinda's power among the Northern Arabs and to its ultimate departure to Ḥaḍramawt, whence it had originally emigrated to central and northern Arabia.

Bibliography: Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Beirut 1957, xi, 125-52; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Beirut 1982, v, 141-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, i, 583-7. Better than Yāḳūt and Bakrī on the topography of Shiʿb Djabala is the Saudi traveller M. b. Bulayhid al Nadjdī, in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-akhbār*, 1972, iii, 216. The best discussion of Yawm Shiʿb Djabala remains the one by G. Olinder, who analysed the sources and the various accounts in *Āl al-Ǧaun of the family of Ākil Al-Murār*, in *MO* xxv (1931), 208-29.

(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

SHIBĀM, the name of three fortified places, whose first mentions go back to Antiquity, and of a mountain, all in Southwest Arabia. They have been distinguished, from the times of Hamdānī and Yāḳūt onwards, by suffixing the name of a neighbouring settlement or the local region.

1. Shibām Ḥaḍramawt, in lower Ḥaḍramawt, in the wadi of the same name, famed for its lofty houses in sun-dried brick, warranting its designation as a UNESCO site of world significance.

In South Arabian inscriptions, it appears as S^2bm from the end of the 3rd century A.D. and in the 4th century, the time of the conquest of Ḥaḍramawt by Ḥimyar. Islamic Shibām was known above all as a centre for the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] after their defeats in the 120s/740s, and for three centuries it seems to have been part of an Ibāḍī principality. According to Hamdānī, the western part of the region belonged to Kinda; it was an important town at this time, with 30 mosques (*Ṣifa*, 86). Its history then merges into that of the dynasties of western Yemen (Ṣulayḥids, Ayyūbids, Rasūlids, etc.), until a local power of Ḥaḍramawt established its authority in the 9th/15th century, that of the Kathīrid sultan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, consolidated by his great-grandson Abū Ṭuwayriḳ Badr (d. 977/1570). After him, Ḥaḍramawt became again fragmented, but the main Kathīrid line persisted till the end of the 18th century, until another Kathīrid came from Indonesia and divided power there with the Yafiʿīs. Then the whole area passed to the Ḳaʿātīs in 1858 until their removal in 1967.

Shibām is a fortress town, with walls and towers which made it impregnable. The houses rise to eight storeys, utilising the cramped defensive site, a height unusual in Ḥaḍramawt. Water is gained by a sophisticated system for storing up rainwater and by wells. Shibām has enjoyed a prosperity not easily explicable by the modest agricultural resources of the surrounding territory, but stemming from commercial revenues drawn by its people, situated as it has been on the caravan route from the ports of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā towards the direction of Ṣanʿāʾ. Before the decline of caravan traffic in the 1930s, each month the town received 400 to 1,000 camels. There were also, until after the Second World War, important remittances from male members of the population who had emigrated to India, Singapore and Indonesia. The village of al-Saḥīl has grown up *extra muros*, and today, with 15,000 inhabitants, is more populous than Shibām itself with 8,000.

(A. ROUAUD and CH. ROBIN)

2. Shibām Kawkabān (also Sh. Aḳyān or Sh. Ḥimyar in ms. sources), a large settlement, with 2,000 inhabitants at the time of the 1975 census, 37 km/20 miles to the northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ and on the plain of Ṣanʿāʾ, dominated by the vertical wall of the Djabal al-Ḍulāʿ (3,140 m/10,300 feet).

It is mentioned in inscriptions from the 3rd century A.D. onwards (S^2bm or S^2bm^m) as centre of the Dhu Hagarān Shibām tribe. The name Sh. Aḳyān preserves the name of the *ḳayls* or lords of the local principality, the Banū Dhū Kabīr Aḳyān. In early Islamic times, Sh. Kawkabān was the birthplace of the local Yuʿfirid dynasty (232-387/847-998), founded in High Yemen, and contributing to the disappearance of ʿAbbāsid caliphal authority in Yemen. The Great Mosque of the town may date from the Yuʿfirids or earlier. At this time, according to al-Hamdānī, the local population were still considered "Ḥimyarite", including in language; this presumably implied a claim to continuity with the old South Arabian culture and a local language close to Arabic but with some unusual features. From the 10th/16th century, Sh. Kawkabān was a bastion of the ʿAlid Sharaf al-Dīn family, who provided two Zaydī Imāms of Yemen; today, it comes within the area of the tribe of Hamdān. At all times it has played a notable role in Yemeni affairs, as frequent references in the chronicles attest, arising from the agricultural richness of the region around it, the strength of the fortress of Kawkabān and its proximity to Ṣanʿāʾ.

3. Shibām al-Ghirās (also Sh. Sukhaym in ms. sources), a small village and archaeological site 24 km/15 miles northeast of Ṣanʿāʾ, and near the western slope of the Djabal Dhū Marmar. In old inscriptions, it appears as S^2bm^m (1st-2nd century A.D.), and was the chief centre of the tribe of Yursam (*Yrs¹m*). The name of the village of Ghirās (population 500 in 1975) serves to distinguish it from the other Shibāms. Its main claim to fame is its vast mosque containing the tomb of the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 1092/1681), whose reign was marked by the expulsion of the Jews of Ṣanʿāʾ and their exile to the region of al-Mawzāʿ in 1090/1679 in the aftermath of the messianic movement of Shabbatay Ṣwī [*q.v.*]. At present, there are alabaster quarries in the neighbourhood of the village.

4. Shibām Ḥarāz, a peak of 2,940m/9,643 feet in the Ḥarāz massif west-south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, with a

fort on its summit of the same name. In 429/1037-8, according to the Sunnī sources, the founder of the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, raised his standard near here and launched the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in Yemen. The fort and the nearby town of Manākha formed one of the main strong points of the Ottoman occupation of Yemen 1871-1918.

Other minor Shibāms exist in Yemen. Hence toponyms of this root, unknown elsewhere in the Arab world, have been especially popular here. The root itself seems to have two main semantic spheres: "band, gag" and "coldness", neither explaining these place-names. However, Landberg, *Glossaire datînois*, s.v., gives the meanings for *shabama* "to be high", *shibām* "height", which fits better; the toponyms in question are all at the foot of slopes and cliffs or refer to a peak.

(Ch. Robin)

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(Ch. Robin and A. Rouaud)

SHĪBĀNĪ KHĀN (also known as Shāhī Beg, Shāh Bakht, and Shībak/Shībak) Muḥammad b. Shāh Budāḳ (gh) b. Abi 'l-Khayr, conqueror of most of western Central Asia between 1500 and 1509 and reviver of the Činggisid khānate. His genealogical claim to the Činggisid legacy rested on his lineal descent from Shībān, the fifth son of Djoči b. Činggis Khān. His royal clan is therefore called the Shībānid one, although it should more properly be known as the Abu 'l-Khayrid/Shībānid one (to distinguish it from, among others, the Yādgārid or ʿArabshāhid Shībānid clan who gained control of Khwārazm at about the time of his death.)

Muḥammad Shībānī was born in 855/1451 and died at the age of 61 (lunar years) at the end of Shaʿbān 916/late November or early December 1510. After the death of his father (Shādī/S.K. Ibragimov, 50, gives the obituary date 864/1459-60), his grandfather, Abu 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*] took custody of the two sons, placing him and his brother, lifelong companion and fellow adventurer, Maḥmūd (858-907/1454-1501), first in the care of a "Uyghūr Bāy Shaykh" and then in the hands of an *amīr*, Ḳaračīn Beg. The former was probably responsible for Shībānī's early book learning and the latter for his hunting and military skills. Shībānī's childhood and adolescence were spent in and around Sīghnāḳ [*q.v.*] on the lower Syr Darya (Jaxartes), his grandfather's headquarters.

Muḥammad Shībānī's career did not start very promisingly. When he was in his late teens his grandfather died (872/1468) and the confederation which he had created along the Syr Darya, already in the process of disintegration, collapsed. Ḳaračīn Beg, who still exercised some control over the two teenagers, took them to Astrakhān, presumably seeking the protection and patronage of the Djočid khāns there. But problems in Astrakhān soon forced the three to leave.

The chronology of the period before 905/1500 is uncertain. The information on Shībānī Khān's career comes from the pens of men writing after he had established himself in Samarḳand in 1500 who view the preceding period as prelude (Kamāl al-Dīn Bannāʾī, the anonymous author of *Tawārīkh-i guzīda—Nuṣrat-nāma*, Mullā Shādī, Muḥammad Sāliḥ, Bābur and Khwāndamīr.) His fluctuating fortunes during the quarter-century or so after his grandfather's death may be inferred from what is known of his peregrinations during this time.

After leaving Astrakhān, he and his brother returned to Sīghnāḳ and the Syr Darya plain. His apparently unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in the region prompted his taking refuge at Bukhārā far to the south of his homeland. There the Arghūn *amīr*, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Ṭarkhan (d. *ca.* 1494), hired him, presumably as a mercenary, and there he stayed for two years. He eventually gravitated back to the middle Syr Darya, where the commander of the fortress of Arḳūḳ offered his allegiance. (The commercial importance of Arḳūḳ at this time is evident from Khundjī, 85, who calls it "an entrepôt (*bandargāh*) for merchants coming from Samarḳand and Bukhārā.") Shībānī then continued down-river and seems to have taken or been given Sīghnāḳ, his grandfather's old capital. But the entire Syr Darya watershed remained an object of contest between the "Ḳāzāḳ" Djočids who had split with Abu 'l-Khayr in the mid-1460s, the Mīrānshāhī Tīmūrids who held Samarḳand and Bukhārā and whose *amīrs* (like Muḥammad Mazīd Tarkhān) were active in the middle and upper Syr Darya basin, and the Čaghatāy Činggisids (Yūnus Khān, d. 892/1487, and his sons, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, d. 914/1509, and Sulṭān Aḥmad d. 909/1504) whose centre was Tashkent. In this fluid situation, Shībānī seems to have enjoyed only occasional military success, usually in service to others.

Muḥammad Shībānī does not seem to have come into his own as a significant force until the early 890s/mid-1480s when he carried out successful raids in Khwārazm (then subject to the ʿUmar-Shaykhī Tīmūrids of Harāt). In the course of these forays, he briefly captured Adāḳ (or Awāḳ) and Tīrsāḳ (Dirsak), important fortresses on the main north-south route east of the Caspian (see V.V. Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, repr. in *Sočineniya*, iii, 95-233, Moscow 1965, 68-9, who dates this episode to 891/1486). The booty taken in these raids was considered noteworthy by at least one source. (*Tawārīkh-i guzīda-Nuṣrat-nāma*, fols. 122b-123a). Another story (Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, 274) indicating his growing influence has to do with his participation in the 893/1488 campaign of the Mīrānshāhī Tīmūrid ruler of Samarḳand, Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā (r. in Samarḳand 873-99/1469-94) to take Tashkent from the Čaghatāy Činggisids. At Tashkent, Khwāndamīr reports his defection to the Čaghatāy side, the consequent defeat of the Samarḳand expeditionary force and his being re-

warded by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān of Tashkent with the town of Arḳūḳ. Bābur in discussing the battle (17, 25) makes no mention of Shībānī Khān's role in the defeat of Sulṭān Aḥmad.

The next decade or so is a particularly obscure one and Muḥammad Shībānī and his family do not clearly re-appear in the narratives until his spring 905/1500 campaign to take Samarḳand, ostensibly on behalf of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān who had already tried unsuccessfully to capture the city after the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā in 899/1494.

From this point onwards, his career is easier to follow. In 905-6/1500 he captured Samarḳand, symbolic site of Tīmūrid authority. Although the Mīrānshāhid Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur took it and held it over the winter of 1500-1, Muḥammad Shībānī re-captured it after a long siege the next spring. The second taking of Samarḳand began a busy period of territorial conquest for the fifty-one year old warrior. His success there prompted increasing defections to his side of the Turko-Mongol tribes supporting the Tīmūrids and the Čaghatay Čingisids and gave him the means now to conduct campaigns of conquest and expansion.

Shībānī Khān was a relentless campaigner, rarely spending more than a month or two (usually during the winter) in any one place. In addition, he could rely on his brother's son ʿUbayd Allāh and his own son Muḥammad Tīmūr to conduct independent campaigns in his name. Between 906/1501 and the end of 912/spring 1507, he added most of the region of Transoxania, Khwārazm and Balkh to his domains. In mid-Muḥarram 913/late June 1507 he took the capital of Khurāsān, Harāt, and followed that with an attempt the same year on Ḳandahār. The campaign season of 914/1508 was mainly spent in the west taking brief control as far west as Astarābād and south to Bisṭām. After spending the summer near Bisṭām, the khān returned to Bukhārā where he spent the winter, celebrating the *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* (23 January 1509) in the city. Shībānī Khān then led a lightning campaign (detailed by Khūndjī Iṣfahānī, 199-263) against the Ḳāzāḳs in the Dasht-i Ḳipčāḳ. His itinerary in these last two years of his life indicate a frenetic pace of travel and fighting which took him across the Ḳizil Ḳum desert to Sïghnāḳ, then north deep into the Dasht-i Ḳipčāḳ, back along the Syr Darya to Ṣawrān, Yasī and Arḳūḳ and thence to Samarḳand. From there he went briefly to Bukhārā, returned to Samarḳand, rode south to Ḳarshī, then headed west for Marw and Mashhad, where he performed *ziyārat* at the shrine of the Imām Riḍā. From there he rode directly to Harāt, reportedly led a long raid to Kirmān, returned to Harāt and led a punitive expedition against the Hazāras and Nīkūdārīs of the Hazāradjāt. He was still in Harāt in October 1510 when news of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī's march on Khurāsān reached him. He moved immediately to Marw, and near Marw in a battle with the Ṣafavid Ḳizilbāsh army he was killed, on or about 27 Shaʿbān 916/29 November 1510 (see Bartol'd, *Otčet o komandirovke v Turkestan*, in *ZVOIRAO*, v [St. Petersburg 1904], 15, [repr. in *Sočineniya*, viii, Moscow 1973, [119-210], at 144). In all, Muḥammad Shībānī may have travelled as many as 4,000 miles in the last two years of his life in an attempt to hold together the territories he had succeeded in conquering.

Muḥammad Shībānī's main political achievements were the elimination of Tīmūrid authority in Transoxania and Khurāsān; expulsion of the Čaghatay Čingisid line from Tashkent and the Farghāna Valley, and forging a confederation of Turko-Mongol tribal groups (Djalāyir, Dūrmān, Ḳunghrāt, Manghït, etc.) under the acknowledged khānate of the Abu 'l-Khayrid/Shībānid clan, thus laying the foundation for the political structure that would govern the oases of Transoxania and Balkh for most of the 16th century.

Like his Tīmūrid predecessors, Muḥammad Shībānī was a patron of scholarship and the arts. Khūndjī and the anonymous author of *Tawārīkh-i guzīda-Nuṣrat-nāma* detail the discussions of social and religious issues over which he presided and the scholars who attended his convocations. His patronage and his own production of literature in Persian and Turkish have been studied (Hofman, 226-8).

Among his architectural projects was the Madrasayi Khāniyya in Samarḳand, a bridge over the Zarafshān, a pleasure palace at Kān-i Gil (*čahār bāgh* with *ʿimārat* and *īwān*) and another at Ḳarshī (on these latter two, see Khūndjī, 291, 318-19).

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The preceding authors were all very favourably disposed towards Shībānī Khān. Contemporary authors hostile to him include Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran, Ābān 1333/1954, iv, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur, *The Bābur-nāma in English* (*Memoirs of Babur*) tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, repr. Delhi 1979, and *Baburnama*, 3 vols. Turkish transcription, Persian ed. and English tr. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1994. A mid-16th-century Central Asian work very hostile to Shībānī Khān is Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlát*, ed. N. Elias and tr. E. Denison Ross, London 1895.

For information on Shībānī Khān's connections with literary figures of his time see, besides Khūndjī,

Zayn al-Dīn Wāṣifī, *Badā'i' al-waḳā'i'*, ed. A.N. Boldîrev, 2 vols., Moscow 1961, and Kh^w^ādja Bahā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Nithārī, *Mudhakkir al-aḥbāb*, ed. Syed Muhammad Fazlullah, New Delhi 1969, esp. 13-16 of introd., 15-22 of text. This latter work emphasises, perhaps apocryphally, Shībānī Khān's close ties with the Naḳshbandīs of Bukhārā.

Other useful, though retrospective, sources are: (late 16th century) Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī* (*'Abd Allāh-nāma*), facs. ed. of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) IVAN ms. no. D88, ed. and tr. M.A. Salakhetdinova, Moscow 1983 (vol. i of four projected vols.) and (mid-17th century) Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār fi manāḳib al-akhyār*, vi/3, Tashkent IVAN, inv. no. 1375. Ṣafawid sources (e.g. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, *passim* to p. 123) should also be consulted for Shībānī Khān's Khurāsān campaigns.

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(R.D. McChesney)

SHĪBĀNIDS, a Turco-Mongol dynasty of Central Asia, the agnatic descendants of Shībān, the fifth son of Djoči son of Činggis Khān, more especially two distinct branches of those descendants, the Abu 'l-Khayrids and the 'Arabshāhids-Yādgārids who, in the early 10th/16th century, seized control of the urban oases of Transoxania or Mā warā' al-nahr and Kh^w^ārazm [*q.vv.*] from the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*].

I. History and politics

For nearly the entire 10th/16th century the Abu 'l-Khayrids ruled most of what is now southern Kazakhstan, eastern and southern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and northern Afghanistan. The 'Arabshāhid-Yādgārid branch held what is now Turkmenistan and western Uzbekistan, i.e. the lands of the lower Amū Daryā and its extensive delta and the oases along the northern slopes of the Kopet Dagh for much of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. During the 10th/16th century, the Shībānids of Kh^w^ārazm were dominated by the Shībānids of Transoxania, whose centres were Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Tāshkent and Balkh.

The proximate origin of Shībānid sovereignty in Transoxania and Kh^w^ārazm was the khānate of Abu 'l-Khayr Khān [*q.v.*] in the Ḳipčaḳ Steppe (the prairie north and east of the Aral Sea) the traditional homeland (*yūrtgāh*) of the house of Shībān b. Djoči. The Turkish and Mongol groups (Kerait, Djalayir, Ḳunghrat, Durman, Onggut, Manghît, Saray, Nayman, etc.) which provided the military manpower for these Shībānids came to be generically known, for reasons no longer clear, as Özbegs [*q.v.*], a term eventually adopted by outsiders to signify the entire political organization including both the non-Činggisids, the Özbegs proper, and the Činggisid royal clan.

In a political environment which gave precedence to descendants of Činggis Khān, the Abu 'l-Khayrid/Shībānid clan under a skilled tactician, Muḥammad Shībānī [*q.v.*] (grandson of Abu 'l-Khayr) emerged as the sovereign clan, when it ousted the then-dominant sovereign family, the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*], from Transoxania at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. By 913/1507, eastern Khurāsān (including Harāt, Marw and Mashhad), Transoxania (Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Kash, Ḳarshi, Tashkent), Kh^w^ārazm (Khīwa, Urgāndj and Wazīr), Turkistān, and the Farghāna Valley had been conquered and claimed by Muḥammad Shībānī, and many of the military supporters of the Tīmūrids had joined forces with the Shībānids. But in 916/1510, when Muḥammad Shībānī was killed at Marw in battle with the newly-emergent Ṣafawid state of Persia, his cousins and their Özbeg backers temporarily lost those urban centres. Two years later, however, led by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], a nephew of Muḥammad Shībānī; Djānī Beg b. Kh^w^ādja Muḥammad, a cousin and Suyūndj Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr, an uncle, the Abu 'l-Khayrids regained control of Bukhārā, Samarḳand and Tashkent. They and their descendants held those regions until 1006/1598, adding Balkh and the land between the Hindū Kush and the Amū Daryā in 1526. The Murghāb basin generally proved to be the westward limit of Abu 'l-Khayrid authority, although the Shībānid clan contested with the Ṣafawids for Harāt [*q.v.*] and eastern Khurāsān throughout the century; Harāt was captured briefly in the 1530s and then taken and held for a decade at the end of the century (1588-98). To the east and south, the T'ien-shan, Pamir and Hindū Kush ranges and the polities which lay beyond them, the remnants of the Čaghatay [*q.v.*] khānate in Eastern Turkistan and the Mughal state in India created by the Tīmūrids expelled from Transoxania, contained Shībānid expansion. To the north, the Syr Darya basin tended to mark the northern limits of the clan's jurisdiction.

Both neo-Shībānid states preserved a tradition of corporate or clan rule. According to this tradition, described by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī, the eldest member of the royal clan held the nominally supreme, but largely ceremonial, position of *khān* (see *Table*). At an assembly (*ḳuriltay, kangesh*) of the eligible clan members, the khān presided over the distribution (*taḳsīm*) of territory in the form of appanages. Each family (or cousin clan, see Dickson) within the royal clan received a territory or territories as an appanage over which it exercised independent authority. As generations matured and increasing numbers of princes (*sulṭāns*) demanded a share of the corporate legacy, appanages had to expand either by annexing non-Shībānid territory or through the elimination or subordination of cousin-clans.

The four major sub-clans in the Abu 'l-Khayrid khānate (and their appanage holdings after the restoration in 918/1512) were the Suyūndjuḳids (Tāshkent

Table. The Abu 'l-Khayrid or Shībānid Khāns

Khān	*Regnal dates*	*Clan*	*Relation to predecessor*
Muḥammad Shībānī b. Shāh Budaḳ	907-16/1501-10	Shāh Budaḳid	Grandson (of Abu 'l-Khayr)
Kūčkūndji Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khayr	918-37/1512-30	Kūčkūndjid	Uncle
Abū Saʿīd b. Kūčkūndji	937-40/1530-3	Kūčkūndjid	Son
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd	940-6/1533-40	Shāh Budaḳid	First cousin once-removed
ʿAbd Allāh b. Kūčkūndji	946-7/1540	Kūčkūndjid	First cousin once-removed
ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Kūčkūndji	947-59/1540-52	Kūčkūndjid	Brother
Nawrūz Aḥmad (Baraḳ) b. Suyūndjuḳ	959-63/1552-6	Suyūndjuḳid	First cousin
Pīr Muḥammad b. Djānī Begi	963-8/1556-61	Djānī-Begid	First cousin once-removed
Iskandar b. Djānī Beg	968-91/1561-83	Djānī-Begid	Brother
ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar	991-1006/1583-98	Djānī-Begid	Son
ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAbd Allāh	1006/1598	Djānī-Begid	Son
Pīr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān	1006-7/1598-9	Djānī-Begid	First cousin once-removed

and the Farghana Valley), the Kūčkūndjids (Samarḳand), the Shāh Budaḳids (Bukhārā) and the Djānī Begids (Karmīna, Miyānkāl and, after 1526, Balkh). From approximately 1512 to 1550, these four Abu 'l-Khayrid sub-clans consolidated their holdings, carried out campaigns of expansion in Khurāsān and Khʷārazm and also occasionally collided with each other's territorial ambitions. But, generally speaking, until the middle of the century, succession of the eldest Abu 'l-Khayrid was preserved and the integrity of cousin clan appanage rights respected.

The third quarter of the century was a period of inter- and intra-clan struggle. Individual clans sought to expand at each other's expense and succession within appanages also became subject to contest. The first cousin clan to disappear was the Shāh Budaḳid, Muḥammad Shībānī's own clan and holder of the Bukhāran appanage. Disagreement among Shāh Budaḳids over succession to the Bukhāran appanage led to intervention by the Djānī-Begid clan and its eventual capture of the Bukhāran oasis in 964/1557. The Kūčkūndjid sub-clan at Samarḳand, whose head was recognised, on the basis of seniority, as reigning Abu 'l-Khayrid-Shībānid khān from 1512-52 (except for the years 1533-40) was the next to be ousted from its appanage. Long-standing internal tensions invited the interference of the Suyundjuḳids in Tāshkent and the Djānī-Begids of Bukhārā. In 986/1578, the Kūčkūndjids finally lost their home appanage of Samarḳand. Over the next four years, continual contests between the Suyūndjuḳids and the Djānī-Begids resulted in the ascension of the latter as the dominant cousin-clan.

The Djānī-Begids themselves endured intra-clan struggles, particularly between the Balkh and Bukhāran branches. The single-minded efforts of one of the Djānī-Begid *sulṭāns*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] first to unify the Djānī-Begid appanage under his father and then to expand Djānī-Begid control at the expense of the Kūčkūndjids and then the Suyūndjuḳids, temporarily at least transformed the Abu 'l-Khayrid state from one of more or less equally powerful appanages centred on Bukhārā, Samarḳand, Tāshkent and Balkh to one more closely resembling an imperial entity with a single powerful dynastic family (the Djānī-Begid) intent on limiting succession to the khānate to its own lineage. Although ʿAbd Allāh enjoyed some success in the short term, especially because he was able to create a military force able to make major advances against the Ṣafawids in the west, the Mughals in Badakhshān, and the Shībānids of Khʷārazm, his struggle to create an imperium eventually ran counter to the interests of the non-Čingisids, the Özbegs *amīrs*, whose interest lay in preserving Čingisid traditions, especially the system of appanages with their amirid sub-infeudations which gave the *amīrs* the resources needed to maintain their tribal identities.

After eliminating the Kūčkūndjid and Suyūndjuḳid clans, ʿAbd Allāh embarked on a series of external campaigns which covered the period 992-1004/1584-96. In 992/1584, Badakhshān fell to the Djānī-Begid. Three years later he turned his attention to Khurāsān. Harāt surrendered in 996/1588, Mashhad in the following year and Sabzawār and Nīshāpūr soon thereafter. Sīstān, too, was eventually conquered, and even the Ṣafawids in Ḳandahār acknowledged Bukhāran hegemony. Two campaigns against Khʷārazm in 1002/1593 and 1004/1595-6 put that region firmly if briefly under the control of Bukhārā. He also led a campaign force as far as Kāshghar in 1003/1594-5. But establishing Bukhāran control here proved impossible.

But any dynastic ambitions ʿAbd Allāh Khān may have had perished with him in 1006/1598. His son, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, antagonised important Özbeg *amīrs* and was assassinated six months after his father's death. Another Djānī-Begid, Pīr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, was recognised very briefly by the *amīrs* at Bukhārā. But by the spring of 1007/1599, a new Čingisid line, descendants of the thirteenth son of Djoči, Toḳā (Tughā) Tīmūr (and known as Ashtarkhānids or Djānids [*q.v.*]), was installed in Samarḳand and Bukhārā with the backing of most of the Özbegs *amīrs*.

In Khʷārazm, the ʿArabshāhid/Yādgārid Shībānid clan underwent a similar process of succession, clan contests and eliminations in the name of the Čingisid tradition.

II. Society, economy, culture

Most of Shībānid society was engaged in agrarian pursuits typical of an early modern pre-industrial society. The written record identifies three élite groups, understood as having distinctive characteristics: the royals (those of Čingisid descent), the *amīrs* (ranking members of Özbeg tribes), and the intellectuals—the religious scholars, heads of saintly orders, administrators of shrines, poets, artists and a range of others acknowledged by society as distinctive and worthy because of some innately spiritual or intellectual capacity. The (male) royals were distinguished by the titles *khān* (the sovereign) and *sulṭān* (an individual eligible to succeed to the khānate). A range of military and administrative offices was reserved for *amīrs* (*atalīḳ, dīwānbegi, ḥākim, parwānadjī*, etc.). Similarly, specific administrative offices, and at least one military office were reserved for the intellectuals (*shaykh al-islām, ḳāḍī, muftī, mudarris* and *naḳīb* [*q.vv.*]). Court protocol, including the seating arrangements and thus hierarchy of office, was ascribed to the *yasa* of Čingis Khān. The evolution of offices and office-holding from Tīmūrid times has yet to be studied.

Intellectual families such as the Djūybārīs of Bukhārā, the Aḥrārīs of Samarḳand and the Pārsāʾīs [*q.v.*] of Balkh enjoyed great local authority under the Shībānids. They were the hereditary recipients of the local offices of *shaykh al-islām* and *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*, and as administrators (*mutawallīs*) of shrines, they disposed of great wealth in endowments. The rise of these great shrine families is a significant feature of Shībānid history. Based on surviving records, after the middle of the 10th/16th century, at the latest, the wealth of these families seems to have surpassed that of any of the royals or *amīrs* from their own regions. These families played a leading role as patrons of art and architecture.

Judging by the recorded activities of the rich, wealth was produced first by land and only secondarily by import-export exchange. Land under private ownership (*milk*) prevailed through the Shībānid era. State land (*mamlaka*) seems to have been generally of minor importance, while endowment (*waḳf*) land seems to have steadily increased in importance under the Shībānids.

Historically, the Shībānid territory produced and exported fresh and dried fruits, fibres, some precious metals and livestock, notably horses. Although there are no meaningful trade figures for the Shībānid period, the main trading partner appears to have been Mughal India. Certainly, the establishment of a Central Asian dynasty (the Tīmūrids of India) in northern India early in the 10th/16th century encouraged the expansion of all contacts between the two regions including economic ones. Bābur records many of the Central Asian products and goods desired in northern India and describes the large trade in horses through Kābul. An apparent boom in commercial construction in Bukhārā in the late 10th/16th century suggests generally flourishing if not expanding inter-regional trade under the Shībānids.

With the emergence of the Ṣafawid state as the Shībānids' main political rival, Shībānid patronage of sectarian activities concentrated on sponsorship of Ḥanafī Sunnī scholarship. Khundjī's *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā* reflects the early convergence of Shībānid political interests and sponsorship of Ḥanafī Sunnī scholarship in the detailed record of debates (*mabāḥith*) on theological issues conducted under the aegis of Muḥammad Shībānī Khān. The sectarian ambiguity manifested by the late Tīmūrid political authorities, at a time when their rivals did not use a distinctive theology for self-definition, was superseded by a careful clarification of the Ḥanafī Sunnī foundations of the new state, clearly meant to contrast with the Imāmī Shīʿī symbols displayed by the Ṣafawids. Bukhārā and Samarḳand became refuges for prominent Ḥanafī scholars and the building and endowment of *madrasas*, a favoured use of any capital accumulated by the Shībānid and Özbeg leaders.

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(R.D. McChesney)

SHIBARGHĀN, a town situated in Djūzdjān [*q.v.*] province of northern Afghānistān, in lat. 36° 35' N. and long. 65° 45' E. Arab geographers referred to it as Shaburḳān or Sabūrḳān. Excavations of graves at Ṭila Tepe, in 1978, 5 km/3 miles north of the town, have revealed the area was an important trade and cultural centre from as early as the Iron Age. Kushan-Sāsānid ceramics dating from 1st to 7th century A.D. have also been found in the area (V. Sarianidi, *Raskopki Tillya-Tepe v severnom Afganistane*, Moscow 1972; W. Ball, *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan*, Paris 1982, i, 1079, 1192).

In the 4th/10th century Ibn Ḥawḳal states that Shibarghān, along with Yahūdiyya or Yahūdhān (now Maymana [*q.v.*]), Andkhūd (now Andkhuy [*q.v.*]) and Anbār (now Sar-i Pul [*q.v.*]) and other places was located in the district of Djūzdjān. In the early Islamic era, the main trade route between Harāt and Balkh [*q.vv.*] appears to have passed through Shibarghān. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, a native of the area, remarks that "Ushbūrḳān" was "situated on a steppe (*ṣaḥrā*) on the high road. It abounds in amenities and has running waters" (tr. Minorsky, 107, comm. 335). Mustawfī states that the town's climate was temperate and grain was cheap (*Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 155, tr. 153). Indeed, throughout history, Shibarghān has had a reputation for the fertility of its loess dunes (*čūl*) and soil which produces an abundance of fruit (grapes and melons in particular) and wheat.

Shibarghān seems to have experienced an economic and political decline following the demise of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] in the mid-6th/12th century. This was probably due to the rise of Ghūrid empire to the south and the increasing importance of the easier, Maymana-Andkhūy road for caravan trade. By the time of the Mongol conquest of the region (619/1221-2), the fortress towns of Fāryāb [*q.v.*] (near modern Dawlatābād), Ṭālaḳān and Yahūdiyya, had eclipsed the settlements which lay further east. Shibarghān, however, appears to have been spared by the Mongols and doubtless profited by the almost total destruction of its economic rivals, Fāryāb and Ṭālaḳān. Some fifty years after the Mongol invasion (1275), Marco Polo records that Shibarghān was a thriving market town and an important staging post on the caravan route. The famous melons of the town were dried and exported to India and China, where the fruit was considered a delicacy. It was also renowned for its wild fowl and game.

Under the Tuḳāy-Timūrid ruler of Balkh, Nadhr Muḥammad Khān (1000-60/1591-1650 [*q.v.*]), Shibarghān and Andkhūy were regarded as a single *iḳṭāʿ* and its revenue assigned to his sixth son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Following the Moghul occupation of Balkh (1056-7/1646-7), Nadhr Muḥammad withdrew to Shibarghān before fleeing to Persia. The latter half of the 11th/17th century saw the decline of the appanage system and the rise of amīrid power. The Mīng *amīrs* of Shibarghān and Maymana engaged in a long and bitter struggle with the eastern *amīrs* of Ḳaṭaghān for control of Balkh. In 1164/1751, following the evacuation of Balkh by Nādir Shāh Afshār's [*q.v.*] garrisons, Ḥādjī Bī Mīng, *ḥākim* of Maymana, enlisted the support of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] and thus subjugated his Ḳataghānid rivals. Ḥādjī Bī's unpopular alliance with the Afghāns and his despotic rule, however, led Īzbāsir, *ḥākim* of Shibarghān, to rebel. Though this uprising was suppressed, the dynasty Īzbāsir founded (?) survived until the third quarter of the 19th century. During this era, the *ḥākims* of Shibarghān played an important part in resisting Afghān encroachment and annexation. Shibarghān's last independent ruler, Ḥakīm Khān, was deposed by Amīr Shīr ʿAlī Khān in 1875. In 1865 the town was totally destroyed by a violent earthquake in which an estimated 3,000 people perished.

By 1934 Shibarghān was "a ruined place" (R. Byron, *The road to Oxiana*, London 1934). From 1960 onwards, however, it experienced an economic renaissance following the discovery of vast gas reserves in the vicinity. Shibarghān is presently (1995) the headquarters, and home town, of the *amīr* of the northern provinces (*Wilāyat-i Shamāl-i Afghānistan*), General Dūstam.

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(J.L. Lee)

SHIBITHTH (A., in popular parlance *shibitt*, *shabath*) is dill (*Anethum graveolens L., Umbelliferae*).

Like Akkadian *šibittu*, the name goes back to Aramaic *šəḇittā* (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Hand-wörterbuch*, iii, 1227b). The Greek name ἄνηθον (*anīthūn*), which lives on in Mozarabic *anītū*, was taken from the *Materia medica* of Dioscurides; the Berber synonym *aslīlī* circulated also. When blossoming, dill resembles the

fennel (*basbās* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *Foeniculum vulgare, L.*); like the latter, dill is an ancient plant and is used in kitchen and medicine in the same way as the fennel. The main areas of origin of the cultivated dill are middle and southeastern Europe; wild dill is found in the Mediterranean area and in the Near East. Roots, seed and herb of the dill contain an aromatic, ethereal oil. From old times, the young sprouts have been used as spices for cucumbers and salads.

The main significance of dill, however, was already in ancient Egyptian times in the field of medicine. It was used as a stomachic, carminative, diuretic and vermifuge drug. Its peculiarity consists in the fact that it dispels colic originating from flatulence, heavy gases, and mucus coming from stomach and intestines; it also puts one to sleep. Its seeds, pulverised and cooked in water, cause heavy vomiting and purify the stomach from dyscratic juice (*ruṭūbāt*). A hip bath in an extract from dill is good for pains of the womb. Applied as a poultice, dill divides the swellings originating from flatulence. Its ashes are good for soft (*mutarahhil*), heavily festering ulcers, and its decoction for pains of kidneys and bladder, caused by constipations or flatulence. Pulverised and boiled with honey until concentration, and then applied on the backside, dill has a strongly laxative effect. Taken in soup or broth, its seeds strengthen the flowing of milk. The freshly blossoming dill in particular is good for colic, haemorrhoids and sticky vomit from the stomach.

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(A. Dietrich)

SHIBL AL-DAWLA [see MIRDĀS, BANŪ].

AL-SHIBLĪ, ABU BAKR DULAF B. DJAḤDAR, a Sunnī mystic. Born in Sāmarrā' or Baghdād (of a family which came from Transoxania) in 247/861, he died there in 334/945. Before his conversion to Ṣūfism he was an official at the ʿAbbāsid court in Sāmarrā', apparently a chamberlain or *ḥādjib* of the caliph's brother Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*] as well as, or subsequently, a *wālī* or deputy-governor of Damāwand. He was a reputed scholar in Mālikī law and an assiduous student of *ḥadīth*.

At the age of about 40 he converted to the mystical life, under the influence of the Ṣūfī Khayr al-Nassādj of Sāmarrā' (d. 322/934). Soon after, Khayr sent al-Shiblī on to al-Djunayd [*q.v.*], in Baghdād, for further spiritual training. He remained a novice of al-Djunayd until the latter's death in 297/910. The intense relationship between master and novice became the object of countless stories based on the twin motif of al-Shiblī being rebuked by al-Djunayd for 1. his restlessness, "drunkenness", theopathic language and pretension (*daʿwa*) as well as for 2. his public preaching. For some time, al-Shiblī associated with al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], but he denied him before the vizier and went, it is said, to accuse him at the foot of the scaffold (309/922). Al-Shiblī affected a bizarre mode of life, cultivating "eccentricities" of speech and action which caused his repeated internment in the lunatic asylum in Baghdād. He was criticised, in particular, by the Ḥanbalī scholars Ibn ʿAḳīl and Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.vv.*], for the pretentiousness in his speech (some Ṣūfīs pointed out that he discoursed on "states", and "stations", not on unity, *tawḥīd*), for his claim of being empowered with universal intercession, for a lack of respect for the data of revelation (angels, hellfire, prophets), for his wastefulness and concomitant neglect of his family, as well as for his painful and humiliating penances.

He has left no works, but his sayings (or "allusions", *ishārāt*) figure in the Ṣūfī manuals and collections on *shaṭḥ* [*q.v.*], as do his deliberate eccentricities, ecstatic states and penances. His *ishārāt* were counted by contemporary Ṣūfīs to be one of the "three miracles of Baghdād/of the world". A considerable number of mystical poems have been recorded from him, many of which are quotations of bacchic poets like Ibn al-Muʿtazz or amatory poets such as Abū Nuwās, Bashshār b. Burd, and most importantly, Ḳays, the *madjnūn* [see MADJNŪN LAYLĀ], whose example of excessive love al-Shiblī adopted as a model for loving God.

As a master of novices he trained numerous disciples, often in rough, sometimes violent ways (visitors flee from him; al-Djunayd warns his pupils to speak to al-Shiblī "from behind the throne; for his swords drip with blood"). Al-Shiblī demands of his pupils to see nothing in him but the traces of divine power and instructs them through "eccentric" behaviour: he throws stones at them to teach them about true love; he cuts his beard off to indicate that one should not mourn over the dead but make the Living God one's sole concern; he burns his clothes as they distract from worship. He had servants or *khuddām*, attending to his and his family's needs, as well as pupils, who received an initiatory garment, like Naṣrābādhī, Abū ʿAmr al-Zadjdjādjī and Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*]. In the classical transmission of the *khirḳa* [*q.v.*] al-Shiblī figures as a link in the chain, between al-Djunayd and al-Naṣrābādhī. Ibn Khafīf is said to have received "the white garment of al-Djunayd" (*djāma-yi safīd*) out of al-Shiblī's hands, which was passed thereafter on to al-Kāzarūnī [*q.v.*]. The anonymous author of the Ṣūfī manual *Adab al-mulūk*, possibly identical with ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar al-Sīrawānī, a pupil of al-Shiblī based in Mecca, presents him as the most important authority in Ṣūfism after al-Djunayd. He had disciples in Khurāsān, such as Muḥammad al-Farrā' (d. 370/980-1), a student of the Sunnī *kalām* theologian and Ṣūfī Abū ʿAlī al-Thaḳafī (d. 328/939-40), who was spied upon by order of al-Shiblī; Abū Sahl al-Ṣuʿlūkī (d. 369/980), a student of al-Ashʿarī; and the governor (*malik*) of Harāt. Ibn Abī Dhuhl (d. 378/988-9), who "spent a fortune on al-Shiblī". His closest disciple, however, was Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī of Baghdād (d. 371/982), "the true inheritor of al-Shiblī" (Anṣārī). By contrast, everyone else was but a "hearer of his word". Al-Shiblī's claim that the eastern side of the Tigris was safeguarded against the Shīʿī Būyids only through his presence, coupled with the fact that shortly after his death the Daylamīs completed their conquest of Baghdād, indicates that al-Shiblī's influence at the end of his life extended even to the highest ranks of government. His tomb in Baghdād was still visibly intact in 1982.

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AL-SHIBLĪ, ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. ISḤĀḲ b. Aḥmad al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī Sirādj al-Dīn, celebrated *faḳīh*, more commonly known by the *nisba* al-Hindī.

Born in India *ca.* 704/1304-5, he studied *fiḳh* in Dihlī with Wadjīh al-Dīn al-Dihlawī al-Rāzī, Shams al-Dīn al-Dūlī al-Khaṭīb, Sirādj al-Dīn al-Thaḳafī al-Dihlawī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Badāʾūnī, pupils of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Tanūkhī (d. 670/1271-2), and *ḥadīth* in Cairo with Aḥmad b. Manṣūr al-Djawharī and others. Having made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he also studied, he came to Egypt in *ca.* 740/1339-40 where he continued his studies, related traditions and held several religious posts. He cultivated relations with both *ʿulamāʾ* and *umarāʾ* and gained favour with Sultan al-Nāṣir b. Ḳalāwūn (748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61). With the help of the *amīr* Ṣarghitmish, Sirādj al-Dīn obtained the office of *ḳāḍī ʾl-ʿaskar* in 758/1357. Previously, the Ḥanafī chief judge (*ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt*) of Egypt Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Turkumānī had appointed him as his deputy. Upon the death of the latter in Shaʿbān 769/March-April 1368, al-Shiblī replaced him as Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt* and held that office until his death on 7 Radjab 773/14 January 1372. As Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt*, he used his influence with the Mamlūk élite to promote the status of the Ḥanafī judgeship, seeking privileges previously attached only to the Shāfiʿī chief judgeship. Despite good relations with members of this élite, al-Shiblī did not hesitate to oppose their attempts to abase religious functionaries, as, for example, when he berated Aldjāy al-Yūsufī, *nāẓir al-awḳāf* at the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque, who begrudged them an increase in their salaries. He had also Ṣūfī tendencies; in Mecca he associated with the *shaykh* Khiḍr, and was later a follower of Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] (cf. below), associating with those Ṣūfīs inclined toward ideas of monism (*al-ṣūfiyya al-ittiḥādiyya*).

His best known works are: 1. *al-Tawshīḥ*, a commentary on the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 466, no. 24); 2. a second commentary on the *Hidāya* in syllogistic form; 3. *al-Shāmil fī ʾl-fiḳh*, dealing with *furūʿ*; 4. *Zubdat al-aḥkām fī ʾkhtilāf al-aʾimma al-aʿlām*; 5. a commentary on the *Badīʿ al-niẓām fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* of al-Sāʿātī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 477, no. 49, 2); 6. a commentary on *al-Mughnī fī ʾl-uṣūl* of al-Khabbāzī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 476-7, no. 48); 7. *al-Ghurra al-munīfa fī tardjīḥ madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa*; 8. *Kitāb fī fiḳh al-khilāf*; 9. a commentary on *al-Ziyādāt* of al-Shaybānī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 178, no. II); 10. an unfinished commentary on *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (identical with the *Mukhtaṣar al-talkhīs*, *ibid.*, no. III, preserved in his autograph; the work is said to have originally included also *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*); 11. a commentary on *al-Tāʾiyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (cf. Brockelmann, I², 305-6); 12. a work on *taṣawwuf*; 13. a commentary on *al-Manār fī ʾl-uṣūl* of al-Nasafī (cf. Brockelmann, II², 250, no. I, 1); 14. a commentary on *al-Mukhtār fī ʾl-fatāwā* of al-Buldadjī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 476, no. 47, 1); 15. *Lawāʾiḥ al-anwār fī ʾl-radd ʿalā man ankara ʿalā ʾl-ʿārifīn laṭāʾif al-asrār*, 16. *ʿUddat al-nāsik fī ʾl-manāsik*; 17. a commentary on the *ʿAḳīda* of al-Ṭaḥāwī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 181, no. 7, 7; where a ms. is quoted); 18. *al-Lawāmiʿ fī sharḥ Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* (of al-Subkī; cf. Brockelmann, II², 109, no. 1); 19. Brockelmann finally gives a collection of his *fatwās*. On manuscripts of the surviving works cf. Brockelmann, II², 96, no. 9.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, where further references are given; Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya fī tarādjim al-ḥanafiyya*, 1324, 148-9; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-anbāʾ al-ʿumr*, Cairo 1969, i, 29-30, and *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, Cairo, iii, 230; J.H. Escovitz, *The office of qāḍī al-quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlūks*, Berlin 1984, passim. On other individuals called al-Shiblī, including the famous mystic [*q.v.*], cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. 329a, 9 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 256; Brockelmann, I², 216, no. 6; Massignon, *al-Hallâdj*, passim; *Isl.*, xv, 121.

(J. SCHACHT-[LINDA S. NORTHRUP])

SHIBLĪ NUʿMĀNĪ (1857-1914), leading Urdu writer of the ʿAlīgaṙh Movement, was born into a well-to-do family at Bindūl, in the Aʿẓamgaṙh [*q.v.*] District of the then United Provinces.

Early in life he became preoccupied with the Ḥanafī law school, and acquired expertise in the languages and literatures of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Islamic history and biography, and literary criticism in Persian and in general, became his métiers, and he composed poetry in both Persian and Urdu, but though superficially he seems to challenge comparison with that other ʿAlīgaṙh polygraph, Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [*q.v.*], he does not equal him as a poet. The turning point in his career came in 1882 when he first visited ʿAlīgaṙh, where his brother was a student. The two influences there were Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] and his liberalism, and secondly Dr. Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who introduced him to Western literary criticism. Sir Sayyid appointed him lecturer in Persian and Arabic. After the latter's death in 1898, Shiblī broke his relationship with ʿAlīgaṙh, having founded a rival National English School in Aʿẓamgaṙh. He became a sort of free-lance scholar and author, spending his time in various places, such as Kashmīr and Ḥaydarābād, and wrote an account of his travels in Egypt and Turkey, *Safar-nāma-i Miṣr-ō-Rūm-ō-Shām*; his Urdu prose style is simple and clear, and not overladen with English vocabulary, as that of Sir Sayyid and Ḥālī. He died in Aʿẓamgaṙh.

Shiblī is described by Saksena (287) as "one of the most striking personalities of his age, a versatile genius with a remarkable career", listing a dozen aspects of his activities. Elsewhere (292), he names about two dozen of his literary works in a rather confused manner, both incomplete and inaccurate. Shiblī was ambitious, and felt an urge to produce large-scale works; thus Muhammad Sadiq tells us (275) that he planned an encyclopaedia of Islamic history, combining Western and Oriental methods, but had to restrict himself to a number of monographs, including *al-Fārūḳ* (1899), a study of the second caliph ʿUmar; *al-Ghazālī* (1902); *Sawāniḥ-i Rūmī*; and *Sīrat al-Nabī* (published posthumously, completed by Sulaymān Nadwī, 1916). His second major project, which he almost, but not quite, completed, was his critical history of Persian poetry,

Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam, of which vol. i was published in 1908, ii in 1909, iii in 1910, and iv in 1912; vol. v was published posthumously in 1918. It is a brilliant account of Persian poetry, which had played so important a role in the emergence of Urdu poetry.

Finally, reference must be made to his Urdu poetry, which he composed all through his life; he also took part in *mushāʿaras* [*q.v.*] (poetical contests and celebrations). Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī and a number of collaborators divided his poetry into four stages in an Urdu anthology, *Urdū niṣāb* (see *Bibl.*). They stress that, as a poet, he was original, not basing his poetical techniques on any teacher. The outstanding stage was the fourth (1908-14), which was a period of turmoil in the Islamic world. In this period he wrote both political and ethical poetry, and some Islamic historical poetry. Among the most famous was *Shuhadā'-i ḳawm* ("The martyrs of the nation"), which commemorates the death of Muslims killed by British troops in the "Cawnpore incident" of 1912 [see KĀNPUR].

Bibliography: Shiblī's prose works will be found in various editions. For a reliable assessment of his achievements and ideas, see Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 274-85, and see 161-3 for Shiblī's *Muwāzana-yi Dabīr-ō-Anīs* (dated 1907), his major critical work on Urdu literature, which is important for the study of Urdu *marthiya* [*q.v.*]. His poetry has already been mentioned; see Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī *et alii*, *Urdū niṣāb*, Lahore 1969, 144-6, which includes the text of *Shuhadā'-i-ḳawm*. Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 287-94, also contains useful information on it. (J.A. HAYWOOD)

SHIFĀ'Ī IṢFAHĀNĪ, Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan, Persian physician and poet of the Ṣafawid period. He was born in 956/1549 (Gulčīn-i Maʿānī) or 966/1558-9 (Ṣafā) at Iṣfahān. His *nom-de-plume* refers to the medical profession, which was a tradition of his family. He was also a student of speculative mysticism, but he achieved his greatest fame as a poet. His literary work consists of *ghazals* and *ḳaṣīdas*, written respectively in the style of Bābā Fighānī and Khāḳānī (cf. Rypka, 300), as well as poems in several other forms, including a series of *mathnawīs*. His best known poem is the didactic *mathnawī Namakdān-i ḥaḳīḳat*, written in imitation of the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*, which has sometimes been mistaken for a work by Sanā'ī [*q.v.*] himself (Munzawī, iv, 3286). Other works in the same form are *Dīda-yi bīdār* or *Dīdār-i bīdār*, after the model of Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār* (cf. Munzawī, iv, 2820; Ethé, 836; Bertel's, 210), *Mihr u maḥabbat*, on the theory of love, completed in 1021/1612-3 (cf. Munzawī, iv, 3252; Ateş, 510), and a poem, called either *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* or *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār*, based on Khāḳānī's *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn* (cf. Ethé, 835; Rypka, 300). Shifā'ī also left a *sāḳī-nāma* (published by Gulčīn-i Maʿānī in *Tadhkira-yi may-khāna*, 532-4).

Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] held him in high esteem and gave him the honorary titles *malik al-shuʿarā' wa mumtāz-i Īrān*. Contemporary critics acknowledged him as one of the best poets of his time, but at the same time feared his sharp and often scurrilous wit. Apologising to the Shāh in a short poem, he mentioned satire as an element indelible from his identity (*māhiyyat*), "just as one cannot wash away from amber the attraction of straw" (Iskandar Beg Munshī, 1083). According to most sources, Shifā'ī died on 5 Ramaḍān 1037/9 May 1628 at Iṣfahān and was buried at Karbalā'.

Already during his lifetime, a selection from his poems, to the amount of 5,000 *bayts*, was brought to India (Fakhr al-Zamānī, 523). In 1040/1630-1 a comprehensive collection of 20,000 *bayts* was assembled by Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Dawlatābādī (cf. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshūb*, 54).

Bibliography: Amīn-i Aḥmad-i Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340 *Sh.*/1961, ii, 429-30; M. Ṭāhir-i Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, Tehran 1317 *Sh.*/1938, 211-14; ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī, *Tadhkira-yi maykhāna*, Tehran 1340 *Sh.*/1961, 523-34 (with a biographical notice by Gulčīn-i Maʿānī quoting Shifā'ī's contemporaries Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshī and Taḳī al-Dīn Awḥadī); Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārāy-i ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1334 *Sh.*/1955, ii, 1082-3; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā'*, Tehran 1295/1878, ii, 21-3; idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1305/1888, 213-18, H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Indian Office Library*, i, Oxford 1903, 834-6; Browne, *LHP*, iv, Cambridge 1924, 256 (with a portrait); E.È. Bertel's, *Izbrannïye trudï. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962; A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshūb dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346 *Sh.*/1967, 54-7; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; A. Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968, 509-11, 544; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1350-1 *Sh.*/1971-3, iii, 1875, 2381, iv, 2820, 3252, 3286; Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1364 *Sh.*/1985, 1075-82 (with a list of sources). (J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

SHIGHNĀN [see SHUGHNĀN].

SHĪḤ (A., from Aramaic *sīḥā*) is the plant species Artemisia, *Compositae*.

The word was probably used by the Arabs as a collective noun for the some 200 types of this species, spread in the Mediterranean area and the temperate latitudes. These types occur as herbs and shrubs, many of them being aromatic. In medicine, the herb and its ethereal oil as well as the blossoming buds and their ethereal oil are used mainly as aromaticum amarum, as a stomachic, digestive, carminative, choleretic drug, and the blossoming buds also as an anthelminthic. It was further used as spice in the kitchen and as a stimulus of appetite. The Arab authors note mainly the following types of Artemisia: 1. *Shīḥ* in the specific meaning of *Artemisia iudaica L.*; 2. *Sārīfūn* (σέριφον), probably *A. maritima*; 3. *Ṭarkhūn*, *A. dracunculus*, tarragon; 4. *Ḳayṣūm*, *A. abrotanum*, southernwood or "Old man"; 5. *Birindjāsaf*, *A. vulgaris*, mugwort, often identified with *ḳayṣūm*; 6. *Afsantīn* or *abū shinthiyā*, the wormwood (absinth), *A. absinthium*; 7. (?) *A. arborescens*.

It should, however, be realised that the descriptions of plants hardly suffice for determining the types, because nomenclature and synonymy are so vague. The most accurate, yet inadequate, botanical description may be presented here by way of example. It is found in *Dioscurides triumphans* (see *Bibl.*) iii, 107, under the entry *arṭāmāsiyā* (ἀρτεμισία), where five types of *ḳayṣūm* are described: "One of its types has many twigs, which come forth from a single root, about one yard long. Its leaves are attached to the twigs at some distance from one another, resemble those of the small type of the anemone (*al-nuʿmān* [see SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN], are denticulated (*musharraf*) on both sides and grow smaller and smaller the more they are found near the upper end. At the end of each twig there are yellow-coloured blossoms, round and closely connected like a bunch (*djamāʿa*) of heads of absinth (*ru'ūs al-afsantīn*). They vary in smell from pleasantly to repulsively, and their taste is bitter. This type has roots like those of the white hellebore (*al-kharbaḳ al-abyaḍ*). A second type ramifies already at the soil from a single root and rises about one yard ... A third type

buds three or four twigs from one single root, just one yard long, to which leaves are attached in the same way as they are to the blue stock (*al-khīri al-azraḳ*) ... A fourth type grows in riverbeds and ponds ... The fifth type has many twigs, ramifying from one single root, just about two yards long. Its leaves resemble those of the olive tree (*al-zaytūn*), white on the side turned towards the ground and green on the side turned upwards, but smaller than those of the olive tree ... [At the end:] The first type is the common sage (*arṭāmāsiyā*), called in Spain *fasāṭāyun* (= *afsantīn*). The second is called *al-ʿabaytharān*, also named "the fox's basilicum" (*rayḥān al-thaʿālib*), the third is "the golden one" (*al-mudhahhab*), the fourth is called in Romance *yundja* (*juncia*). The fifth and last one is called *furubina* (Romance *flor de pena*), also "olive of the castles" (*zaytūnat al-ḥuṣūn*) and *abrūshiyā* (ἀμβροσία), of which *al-mudhahhab* is a type". For the complete text and the explanation of the terms, see *Dioscurides triumphans, loc. cit.* The first type, with many twigs and a pungent odour, is probably *A. arborescens L.* The fourth type, with one twig, which grows in inland water, could be *A. campestris*. For one of the other types the widespread *A. vulgaris* is probably to be taken into account. As one can see, the description of the types mentioned follows a rather fixed scheme: outward appearance, twigs, roots, leaves, blossoms, then taste and odour.

The Arab authors give many details about the medicinal use of *shīḥ*. It resembles absinth, but does not have the latter's astringent power. Taken with rice and honey, it kills intestinal worms. The Artemisia from the mountains (*al-shīḥ al-djabalī*) is bitter, divides and dissolves flatulence and is less astringent than absinth. Its ashes, taken with almond oil, are good for loss of hair (*dāʾ al-thaʿlab*). It makes the itch disappear (*al-ukla*), is good for laboured breathing and aids urination and menstruation.

Bibliography: I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 1928, 381-7; H.A. Hoppe, *Drogenkunde*[8], i, 1975, 119-26. Numerous source references in A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, iii, 24, 25, 26, 107; idem, *Die Dioscurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Bayṭār*, Göttingen 1991, iii, 23, 24, 25, 108.

(A. DIETRICH)

SHIHĀB, BANŪ, a dynasty of *amīrs* who held the tax-farm or *iltizām* [*q.v.*] of the Lebanon mountain districts of the *sandjaḳ* of Sidon-Beirut, and later also those of the *wilāyat* of Tripoli, from 1697 until 1841.

The Banū Shihāb were already the recognised chieftains (*muḳaddamūn*) of Wādī al-Taym, a valley of the Anti-Lebanon, at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Syria (922/1516). Their involvement in the affairs of the Lebanon resulted from their alliance and intermarriage with the Banū Maʿn [*q.v.*], the paramount Druze chiefs of the Shūf [*q.v.*] region, who held the *iltizām* of the mountain districts of Beirut-Sidon almost continuously from *ca.* 998/1590 until 1108/1697. When the Maʿnid line died out, this *iltizām* was transferred by the Ottomans to their Banū Shihāb relatives, allegedly with local consent (1108/1697). Subsequently (1124/1712), the Banū Shihāb fixed the organisation of the territory assigned to them in fiscal units called *muḳāṭaʿāt*, assigning the administration of each unit to the strongest family of *mashāyikh* among the local Druzes or Maronites.

As newcomers to the Lebanon, the Banū Shihāb, who were Sunnī Muslims, faced strong opposition among the Druzes of the country from the very start. But the Druzes were further alienated by the consistent Shihābī support for the Christian Maronites. This alienation worsened as leading Shihābī *amīrs* began to convert to Christianity and become Maronites, a process starting in the latter decades of the 18th century. The subsequent alliance of the Banū Shihāb with Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], and their collaboration with the Egyptian occupation of Syria (1832-40), set them on the collision course with the Ottomans which was the direct cause of their downfall.

The Banū Shihāb survive today in two branches, one Maronite, the other Sunnī Muslim. A member of the Maronite branch, General Fuʾād Shihāb, was elected president of the Lebanese Republic for the period 1958-64.

Bibliography: See that to BASHĪR SHIHĀB II; also Adel Ismail, *Histoire du Liban du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*, i, Paris 1955, iv, Beirut 1958; K.S. Salibi, *The modern history of Lebanon*, London 1965, chs. I-III.

(K.S. SALIBI)

SHIHĀB AL-DAWLA [see MAWDŪD B. MASʿŪD].

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN [see MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM].

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MĀDJID [see IBN MĀDJID].

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN DAWLATĀBĀDĪ [see AL-DAWLATĀBĀDĪ].

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, SHĀH, a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī dignitary and author of the 13th/19th century. Shihāb al-Dīn, also called Khalīl Allāh, was born around 1268/1851-2, probably in ʿIrāḳ; he was the eldest son of Āḳā ʿAlī Shāh, Āghā Khān II (d. 1302/1885), the forty-seventh *imām* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, and the elder half-brother of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Āghā Khān III (1294-1376/1877-1957), the forty-eighth Nizārī *imām*. Shihāb al-Dīn spent the greater part of his life in Bombay and Poona, where he died in Ṣafar 1302/December 1884, being eventually buried in the family mausoleum at Nadjaf.

Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh was a learned member of the Āghā Khāns' family; he was also regarded as one of the *pīrs* or *ḥudjdjas* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, particularly by the Nizārī Khōdjas (see Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Fidāʾī Khurāsānī, *Kitāb-i Hidāyat al-muʾminīn al-ṭālibīn*, ed. A.A. Semenov, Moscow 1959, 178-9; W. Ivanow, *Ismailitica*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, viii [1922], 66-7). Shihāb al-Dīn composed a few treatises in Persian dealing particularly with the ethical and mystical aspects of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī doctrines. His works, preserved in India and Central Asia, in fact represent the earliest examples of a literary revival, initiated in the second half of the 13th/19th century and utilising the Persian language, in the life of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community. His writings include the *Khiṭābāt-i ʿāliya* (ed. H. Udjāḳī, Ismaili Society series A, no. 14, Bombay 1963) and the unfinished *Risāla dar ḥaḳīḳat-i dīn* (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow, Islamic Research Assocation series, no. 3, Bombay 1933). Later editions and English translations, by W. Ivanow, of his *Risāla* were published in 1947, 1955 and 1956 in the series of publications of the Ismaili Society of Bombay; this work has also been translated into Arabic, Urdū and Gudjarātī (see Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, *True meaning of religion*, tr. W. Ivanow, Bombay 1956, Preface).

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SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-ḲARĀFĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ Idrīs b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yallīn (626-84/1228-85), Mālikī jurist and legal theoretician from the North African Berber tribe of the Ṣanhādja. He apparently grew up in al-Ḳarāfa in Old Cairo, whence his sobriquet of al-Ḳarāfī. Later, he came to head the Mālikī school of Cairo and to occupy the Mālikī professorship at the famous Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa*. He also held a professorship at the Mālikī-Shāfiʿī Ṭaybarsiyya college and presided over a *ḥalḳa* at the Cairo Friday mosque. He was probably the greatest Mālikī legal theoretician of 7th/13th-century Egypt. As such, many scholars, Mālikī and non-Mālikī alike, travelled from Syria and North Africa to study *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with him. His six-volume opus on Mālikī law, *al-Dhakhīra*, testifies to his mastery of the positive branches (*furūʿ*) as well. None of this would be enough, however, to induce him into accepting a position as judge.

In addition to his legal activities, al-Ḳarāfī also had a hand in several other disciplines. His *al-Istibṣār fīmā tudrikuhu al-abṣār*, for example, was a response to some questions on ophthamology and astronomy from Frederick II of Sicily. His *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira ʿan al-asʾila al-fādjira* (cited by Brockelmann as *al-Ghurba al-fākhira radd^an ʿalā al-milla al-kāfira* and hailed as "the greatest apologetic achievement in Islam", S I, 665) includes actual citations from the Hebrew Bible (in Arabic script). In theology he followed the school of al-Ashʿarī. Though a committed rationalist, however, he was far from extreme in his judgments of non-Ashʿarīs, including Ḥanbalīs and other traditionalists, even so-called *ḥashwīs*. As for Ṣūfism, he appears to have had little interest in it.

Among al-Ḳarāfī's most important teachers was the redoubtable Shāfiʿī jurist ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (better known as ʿIzz al-Dīn) b. ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 660/1262), who deeply influenced him but whose effective endorsement (in Shāfiʿī-dominated Cairo) of the notion that might made right would ultimately become al-Ḳarāfī's *bête noire*. In attempting to come to terms with this problem, al-Ḳarāfī introduces a rather sophisticated doctrine of *taḳlīd* and looks to the *madhhab* as the chief means of protecting minority views from being overridden by *ʿulamāʾ* associated with state power. This is most clearly reflected in one of his most important works, the *Kitāb al-Iḥkām fī tamyīz al-fatāwā ʿan al-aḥkām wa-taṣarrufāt al-ḳāḍī wa 'l-imām*, which also includes an important discussion on the limits of law. Of the many other works he composed, mention should be made of *K. al-Furūḳ* (also known as *Anwār al-burūḳ fī anwāʾ al-furūḳ*), on *ḳawāʿid* or legal precepts, *Nafāʾis al-uṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*, a commentary on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Maḥṣūl*, on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, of which he also composed an abridgment, *Sharḥ tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*.

Bibliography: Ḳarāfī, *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira*, Cairo 1407/1987, 236, 139; *al-Furūḳ*, 4 vols., Beirut n.d.; *al-ʿIḳd al-manẓūm fī 'l-khuṣūṣ wa 'l-ʿumūm*, ms. Cairo no. 16724; *K. al-Iḥkām*, Aleppo 1387/1967; *Sharḥ tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*, Cairo 1393/1973; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, 62-6; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vi, 233-4; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, 188-9; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 316; Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, i, 608, iii, 763, v, 571-2; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul, ii, 135, 1615-16; Brockelmann, S I, 665.

(S.A. JACKSON)

SHIHĀB IṢFAHĀNĪ, the pen-name of Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh, a prominent Persian poet of the Ḳādjār period, *flor.* in the 19th century.

According to a reference in *Gandj-i shāygān* by Mīrzā Ṭāhir Iṣfahānī Shiʿrī, it may be assumed that Shihāb was born during the twenties of the 19th century. His birthplace was Simīrum, a small town in the Iṣfahān district. His family had a long history of supplying military judges to the government from among its members. Shihāb, however, devoted himself from the beginning to the study of Arabic and had an inclination towards writing poetry. In 1254/1838-9 he went to Tehran, where he was engaged in literary activity for several years before attracting the attention of Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1250-64/1834-48). The latter admired Shihāb's work, and honoured him eventually with the title of Tādj al-Shuʿarāʾ. Shihāb's closest patron was Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, prime minister of Muḥammad Shāh, from whom he received many favours. The poet's fortunes continued to prosper during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh's successor, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1264-1313/1848-96). Besides writing poems, which brought him financial rewards, he was officially assigned the task of organising mourning assemblies commemorating the death of Ḥusayn. Towards the later part of his life he retired to Iṣfahān, where he died in 1291/1874-5.

Shihāb's chief field of poetic exercise seems to have been the panegyric, in which he reportedly wielded a fluent pen and could compose lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* within a short time. A critical remark by Dīwān Begī (ii, 889) regarding his poetic style confirms the view that he was fond of grandiloquence, allusions and metaphors. The Sipahsālār Library in Tehran owns a manuscript copy of his *dīwān* containing a collection of *ḳaṣīdas* and comprising some 8,000 couplets.

Bibliography: *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār*, ii, Tehran 1316-18/1937-9, 619-20; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1365/1986, ii (also contains an extract from *Gandj-i shāygān*, supplied by the editor); Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1339/1960, ii/1; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949, ii; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *Tādj al-Shuʿarāʾ*; Yaḥyā Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1350/1971, i; Wizārat-i Farhang u Irshad-i Islāmī, *Nām-āwarān-i farhang-i Īrān*, Tehran 1988 (?).

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

SHIHĀB TURSHĪZĪ, the pen-name of the Persian poet Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Khān, b. probably *ca.* 1167/1753 (Bahār, *Armaghān*, xiii/1, 37), d. 1215/1800-1.

He started his poetic career in his home town of Turshīz in Khurāsān, but left it in 1189/1775-6 for Shīrāz, the capital of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*]. His ambition took him from place to place in search of suitable patronage. Finally, in 1203/1788-9, he entered the service of Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Durrānī b. Tīmūr Shāh, the Afghān governor of Harāt (who subsequently became ruler of Afghānistān); Shāhzāda Maḥmūd had employed the poet's father, Ḥabīb Allāh Turshīzī, for thirty years (see Shihāb's verses quoted in Buzurgniyā's article published in *Armaghān*, vi/9, 557). Shihāb remained with his patron for some nine years, becoming his poet-laureate and chief astronomer as well as attaining the rank of Khān. Their association came to an end with Shāhzāda Maḥmūd losing the governorship of Harāt in 1212/1797-8 in an internal power struggle. Thereupon, Shihāb retired to Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya [*q.v.*], where he died not long afterwards.

Apart from poetry, Shihāb was also skilled in other fields such as astronomy, painting, the art of making pen-boxes and calligraphy. He was the author of several poetical works which included *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*

(*Durrat al-tādj*), *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, *Bahrām-nāma* and *ʿIkd-i gawhar*, a piece dealing with astronomy. Some of his writings which remained incomplete were a *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* and a *Murād-nāma*, the last-named being an account of the events and affairs during the reign of ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand, who ruled Iṣfahān 1193-9/1779-85. In 1206/1791-2 Shihāb, according to his own statement, compiled a *dīwān* of his verse, at the instance of his patron. His total output has been estimated at 20,000 verses (*Nigāristān-i Dārā*, 213), but the copies of his collected poems found in Persia are said to contain between 3,000 and 10,000 verses only (*Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, 303).

Shihāb was a prominent poet of the period of literary "return" (*bāzgasht*), which marked the end of the influence of the Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) in Persian poetry, and the revival of earlier indigenous models. His speciality was the *kaṣīda*, in which he imitated the examples of early masters like Anwarī and Khākānī. The main figures in whose praise he composed his poems were Karīm Khān and ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand; Shāhzāda Maḥmūd Durrānī, who was his chief patron; and Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Kādjār.

Another distinguishing feature of Shihāb's literary activity was his satirical verse, directed against fellow-poets, certain tribes and clans, as well as against such places as Shīrāz, Yazd, Tehran, Sīstān and Kāshān. In the *ghazal*, his individuality of style found expression in the choice of rhymes which differed from those employed by such established *ghazal* writers as Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue* (Supplement), nos. 352, 353; *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, Tehran 1318-21/1939-42, iii, 322-3, 704-6; ʿAbd al-Razzāk Dunbalī "Maftūn", *Nigāristān-i Dārā*, ed. Khayyāmpūr, Tabrīz 1342/1963, i; Riḍā-kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1340/1961, ii/2; idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1344/1965; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī, *Ḥadīkat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1365/1986, ii; Muḥammad ʿAlī Muʿallim Ḥabībābādī, *Makārim al-āthār*, Iṣfahān 1362/1983, i-ii; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949, ii; Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951; J. Rypka *et alii, History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Aḥmad Gulčīn Maʿānī, *Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, Tehran 1363/1984, i; ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ Ḥakīkat (Rafīʿ), *Farhang-i shāʿirān-i zabān-i Pārsī*, Tehran 1368/1989; ʿAlī Buzurg-niyā (Ṣadr al-Tudjdjār Khurāsānī), in *Armaghān*, vi/9; Muḥammad Takī Bahār (Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ), in *ibid.*, xiii/1-3; Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in *ibid.*, xiii/4-6; Muḥammad Kahramān, in *Āyanda*, ix/6.

(Munibur Rahman)

SHIḤNA (a.), an administrative-military term in the mediaeval eastern Islamic world.

From the end of the 3rd/9th century, the term, which in a general sense meant a body of armed men, sufficing for the guarding and control of a town or district on the part of the sultan, is occasionally found in the specific sense of the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] (Tyan, *L'organisation judicaire en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1938-43, ii, 366, n. 5). As the designation for a military governor of a town or province, the term *shiḥna* belongs primarily to the period of the Great Saldjūks, though Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhakī (writing in 450-1/1058-9) uses the term in the sense of the commander of a body of armed men in charge of a town or district on behalf of the sultan (*Tārīkh-i Bayhakī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1350/1971, 22, 23, 24) and his office as *shiḥnagī* (*ibid.*, 9, 10, 25, 26, cf. also Doerfer, iii, 320-1). The term is found throughout the Il-Khānate and survives into the period of the Turkoman dynasties of the Kara Koyunlu and the Ak Koyunlu [*q.vv.*]. Thereafter, it disappears except in a debased sense in some provincial districts, being superseded by the term *dārūgha* [*q.v.*]. The *shiḥna* belonged to the military classes and officials of the *ʿurf* jurisdiction. The authority which he held was, like that of other officials, essentially delegated authority.

Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] appears to have regarded the terms *mukṭaʿ*, *wālī* and *shiḥna* as broadly synonymous (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 28). There are cases of the same individual being referred to variously as *shiḥna*, *wālī* and *mukṭaʿ*. The *amīr* ʿAbbās (d. 541/1146-7) is called *shiḥna* of Ray by Ibn al-Djawzī (*Muntaẓam*, x, 102) and *wālī* of Ray by Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī (*Tārīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran 1348/1969, 126). ʿImād al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn Kumādj (d. 548/1153-4), who succeeded his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr Kumādj and his grandfather ʿImād al-Dīn Kumādj in the governorate (*ayālat*) and office of *shiḥna* of Balkh (Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1329/1951, 76, 77), is called *mukṭaʿ* of Balkh by Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 116), whereas Rāwandī states that he was *wālī* of Balkh and then made *shiḥna* of the Ghuzz (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Ikbāl, Leiden-London 1921, 177-8; see also Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the* ʿAtabat al-kataba, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 380-3, repr. in eadem, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, Variorum, London 1980, and eadem, ch. "The internal structure of the Saljuq empire", in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 244-5, repr. in *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*).

Generally speaking, the *shiḥna* was the military governor of the town, or the town and district, to which he was appointed. His functions were the preservation of public order, security on the roads and the suppression of bandits and robbers (cf. the document in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 61, for Sayf al-Dīn Yurunkush as *shiḥna* of Djuwayn, a document in the *Mukhtārāt min al-rasāʾil*, ed. Īradj Afshār, 1355/1976-7, 264, and a draft diploma for the office of *shiḥna* in the *Dastūr-i dabīrī* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khālik al-Mayhanī, ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1962, 113-14; and see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫorazmšāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 93-6). He presided over a *dīwān* to which, presumably, cases concerning public order were referred, and he apparently had at his disposal a body of men to enable him to apprehend evil-doers and to execute such orders as might issue from his *dīwān*. He may also in some cases have executed the decrees of the *kāḍī*'s office. He did not have power to appoint officials other than those in his own *dīwān* (which differentiated him from a *wālī* or governor). He was paid by dues (*rusūm, marsūm*) collected from the local population and levied according to custom (the rate is not stated in the sources).

As well as *shiḥnas* of towns, there were also *shiḥnas* of tribal groups. In the case of Balkh, the two offices were held by the same person, but this was not always so (cf. the document in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 80-3, for the appointment of Inanč Bilge Ulugh Djāndār as *shiḥna* of the Turkomans of Gurgān, and an undated document in the *Mukhtārāt min al-rasāʾil*, 263-4, for the appointment of a *shiḥna* of the Atash (?) Turks of ʿIrāk and Kurdistān).

The *shiḥna* of Baghdād in the Saldjūk period held a special position, in that he was not only the military governor of the town, but also the representative,

as it were, of the sultan vis-à-vis the caliph.

Under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, the *shiḥna* appears to have been the military governor of a town or the head of the garrison of a town (Cl. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-Ottomane*, Istanbul-Paris 1988, 198).

In the sources for the Mongol invasions and the Il-Khānate, there is a lack of precision in the use of the term *shiḥna*. It is used at times synonymously with *basḳāḳ*, *dārūgha* (*dārūghačī*) and *nā'ib* (D.O. Morgan, *Who ran the Mongol empire?*, in *JRAS* [1982], 129, and see Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia*, in *SI*, lxiv [1986], 80 n. 2). By the reign of Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304 [*q.v.*]) the *shiḥna* and *basḳāḳ* were distinguished from each other and from the commander of the citadel of a town (see below). However, in a document for the appointment of a *shiḥna* in the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, ed. A.A. Ali-zade, ii, Moscow 1976, 36, *shiḥnagī* and *basḳāḳī* appear to be used synonymously.

The importance of the *shiḥna* varied; some, like *sulṭāns* and *maliks*, received large *payzas* when their appointment was registered; others, who were of lesser rank, and medium *maliks* (*malikān-i mutawassiṭ*) smaller *payzas* (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 295).

According to Djuwaynī (i, 96, tr. Boyle, i, 122), Čingiz Khān appointed a group of persons to the office of *shiḥna* in Samarḳand after its conquest. Yeme and Subetey, as they pursued Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmī through Khurāsān, left *shiḥnas* in the towns through which they passed with an *al-tamgha* as a sign of the surrender of the population (*ibid.*, i, 177; also 113, 115, 120, 121, 136-7). When Abū Bakr Sa'd b. Zangī, the ruler of Fārs, sent his brother Tahamtam to Ögedey with his submission, tribute was laid on the province and a Mongol *shiḥna* appointed (Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, lith. Bombay 1269/1852-3, B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[4], Leiden 1985, 117-18). In 650/1252-3 Mengü-Ḳa'an appointed governors (*ḥākimān*), *shiḥnas* and scribes to assess the taxes and to number the population (Djuwaynī, iii, 72-3, tr. ii, 596). As the conquests proceeded and the Mongols established an administration, *shiḥnas* were appointed over towns and districts (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 284-5).

As in the Saldjūḳ period, the *shiḥna* was concerned with the administration of customary law. There is, however, a *yarligh* for the appointment of *ḳāḍīs* issued by Ghazan, in which it is stated that *shiḥnas*, *maliks*, *bitikčiyān*, *ḳāḍīs*, 'Alawīs and *'ulamā'* were to assemble in the Friday mosque in the *dīwān al-muṭāla'a* to hear cases between Mongols, or between Mongols and Muslims, and other cases which were difficult to decide, and to settle them according to the *sharī'a* (Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 219), but this probably merely reflects Ghazan's policy to convert the Il-Khānate into an Islamic state. Clearly, the *shiḥna*'s activities were conducted mainly according to customary law. A document for a certain Shaykh Dorsun as *shiḥna* of such-and-such a province (*wilāyat*), which instructs him to investigate thoroughly *yarghu'ī* affairs and to decide them according to justice and the *yasaḳ* (*Dastūr al-kātib*, ii, 37), most probably reflects general practice. Another document in the same collection, concerning the complaint of the people of Salmās [*q.v.*] against the extortion of their *shiḥna*, states that the latter had been dismissed and his successor ordered to settle affairs justly according to the rule of the *yasaḳ*. The people were to refer *yarghu'ī* matters to him (*ibid.*, 38-9). It would seem from the document that cases were submitted by the *shiḥna* to the *yarghu* (*ibid.*, 39). A letter to a *ḳāḍī* in the *Dastūr al-kātib* forbids *yarghučiyān*, *shiḥnagān* and others from interfering in *shar'ī* affairs (i/2, Moscow 1971, 455). Ghazan's *yarligh* on the unification of weights and measures was addressed to *shiḥnagān*, *maliks*, *bitikčiyān* and others (Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 257); this implies that these matters were within the purview of the *shiḥna*. Under Ghazan, the *shiḥna* also appears to have been concerned with the general provincial administration. When he decided that grain should be stored in the provinces for the use of the army, the *shiḥna* of the province was ordered to take delivery of the grain and to pay cash for it (*ibid.*, 301). Together with provincial governors (*ḥākimān*), the *shiḥnas* were in charge of the billeting of *ilčis* and others in the provinces, a practice which Ghazan forbade (*ibid.*, 356-7).

The payment of the *shiḥna*, as in former times, was by dues. In the *Sa'ādat-nāma* of 'Alā-yi Tabrīzī, an item is included in the provincial expenses of Tabrīz of 1,000 dīnārs for the office of *shiḥna* (*shaḥāniyya*), 5,000 dīnārs for the garrison of the citadel (*al-isfahsālāriyya bi-ḳal'a muḳaddamuhum fulān*) and 15,000 dīnārs for the officials of the *tamgha* (*'ummāliyyat al-tamgha*); the sum for the *basḳāḳ* was 10,000 dīnārs (Mirkamal Nabipour, *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak 'Alā-ye Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1973, Persian text, 134). A document in the *Dastūr al-kātib*, ii, 29, states that the *wazīr* was to get from the *shiḥna* a bond (*malčakā*) that he would not take more from the province and its population than was laid down in the *dīwān* as the due of the *shiḥna*. From other documents in the collection (cf. ii, 36, 38-9, 305-6, 323-4) it would seem that extortion by *shiḥnas* was not unknown (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 244).

Under the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the *shiḥna* is found as a local official concerned with the maintenance of public order, ranking among the *dārūghas*, *maliks* and *kadkhudās* (cf. a *farmān* of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh dated 853/1449, in A.D. Papazyan, *Persidskie dokumenti matenadarana i ukazi, vïpusk pervïy* (*xv-xvi vv.*), Erivan 1956, 245). Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī Iṣfahānī mentions *shiḥnas* and *kotwāls* [*q.v.*] (fortress commanders) of various towns and fortresses belonging to Diyār Bakr in 882/1478 (*Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, ed. J.E. Woods, London 1992, 126). Under the Ṣafawids, the term *shiḥna* was no longer in general use.

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(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

AL-SHIḤR a town and region on the South Arabian Indian Ocean coast approximately 330 miles east of Aden [see 'ADAN], the main port of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] until the 19th century, when al-Mukallā rose to prominence. The port is particularly well known as a fishing and trading centre, but is throughout the centuries associated with the incense trade: Ibn Khurradādhbih (147-8) calls the area the Land of Incense (*bilād al-kundur*) and quotes the following line of poetry:

Go to al-Shiḥr; don't go to Oman (*'Umānā*); if you don't find dates, you will find incense (*lubānā*)!

Niebuhr, writing in the 18th century (*Description de l'Arabie ...*, Amsterdam and Utrecht 1774, iii, 244), reports that incense was still exported through the port of al-Shiḥr, and Serjeant (*The ports of Aden & Shihr (mediaeval period)*, in *Les grandes escales I. Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xxxii [1974], 221) informs us that it was still handled in the port. The town itself is walled and is situated along a long sandy beach, access to ships in the anchorage being by boat. It is divided into two by the wadi bed, al-Misyāl, the west-

ern quarter bearing the name Madjraf and the eastern one al-Ramla. The quarter system within the town is still strong and there are several markets: Sūḳ al-Lakham (shark), Sūḳ al-Hunūd (despite the fact that there can be few Indians left in the town), Sūḳ Shibām, named after the inland town [*q.v.*], etc. Fishing is still an important local industry and the major port commodity apart from incense is fish-oil. Ambergris (*'anbar Shiḥrī*) was also a well-known product of the coast, at least in earlier times. The incense comes from the upper reaches of the mountains in the Shiḥr region. There are graves along the shore said to be those of the victims of the Portuguese attacks on the town from the 10th/16th century onwards (see below). It was from al-Shiḥr that many Ḥaḍramīs migrated to East Africa and they were thus called Shihiris (Serjeant, *Ports*, 221). The region is now in the governorate of Ḥaḍramawt in the Yemen Arabic Republic and comprises the following settlements: al-Days, al-Ḥāmī, al-Rayda and Ḳaṣīr/Ḳuṣayr (*al-Mawsū'a al-Yamaniyya*, eds. Aḥmad Djābir 'Afīf *et alii*, Ṣan'ā' 1992, 549).

Having a much more limited hinterland than Aden, the port was always of less importance. Its early history is far from clear, but it appears to have been controlled by the Ziyādids (*ca.* 203-371/818-981), a Tihāma-based Yemeni dynasty (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, 67). The Banū Ma'n (5th/11th century vassals of the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] in Aden) also held al-Shiḥr (Abū Makhrama, in Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, Uppsala etc. 86). The town is mentioned on occasions during the Rasūlid period (626-858/1228-1454), but figures much more prominently in the history of the Portuguese off the South Arabian coast. The town, which they called Xaer/Xael, was always vulnerable from the sea and they attacked it on more than one occasion and plundered the port (e.g. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, Oxford 1963, 67). In 867/1462, the Kathīrī sultan Badr b. Ṭuwayriḳ captured al-Shiḥr from the Ṭāhirids (858-923/1454-1517), the successors in the south of the Yemen to the Rasūlids. However, it later came under the control of the Ḳu'ayṭī sultanate of al-Mukallā (Serjeant, 25).

Al-Hamdānī (51) says the name of al-Shiḥr is derived from *shaḥar al-arḍ*, which, he adds, is the salinity (*sabakh*) of the soil where bitter plants grow. Perhaps more plausible is Abū Makhrama's suggestion (66) that its inhabitants were the Shaḥrā' of Mahra and that the *alif* and *hamza* have been dropped and the *shīn* vocalised with a *kasra* instead of the original *fatḥa*. The latter, al-Shaḥr, is in any case an alternative pronunciation. Other sources (e.g. al-Hamdānī, 134, and al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples and Rome, i-ii, 1970-1, 52, 154-5) state that the inhabitants do not speak good Arabic, and this may be rather a reference to their speaking a language other than Arabic (Mahri?). The latter source says specifically that the Arabs do not understand the language of al-Shiḥr at all and he calls it "old Ḥimyarī". Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, Beirut 1979, iii, 327) prefers to associate the name with *shiḥra*, a narrow tract of land.

Bibliography: Apart from the references given in the text above, the rare Government of Bombay, *An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Bombay 1909, contains an interesting and informative chapter, pp. 125-48, entitled *Historical résumé of Mokalla, Shehr and Hadthramût*. (G.R. Smith)

SHIḤRĪ or Shaḥrī, the common term by Arabs and Arabists for the Modern South Arabian language Śḥeri (in older literature also called Šḥauri/Shahari), spoken in the mountains of Ẓufār ('Umān) by about 50,000 speakers. As the word Śḥero (pl.) designates only the underprivileged, non-tribal part of the population, Johnstone (*Jibbāli lexicon*, p. XI) established the term "Jibbāli", a translation into Arabic (Śḥehr = mountains), in order to avoid old social distinction. Together with the other non-Arabic languages of southern Arabia (Mehri [see mahrī], Soḳoṭri [see soḳoṭra], Ḥarsūsi [see ḥarāsīs], Baṭḥari [see baṭāḥira] and Hóbyót), Śḥeri belongs to a group of closely connected languages called "Modern South Arabian". A special trait of Śḥeri, not found in any other of the Modern South Arabian languages, is the existence of nasal vowels, a result of the disappearance of "m" in intervocalic position. According to Johnstone (*Jibbāli lexicon*), three main dialects can be distinguished, of which the western one is hardly known. A distinctive mark of the central dialect is the existence of the two phonemes *š* and *š̃* (spoken like *š* but without touching the alveoles with the tip of the tongue) instead of *ś* in the eastern dialect. The origin of Śḥeri and the other Modern South Arabian languages is controversial. Even though they are not direct descendants of Epigraphic South Arabian, they have so many common features with them (perfect 1st and 2nd persons with *k*, three sibilants *s*, *š*, *ś*) and with the languages of Ethiopia (ejectives), that they should be incorporated in the group of South Semitic to the exclusion of Arabic.

Bibliography: See that to mahrī. The most important work is T.M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli lexicon*, Oxford 1981. Recent publications include: J. Rodgers, *The subgrouping of the South Semitic languages*, in *Semitic studies in honor of Wolf Leslau on the occasion of his 85th birthday*, ed. A.S. Kaye, Wiesbaden 1991; A. Lonnet, *La découverte du sudarabique moderne. Le Ehkili de Fresnel (1838)*, in *Materiaux Arabes et Sudarabiques*, iii (1991); M.-C. Simeone-Senelle, *L'expression du "futur" dans les langes sudarabiques modernes*, in *Materiaux Arabes et Sudarabiques*, v (1993). (W. Arnold)

SHIKĀRĪ (p.), a form current in Muslim India, passing into Urdu and Hindi and derived from Pers. *shikār* "game, prey; the chase, hunting", with the senses of "a native hunter or stalker, who accompanied European hunters and sportsmen", and then of these last sportsmen themselves (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, ²London 1903, 827-8, s.v. *Shikaree, Shekarry*).

The native hunters stemmed from the many castes in India whose occupation was the snaring, trapping, tracking, or pursuit of birds and beasts, but the caste which adopted or received the word Shikārī as its tribal name was found chiefly in Sind by the early 20th century. A writer in 1822 said: "Shecarries are generally Hindoos of low caste, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares, and all sorts of animals", but the Shikārīs of Sind seem to have abandoned the occupation from which they take their name. They are described as outcast immigrants from Rādjputāna, found from Bengal to the Pandjāb, the origin of whose honourable appellation was unexplained, though they probably possessed, like other aboriginal races, a knowledge of wild animals and skill in tracking and were employed by the Muslim nobility in quest of sport. They were subsequently engaged in making baskets, and as sweepers and scavengers, and appear to have corresponded in most points, to the Bhangīs of Bengal and Hindūstān. They ate carrion, and, even when professing Islam, were considered unclean, and not allowed to enter a mosque,

unless they underwent a ceremony of purification by fire, after which they were classed as Māččhīs. Those whose occupation was the taking of life were naturally held in small esteem in a land which has been permeated by the principles of Buddhism, Djainism, and Brahmanism, but the purification ceremony demanded by Muslims before admitting Shikārīs to their worship was an example of the extent to which Islam in India had been affected by the attitudes of Hinduism.

Bibliography: E.H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Karachi 1907; *Census reports of the Government of India*. (T.W. Haig-[C.E. Bosworth])

SHIKĀRPŪR, the name of two places in Sind.

1. That in upper Sind, situated in lat. 27° 57′ N. and long. 68° 40′ E., was founded in 1667 by the Dā'ūdpūtras, a warrior/weaver tribe, on the *Shikārgāh* or hunting ground [see shikārī] of the Mahars, hence the name. In 1701 they were defeated by the first Kalhōra chief, Yār Muḥammad (1701-18); his son Nūr Muḥammad (1718-54) drove them eastward where they founded Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*].

In 1739 the Mughal Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*], had to cede all the region west of the Indus to Nādir Shāh, who in 1740 invaded Sind to punish Nūr Muḥammad and annexed Bhakkar, Sībī and Shikārpūr. He restored Shikārpūr to the Dā'ūdpūtras, but in 1754 the Kalhōras recovered it when Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] made Murād Yār governor over the whole of Sind.

During the period of vassalage to Kandahār (1746-1825), the region, now known as the *Mughūlī Pargana*, saw a great influx of Paṭhān settlers who received lands on reduced rents (*Paṭṭadārī*). At the same time, Shikārpūr became an entrepot for trade with the regions of eastern Persia, Afghānistān and Central Asia, a trade monopolised by the Hindus, and its merchants and covered market were famous throughout Asia.

Sind's vassalage to Afghānistān was broken by the Tālpūrs in 1789, who recovered Shikārpūr also in 1825.

The period of British rule (1843-1947) saw a gradual decline in Shikārpūr's importance, since their control of the Frontier region and Balūčistān, and the opening up of the Khyber pass route and the railway link to Quetta, ended its strategic and economic role.

Reduced to the position of a country town on the eve of Pākistān's creation (1947), it gradually began to develop as a centre of agriculturally-based industries. It became a District headquarters (1977) and now possesses a municipality. Its population, estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 by the middle of the 19th century, is now 88,000.

Its most celebrated literary and spiritual figure was Shāh Faḳīr ʿAlwī (d. 1780), an Afghān migrant, and founder there of the Ḳādirī *khānḳāh* and a *madrasa*; venerated by rulers like Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, he wrote books in Arabic, Persian and Pashto, and his letters and books like *Futūḥāt al-ghaybiyya* won general recognition. Also, Munshī ʿAṭā Muḥammad (d. 1855) wrote the *Tāza nawā'i maʿārik*, a contemporary account of the Tālpūrs and their relations with the rulers of Kābul (ed. H. Rashīdī, Karachi 1959).

2. That in Lower Sind was founded by the Phanwars seven miles away from Dādū town, and was also captured by Nūr Muḥammad in 1701. It was renamed (old) Khudābād and remained the Kalhōra capital till Ghulām Shāh (1757-72) transferred it to nearby Ḥaydarābād. Devastated by the Tālpūrs in 1781, it is now in ruins.

3. There exist other Shikārpūrs in the subcontinent, including in the Bulandshahr District of U.P. and in Mysore (Karnataka). See *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 277-8.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 275-7; E.H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind. A.*, Karachi 1907; H.T. Sorley, *Gazetteer of West Pakistan. The former Province of Sind*, Lahore; S.A.S.A. Ansari, *A short sketch, historical and traditional, of the Musulman races found in Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan*, Karachi 1901, repr. 1954; Khudādād Khān, *Lubb-i tārīkh-i Sind* (in Persian), ed. N.A. Baloch, Ḥaydarābād, Sind 1959; M.H. Panhwar, *Source material on Sindh*, Jamshore, Sind 1977; *Sindh annual 1978*, Govt. of Sind Publ., Karachi 1979; Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sindh*, Karachi 1980; G.R. Meher, *Tārīkh-i Sindh* (in Urdu), vi, Lahore 1985; *Pakistan statistical year book*, Govt. of Pakistan Publ., Karachi 1990. (Ansar Zahid Khan)

SHIKASTA [see khaṭṭ].

SHIḲḲ 1. Shiḳḳ is the name of two diviners or *kāhins* who allegedly lived shortly before the rise of Islam. According to the *Abrégé des merveilles*, Shiḳḳ the Elder was the first diviner among the ʿArab al-ʿĀriba. He is a completely fabulous personage. Like the Cyclops, he had only one eye in the middle of his forehead or a fire which split his forehead into two (*shaḳḳa* "to split"). He is also confused with al-Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*], Antichrist, or at least Dadjdjāl is of his family. He is said to have lived chained to a rock on an island where volcanic phenomena occurred. The second Shiḳḳ, called al-Yashkurī, was the most famous of his time, along with Saṭīḥ [*q.v.*]; he expounded a vision of Rabīʿa, son of Naṣr the Lakhmid prince of Yeman, foretelling the conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians, its liberation by Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and the coming of the Prophet.

2. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, the Shiḳḳ are a kind of Shayṭān, forming part of the group of *mutashayyaṭīn*; they are in the shape of a half-man, with one arm and one leg. The Nasnās, other halves of men, are produced from Shiḳḳs and whole men. These Shayṭāns appear to travellers. It is said that ʿAlḳama b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya met one of them one night near Ḥawmān and after an exchange of high words, the man and the djinnī killed one another.

Bibliography: *L'Abrégé des merveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1898, 145, 152; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 364, 395 = §§ 1249, 1280; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848-9, i, 371. On the *kāhin* in general, see Balʿamī, *Chronique de Tabari*, tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, ii, 169, and kāhin. A new analysis of the documentation used in this article, with some additions, has been made by T. Fahd in his *La divination arabe*, ²Paris 1987, see esp. 44, 66, 83, 101, 125, 186-9, 250. (B. Carra de Vaux-[T. Fahd])

SHIḲḲA BANĀRIYA [see al-kāf].

al-**SHĪLĀ** or al-**SĪLĀ**, the term for Korea in Arabic geographers of the 3rd/8th century.

Ibn Khurradādhbih describes in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, 68-70, cf. 170, the sea route from West Asia to China, describing the provinces, routes and products encountered. According to him, starting from Sanfu (Champa) [see ṣanf] and travelling eastward along the coasts, there were Chinese ports, such as al-Wāḳīn (or Lūḳīn, to be identified with Chia-chou at Hanoi), Khānfū [*q.v.*] (Kuang-chou or Kuang-tung), Djāndjū (Chüan-chou) and Ḳāntū (Yang-chou); and beyond China, there were regions called Wāḳ-wāḳ (perhaps Japan) and al-Shīlā, with high mountains and rich gold mines. Judging from the geographical situation in the T'ang period, Sīlā would appear to

be a region of Korea or Japan. S͟hīlā or Sīlā is presumably a word derived from Si-ra (> Sila). Sira was originally called Sin-ra, which was one of the ancient Korean Kingdoms (*ca.* B.C. 57-A.D. 935). It thus appears likely that the ancient name of the Korean Kingdom of Sin-ra (> S͟hīlā, Sīlā) was transmitted, by way of Chinese merchants or other informants, to Arabic geographers of the 3rd/8th century.

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(T. SAGUCHI)

S͟HILB, modern Silves in southern Portugal, a town of medieval al-Andalus in the *kūra* of Uks͟hūnuba.

Arabic geographers describe it as being in a fertile region, with many trees, especially pines, orchards and watercourses. The town itself is on a slight hill at the side of a river (the *nahr S͟hilb*, modern Arade), which supplied the town with water. It was linked to the roads of the south-west of the Peninsula, and its nearness to the sea (15 km/9 miles) gave access to maritime produce and trade. Roman remains have been found on the site; the exact date of the Arabic conquest is unknown, but Islamic pottery from the 2nd/8th century has been found. There was a Yemeni element in the Arab population, and local scholars with *nisbas* such as al-Awdī, al-Lak͟hmī, al-Ḥimyarī, etc., are mentioned but there were also local lineages, such as that of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥabīb.

In Umayyad times, S͟hilb took part in the decentralisation movement notable throughout al-Andalus in the later 3rd/9th century. A lord of *muwallad* origin, Bakr b. Yaḥyā, dominated the Uks͟hūnuba region, and the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad I had to confirm his son Yahyā as governor of S͟hilb. In 317/929, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in his endeavours to restore unity in the kingdom, attacked Bakr's grandson K͟halaf, who nevertheless managed to retain his position as caliphal governor in return for paying taxes and promising not to aid rebels. When the Umayyad caliphate fell, local notables seized power at S͟hilb, as at other places. The chronology here is obscure, and it is uncertain whether one or two separate families are involved, but the sources agree that a *ḳāḍī* of S͟hilb, ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad from the Banū Muzayn, assumed power and founded a petty dynasty, which was soon attacked by al-Muʿtaḍid b. ʿAbbād of Seville, who conquered the town in 455/1063, nominating his son al-Muʿtamid as governor there. The prince-governor was accompanied by his friend and *wazīr*, Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], himself a native of S͟hilb, and it was there that al-Muʿtamid met his future favourite wife, Iʿtimād. When al-Muʿtamid succeeded to power in Seville, he left the town to his son ʿUbayd Allāh al-Muʿtadd, but like the rest of the ʿAbbādid lands, S͟hilb soon fell to the Almoravids.

A new stage in the history of the south-west of the Peninsula was the revolt of Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*], who was supported by the people of S͟hilb and Yābura (Evora), who gave their allegiance in 539/1144, with Ibn al-Mund͟hir becoming Ibn Ḳasī's governor at S͟hilb. Attacks by the forces of S͟hilb and the *kūra* on Seville and Cordova failed, but Ibn Ḳasī ended up as governor of S͟hilb for the incoming Almohads. However, he and the notables of S͟hilb did not give their allegiance, amongst representatives of al-Andalus, to the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin at Salé, and he began negotiations with the Portuguese. His death, at the hands of a plot of the S͟hilb citizens, is attributed to this attempted rapprochement with the Christians. The Almohads then attached the whole *kūra* to Seville, nominated Almohad governors and settled troops (*munad͟jd͟jadūn*) and their families in the region. The fortifications of the fortresses of S͟hilb and Bād͟ja (Beja) were repaired, but in 585/1189 the Portuguese captured S͟hilb after a fierce siege, and the inhabitants had to abandon it, leaving behind all their possessions. The Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr recovered it in D͟jumādā II 587/June 1191, and the last years of Muslim control there saw S͟hilb under the dominion of the lord of Labla (Niebla), S͟huʿayb b. Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ, who rose against the Almohads in 631/1234. The town finally passed into Portuguese hands in 1240, and it is Christian sources which describe this conquest, led by Santiago Paio Peres Correia.

A good number of poets stemmed from S͟hilb, with Ibn ʿAmmār probably the most famous, but one should also note two poetesses, Maryam bt. Abī Yaʿḳūb al-S͟hilbī (5th/11th century) and al-S͟hilbiyya (6th/12th century). Today, the fortress is the most important relic in the town of the Islamic period; there has been preserved an inscription on the base of a tower of the enceinte dated 624/1227, together with epigraphic and ceramic fragments and coins.

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(MANUELA MARÍN)

AL-**S͟HILLĪ**, Abū ʿAlawī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, biographer and historian from Tarīm [*q.v.*]. Born in 1030/1621-2, he died at Mecca in 1093/1682. He studied theology, sciences and, above all, mysticism in his native town, in Ẓufār, in India and in Mecca and Medina. After the death of S͟hayk͟h ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. al-D͟jamāl in 1072/1661-2, he began to lecture at the Great Mosque in Mecca, but had to renounce his teaching activities after four years because of ill health. On the basis of a number of works on Ḥaḍramī *sayyids* and Ṣūfīs [see BĀ ʿALAWĪ],

he brought together more than 280 biographies in his *al-Mashraʿ al-rawī fī manāḳib al-sāda al-kirām Āl Abī ʿAlawī*, published Cairo 1319/1901-2. His *al-Sanāʾ al-bāhir bi-takmīl al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-ḳarn al-ʿāshir* is a supplement to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Shaykh al-ʿAydarūs al-Hindī [see ʿAYDARŪS, 4], *al-Nūr al-sāfir ...*, ed. Baghdād 1353/1934. He also wrote *ʿIḳd al-djawāhir wa 'l-durar fī akhbār ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*.

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SHIMSHĀṬ, a mediaeval Islamic town in eastern Anatolia/western Armenia. It lay, at a site whose definite location is unknown, on the left bank of the southern headwater of the upper Euphrates, the classical Arsanias, modern Murad Su. Its location was, according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 362-3, between Bālūya (modern Palu) and Ḥiṣn Ziyād or Khartpirt [*q.v.*] (modern Harput), and it is not to be confused with Sumaysāṭ [*q.v.*] on the Euphrates further south. It was in the borderland between the Arabs and the Greeks, and possession of it must have oscillated between the two peoples. It was the place of origin of a 4th/10th century poet of a certain distinction, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Shimshāṭī [*q.v.*], and we know that in 326/938 it was still in Arab hands, for in that year, the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] fell back on it before the Byzantine Domesticus after besieging Ḥiṣn Ziyād (E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, 76). By Yāḳūt's time, however (early 7th/13th century), Shimshāṭ was in ruins, with only a tiny population.

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 116-17; J. Marquart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 242-4.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**SHIMSHĀṬĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD b. al-Muṭahhar al-ʿAdawī, Arab philologist, minor poet and anthologist. As poetic occurrences of his *nisba* and the town to which it refers show (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1376/1957, iii, 363a, l. 4; and *Irshād*, Cairo n.d., xvii, 241, l. 5), the name-form "al-Sumaysāṭī", given in Flügel's ed. of the *Fihrist* and, as an option, by Brockelmann, *GAL* S I, 251, should be discarded. Sumaysāṭ and Shimshāṭ refer to two different places (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.vv., and cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 116-17 (Shimshāṭ), 108 (Sumaysāṭ), and cf. map iii). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, who used to know al-Shimshāṭī, the latter was still alive when he was writing, i.e. in 377/987 (*Fihrist*, 154, ll. 24-5; the year is given by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, *loc. cit.*, 240, ll. 12-13). No other precise dates of his life are known.

He was attached to the court of the Ḥamdānids in Mawṣil, where he served as a teacher to Abū Taghlib b. Nāṣir al-Dawla and his brother. For this reason he was also known by the nickname "the teacher" (al-Muʿallim), e.g. in a mocking poem that Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] himself wrote about al-Shimshāṭī (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, *loc. cit.* at l. 5, and cf. *Fihrist*, 235, l. 1).

He was of Shīʿī convictions, and thus has an entry in al-Nadjāshī (who was his disciple, *Ridjāl*, 186 ff.), which also contains the longest list of his works.

He is known, first and foremost, for the only extant work of his, the *K. al-Anwār wa-maḥāsin al-ashʿār*. This is an anthology of poetry, roughly of the *K. al-Maʿānī* type, usually with longish chunks of poetry and combined here and there with prose accounts. The chapters deal with the following topics: 1. Weapons; 2. Battle-days of the ancient Arabs (explicitly devoted to the lesser-known ones, of which he includes thirty); 3. Horses; 4. Land and camels, sea and ships; 5. Former encampments and mirages; 6. Houses and castles; and 7. Hunting.

From his *adab* work *al-Nuzah wa 'l-ibtihādj*, a fragment dealing with a dispute between the two grammarians al-Zadjdjādj (Baṣran) and Thaʿlab (Kūfan) [*qq.v.*], of whom the former is the first-person narrator, is preserved in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 137-43; in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, Ḥaydarābād 1359-61, iv, 123-6; and presumably also in a small independent work by Ibn Ṭūlūn (see Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 99; and for Ibn Ṭūlūn, Brockelmann, II², 481-3).

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

SHĪN [see SĪN].

SHĪNĀ, SALMĀN (1898-1978), ʿIrāḳī Jewish journalist, lawyer and a member of the ʿIrāḳī Parliament. Born in the Jewish quarter of Baghdād, he received a conventional religious Jewish education in a Ḥeder (equivalent to the Muslim *kuttāb*), and then continued his primary and secondary studies at the secular Jewish school of the Alliance Française Israëlite in Baghdād, and excelled in languages. Later, he joined the Ottoman Secondary School in Baghdād and was recruited to the Ottoman Army as a reserve officer during the First World War, as an adjutant and interpreter to the German General von Becker at the Turkish Headquarters.

After the defeat of the Ottoman army in ʿIrāḳ, he was taken prisoner, but refused to join the British forces on the grounds that the Ottomans had always helped the Jews, especially after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. He became a prisoner of war in India, but was repatriated to ʿIrāḳ in February 1919.

In 1920 he joined the Law College in Baghdād where many ʿIrāḳī politicians such as Ṣāliḥ Djabr, later on Prime Minister (1947-8) studied. On 10 April 1924 his weekly magazine *al-Miṣbāḥ* was first issued, subtitled in Hebrew letters *Ha-Menorah* ("The Candelabrum"), with its Jewish emblem. This was the first Jewish literary and cultural weekly magazine published in literary Arabic in Arab script in ʿIrāḳ. Shīnā edited his magazine, writing its main articles and translated many news items and articles from European and American magazines concerning Jewish and Zionist activities and achievements, in the Holy Land and abroad. The young poet and writer, Anwar Shāʾūl [*q.v.*] joined him in editing the literary part of the weekly, and many other young Jewish poets and writers became contributors. Their works were among the first romantic poems and short stories published in ʿIrāḳ, being influenced both by European literature and by the Arabic Mahdjar [*q.v.*] school in the USA. Shīnā and Anwar Shāʾūl also encouraged theatrical activities among the Jewish community in ʿIrāḳ, and among the plays performed was an Arabic translation of Corneille's *Le Cid* (1925). He also established, with other Zionist activists, The Hebrew Literary Association (*al-Djamʿiyya al-ʿIbriyya al-Adabiyya*) as a club and library, where Jewish journals in Hebrew, English and French were received.

In 1925 Shīnā started practising as a lawyer, serving the Jewish community and defending its interests after the rise of the Nazi and Palestinian national activities in ʿIrāḳ, where there were many Palestinians headed by the Muftī al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who were later, in October 1939, joined by their leader. Their activities culminated in the *coup d'état* of Rashīd ʿĀlī al-Gīlānī, defeated in May 1941 by the British Army, followed by the Pogrom against the Jews of Baghdād on 1-2 June 1941.

In 1947 Shīnā was elected a member of the ʿIrāḳī Parliament and served until 1951, the most critical years in the history of the Jews of ʿIrāḳ, which ended with their mass immigration to Israel. Shīnā himself resigned from the Parliament and emigrated to Israel, where he worked as a lawyer, serving his community and protesting against what he termed "discrimination against the Jews of ʿIrāḳ", whose properties were frozen in ʿIrāḳ and who were without community leaders in the new Israeli society. In 1956 he unsuccessfully stood as a candidate for the Knesset. He continued as a lawyer and activist until his death at Ramat-Gan in 1978.

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(S. Moreh)

SHINĀSĪ, Ibrāhīm Efendi (1826-71), Ottoman poet, journalist, playwright. A pioneer in the Westernisation of Ottoman Turkish literature, Ibrāhīm Shināsī Efendi (in modern Turkish: İbrahim Şinasi) is credited with many firsts—the first play for the legitimate stage, the first translations of French poetry, the first privately-owned Turkish newspaper and some of the earliest journalistic articles, the use of punctuation, incipient modern literary criticism in prose, as well as the introduction of the norms and concepts of French political theories, culture and literature.

Shināsī was born in Istanbul in 1826, the son of an artillery officer. After his early education at a neighbourhood school, he became an apprentice clerk at the Bureau of the Tophane Imperial Arsenal, where he was trained by several senior staff members in Arabic, Persian and French.

In 1849, through the good offices of the Grand Vizier Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*], he was sent to France where, in addition to literature, he studied public finance. Gaining fluency in French, he reportedly made the acquaintance of Renan, Lamartine, and the family of the prominent orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy; according to some sources, he became associated with the Société Asiatique.

During his studies in Paris, Shināsī prepared a compilation entitled *Ḍurūb-i emthāl-i ʿothmāniyye* ("Ottoman proverbs"), published in 1863. The first edition contained about 1,500 proverbs and some 300 aphorisms, couplets, and expressions. (In 1870 he published an enlarged second edition which featured more than 2,000 proverbs and over 400 maxims.) This work, with its substantive introduction on paremiology and folk wisdom, stimulated among the Ottoman educated élite an interest in popular culture.

Upon his return to Istanbul in 1852 or early 1853, he worked briefly at the Arsenal again, following which the sultan appointed him to the Council of Public Education. Although some literary histories claim that he also served as a member of the *Endjümen-i Dānish*, this has never been documented. Shināsī's official status wavered, depending on the political vicissitudes of his protector, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha.

In 1859, Shināsī published *Terdjüme-yi manẓūme* ("Translation of verses"), a small selection of poems by Racine, Lamartine, Gilbert, La Fontaine, and Fénélon, rendered into Turkish verse. E.J.W. Gibb attributes considerable seminal influence to this volume, claiming that the translations "mark the turning-point in the history of Ottoman poetry". Shināsī's renditions are quite smooth in style and faithful to the originals. They served as the first Ottoman taste of the poetry of the Western world in Turkish.

In October 1860, Shināsī started to publish, together with Āgāh Efendi (1832-85), a weekly newspaper named *Terdjümān-i Aḥwāl* ("Interpreter of events"), the first unofficial, privately-owned Turkish newspaper. Here, Shināsī articulated his commitment to enlighten the public "in an easily comprehensible language".

Shāʿir ewlenmesi (Eng. tr., *The wedding of a poet*, by E. Allworth, New York 1981), a one-act comedy, written by Shināsī in 1859, was serialised in *Terdjümān-i aḥwāl* in 1860 and published in book form the same year. Designed as a play of social criticism, mainly of the hazards of the traditional custom of arranged marriages, it interfuses some of the techniques of European comedy with devices and personae from the *Orta oyunu* [*q.v.*] (the Ottoman *Commedia dell'arte*). *Shāʿir ewlenmesi* stands as the first Turkish play written for the express purpose of being produced on the legitimate stage. Its first production, however, did not take place until 1908 (in Salonica).

Because of disagreements with Āgāh Efendi, Shināsī left *Terdjümān* in the spring of 1861, and launched, in June 1862, his own journal *Taṣwīr-i afkār* ("Chronicle of opinions"), which became a platform for innovative ideas based on European-type rationalism and technological reform for the salvation of the Ottoman state. Shināsī wrote many articles dealing with urban problems, agriculture, industry, and governmental corruption, and advocated the rule of law based on the rights of the people, political rationalism, secularisation, and a system of governance sustained by national sovereignty, freedom, and citizenship rights.

Shināsī was joined in 1863 by the young Nāmiḳ Kemāl (1840-88 [*q.v.*]), in spreading the vision not only of a progressive civil society but also of a modern literature for the Ottomans. Together in *Taṣwīr-i afkār* they endeavoured to promote a new *Weltanschauung* derived from Western civilisation. Many of their themes and recommendations came to play a prominent role during the last half-century of the Ottoman state.

Significantly, it was Shināsī who introduced to the Ottoman political and intellectual circles such concepts as "republic", "popular sovereignty", "art for society's sake", "political economy", "secularism", etc. In both *Terdjümān* and *Taṣwīr*, he pursued his goal of not only "informing the people about events and new ideas" but also "communicating to the government the will of the nation". In this two-way process, he revitalised the vernacular through his use of a simplified vocabulary and streamlined journalistic style. Shināsī's *Taṣwīr* printing house constituted a meeting place for young Ottoman men of letters and intellectuals and a breeding-ground for ideas seeking to create a new Ottoman society and literature.

In 1865 Shināsī departed for Paris, leaving *Taṣwīr-i afkār* in Nāmiḳ Kemāl's hands. His departure was probably prompted by his fear of becoming implicated in a plot to assassinate the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī

Pasha. In Paris he was supported by Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha, but had little or no contact with the Young Ottomans, choosing to stay out of politics. During his four years there, interrupted by a short visit to Istanbul, he concentrated on a dictionary of the Turkish language. This ambitious enterprise, as reported by Ebüzziyā Tewfīḳ (1848-1913), was left unfinished, with 19 of the 31 letters of the Ottoman alphabet completed and 14,000 pages produced—a claim disputed by numerous scholars. No part of this dictionary—which Shināsī had discussed with the linguist Emile Littré and the orientalist Pavet de Courteille—has survived. (Reportedly, Shināsī had also produced, possibly around 1855, a grammar for schools entitled *Mebādī-yi ʿilm-i ṣarf*, but no copy of it has ever been found, if it was published at all.) Following his return to Istanbul in the fall of 1869, Shināsī rented a small house, where he also set up a printing press to republish some of his books. He died on 13 September 1871.

Shināsī's poetry, most of it written in the early period of his life, is hardly distinguished by high literary merit. He published *Muntakhabāt-ī ashʿār* ("Selected poems") in 1862, and his complete *Dīwān* came out posthumously in 1885. His output consists of an *ilāhī* (hymn), a *münādjāt* (supplication), a small number of *ghazals*, a few chronograms and encomiastic verses, a handful of "parallel" or "imitative" poems and didactic verses, and independent (often aphoristic) couplets. Among his most appealing poems are several La Fontainesque fables. His major poems include four *ḳaṣīdas* composed for his benefactor Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha. These are of interest for several reasons, aside from the fact that Shināsī wrote full-scale panegyrics exclusively for this Grand Vizier. He introduced formal revisions (principally the elimination of the *nesīb* or exordium section), used the *ḳaṣīda* as a vehicle for his positivist ideas, and praised his subject in such terms as "the president of the nation of virtue", "the apostle of civilisation", even courageously asserting that "your legislation puts the Sultan in his place".

Shināsī employed conventional Ottoman stanzaic forms and adhered to the aesthetic values of *Dīwān* (classical, élite) poetry. His innovations were of a limited nature: they indicated, however, the possibility of taking certain liberties with tradition. He composed one whole poem in what he called "pure Turkish" in which he kept out words borrowed from Arabic and Persian. In some of his critical writings and in a polemical exchange, he helped to introduce a new and strong sense of the integrity of the Turkish language.

Shināsī was also the first Ottoman poet to translate some of his own lines of poetry into French. (Samples of his renditions appear in his *Muntakhabāt* and *Dīwān*.) His universalist ideal is contained in one of his most frequently quoted lines: "My nation is mankind, my country is the face of the earth".

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SHĪNĪ, SHĪNIYYA, SHĀNĪ (A.), a type of mediaeval Arabic warship used in the Mediterranean. The *shīnī* is mentioned briefly in SAFĪNA. 1 (b) as a type of galley, but its importance in naval history of the time merits separate notice.

Ancient and mediaeval Mediterranean shipbuilding is poorly documented, and, while the study of cargo-carriers has been somewhat enhanced by an increasing number of discovered wrecks, the only ancient wreck of a war vessel we possess is the Punic ship of Marsala (A. Guillerm, *Archaeologic excavations and experimental archaeology. The Punic ship of Marsala and Trireme Olympias*, in *Tropis*, iii [1995], 193-6). We are left mainly with the literary evidence and a few schematic designs of ships in both the Arab and Byzantine sources, the comparative study of which is necessary before any conclusions are drawn.

The type of the Byzantine *dromon*, which was used as a model for the Arab *shīnī*, followed the classical Mediterranean tradition, i.e. the "shell technique" of shipbuilding, the ribs being added after the planks had been joined together (M. Daeffler, *Late 17th century conception of French galleys, in Septième Colloque International d'Archéologie Navale*, Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue 1994, 15). Nevertheless, the Byzantine *dromon* of the middle 7th century, and consequently the first Arab warships, were very different from the earlier *dromons* of the 5th and 6th centuries, which had been swift, small, 30-oared vessels (the word *dromon* comes from δραμεῖν "to run, to move quickly").

Though the Arab *shīnī* followed in general the type of the Byzantine *dromon*, there was at first a substantial difference in that the fighting crew engaged were better-paid Muslims, while the sailing crew were lesser-paid Christian Egyptians. Eventually, of course, Muslim sailors with nautical experience entered the ranks of the sailing crew.

The 7th-century Byzantine *dromon* and the Arab *shīnī* sacrificed speed and manoeuvrability for heavy machine equipment, mainly stone-throwing catapults, hence the main weapon of earlier times, the ram, was abandoned by both types of ship: thus in the famous naval battle of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī (34/655-6 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) no use of the ram is reported (see V. Christides, *The naval engagement of Dhāt aṣ-Ṣawārī A.H. 34/A.D. 655-56*, in *Byzantina*, xiii [1985], 1331-45).

Arab and Byzantine naval technology reached their peaks in the 9th and 10th centuries, when, in addition to the heavy stone-throwing machinery, Greek Fire began to be used by Arabs and Byzantines on their warships, and then in Mamlūk times, gunpowder and cannons (see NAFT, 2, and BĀRŪD. iii, and the chapter on incendiary weapons in A.Y. al-Hassan and D.R. Hill, *Islamic technology*, Cambridge 1986, 106 ff.).

The Arabic sources provide us with many details concerning the function of the Arab warships which do not appear in other sources. Thus the *shīnī* was two-banked, with a separate leader in each bank, and in the lower level, a sick bay was placed with the proper medical personnel (Christides, *Naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries). An Arabic translation of Leo VI's Naumachica*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 143). Like its counterpart the *dromon*, it had lateen sails, originally two and later three. Arab warships were usually painted black and their sails were white (idem, *Byzantine dromon and Arab shīnī*, in *Tropis*, iii [1995], 118). The *shīnī* was propelled by sails and oars. Ibn al-Mammātī states that it sailed with 140 oars, leaving open the question of the number of oarsmen as well as that of the fighting men who were placed above them (*K. Ḳawānīn al-dawānīn*, ed. A.S. Atiya, Cairo 1934, 340). It seems that in the Arab warships, as in the Byzantine *dromons*, one person manned one oar; we can assume, therefore, that in every war vessel there were about 150 to 165 sailors, if we

add the supplementary crew (Arabic iconography attests the use of one man to each oar in each ship; see D. Nicolle, *Shipping in Islamic art: seventh through sixteenth century A.D.*, in *The American Neptune*, xlix/3 [1989], 168-97). Nevertheless, the number of the oarsmen in the average *s̲h̲īnī* appears different in the Arabic sources and cannot be defined precisely; likewise, the number of the warriors, which probably varied in each warship, is unknown.

The average *s̲h̲īnī* had a castle placed next to the main sail or just under it (for the position of this castle in both Arab and Byzantine warships, see Christides, *Ibn al-Manqalī (Manglī) and Leo VI. New evidence on Arabo-Byzantine ship construction and naval warfare*, in *Byzantinoslavica* [1995]).

In addition to the average *s̲h̲īnī*, there were bigger warships with the same name but with a crew of 200 (Ibn al-Manglī, *al-Adilla al-rasmiyya fi 'l-taʿābī al-ḥarbiyya*, ed. M.S. K̲h̲aṭṭāb, Bag̲h̲dād 1988, 243).

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(V. Christides)

S̲H̲INĶĪṬ, a town of the mediaeval Islamic Sahara.

Various hypotheses have been put forward regarding the name S̲h̲inķīṭ/S̲h̲ind̲j̲īṭ, of which the following two merit discussion. The first gives to it the meaning "source of horses", with *sen* = "sources" and *gīti* = "horses". According to the various proponents of this etymology, the word's origin could be either from Azayr or Azer (a Soninké tongue, now extinct, formerly spoken in the Western Sahara) or else Zenāga Berber. The second hypothesis derives the name from *s̲h̲in*, said to be a deformation of *sen* or *sin*, which in the Adrar and the Tangant conveys the idea of height in relation to the rest of the countryside and *giti*, the name of a hill near the town of S̲h̲inķīṭ.

Although S̲h̲inķīṭ was to become famous to the point that it was used to denote the whole Moorish territory from Sāķiyāt al-Ḥamrā' to the Senegal River, it was never mentioned by the mediaeval Arabic geographers. Is this because the town did not at that time exist, or because it was relatively little known, compared to the great urban centres of the Sahara? The question remains open, but it is nevertheless true that Valentim Fernandès, a Moravian author living in Lisbon, was the first, in his *Description of the African coast from Ceuta to the Senegal* (1506-7), to draw the attention of the Western world to the existence of S̲h̲inķīṭ. However, this does not tell us anything about the origin of the town: at the earliest, in the 14th century, according to H.T. Norris, in his art. MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ, at VII, 624a, whilst al-K̲h̲alīl al-Naḥwī, *Bilād al-S̲h̲inķīt, al-manāra wa 'l-ribāt*, Tunis 1987, 72, claims that S̲h̲inķīṭ was actually founded in 660/1262 on the ruins of an ancient S̲h̲inķīṭ (the mythical Abbwayr) founded in 160/772.

From the 17th century onwards, the Banū Ḥassān, a branch of the Arab Maʿķil tribe, came into the western Sahara with permanent effects there, imposing their dialect (Ḥassāniyya) and gradually establishing amirates, including that of the Adrar, in which S̲h̲inķīṭ was situated. Nevertheless, out of respect for its scholars and saints, the *amīrs* of the Adrar never levied tribute on S̲h̲inķīṭ, which, despite its fame, never became a political capital, although it became more renowned than any other town of Mauritania in the central lands of the Muslim world. The men of scholarship and piety of S̲h̲inķīṭ were, in this regard, respected everywhere, and attracted students, all the Islamic sciences being taught in their mosques or in the homes of these *ʿulamā'*. When they completed their studies and left S̲h̲inķīṭ, most of these former students would style themselves S̲h̲anāķiṭa (pl. of S̲h̲inķīṭī).

The Pilgrimage to Mecca also contributed to the fame of S̲h̲inķīṭ, whose permanent population can never have exceeded more than a few thousand persons at most. However, according to Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Brāhīm (d. 1233/1878), author of the sole treatise on the history of S̲h̲inķīṭ (the *Ṣaḥīḥat al-naķl fī ʿAlawiyyat Idaw ʿAlī wa-Bakriyyat Muḥammad G̲h̲ūl*), "numerous pilgrims from different parts of the Moorish lands used to join the Pilgrimage caravan of S̲h̲inķīṭ when leaving on this quest. All the pilgrims of the Muslim West used to pass as S̲h̲anāķiṭa". Hence these persons formed a bridge between S̲h̲inķīṭ and the Orient, with several of them settling in this last region, retaining their S̲h̲inķīṭī genealogy and decisively contributing to the cultural influence of this small town. In the course of their travels, they would bring back books and treatises procured in Arabia or elsewhere in the Orient or Muslim West and containing the conventional learning of the Islamic sciences, which they would then spread amongst the peoples of the Southern Sahara, still in course of being Islamised.

As intermediaries between the Arab world and the black peoples, the S̲h̲anāķiṭa, notably the Idaw ʿAlī of S̲h̲inķīṭ, contributed considerably both to the spread of Islam, in the shape of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods, and to the spread of Arabic language and culture into the south of the Sahara, a region which they visited also for commercial purposes.

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(Ousmane Kane)

AL-**S̲H̲INĶĪṬĪ** (Sīd) Aḥmad b. al-Amīn (b. 1280/1863 or 1289/1872, d. 1331/1913), Mauritanian scholar and author, whose reputation in the Muslim World principally rests upon his written description of Mauritania and the Western Sahara and his appreciation of the poetic masterpieces of the Moors in Classical Arabic and in their colloquial dialect, *Ḥassāniyya*. He was born into a scholarly family of the Īdaw ʿAlī Zwāya who were resident in al-Mad̲h̲ard̲h̲ra in the Trārza [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ]. His mother, a pious and well-educated lady, stemmed from the Ag̲h̲lāl of S̲h̲inķīṭ. His early years were spent in the study of Arabic language and literature and the Islamic sciences in the nomadic schools. Later, he

undertook extensive journeys inside Mauritania and he stayed for some time at the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*] at Smāra.

He undertook the *ḥadjdj* in 1317/1899 and he met scholars in Mecca and Medina. He returned to Egypt, though he made *détours* into Syria, to Izmir, Istanbul and into Russia. Why he chose to visit the latter is unknown, nor is it known where he stayed, though a visit to Kazan seems likely. He arrived in Cairo in 1320/1902. He lived there for the remainder of his bachelor life, writing and publishing books and mixing socially with the scholars of al-Azhar.

His masterpiece, *al-Wasīṭ*, a compendium of Mauritanian verse accompanied by a concise survey of the geography, history, folklore and proverbs of the Moors, made the Arabs of the *Mashriḳ* aware, for the first time, of the profound scholarship which was then a living tradition in the furthest Saharan regions. He was the first scholar to write extensively on the prosody and the oral and sung poetry (*leghna*) amongst the Shanāḳiṭa. *Ḥassāniyya* is extensively vocalised in his book. Few of the Mauritanian classical poets whom he quotes have biographies. An exception is Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. al-Talāmīd al-Turkuzī, a Mauritanian scholar who was highly regarded in Egypt and with whom he had sharp exchanges on religious and literary matters (*al-Wasīṭ*, Cairo 1378/1958, 381-97).

Aḥmad b. al-Amīn was devoted to Ṣūfism. He, together with Shaykh Abū Bakr Muḥammad Luṭfī, wrote a commentary upon *Ṣahāridj al-luʾluʾ* (Maṭbaʿat al-Hilāl, Cairo 1324/1906) by al-Sayyid Tawfīḳ al-Bakrī (see F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 182-8). In the foreword to this commentary, Aḥmad b. al-Amīn remarks (in eloquent *sadjʿ*) that, having left Shinḳīṭ and having travelled extensively in the Middle East, he was honourably received by al-Sayyid Tawfīḳ "chief of the *Sharīfs* of Egypt and *Shaykh* of the Ṣūfī orders". He wrote a spirited defence of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīḳa*, of which he was a member, against attacks made against it by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Nabhānī.

Works. Ahmed-Baba Miské (1970, 35-6), lists fourteen works by the author. Some of them were original compositions, others were works edited by him. Most of the latter are commentaries upon pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. A *Dīwān* of al-Ḥuṭayʾa's verse is also attributed to him. It is unlikely that the list, which Miské provides, is complete. In view of the fact that these works (including *al-Wasīṭ*) were printed between 1302/1902 and 1331/1912, the author was astonishingly productive during the years when he was resident in Cairo. He was helped by Aḥmad Taymūr Bāshā, the keeper of the Taymiyya library and he was given every assistance in his literary activities. Two works (*Ṭahārat al-ʿArab*, 1326/1908 and *Dīwān Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd*, 1327/1909) were printed in Kazan. It is perhaps significant that, following his Russian visit, Cairo was to be the forum for the Universal Islamic Congress, advocated by Ismāʿīl Gasparli [see GASPRINSKY], held in 1907 [see *RMM*, iv [1908], 103 ff.).

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(H.T. NORRIS)

SHINTARA (or Shantara), Arabic name of the modern Cintra, a little town in Portugal, at a height of 207 m/700 feet above sea-level, 28 km/16 miles to the north-west of Lisbon. It was quite prosperous under Muslim rule, and the Arab geographers remark on the fertility of the country round; its apples were universally famous. Cintra always shared the destinies of its great neighbour Lisbon as long as it was in the hands of the Muslims; it was reconquered in 1147 by Alfonso Henriquez, king of Portugal. After it had become Christian again, it was the favourite residence of the Portuguese kings; it was in the palace of Cintra that Dom Sebastian decided in 1578 upon the expedition against Morocco which ended disastrously on the banks of the Wādī ʾl-Makhāzin near al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr.

The modern Cintra is dominated by the ruins of an old stronghold of the Muslim period. Of this fortress, now called *Castello dos Mouros*, built at a height of 429 m/1430 feet, there only remain two masses of masonry with the remains of a chapel and baths.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHĪR [see ASAD].

SHĪR WA KHŪRSHĪD [see NISHĀN. 1].

SHĪR ʿALĪ (*ca.* 1823-79), Amīr of Afghānistān 1863-79.

He was the fifth son and successor of Amīr Dūst Muḥammad (d. 9 June 1863). His mother, Khadīdja, was both Dūst Muḥammad's favourite wife and a Bārakzay (daughter of Raḥmat Allāh Khān Popalzay) and probably for these reasons he was nominated heir following the death of his full brother, Ghulām Ḥaydar, on 2 July 1858, having previously served as governor of Ghaznī. In 1863 Shīr ʿAlī's claims were opposed by his elder half-brothers, Muḥammad Afḍal (1811-67) and Muḥammad Aʿẓam (1818-69), other brothers joined the conflict and a civil war ensued which lasted until 1869. Shīr ʿAlī's forces were alternately victorious and defeated, and in 1867 he was reduced to the possession of Harāt only, with Afḍal and then Aʿẓam ruling in Kābul. In 1868 he recovered Ḳandahār and then Kābul, although it was not until the beginning of 1869 that he finally defeated Aʿẓam and his nephew, the future Amīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (*ca.* 1844-1901, the only son of Afḍal) and re-established full control of Afghānistān.

As Amīr after 1868, Shīr ʿAlī continued and extended the policy of his father in attempting to build a stronger, more centralised state in Afghānistān. He suppressed rebellions by his sons, Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb (*ca.* 1849-1923) and Muḥammad Ayyūb (*ca.* 1856-1914), and extended his authority over northern Afghānistān. He centralised the administration, established a rudimentary system of ministries, developed communications including roads, bridges and a postal system (the first Afghan postage stamps appeared in 1870), attempted to reform the currency with the introduction of the *afghānī* in place of the former rupee,

and founded a periodical, S̲h̲ams al-Nahār (1875-9) and the first state school. He restricted the political influence of the ʿulamāʾ, and exalted the status of the ruler, seeking but not adopting the title of S̲h̲āh. In 1874 he established a short-lived consultative council. Revenues were increased three-fold between 1863 and 1878. Over 40% of the revenue was spent on the army, which was the central feature of S̲h̲īr ʿAlī's reforms. He reduced the size of the tribal militia and the feudal army and strengthened the standing army, which was trained and equipped in European style, modelled on the British-Indian forces and often led by British-trained officers. By 1878 the standing army numbered 56,000, including 58 infantry and 12 cavalry regiments. In addition, S̲h̲īr ʿAlī developed the artillery, creating workshops to manufacture modern iron weapons. By 1878 he had 370 guns. The workshops also manufactured small arms including Sniders and Martini Henrys. The army was deployed through Afg̲h̲ānistān mainly with a view to the needs of internal security. In developing the state institutions, S̲h̲īr ʿAlī relied especially on G̲h̲ilzays and Wardaks, who provided 80% of the standing army. These tribes, together with Persians, Harātīs and Parsiwāns, dominated the administration. The Durrānī tribes were largely excluded from power.

S̲h̲īr ʿAlī's foreign affairs were dominated by his dealings with Russia and, especially, with British India. During the civil war, the Government of India had followed a policy of non-interference, known as "masterly inactivity". The various contenders for power had been given *de facto* recognition in accordance with their holdings, but material assistance claimed under the 1857 treaty made with Dūst Muḥammad was refused until November 1868. In March 1869 S̲h̲īr ʿAlī met the new Governor-General, Lord Mayo, at Ambāla, and asked for an offensive-defensive treaty, a regular subsidy and recognition of his son, ʿAbd Allāh D̲j̲ān (1862-78), as heir. Mayo offered only general assurances, money and arms, including artillery. S̲h̲īr ʿAlī was seemingly satisfied, although in subsequent years he renewed his demands. British interest in Afg̲h̲ānistān derived from border problems, commercial hopes and, especially, concerns about the expansion of Russia in Turkistān towards the northern Afg̲h̲ān border. Without consulting the Amīr, Britain sought agreement with Russia on the northern boundaries of Afg̲h̲ānistān, which were roughly defined in 1873. The Amīr was obliged to abandon his hopes of extending his territories beyond the Oxus. Britain also assumed responsibility for defining part of the western frontier with Persia; by the Goldsmid arbitration of 1873, Sīstān was divided between Persia and Afg̲h̲ānistān. S̲h̲īr ʿAlī's unhappiness was further increased by the British occupation of Quetta [see KWAṬṬA] on 8 December 1876.

The occupation of Quetta was one element in a new British policy (the so-called "forward policy") inaugurated by the Conservative Government in 1875 and carried on by the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, from 1876. A major background factor in his new policy was the development of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-8, which led to war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1877 and threatened the possibility of war between Britain and Russia. Such a war could have extended to Central Asia, and the attitude of Afg̲h̲ānistān became of major importance. Lytton was prepared to offer S̲h̲īr ʿAlī a new alliance, stronger guarantees of protection, an annual subsidy and recognition of ʿAbd Allāh D̲j̲ān, in return for the acceptance of British agents in Afg̲h̲ānistān and effectual British control of Afg̲h̲ānistān's foreign relations. Negotiations were carried on in 1876 and 1877, but no agreement had been reached when Lytton broke off negotiations in March 1877. Lytton now applied pressure on S̲h̲īr ʿAlī either to force him to agree to British demands or to overthrow him. An Ottoman embassy was sent to Kābul in an effort to persuade the Amīr to renounce contacts with Russia. The reception of a Russian envoy in Kābul in July 1878 gave Lytton the excuse to demand the reception of a British mission and a promise by the Amīr to sever all relations with Russia. In September 1878, S̲h̲īr ʿAlī refused to admit the British mission and in November, Lytton's forces invaded Afg̲h̲ānistān. S̲h̲īr ʿAlī's army proved incapable of effective resistance and in December S̲h̲īr ʿAlī fled north, resigning authority to his oldest and former rebel son, Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb (ʿAbd Allāh D̲j̲ān had died in August 1878). It is uncertain whether S̲h̲īr ʿAlī formally abdicated in December. On 21 February 1879 S̲h̲īr ʿAlī died at Mazār-i S̲h̲arīf and was succeeded briefly by his son Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb K̲h̲ān.

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(M.E. Yapp)

SHĪR SHĀH SŪR, Farīd al-Dīn, son of Miyān Ḥasan Sūr, the founder of a line of Dihlī Sultans, the Sūrīs [*q.v.*], which ruled during the interval between the first and second reigns of the Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*], sc. 947-62/1540-55, Shīr Shāh's own reign spanning 947-52/1540-5. The Sūrs were a small Afghān tribe from Rōh [*q.v.*], the north-west frontier region of India.

His father Miyān Ḥasan seems to have been in the service of one of the leading nobles of the Lōdī Sultans of Dihlī, the Khān-i Aʿzam ʿUmar Sarwānī and then from 901/1496 was in Djawnpur [*q.v.*], where he received the *pargana* of Sahsarām [*q.v.*] as his *iḳṭāʿ* for maintaining 500 *suwārs* or cavalrymen. Farīd al-Dīn himself entered the service of Ibrāhīm Khān Sarwānī till the latter's death in battle in 926/1520 against the Rādjput Rānā Sāngā of Mēwāŕ [*q.vv.*], and then entered that of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī till the latter's death at the first battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] (932/1526). It was shortly after this that Farīd al-Dīn was awarded the honorific of Shīr Khān, in token of his bravery in the field, by Bahār Khān Nūhanī, rebel against the Lōdīs in Bihār, where he had assumed the title of Sultan Muḥammad Shāh and had become the rallying-point for Afghān opposition to the incomer Bābur [*q.v.*]. Shīr Khān nevertheless gave his support to Bābur in 933-4/1527-8, whilst still retaining the confidence of the Afghān chiefs in Bihār who supported Maḥmūd Lōdī, proclaimed sultan there against Bābur.

With Humāyūn's victory of 937/1531 over the Afghāns, Shīr Khān made his peace with the Mughal, retaining his base in Bihār as Humāyūn's vassal and warding off invasions from Bengal in 938/1532 and 940/1534. In 941/1535 he assumed the title of Shīr Shāh and struck his own coins, a declaration of independence, whilst Humāyūn was pre-occupied in Gudjarāt. He defeated the sultan of Bengal Maḥmūd Shāh and made him his tributary, with a further expedition against the latter's capital Gawr or Lakhnawatī [*q.v.*] in 944/1537. Humāyūn invaded Shīr Shāh's territories from Agra, but was repulsed and twice defeated in 946/1539 and 947/1540, on the second occasion being compelled to retreat hurriedly to the Pandjāb and then Sind and eventually to Persia.

Shīr Shāh was now master of northern India, and began his five years' sultanate in Dihlī and Agra. He eliminated various rival chiefs and nobles and, in anticipation of extending his empire southwards, attacked Mālwa [*q.v.*] and drove out its ruler Mallū Khān Ḳādir Shāh, after which he entrusted the governorship of Mālwa to Shadjāʿat Khān Sūr; and in 949/1542-3 he attacked the Rādjā of Djodhpur [*q.v.*] in his principality of Mārwāŕ, in Rādjputānā. Shīr Shāh's death came about accidentally during the siege of Kālindjar in 952/1545. He was succeded by his son Islām Shāh.

Shīr Shāh was one of India's great rulers, whose achievements might well have equalled or surpassed those of Akbar, had his reign not been cut short by death. In military affairs, he employed artillery and musketeers extensively in his armies. He is praised by historians like Badāʾūnī for the peace and order of his kingdom, and for his caravanserais and other provision for travellers and merchants, Muslim and Hindu alike, along the roads. He broadened the base of his originally Afghān support by awarding positions and estates to Rādjput chiefs also, here foreshadowing Akbar's policy. He placed the governance of his empire on a firm footing by retaining the *sarkār*, composed of a number of *parganas*, as the optimum fiscal and administrative unit.

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2. Studies. R. Temple, *A new view of Shēr Shāh Sūr*, in *The Indian Antiquary* (1922); S.M. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939; K.R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah and his times*, Calcutta 1965; Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *Some aspects of Afghan despotism in India*, Aligarh 1969; idem, *History of Sher Shah Sur*, Aligarh 1971. See also sūrīs.

(I.H. Siddiqi)

SHIʿR (a.), poetry.

1. In Arabic.

(a) The pre-modern period.

It is the supreme ornament of Arab culture and its most authentically representative form of discourse. The ideas articulated by poetry and the emotional resonances which it conveys earn it, even in the present day, where numerous new literary forms are in competition with it, the approval of scholars and the populace alike.

Despite the phonetic resemblance, *shiʿr* is totally unconnected with the Hebrew *shīr*; the *ʿayn* is a "hard" consonant which persists in the roots common to the two languages. The term is attested in ancient Arabic (G. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971, 350-1) and very often used in pre-Islamic poetry.

I. *Shiʿr and its synonyms.*

The equivalents here are not simple synonyms; they stress one aspect or another of the poetics of *shiʿr*. (i) It is appropriate to cite in the first instance the terms, the content of which suggests the notion of quality and of major artistic merit; thus *ḳaṣīd* would denote artistic poetry as opposed to *radjaz* (Lane, root *ḳ-ṣ-d*, 2531b-2532a; ʿAlī al-Djundī, *al-Shuʿarāʾ wa-inshād al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1969, 13). The same is true of *ḳawāfī*: *ḳafā*, in the first form, signifies the honouring of some person with a mark of distinction (Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, 61; al-Nahshalī, 27, quoting Abū Tammām; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i, 3, 14-15; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 60); the same is true of *durr* (poetry) or *durar* (sing. *durra* "pearl", *Sīra*, Göttingen 1858-60, 862, l. 10; *LA*, xvi, 56, l. 19, the poet al-Zafayān; Ibn Ḳutayba, *op. cit.*, 508, l. 15; Labīd, *Dīwān*, Leiden 1891, 22, l. 15; *Aghānī*³, x, 285, l. 20) and *al-muḥabbar* (fabric of high quality manufactured in the Yemen, Ruʾba, *Dīwān*, Berlin 1903, 61, xxxvi, v. 22; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 385, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim al-ʿAnbarī, Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 129-31);

(ii) terms which express perfect order and symmetry are also attested. *Naẓm* "the arrangement of pearls in a necklace" is said to express better than anything else this necessity, raised to the status of a guiding principle (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Oxford 1918, 717, l. 14; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1343, 14, l. 14; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān*, Vienna 1902, 238, l. 1; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḳiyān*, in *Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1979, ii, 159, l. 12; Muḥammad al-Ḳalāʿī, *Aḥkām ṣanʿat al-kalām*, Beirut 1985, 40; Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, i, 37). Another necklace of pearls, *simṭ*, denoted an entire poem; thus the *Muʿallaḳāt* were called *sumūṭ*; in the same range of ideas, the poem of ʿAlḳama was considered the best necklace of all time, and each of its verses, a pearl. *Nasadja*, sometimes associated with *ḥāka*, *nasīdj* and *nasdj* "to weave, weaving" (see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, iii, 332) belong to the same category (Wellhausen, *Lieder der Hudailiten*, Berlin 1884, 116, l. 17; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿānī al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1369/1946, 633, l. 19; 814, l. 9; *Abū Dahbal*, in *JRAS*, [1910], 1051, l. 2; al-Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 318, relates an opinion of Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa, *innī ḳad ḥuktu ḳāfiyat*[an] *tuwāzinu hādhā ʾl-shiʿra* "I have already woven [= composed] verses which constitute the equivalent of this poetry"; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 132-3); (iii) the profession *ṣināʿa* in the sense of poetry is also attested (see below, *The poetics of effort*), and *adab* in the sense of rhymed speech, very frequent, is said to have insisted on a period of apprenticeship for the acquisition of culture by the novice-poet before full acceptance into the world of poetry. This equivalence seems to have been something ancient: in a tradition related by al-Nahshalī (*al-Mumtiʿ*, 24) the poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Ahtam (*fl.* in the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān) takes pride in belonging to a family of *udabāʾ*. Textually, it is established from the last decades of the Umayyad period onward with Muḥammad b. Kunāsa (d. 161/778) (*Aghānī*³, xiii, 344, l. 4; see also Ruʾba, *Dīwān*, 16, vi, 40; S.A. Bonebakker, *Early Arabic literature and the term Adab*, in *JSAI*, v, 1984, 399, Bashshār b. Burd; al-Mutanabbī: *anā ʾl-ladhī naẓara ʾl-aʿmā ilā adabī* "I am he whose poetry the blind man has seen", (see *al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib fī sharḥ dīwān Abi ʾl-Ṭayyib*, Beirut 1887, 343, l. 11; Ibn Nubāta (d. 405/1015) who describes poets as *udabāʾ*, al-ʿAlawī, *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ*, 347; see also al-Nahshalī, 18, 24). The term *ḳarīḍ* would add the idea of cutting into the living flesh of words, a material which resists and does not let itself be easily manipulated (al-ʿAlawī, *op. cit.*, 8; Von Grunebaum, *Growth and structure*, 127; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ibid*, 222, l. 14, ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1374, 140, l. 6, Ḥumayd b. al-Arḳaṭ; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 180 l. 1; al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, London 1928, clv, v. 8; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān*, Leipzig 1901-9, 43, l. 3; Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh*, i, 42, l. 8; *al-Aghānī*³, x, 285, l. 2; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i, 120-1).

Finally, it is appropriate to note that, for the archaic period and under the Umayyads, *shiʿr* also signified *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. Among numerous examples, worth mentioning is *fa-hādhā awānu ʾl-shiʿri sullat sihāmuhu* "this is the moment of [injurious] poetry, the darts of which have been drawn from the quiver" (*al-Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 646, l. 11, anonymous poet). Al-Farazdaḳ expresses grief on account of the false attribution to him of versified insults, a *shiʿr* which he is supposed to have addressed to Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (*wa-rawwū ʿalayya ʾl-shiʿra wa-mā anā ḳultuhu* "they have recounted [injurious] poetry under my name, that which I have never said", *Dīwān*, Paris 1870, 222, l. 2; see also *al-Ḥamāsa*, 54, l. 28; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1829, l. 2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿānī*, 708, l. 15; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 318; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, Leiden 1905-12, 126, l. 17). Finally, al-Mutawakkil al-Laythī (d. *ca.* 72/691) claims that he has never aimed the darts of *shiʿr* against a Muslim (*al-Aghānī*³ xii, 165, l. 2).

II. *Periodisation.*

At a very early stage, as early in fact as the 2nd/8th century, the familiar distinction between three periods in the development of poetry is already evident in the writings of al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845): pre-Islamic, the poetry known as *mukhaḍram* straddling the Djāhiliyya and Islam, and Muslim poetry written by poets born after the Revelation (Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, 1394/1974, 23-4). With Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), this periodisation becomes more precise, since he mentions the verse of the ancient poets (*ḳudamāʾ*), of the *mukhaḍramūn*, of the *awāʾil al-islāmiyyīn* (the former Islamic poets), i.e. the Umayyad poets, and of the *muḥdathūn* (modern poets), i.e. the poets of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 201). Currently, in spite of certain criticism which will be revealed shortly, the periodisation of Ibn al-Muʿtazz is followed unanimously, although some contemporary scholars would have preferred a less political and more genuinely literary division. Gibb, Blachère, Bencheikh and Heinrichs propose a more strictly cultural periodisation, distinguishing between four periods. Gibb identifies the heroic age, the age of expansion, the golden age (750-1055), the silver age (1055-1258), concluding with the age of the Mamlūks (1258-1800). The problems of such a classification are obvious: it is based on value judgment and assumes uninterrupted decadence during the period extending from 750 to 1800. Blachère (*Moments tournants dans la littérature arabe*, in *SI*, xxvi [1966], 5-18) and Bencheikh (*Poétique*, 11-18) identify the four following divisions: archaic period, a century of transition, the golden age and decline. Filshtinsky opposes the notion of cultural decline and asks how this conception is to be reconciled with the intense poetical activity attested in Egypt over three centuries (Filshtinsky, *La périodisation dans la littérature arabe médiévale*, in *Narodî Azii i Afriki*, 1962/4, 144-56).

To avoid the pitfalls of a historical division, W. Heinrichs proposes distinguishing three movements in the development of Arabic poetry, each of which has produced a type of poetry. The first, that of the Ḥidjāzī school, produced *ca.* 650 a form of love poetry characterised by a narrative theme describing the actions and reactions of persons drawn from life who address the audience directly (Heinrichs, 24). The second, that of *badīʿ*, opted for a poetry resolutely based on rhetorical embellishments, which have gradually been transformed into an artistic principle (25). "Fantastic" poetry constitutes the third movement: here the poet's attention is turned away from reality and towards imagery. The poets of this movement offer their public images which could have no real existence. In later times, poems overloaded with ornamentation constitute in fact a combination of all the known genres; the end result is an increase in affectedness (52). This original conception, if recognised as valid, could prove extremely fruitful; however, Sperl denounces it as tainted with historicity and recommends that it should be avoided (*Mannerism*, 3-4).

III. *Poetic discourse and its original meaning.*

(1) *Origins.* From the second half of the 3rd century A.D. onward, *shiʿr*, in its contemporary form, seems to be associated with song (see below, the tradition mentioned by Sozomen; Djawād ʿAlī, ix, 85-8; Adonis,

Poétique, 19-20; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, London 1970, 420: "Sing in each poem that you speak, song is surely the favoured place of poetry"; T̲h̲uwaynī and ʿAwwād, *al-Sulayk b. al-Sulka ak̲h̲bāruhu wa-s̲h̲iʿruhu*, Bag̲h̲dād 1984, 32-3, 50-1; Ibn Saʿīd, *Nas̲h̲wat al-ṭarab*, ʿAmmān 1982, i, 436 and bibl., where the poet offers to sing (*ug̲h̲annīkum*) a poem to the keepers of the flocks; *al-Ag̲h̲ānī*[3] xviii, 78, where Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, at the time of the recitation of a poem, is said to be in the process of singing (*tag̲h̲annā*); ʿAlī al-D̲j̲undī, *op. cit.*, 6, 22, 24-5; S̲h̲. Ḍayf, 51; Muḥammad Zag̲h̲lūl Sallām, i, 36). The poetry/song association should not be regarded as a peculiar phenomenon; among the Greeks, the poet is primarily called the bard, the singer. This *s̲h̲iʿr mug̲h̲annā* contradicts the generally accepted hypothesis on the beginnings of this form. Originally, it is said, it was linked with *sad̲j̲ʿ* and had taken its definitive form 150 years before Islam (al-D̲j̲umaḥī, *op. cit.*, 112-13; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo, i, 74; resumed by al-Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 74; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., ii, 477; according to al-Nahs̲h̲alī, *al-Mumtiʿ*, 22, poetry allegedly took on its definitive form in the period of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hās̲h̲im b. ʿAbd Manāf or his father, in other words the great-grandfather or grandfather of the Prophet). Modern scholars do not disagree (Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 187-93; Adonis, *Poétique*, 22-3).

Vestiges of spontaneously-spoken poetry shed some light on the question. Al-Suyūṭī, quoting al-Aṣmaʿī, relates that the most ancient poetry of the Bedouin of the D̲j̲āhiliyya, that of the *awāʾil al-ʿArab*, amounted to a small number of verses spoken by men and women in response to a pressing emotional need (*al-Muzhir*, ii, 477). The poems of the wells (a case of ancestral usage among the Semitic peoples, cf. the Biblical *s̲h̲īrat habeʾer*, Num. xxi. 18-20), with striking structural, thematic and stylistic resemblances between the Bible and the verse of the Bedouin of the D̲j̲āhiliyya (D̲j̲awād ʿAlī, ix, 410-12, has assembled a large number of specimens of this poetry), lullabies and other fragments associated with infancy (Saʿīd al-Daywad̲j̲ī, *As̲h̲ʿar al-tarḳīṣ*, Bag̲h̲dād 1970, *passim*), funereal dirges (Goldziher, *Bemerkungen zur arabischen Trauerpoesie*, in *WZKM*, xvi [1902], 308) and verses evoking skirmishes—all of these, rather than rhymed prose, supplied the first foundations.

Chronologically, it seems that *al-s̲h̲iʿr al-ḳadīm*, as it is known to us, is considerably older, if credence is to given to a tradition cited by the Greek historian Sozomen. This historian writing at the turn of the 4th-5th centuries, relates that the Arabs of the desert celebrated their victory over Queen Mavia and the Roman emperor Valens (i.e. between 364 and 378) with the singing of ballads (*odai*). This plural suggests that there was a cycle of poems; this cycle preceded the fragments of a similar cycle, that of the War of Basūs [*q.v.*], the specimen generally regarded as the oldest verse chronicle of the Arabs. It would therefore seem reasonable to move the appearance of this material back in time to the last quarter of the 3rd century, by virtue of the poetical tradition associated with Ḥīra and, more specifically, with ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, the first Lak̲h̲mid king of Ḥīra whose maternal uncle D̲j̲ad̲h̲īma lived in the 3rd century; ʿAmr, a historical figure, was allegedly the author of poetic fragments in classical Arabic aimed at ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲inn (ʿIrfān S̲h̲ahīd, *The composition of Arabic poetry in the fourth century*, in *Studies in the history of Arabia*, ii, *Pre-Islamic Arabia*, Riyāḍ 1404/1984, 87-91).

(2) *The poetic ritual.* Arabic poetry is rooted in the oral; it was a voice before it acquired an alphabet, and what results from this is a concurrence between speech and its affective and emotional connotations. This aspect guides discourse towards the following stable procedures: (i) a poetic style overladen with a multiplicity of synonyms and comparisons; (ii) a predilection for allusive expression; (iii) recourse to a specialised language very different from daily speech; (iv) the use of stable poetic hybrids; and (v) the obligation to be predictable and to abstain from upsetting the audience (M. Zwettler, *The oral tradition of Classical Arabic poetry, its character and implications*, Columbus, Ohio 1978, 98-102, 109-20, 170-2; McDonald, *Orally transmitted poetry in pre-Islamic poetry, Arabia and other pre-literate societies*, in *JAL*, ix [1978], 26-30; J.T. Monroe, *Oral composition in pre-Islamic poetry*, in *ibid.*, iii [1972], 36-8).

The poet knew that if he wanted to be heard and not to risk disappearance into obscurity, he was obliged to construct his discourse on the basis of an auditory aesthetic. This demanded the exclusion from his discourse of distant allusions and of hermetic or ambiguous statements; otherwise, he was in danger of breaking the continuity of the contact which linked him to the public. Thus in the pre-Islamic period, poetry declared that which the audience already knew, and poetic individualism consisted not in what was said but in the manner of its saying. Oral recitation was to leave on Arabic poetry a mark that would last for centuries; it would be, in Bencheikh's words, an art of expression and not an art of creation. The recitation of pre-Islamic poetry was strangely reminiscent of a ritual; the officiating poet, who did not create poetry for himself, but for others, encouraged active participation on the part of his public as a means of appealing to the hearts of his hearers. Poetic engagement derived in this case from the limpidity of the verse and the familiarity of experienced listeners with the wording and with the thematic sequence of the *ḳaṣīda* (A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, New York 1974, 21-2, 24; Adonis, *Poétique*, 34-5).

This ritualistic aspect of poetry was consolidated by the concept of divine inspiration, already current in the earliest periods. If traditions are to be believed, the great bards of the D̲j̲āhiliyya considered that the poem was the speech of a god or of a d̲j̲innī (demon). It is alleged in this context that ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ (*fl.* in the D̲j̲āhiliyya) saw in a dream a messenger who touched him with a ball of hair (*kubba min s̲h̲aʿr*, cf. the graphical resemblance between *s̲h̲aʿr* and *s̲h̲iʿr*); he commanded him to awake; he rose and began reciting *rad̲j̲az* (*al-Ag̲h̲ānī*[1], xix, 84) and became a poet. He is no different from the prophet Isaiah, who was touched by the angel with a burning coal, in a dream, and began prophesying immediately afterwards (Isa. vi. 5-8). More often, the d̲j̲inn are evoked both before and after Islam (Muḥammad Zag̲h̲lūl Sallām, i, 34-5; *CHAL*, i, 41). Von Grunebaum has emphasised, rightly, their resemblance to the Muses: Hesiod, describing his encounter with the Muses, records an experience which is comparable, structurally, to that of Ḥassān with the d̲j̲inn at the time of his first steps in poetry (*Aesthetic*, 333).

This discourse, communicated to the poets by supernatural creatures, possesses a magical force on account of its provenance and also on account of the perfect arrangement of the verbal veneer; this is true not only for curses, as has been proved magisterially by Goldziher (see HID̲J̲Āʾ; Von Grunebaum, *Growth*, 123), but also for the *madīḥ* who enjoys lasting renown. A Bedouin declares, after receiving a reward from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, "the eulogy keeps perpetually alive the name of the one who practises it" (Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ, i, 29; see also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. xviii).

This concept, albeit somewhat modified, persists after Islam (al-Djundī, *op. cit.*, 19-20, quoting Ruʾba). Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (d. *ca.* 200/816) falsely accused by Abū Nuwās of being homosexual, finds himself deprived of his role as lector to the Barāmika. His patrons know it well, but even tendentious poetry is irreversible; they tell him, quoting a pre-Islamic verse:

[*basīṭ*]
Ḳad ḳīla mā ḳīla in ṣidḳ^an wa-in kadhib^an
fa-mā iʿtidhāruka min ḳawl^in idhā ḳīlā
"What has been said has been said, be it true or false,
How can you be excused against words already spoken?"
(Ibn al-Muʿtazz, 204).

(3) *Artistic poetry*. In order to be effective, poetic discourse needed to be distinguished by its high aesthetic tone and to express the values of ambient society.

The role allotted to poetry seems to have been that of giving to the generality a unique image in a unique language. Throughout the period, this discourse is seen as definitely and definitively evolving. The diverse dialects and various approaches are blended in a literary language which develops to encompass metre and other disciplines; new types of comparisons come into being (Von Grunebaum, *Growth*, 123). In the pagan era, spontaneous poetry coexists with fashioned creations which are extremely demanding in their pursuit of a more developed aesthetic. This pursuit reflects the effort of generations of poets who have broadened their range of enquiry and their vision; from the spontaneous glimpse of nomadic life and of the mundane, there is progress towards more profound reflection and interpretation of life. The best and most successful example of this seems to be the exceedingly elaborate treatment of human time. Beyond the existential anguish deriving from the confrontation between human duration and objective time, the majority of poets have considered time to be a cyclical process wherein tension arises from the opposition between the eternal renewal of temporal units and the limited nature of the units of existence allotted to man. Poetry of sterling quality can triumph over time. Consequently, the poet raises the praxis to a very high artistic level. This is primarily an exercise in recollection; the poet evokes memories of love and acts of valour. Verbs in the perfect tense predominate, perhaps to emphasise the fixed and intangible, hence unalterable nature of the *murūʾa* of the poet's family, of himself and of his patron. Other favourite themes sung by the poets, such as nostalgia for past loves or lamentations for the dead (*rithāʾ*) take on, sometimes, a poignant tone. Only descriptions of animals are in the imperfect tense, with the scene unrolling before our eyes. This is no longer a function of memory, rather of events-in-progress.

In the thematic patterns of eulogy, of lamentations and evocations of tribal glory, the poet expressed the group more than he expressed himself. First person singular became subsumed by first person plural, but the poet's role as spokesman remained distinct. He was the witness and the singer. In all other classes of poetry, the poet plays the leading role: he sings of his individual success, and his personal determination to confront the desert and its perils in the camel-related sections. The human, through individual effort, triumphs over the void and the negation symbolised by the desert (A. Miquel, *al-Ṣaḥrāʾ fī muʿallaḳat Labīd*, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-Tūnisiyya*, xii [1975], 63-88). It is not at all coincidental that this section concludes with the release of the hunted animal and its coupling which presages a new life (the *plerosis*, cf. Hamori's analysis, *op. cit.*, 21-5).

One of the paradoxes of pre-Islamic poetry is touched upon here. It is individual, emotional and passionate on the one hand; on the other hand, the self, frequently transcended by the tribe, appears to reflect a collective consciousness (Adonis, *Poétique*, 19).

Accordingly, rhymed speech adopts a dual course with the existence, alongside tribal poetry, of another which is urban or semi-urban. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī notes a definite contrast between *shiʿr ahl al-bādiya*, the poetry of the Bedouin of the desert, and that of the Meccans, characterised by softness (*līn*) and facility; he adds to them the poetry of ʿAdī b. Zayd, of al-Aʿshā and of Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt. All of these and many others among the tribal poets are tied to patrons who provide for their upkeep in exchange for bombastic eulogies. *Takassub*, earning one's living, dates back to the Djāhiliyya and does not constitute, by any means, a stylistic vice associated with post-Djāhilī urban civilisation. In the archaic period, the phenomenon was anything but limited; very few poets of the 6th century escaped its attractions.

While tied to patronage, this body of poets maintained its links with the tribal group through the intercessory role which it played in its contacts with patrons. On several occasions Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā and the two Nābighas, al-Dhubyānī and al-Djaʿdī, intervened in defence of the interests of their fellow-tribesmen. However, a development of the very highest importance took place when a poetry devoid of any tribal association came to the forefront. This poetry ceased to play a tribal role; hencefoward it was obliged to appeal to an audience more refined than tribesmen and itinerants, to more demanding connoisseurs; in this, poetry was the winner. This amounted in fact to progress.

An unmistakable sign of this ascent towards more constraining artistic demands is supplied by conventions at the level of expression which underline the inclusion of this form of discourse among the highest strata of speech (Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 386; Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 8).

On the level of expression, it is appropriate to note not only the use of the dual, the apostrophising of two companions, but also clichés such as the comparison of the traces of an encampment in the sand with tattoos or with letters drawn by a scribe, the various tropes in the descriptions of animals, the description of weapons of war and of the beloved woman. From the archaic period onward, the codification of the poetic text is an established feature. The poet, far from feeling trapped in a straitjacket of constraining and dominating elements, settles comfortably into a protective tradition; or, more accurately, convention constitutes an instrument which he fashions as he pleases, but which he cannot change on pain of derogation. Conventions constitute a code to which conformity is obligatory; otherwise, damage is done to the harmony and to the perfect arrangement supplied by poetic discourse.

A great modern Arab poet and original thinker, Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr, has stressed the utility of the conventions. While it is true that the greatest talents are capable of dispensing with them, the majority of poets find in these constraining rules a stock of tropes, of hybrids and poetical expressions sanctified by usage and by the sanction of ambient society, a stock which they are only too eager to plunder (*Ḳirāʾa djadīda*, 13).

(4) *New horizons*. It was to be a few decades before

the new religion changed the poets' vision of the universe; the great conquests suddenly immersed the victors in an urban environment and contributed to the fragmentation of the various clans, already weakened by war and the crises of the time. Although paganism disappeared, an Islamic verbal art was yet to emerge. The majority of poets seem to have considered Islam a social and political movement rather than a profound spiritual experience. All of this contributed to the straining of relations between the tribe and poetry. The poets were to follow the course previously traced by the incense-bearing poets of pre-Islam, notably the poets of Ḥīra. The domestication of poetry was now complete: caliphs and governors encouraged these artists to compose eulogies for them with the aim of consolidating their régimes and bolstering their personal prestige. Henceforward, *s̲h̲iʿr* was transformed into a privilege reserved for the prince and his courtiers. Committed and personal poetry was now of secondary, even marginal importance, as the poets harnessed their best artistic resources to the requirement of official compositions.

As a result of this process, lasting and very fruitful mutations transformed the world of poetry. A new artistic liberty was born, freed from the modes dictated by genres of secular life, and a poetry of conflicts and contradictions came into being. In ʿIrāḳ, and specifically in Kūfa, a poetry of libertinism and pleasure prefigured the most successful examples of *mud̲j̲ūn* [*q.v.*] composed by the *ẓurafāʾ* of Kūfa and the innovatory poets of the 2nd/8th century. Poems celebrating the variegated humanity of taverns by al-Uḳays̲h̲ir al-Asadī (d. 80/699, most fragments in *al-Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xi, 251-76), the cruel and acidly humorous portraits by ʿAbd Allāh b. Zabīr al-Asadī (d. *ca.* 80/699, fragments in *ibid.*, xiv, 216-62) and the gallant exploits of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmmār al-Asadī (d. towards the end of the Umayyad dynasty, in *ibid.*, xi, 364-79; Ibrāhīm al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-d̲h̲ākira*, Tunis 1989, 221-33)—all of these introduce an original tone, with previously unknown metaphors and themes coexisting with the content of the *mād̲j̲in* concept. Such poems as these are apt to flourish among poets when restrictions are removed and all constraints relaxed. These poems, as well as the amorous works of the poets of the Ḥid̲j̲āz, demonstrate that poetic discourse served for them as a catharsis; by means of it, they could escape from dispossession, from tensions, from oppression and from massacres (*CHAL*, i, 394).

The *ḳaṣīda*, quintessence of the pre-Islamic artistic traditions, underwent certain modifications, although the descriptive passages are remarkable for their fidelity to the archaic model. The urban poems composed according to traditional models do not have the coherence which is characteristic of the most successful poems of pre-Islam. The great poets of the period, with the exception of al-Ak̲h̲ṭal (d. 92/710) and D̲h̲u 'l-Rumma (d. 117/735) [*q.vv.*], succeeded only with rather disjointed and pluri-thematic poems; numerous poems by D̲j̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ included several topics which were not linked conceptually. Only the artifice known as *ḥusn al-tak̲h̲alluṣ* "good transition" made it possible at a later stage to effect a formal fusion of heterogeneous motifs. At the same time, there developed in the Ḥid̲j̲āz a poetic movement of constantly increasing influence; this was the Ḥid̲j̲āzi school, mentioned above. Numerous poets of this school created a narrative poetry in the full sense of the term. This original approach furnished well-crafted compositions and discourse with a degree of continuity, since the omnipresent concept of the verse as an independent unit is seriously challenged here (Von Grunebaum, *Growth*, 132-3; Heinrichs, 47).

(5) *The poetical profession according to the testimony of the poets.* Poetical texts, which are supposedly texts of the period, are unanimous in presenting poetry as a recalcitrant material, which is only to be tamed by dint of painful and prolonged effort. This testimony is highly significant since it is attested in a neutral context. In his testament, al-Ḥuṭayʾa (d. *ca.* 50/652-3 [*q.v.*]) takes stock of the whole of his career and gives his own perspective on patterns of composition. The dominant theme which emerges is as follows. The difficulty of composing, since the tortuous paths of *s̲h̲iʿr* are strewn with perils, means that the poet needs to confront this constantly; only a solid training (*ʿilm*) enables him to control the material which he seeks to fashion (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1987, 291).

Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] (d. in the reign of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān) does not disagree. The outstanding poem is a fabric of superb quality; it is the result of prolonged effort and commitment on the part of the poet-artisan. In a quatrain composed in response to an explicit request from al-Ḥuṭayʾa, one of his father's pupils, he describes in lavish detail the process of polishing by which the poem is turned into a smooth piece of woven material, free of knots and of the same density throughout. In other words, in order to attain a harmonious and symmetrical discourse of outstanding quality, it is necessary to control the verbal core and to fashion it by means of incessant arrangement and rearrangement. Recourse to the term *t̲h̲aḳḳafa* dispenses with the need for any commentary. In its original sense, it signifies to rectify, straighten; it was used in the making of spears, at the stage of straightening wood which is naturally curved; it is thus a process of rectification of an inert material (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 59, bibl. n. 60).

Tamīm b. Muḳbil, himself a *muk̲h̲aḍram* poet (d. *ca.* 70/690), expresses similar concepts. Verse is by nature rebellious (root *m-r-d*); as a superb poet, he has succeeded in overcoming the stubborn mountains of poetry (*ḥuzūn d̲j̲ibal al-s̲h̲iʿr*) and reducing them to amenable plains; once controlled, verse reveals all its hidden beauty and attracts the admiration of the public (*Dīwān*, Damascus 1962, 136). At no time is the poet found boasting of his facility at composition, or developing a poetry of improvisation or of immanent inspiration. Only Imruʾ al-Ḳays boasts of the abundance of his inspiration; verses come rushing to him in such numbers that they risk becoming congested; he repels them energetically (*ad̲h̲ūdu 'l-ḳawāfiya ʿannī*) before proceeding to a choice, retaining only the most perfect and discarding the minor pearls (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 60).

The craft and the polishing were indispensable for the acquisition by poets of two cardinal qualities, *nafas* (breath) and *d̲j̲azāla* (robustness and purity of poetic language), necessary for the composition of set pieces. However, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the importance of the notion of apprenticeship and its defining role; it amounted to nothing more than an idealised approach conceived at a late stage, in the 3rd/9th century, in order to justify a certain conception of *fuḥūla* and of archaic poetry. In fact, poetry was considered a natural gift (*ṭabʿ*), an innate predisposition. If natural talent did not exist in a person, no apprenticeship could make him a poet.

The Umayyad poets expressed views similar to those of their D̲j̲āhilī forbears regarding the nature of poetry and the criteria of composition. *S̲h̲iʿr* is conceived as a challenge between two equally-determined adver-

saries, the poet and the poetry. There is insistence on hard work and effort. At no time is there any reference to a poet in a state of grace, cut off from the rest of the world as he composes, with a seething mass of ideas and images bubbling in his breast and seeking release by way of his mouth.

In the framework of a *ḳaṣīda* of threats, Suwayd b. Kurāʿ (born at the beginning of Islam, he reportedly reached the era of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ), devotes eight verses to describing, in bombastic tone, his manner of composing superior verses. The ideas developed are as follows: poetry, like a disobedient young camel (cf. ʿARŪḌ; one of its meanings is a camel very difficult to control), allows itself to be tamed only by the best riders. The verses (*ḳawāfī*) are described as *ʿawāṣī* (disobedient) and as a band of recalcitrant wild animals (*sarb*[an] *min al-wuḥūshi nuzzāʿ*); it must be treated with a great deal of patience; humbly, the poet needs to display tact and to devise strategems during sleepless nights (*abītu bi-abwābi 'l-ḳawāfī ... ukāliʾuhā ḥattā uʿarrisa* "I spend nights at the gates of rhymes ... until I possess them"). This is the price at which it allows itself to be possessed; the term *ʿarras* shows that the possession is carnal. The poet-possessor must show great vigilance, for with poetry everything is problematical: once mastered, it must be carefully confined in the depths of one's heart (v. 10); otherwise, the verses will flee faraway; they can only be recaptured by means of prodigious efforts which leave indelible traces in the body of the poet (Ibn Ḳutayba, *op. cit.*, 17). ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ, a contemporary of Suwayd, considers his role as that of a craftsman, planning terms and verses in order to smooth the rough areas and promote harmony among the verses, thus succeeding in composing a *ḳaṣīda* of the highest quality. Dhu 'l-Rumma employs the same images in his attempt to characterise the composition of the poem as closely resembling the training (*riyāḍa*) of a weaned animal (*Dīwān*, Cambridge 1919, 329-30, vv. 26-9; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 94; partially translated by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 60).

The approach expressed by these poets, all of them from the first century of the Hidjra, suggests a stable profession and a perfect mastery of the tools of the trade. For a poet, to compose means enhancing the fruits of his inspiration by means of the memorisation which mobilises, every time that the artist creates his poem with the memory which utilises the finest realisations of his linguistic and poetic heritage, retained since the period of his training. Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr considers this strenuous poetic technique an act of homage on the part of the poet towards an immeasurable legacy: in some sense, he writes, the poet presents his poem to this stock which constitutes the quintessence of sensibility and its perfect expression as realised in the ancient poetry (*Ḳirāʾa djadīda*, 15).

IV. *The effervescence of urban poetry.*

Cultural prosperity, the practice of translation which was institutionalised from the end of the 2nd/8th century onward, the development of written translation according to rigorous criteria in the various disciplines, major conflicts of ideas and the constitution of an Arabic prose capable of expressing the most complex thoughts—all of these factors exerted influence on both poetry and poetics.

(1) *The evolution of discourse.* Under the earlier ʿAbbāsids, Arabic poetry remained an essentially lyrical text, descriptive in character. This lyricism reflected the unwillingness of the poet, unless commanded to do so, to deal with exterior phenomena or social relations. In this framework, poems denouncing the vanities of the world (*zuhdiyyāt*, according to Heinrichs, 25), the poetry of sexual perversion (*mudjūniyyāt*, according to *ibid.*) and Bacchic poetry (*khamriyyāt*) were treated with special favour. Complaints about life and its misfortunes are liberally scattered in numerous poems of this period. This is not, strictly speaking, a poetry of asceticism but rather an absolute denunciation of life; it could be said that the texts delight in demonstrating the campaign of systematic annihilation conducted by life against the human being. Evoked here are the deterioration and subsequent death which accompany the process of life; also stressed is the absence of any metaphysical dimension and the desire merely to detach the man from the world below, a hunting-ground reserved for villains and sensualists. The *shakwā 'l-zamān* is a poetry of setback and of impotence. More than is the case with *zuhd*, it constitutes at the most a decidedly superficial poetry of edification. As for sexual perversion, the distinction is drawn between poems dedicated to the ephebe with the *ẓurafāʾ* of Kūfa, Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Dīk al-Djinn, versus phallic poems with Abū Ḥakīma, Ibn al-Ḥadjdjadj and Ibn Sukkara, or the poems in praise of onanism by Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī. These poems, in which exacerbated emotional states are to be detected, seem to have expressed, at least initially, a rebellion against society and a refusal to subscribe to its values. Later, this poetry was to enjoy social indulgence, at least with the poetry dedicated to ephebes, and its usages became generalised even in the work of poets who did not practise perversions.

At the same time, a clear demarcation further widens the gulf between longer pieces and fragments, or if preferred, between set-piece and impromptu poetry. This distinction facilitates a more profound understanding of the evolution of poetry in the 2nd/8th century. Much is owed here to the specific contribution of Jamel Bencheikh. The impromptu, as Bencheikh rightly declares, comprises several rhymed phrases, of great simplicity and with a single theme (Heinrichs, 36, describes these very short poems as spontaneous poetry; they address a single theme). What matters here is the rapidity of the response and its spiritual quality. It is therefore the nimbly-elevated impromptus which most delight the literary coteries. The themes of this elegant discourse are well known and were worn threadbare by long service; they are confined to love-sickness, invitations to trysts, excuses, reproaches, compliments or wise aphorisms. The ʿAbbāsid coteries preferred this supposedly "natural" poetry to the *ḳaṣīda* with its immutable conventions. In fact, poets did not have a choice; in the *madjlis*, they were under instructions to improvise forthwith or to reply in the course of a contest. This poetry, of rather lofty formal elegance, expressed stereotypes briskly in a minor tone, sometimes in fairly exaggerated style. In fact, this amounts to an exercise in re-use of the acquired skills of set-piece poetry rather than a creation at the level of composition (Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 68-79). On the other hand, the long piece is a product of reflective creation and demands prolonged and laborious preparation, essential if the poet is to invent original hybrids, thus expressing new *maʿānī* and a large number of motifs (*ibid.*, 80; 113; Muṣṭafā Haddāra, *Ittidjāhat al-shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ḳarn al-thānī al-hidjrī*, Cairo 1963, 148-9, 162).

This situation leads furthermore to the depreciation of poetry; it is considered an amusement or, at best, little more than pleasing discourse.

(2) *Poetics.* These centuries are the golden age of theoretical writing. Most striking is the profusion of these works and their diversity; alongside the poets, there is a proliferation of transmitters, essayists, *mutakallimūn*, philologists, critics and philosophers. The result does not fail to impress, in spite of the absence of systematic thought, the constitution of clearly-defined poetics and the tendency of poetical treatises to be pragmatic rather than theoretical; it is appropriate to mention here one substantial exception, the writings of the philosophers. The contribution of Von Grunebaum in this domain has been decisive.

A. The poets

Generally, but not always, they maintain their conception of the poetics of effort. In the works of Abu ʾl-ʿAmaythal (d. in the 3rd/9th century) the same clichés are found, referring to the rectification of material which is naturally misshapen (ʿAlī al-Djundī, *op. cit.*, 115); to the weaver bent over his work in the writing of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. *ca.* 179/795, term *aḥūk*, *ibid.*, 114); Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896) adds to the analogies of his two predecessors the well-known one of the wild camel, but he also insists on the efforts that he invests in embellishment and refinement (*arhaftuhā* and *rakkaktuhā*, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1993, 359-60, vv. 2-9). It is not until the second half of the 3rd/9th century that the term *ṣanʿa* in its poetic sense is attested in a poem among the works of al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (d. 293/906), in a verse praising his expertise and the harmony (*taʾlīf*) of his verses (Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Min turāth al-nakd al-ʿarabī, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar wa-kitābuhu fi ʾl-shiʿr*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Djāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ*, v [1977-8], 179, v. 1). Furthermore, as a result of titivation and corrective work (*tahdhīb*), his poem acquires an inimitable quality and, thereby, provokes embarrassment and surprise (*yataḥayyaru ʾl-shuʿarāʾu*): in fact, the form (*al-lafẓ*) and the content (*al-maʿnā*) are integrated in absolute fashion (*alfayta maʿnāhu yuṭābiku lafẓahu*) and its apparent facility conceals the inability of other poets to compose a comparable text. It is only at this price that the durability of poems can be assured (v. 7).

In the second long section of 18 verses devoted to poetic genres, the four opening verses provide a detailed survey of the content of this concept among poets and the various tasks which it entails. *Ṣanʿa* implies a rectification of the distortion of material (*zaygh*), the consolidation of the texture of the poem (*shadd al-mutūn bi ʾl-tahdhīb*); the poet should plug the gaps in his discourse by means of prolixity, assert his finest qualities by means of concision, impose harmony through the conciliation of opposites and clarity through the juxtaposition of analogous or similar *maʿānī* (*ibid.*, 192). The poets of this period evince vigorous opposition to the poetics of facility; such a conception is quite rare in poetical compositions (see e.g. *Shiʿr Abī Ḥayya al-Numayrī*, Damascus 1975, 160, vv. 1-3). *Ṣināʿa* and *shiʿr* were so closely linked that they have been used as synonyms in two instances in the writings of Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya (*wa-radjaʿnā ilā ʾl-ṣināʿati lammā * kāna sukhtu ʾl-imāmi tarka ʾl-ṣināʿah*, "I returned to poetry when the Imām was seized by wrath following [my] abandonment of poetry"; the poet refers to his decision to relinquish poetry on account of his religious convictions, and to al-Rashīd's decision to imprison him in order to compel him to return to composition, *al-Aghānī*[1], iii, 160, l. 20; see also 149, l. 20).

B. The critics

(a) Ṣanʿa *as opposed to* ṭabʿ.

Numerous tendencies are in collision here, dictated by literary attitudes, but determined also by controversies unrelated to poetry. At a very early stage, from the 2nd/8th century onward, the poetics of effort are called into question as critics extol the virtues of natural talent, *maṭbūʿ*. The factor giving rise to this attitude seems to have been the revival, after a temporary eclipse caused by the hostility of the new religion, of the theory of inspiration, deriving from occult and supernatural forces. Discourse placed in the mouth of the poet, which is a receptacle and nothing more, by its very nature requires no improvement. From another perspective, it seems that the Muʿtazilī circles of Baṣra, including al-Djāḥiẓ, considered true eloquence to be that which is uttered spontaneously without the least effort; ideal poetry would not differ at all from improvised discourse; this quality belongs naturally to the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya and their poets. The profession objected to this postulate, it being, according to the Baṣran thinker, the contrary of eloquence. Other scholars of the same city, in particular Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, al-Aṣmaʿī and his school, responsible for the constitution of the classical corpus, were of the same opinion. All of them must have been profoundly influenced by the improvised contests held in the Mirbad [*q.v.*].

One of the most ancient texts on poetics is the *ṣaḥīfa* of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir. Here the author develops, in Heinrich's words, a rudimentary theory of *ṭabʿ* (talent) and of *nashāṭ* (creative force) (*Arabische Dichtung*, 286). The primary condition for being in a position to compose is, he asserts, the creative force; all depends on this and on its favourable disposition (*idjāba*). Once this has been acquired and beyond the obligation to adopt *al-lafẓ al-sharīf* (a noble poetic language) and *al-maʿnā al-badīʿ* (the most original modalities of expression), Bishr advises the artist to avoid unduly laborious efforts which could result in affectedness. On the contrary, he should opt for discourse which is fluent in terms of pronunciation, for easy and direct *maʿānī*. In parallel, he should set aside hermetic figures and complicated hybrids, since there is a risk that these will undermine the themes and neutralise the impact of the words. In common with the other classical critics, he takes great care to separate *al-lafẓ* from *al-maʿnā*. Four qualities are required for the language: softness, elegance, majesty and fluency. As for modalities (*maʿānī*), those chosen should be clear and immediately comprehensible (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 135-6, 137).

Al-Djāḥiẓ, too wise a connoisseur to fail to understand the importance of the *ṣanʿa* element, confines himself to recording his distate for these over-finical poets whom he calls *ʿabīd al-shiʿr* ("the slaves of poetry") and his objection to excessively polished poems, *al-shiʿr al-ḥawlī* ("poems taking a year to compose"). However, it should be stressed that over-worked, i.e. excessively re-worked poetry was not considered bad poetry. The reverse was the case. Ibn Ḳutayba considers the poetry resulting from study an excellent discourse, solidly constructed (*djayyid muḥkam*). But the experts have no difficulty identifying the patterns, the prolonged reflection and the strained thought of the author; furthermore, the latter does not refrain from recourse to poetic licences (*ḍarūrāt*); connoisseurs can tell that he has omitted the modalities of expression which were necessary; on the other hand, he praises the facility of composition of the *maṭbūʿ* and his total mastery of the material; immediately obvious are the splendour of his talent (*rawnaḳ al-ṭabʿ*) and the wealth of his temperament; finally, he does not fail to admire the transparency of the *maʿānī* since, he says, the first hemistich prefigures the end of the verse and the beginning gives a clear impression of rhyming style

(Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 24-6). The deliberations of Ibn Ḳutayba reveal the veritable point at issue. Beyond spontaneity and the gift of improvisation, there is a certain conception of poetry which is considered legitimate: the facile and transparent text is alone held to conform to the genius of a poetic sensibility and its modes of expression.

In post-Djāḥiẓian poetics, these concepts take on a rather different meaning. *Ṣināʿa* in the sense of "titivation" was never denounced by the ancient theoreticians, on the contrary (Shawḳī Ḍayf, 19-37). The rapidity of inspiration, and the talent, coming quickly once summoned, are followed by a phase of labour and refinement aimed at eliminating the dross; the poet casts and recasts and purifies his material through a process of quite intensive alteration (fine passages recorded by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. xxix-xxxi). With the first successes of the school of *badīʿ* (the *taṣnīʿ* of Shawḳī Ḍayf, 219-39) and the extension of *ṣanʿa* to all phases of composition, the critics established a distinction between the craft of the Ancients which derives from a *sadjiyya* (natural tendency) and that of the Moderns. Among the latter, it signifies "artificial and acquired", since their poetic language is the fruit of study and of reflection (*al-taḥṣīl wa 'l-riwāya*); it is incompatible with *ṭabʿ* (natural disposition), being *mutaṣanniʿ*, *mutakallif* or artificial, M. Ajami, 53-4. Curiously, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī reports the champion of *ṭabʿ*, al-Buḥturī, as a conscientious craftsman, rejecting after the first draft everything which he found unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the representative of the meticulous poetical approach is presented as an unconditional partisan of the free-and-easy attitude, delivering the fruit of his inspiration without embellishing it; his phrase is thus tainted with numerous defects (Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 87). Most curiously, *ṭabʿ* seems to accompany intensive work in the phase which follows natural composition; *takalluf* appears to characterise the poetry of inspiration. The paradox is rather more apparent than real. In the process of creation, the *maṭbūʿūn* poets proceed after the composition of the verse to the embellishment of expression. Among the poets of *badīʿ*, gestation must have been very painful at the time of the translation of the poetical idea into images; having suffered so much, the poet refused to relinquish even the most preposterous image. Among the poets of this school, imagery reigns supreme. The poetical conception of Abu Tammām integrates creativity and craft in the process of the material translation of the image.

The *ṭabʿ* of the Ancients, confronting the affectedness of the Moderns, received its most systematic interpretation through the theory of *ʿamūd al-shiʿr*, and later through that of the *tarākīb al-ʿArab* or that of the *uslūb al-ʿArab* of Ibn Khaldūn which legitimises a certain tradition of composition, that of the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya, to the exclusion of all others (M.J. Ajami, *ʿAmūd al-shiʿr: legitimation of tradition*, in *JAL*, xii [1981], 30-48; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, iii, 329-33; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Naḳd*, 41-2, 627-30; Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 56-8).

This approach dominates for several centuries and has seldom been challenged. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), a very original critic, declines to separate the diverse elements of a poem, which is considered as the fruit of an alchemy; combined in it are creative acuity, *iḥsān* (faculty of perfection), *ibdāʿ* (spirit of invention) and above all, *ṣanʿa*. According to him, it amounts to a spiritual force of creativity which sets in motion the imagination of the poet and enables him to illuminate the meagre or prosaic reality in a discourse which describes an unequalled splendour (*Asrār al-balāgha*, 241-2, 244, 250, 315-16).

The poet-theoretician Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1053 [*q.v.*]) anticipates in certain respects post-Djāḥiẓian criticism and the approach which considers *ṭabʿ* a spiritual force (*mawādd rūḥiyya*). On the basis of this principle, he reaches the conclusion that poetry is the fruit of imagination. His theory of beauty, a divine emanation, possesses strong neo-Platonian resonances, which are quite rare in classical poetry among the Arabs (Monroe, 140-2).

(b) *Poetry as an* ʿilm.

According to a tradition attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is supposed to have stated that poetry was the most authentic *ʿilm* of the Bedouin of the Djāhiliyya (Ibn Sallām, i, 24, § 32; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 473); similar opinions are attributed to ʿĀʾisha, to Ibn ʿAbbās, and to other major figures of Islam (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, v, 247; Ibn Sallām, i, 10; Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, 30; al-Muẓaffar al-ʿAlawī, *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ*, 356-7; al-Zamakhsharī, v, 218-19, § 132). From the 3rd/9th century onward, works of criticism follow the same line. Ibn Ḳutayba asserts in this context that poetry is the mine of sciences of the ancient Arabs, the book of their wisdom, the archives of their history, the treasury of their great days (sc. battles) and the rampart which defends their glory (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925, ii, 185). Military, cultural, linguistic, literary and social history are found condensed in this discourse.

On the other hand, empirical observations of zoology, meteorology and botany accumulated in the same texts. Like any science, to be in a position to serve, it is essential that this poetry be authentic; otherwise, it has no utility. In effect, poetry of high quality is the proper means of inculcating the values of the Ancients, who were models of human behaviour. By means of the exalted *maʿānī* which it puts at the disposal of the cultivated man, it enables him to compose verses, adages and sentences which are so well cast that they appeal to the sympathies of audiences in all periods. ʿAbbāsid critics considered pre-Islamic poetry as a great reservoir of quotations of considerable utility for talented folk of all periods. The purpose of every poem is to dispense wisdom; in this, they are removed from our current conceptions which are alone responsible for the aesthetic finality.

In fact, these precious materials are in a sorry state on account of the considerable number of falsifications which have intruded (Ibn Sallām, 4, § 3, *wa-fi 'l-shiʿri muftaʿal^{un} mawḍūʿ^{un} kathīr^{un}* "in poetry, a considerable portion is false, forged and counterfeit"). This defect results from the written *tadāwul* (mode of transmission). In poetry, Ibn Sallām declares, it is necessary to set aside the gleanings of scriptory transmission (*wa-laysa li-aḥad^{in} an yaḳbala ʿan ṣaḥīfat^{in} wa-lā yarwī ʿan ṣuḥufī* "all persons should refuse to accept a poem deriving from a register; they should decline to repeat the transmission of a connoisseur [trained] in the registers", Ps.-al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *K. al-ʿAyn*, Baghdād 1967, iii, 120). Furthermore the term *taṣḥīf* [*q.v.*] (forgery) was allegedly derived from *ṣaḥīfa* (al-Djawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Beirut 1979, vi, 1384, b., 1.1).

Beyond the willingness to create a new branch of poetics, that of *taṣḥīf*, an attempt is observed on the part of Ibn Sallām to determine the identity of those entitled to transmit the classical heritage. It is from this perspective that it is appropriate to consider the charges against Ḥammād and members of his school. Was it his wish to entrust these tasks to scholars who worked according to the methods of the School of

Baṣra and to shun the disciples of the School of Kūfa? The stakes were high; if this principle were followed, Baṣran scholars would become the sole guardians of pre-Islamic poetry or, in other words, the sole guarantors of the Arabic poetical corpus.

This attempt seems to have been long-lasting since the works of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī on *taṣḥīf* contain an impressive list of Baṣran *ʿulamāʾ*. There is nothing Saussurian about this hostility towards the scriptory which emanates from conceptual intransigence. Writing, being by nature defective, did not permit an accurate and faithful transmission of texts. Works of poetics, of *adab* and of grammar teem with anecdotes concerning the errors and changes introduced by transmitters, errors attributable to graphical mistakes and to defective readings (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 20-1, 71 [nn. 82, 84]; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, Baghdād 1967, 55; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, ii, 355).

The *shiʿr—ʿilm* parity could derive, as Heinrichs maintains, from the care taken by theoreticians to exclude any trace of fiction from poetry. Whatever the case, this parity has made it possible to express in new terms the relations between the latter and religion.

Poetry and Islam

In Islam, the religious disciplines represent the ultimate *ʿilm*. The afore-mentioned equivalence legitimised poetry and conferred on it a status immediately below the sciences of religion in terms of the rigour and of the demands of authenticity. The noisy conflicts of the early stages soon gave way to a degree of tolerance, itself replaced in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries by a honeymoon: *shiʿr* is accepted in the most orthodox circles as a privileged discipline of Islamic culture when it fulfils certain conditions; the very orthodox Ibn Ḳutayba writes in this context, *wa-kullu ʿilm*^{in} *muḥtādj*^{un} *ilā ʾl-samāʿi wa-aḥwadju ilā dhālika ʿilmu ʾl-dīni thumma ʾl-shiʿru* "every science must be transmitted orally; and this requirement is nowhere so great as in the religious sciences, and after these in poetry" (*op. cit.*, 20, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes; see also 70-1, nn. 79-81, much valuable information provided by this eminent scholar). This mutation of *shaʿara* (to feel) to *shaʿara* (to know) in religious circles takes on in the opinion of the poet-theoretician Adonis the significance of a veritable revolution. Henceforward, poetry ceases to depend on simple sensation, i.e. the primary degree of cognition, and belongs to the universe of the most exalted truth (*Poétique*, 77).

Poetry also figures prominently in the classification of sciences established by leading scholars.

Examination of such a list would seem to be considerably more informative than recourse to always unreliable traditions, regarding a favourable attitude on the part of the Prophet, of ʿĀʾisha, of one or other Companion or Successor (traditions compiled and annotated by Muṣṭafā ʿUlayyān, *Naḥw nahdj islāmī fī riwāyat al-shiʿr wa-naḳdihi*, ʿAmmān 1944; al-Nahshalī, 22; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. xxvi) (*HAL*, i, 391; Cantarino, 28-34, emphasise the negative attitude of these same figures with regard to poetry). In the course of time, the problem posed by these relationships ultimately loses all cultural or religious significance; it then recurs in *adjzāʾ*, pl. of *djuzʾ*, formally arranged in antithetical sections (ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. ʿAlī al-Muḳaddasī, *Djuzʾ aḥādīth al-shiʿr*, ʿAmmān 1989, 37-80, favourable traditions, 81-98, unfavourable point of view.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]) places the *ʿilm al-shiʿr* immediately after the sciences of the Ḳurʾān, of grammar and of lexicography. Like his predecessors, he assigns to this *ʿilm* a double aim, moral and utilitarian, and distinguishes three branches: one which is illicit in the case where a man devotes himself to it entirely; a second which is licit but subject to numerous reservations, since here the man devotes to it the most lucid part of his time; a third is strongly recommended, being the case in which the believer devotes to it a part of his time. Thus conceived, this science of poetry is of undoubted utility; it inculcates in the one who practises it wisdom (*ḥikma*) and a more profound understanding of Arabic grammar and language (*Risālat al-talkhīṣ li-wudjūh al-takhlīṣ*, in *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, Beirut 1981, iii, 163-4).

It should be clearly stated that at no time was there objection to poetry as such. Furthermore, only the believer who composes *hidjāʾ* or eulogies to someone who does not deserve this, or who composes frivolous poems evoking the fineries of women, is judged impious (*fāsiḳ*).

(c) *The school of* badīʿ *or poetics according to Abū Tammām.*

The ʿAbbāsid critics associate the appearance of *badīʿ* with modernity: the poets of their era opted for this poetic language because of their late arrival. For Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, the Ancients said everything because they preceded all others. Their verses encapsulated original *maʿānī* in the most elegant and the purest language. Modern poets could not compete with them in this domain. They thus exerted all their ingenuity to composing extremely reflective poems, their superiority residing in the subtlety of exceedingly elaborate thought. Their poems are the fruit of a sustained effort, they are *mutakallifs* in comparison with the natural fluidity of their predecessors (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, 15). And then *badīʿ* appeared. The facts seem to confirm this analysis beyond all expectation. In fact, the first fruits are associated with Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] *alias* Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī (d. 208/823). It is said that he attempted in his poems to convey the message in terms of its finest image. He is the first, according to Ibn Ḳutayba, to have softened verse and rendered the sense subtle; he was also the source of inspiration of Abū Tammām (*Shiʿr*, 528). Ibn Ḳutayba's remarks clearly show that Abū Tammām is considered the undisputed champion of this school.

Von Grunebaum sees in the appearance of this poetic school a reaction against the platitudes engendered by the conceptions of modernist poets, who expressed their thoughts in excessively limpid language in short verses. The poetry of Abū Tammām constitutes an attempt to halt these modernists (*Growth*, 132-3).

The poetics of *badīʿ* comprise the following elements: (i) the poetics of Djāhilī orality, based on a logical and apparent line between the signified and the signifier, is definitively rejected; images are dismantled, as are the hybrids and the inherited expressions which constituted the reservoir exploited by the poets of subsequent generations. The new imagery disconcerted critics and scholars with its original character; they saw it as eccentric poetry, bordering on anti-poetry, to borrow an expression of Ibn al-Aʿrābī. (ii) Rhetorical embellishment is consciously pursued; sometimes this is taken to absurd lengths, as was the case with Abū Tammām (Heinrichs, 25). Flourishes are raised to the status of essential principle of composition; they no longer constitute a device for enhancing the beauty of the discourse. (iii) Henceforward, the image constitutes an end in itself. The poets of *badīʿ* were prodigious builders of images: swords, in a poem of al-Mutanabbī, are dejected and emaciated by love-sickness (*al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib*, 147, v. 1, *ka-annamā*

yubdīna min ʿishki 'l-rikābi nuhūlā). (iv) An extensive and profound knowledge of the treasures of the language is required for the unfettered composition of hybrids and metaphors, without which the language could constitute an obstacle. (v) The faculty of inventing *maʿānī* or that of forming new ones by means of derivation (*tawlīd al-maʿānī*) is considered a necessity. In fact, what is involved is the thorough exploitation of one *maʿnā* before moving on to another; this contributes to the cohesion and organic unity of the poem. By this procedure, the *badīʿ* school is clearly distinguished from previous methods of poetry, content to put forward the *maʿnā* or to deal with it very briefly. (vi) Poetic creativity is turned further towards original discovery. (vii) *Badīʿ* locates poetry in writing, all the more so since certain flourishes depend on a visual and graphical effect (cf. the very informative analysis by Adonis, *Poétique*, 50-5, 65-7).

This more reflective, more intellectualised poetry first astonished, then aroused strong reservations; theoreticians considered it a text dependent on reason rather than on sensation or song. In comparisons between Abū Tammām and al-Buhturī, it is conventional to see in the former a thinker who speaks to the intellect and in the latter a singer who addresses the emotions. Furthermore, it perhaps facilitated the appearance of the theory of poetic obscurity.

(d) *Limpidity as opposed to obscurity in poetry.*

In the 2nd/8th century, writing had not succeeded in suppressing the orality of poetry; writing served as an instrument of memory for poets, and their discourse did not experience notable changes, particularly the separation of poetry from thought. On the basis of this principle, al-Djāhiz proceeded to promote a poetry which would be beyond any interpretation and understood without exertion of thought. For this, easy and supple speech was an essential condition; to this end, recourse to *gharīb* (rare terms) is denounced; on the other hand, the poet is encouraged to use words which are conventional, agreeable and easily heard, and thereby immediately grasped. In short, clarity is the supreme quality in poetry. More than any other, al-Djāhiz advocated the poetics of *wudūh* or limpidity (*Bayān*, i, 106; Bencheikh, *Poétique*, 84-6). This conception enjoyed lasting success, in the opinion of critics from Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (Arazi, 485-7), by way of Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī (*Sirr al-faṣāha*, Cairo 1932, 290-1; Arazi, 482) to Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, ii, 415-7; Arazi, 483). It is interesting in this context to note the high esteem in which *tashīm* is held (= the quality of a poem where the hearer, having heard the first hemistich is in a position to foresee the remainder of the verse and to anticipate with the recitation of the second). This procedure requires a poetic language of crystal transparency and a stability of relations between poet and public, such as existed at the time of the Djāhiliyya (D. Semah, *Poetry and its audience according to medieval Arab poeticians*, in *IOS*, xi [1991], 91-105).

On the other hand, a decidedly less important trend opts for the mysterious in poetry. For Abū Hilāl al-Ṣābī, the best poem is that in which the basis is wrapped in obscurity. This poetical obscurity constitutes the very essence of this form of discourse (*wa-afkharu 'l-shiʿri mā ghamuḍa fa-lam yuʿṭika gharaḍahu illā baʿda mumāṭalatin wa-ʿarḍin minka ʿalayhi* "the best poetry is poetry surrounded by mystery, which yields up its intentions only after numerous tergiversations and a request that you address yourself to it" [Arazi, 498, § 2]). Prose, to be effective, needs to be immediately understood; this is why it depends on limpidity. As regards *shiʿr* the obscure constitutes, according to al-Ṣābī, a necessity on the level of creative activity. Being confined within tightly-drawn limits, i.e. the verse, this discourse is constrained, as a result of fragmentation at the level of the line, to move within extremely narrow limits and to express brief thoughts which are considerably more superficial than those of letters (the critics of the period were satisified with the concept of the independent verse as a unit of composition conveying one meaning, Ibn Sallām, *op. cit.*, i, 360-1; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 44). The *kātib* has at his disposal unlimited space and is not subject to any yoke hampering his freedom of expression; he can thus give to ideas an almost absolute priority. On the other hand, the poet, confined within a narrow space, that of the verse, is obliged, to avoid falling into platitude, to veer towards an excess of *maʿānī* (*faḍl fi 'l-maʿnā*) and the ideas expressed err on the side of exaggerated concision. The inevitable result is a certain affectedness, an expression remote from the natural and an elliptical style (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, ii, 415; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 303, 305; ʿĪd Radjāʾ, *Dirāsāt*, 1979, 34; Arazi, 478). It is appropriate to stress that al-Ṣābī introduces to us a constitutive element of poetry, which characterises the most successful examples. In developing this notion of poetics, al-Ṣābī was probably thinking of the poetry of his time, that of *badīʿ*, which responds partially, it is true, to this aesthetic of obscurity.

Abū Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī [*q.v.*], in the 7th/13th century, was perhaps the theoretician who best systematised this concept. Through a game of contrasts cleverly set in motion, he sets out to integrate limpidity of language with obscurity of modalities and of thoughts (al-Ḳarṭādjannī, 172). Numerous cases were foreseen by this theoretician (they are revealed in Arazi, 480-1). His conclusion does not fail to astonish with its modern resonance: the *maʿnā* must be delicate and subtle by definition; the more that thoughts err on the side of subtlety, the more the poetic phrase will need to mobilise an excess of clarity; thus is achieved a fine equilibrium where the two entities are opposed and integrated (al-Ḳarṭādjannī, 177-8). Von Grunebaum correctly observes in this context that poetic obscurity existed in poetry in mediaeval Europe and that it consisted of an extension of Aristotelianism (*Aesthetic*, 328-9).

Unfortunately for Arabic poetry, the ideas of al-Ṣābī were generally misunderstood by classical critics as well as by certain modern researchers, who have seen here a call for obscurantism in poetic language (Arazi, 483-5, § 1.3.1.). Accorded a hostile reception, they seem to have played only a marginal role in poetics.

(e) Al-lafẓ wa 'l-maʿnā.

The critics were fascinated by the concrete formulation of the poetical idea. Much less clear was the question, should this formulation be considered as dependent on the treatment of the words or on the conceptual content? Since the objective of poetry is not the thing stated but the manner in which it is stated, it was in the natural order of things to establish a distinction between the two entities and to prefer *lafẓ* over *maʿnā*. Furthermore, the confinement of the *maʿānī* within a limited space, which was not to be overstepped, persuaded poets to concentrate all their efforts on finding the formal garment best suited to the allotted space, and it induced them to adopt the same attitude as that held by the critics. The poet exercises the highest degree of control over his material, which is language. An intangible sign of this

control is the concision which is strongly recommended. Al-Djāḥiẓ played an essential role in the constitution of this conception; he was followed enthusiastically by later scholars of poetry (*al-Ḥayawān*, iii. 131-2; al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 58; Von Grunebaum, *Aesthetic*, 327; Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung*, 286-7).

In the 5th/11th century, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī was concerned to stress the negative nature of the Djāḥiẓian concept of *maʿānī*. First of all, the separation of *lafẓ* and of *maʿnā* seemed to him an aberration; it was hardly conceivable to separate the objective which is sought, i.e. the modalities of expression, from their projection into words. On the other hand, he challenges the notion that the literary merit of a poem emanates solely from the beauty of the terms used, conceived as preponderant units. A term cannot be *faṣīḥ* in itself, but only through its concurrence with the *maʿānī* and the harmony which it establishes between the different elements of expression. If al-Djāḥiẓ is to be followed, thoughts and their modalities will come to be excluded from the domain of eloquence and poetry will be reduced to verbal juggling, banishing the beauty of the composition (*al-naẓm*) and the quality of the texture of the poem (*al-taʾlīf*) (Djamīl Saʿd, 175-90).

It is, however, appropriate to mention the existence, at a very early stage, of an approach opposed to the supremacy of formalism. According to a work of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893 [*q.v.*], thus a contemporary of al-Djāḥiẓ), *al-Manthūr wa ʾl-manẓūm*, it is possible to state that it was the *maʿānī* which conferred on pre-Islamic poetry its undisputed primacy. It needs to be recalled that *maʿnā* is a mixed entity dependent simultaneously on style and on thought, on form and on essence and on the treatment of words and the content. This integration of *lafẓ* and of *maʿnā* is a very healthy element in poetry, since it establishes no distinction between essence and form. The Seven long [poems] (*al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl*) possess in common a profusion of *maʿānī* of unrivalled beauty: *fa-mina ʾl-shiʿri ʾl-ladhī lā mathīla lahu al-ḳaṣāʾidu ʾl-sabʿu ʾl-ṭiwālu ʾl-latī ḳaddamthā ʾl-ʿulamāʾu ʿalā sāʾiri ʾl-ashʿāri fa-inna ʾl-wāḥidata minhā tashmilu ʿalā maʿānin lā mathīla lahā* "in this poetry which has no equal, the Seven long [poems] which the scholars placed above all other poems; each in fact includes numerous *maʿānī*, unique in their genre" (Beirut 1977, 21-2). If the poems of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, of Zuhayr, of ʿAntara, of Labīd, of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza and of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī are counted among the pearls of Arabic poetry, it is because of the beauty of their motifs. The superiority of every poet depends on the range of the *maʿānī* which he has enunciated, and the grading of poets according to categories (*ṭabaḳāt*) is done in accordance with these criteria. This conception developed by al-Ḥirmāzī (*flor.* in the time of al-Rashīd, 170-93/786-809, preceding al-Djāḥiẓ by a generation) was adopted by Ibn Ṭayfūr, Ibn Djinnī and al-Djurdjānī, but remained a minority and somewhat marginal view.

C. The philosophers

The influence of Aristotelian ideas on the evolution of Arabic poetics has been decisive; these have been the ideas most systematically explored by the Muslim philosophers. Unlike the theoreticians, the philosophers were concerned to clarify a complete poetic art; they conceived poetry as a universal cultural phenomenon. Their speculations possess a hitherto unknown scientific rigour, since they considered poetic discourse as a subdivision of logic. They thus deny any role in poetry to the imagination and establish incompatibility between reason and poetry (Von Grunebaum, *Aesthetic*, 323).

These poetics of the philosophers do not derive from a more or less accurate paraphrase of the *Poetics* of Aristotle. It is rather a question of commentaries expressing the personal opinions of those philosophers who took inspiration from the notions expressed in *al-Muʿallim al-awwal*. Three essential principles dominate the poetic art as viewed by the philosophers: truth (and falsehood), imitation and evocation.

(i) Aristotelian theory makes of poetical beauty an ornament and a generalisation of the truth. According to the philosophers, and more specifically Ibn Rushd, the poet should evoke, with eloquence and plausibility, a chosen and average nature which is true for all times and for the greatest public, thus detaching the permanent from the ephemeral; this is called *al-ḥaḳīḳa*, the truth (Cantarino, 37). However, poetry is accorded the right to turn away from obligatory truth; this is the well-known poetic *kadhib* which differs from its homonym as employed by the critics. The latter understood it as meaning falsehood in the literal sense. On several occasions, traditions recount very flattering anecdotes regarding the veracity of certain poets, in particular, Zuhayr; the qualities attributed to patrons in his eulogistic poems are genuine qualities. In this context, the maxim *aʿdhabu ʾl-shiʿri aṣdaḳuhu* "the finest of poems is the most truthful" makes its appearance. Beyond this ethical aspect (Von Grunebaum, *Spirit*, 46-7; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Naḳd*, 34-6) critics have questioned the exactitude of *maʿānī*, as in the work of al-Āmidī. In consequence, everything dependent on the impossible is bad. This attitude does not lack positive results, such as the necessity for the urban poet to employ a poetic language which accords with the milieu in which he lives and with clarity (*ibāna*) of expression (Von Grunebaum, *Critic*, 104).

Among the philosophers, this concept rather signifies the right accorded to poetry to turn away from objective truth. In fact, from this perspective, recognition is given to the legitimacy of poetical subjectivity, or to that of the imagination which is the cause of *muḥākāt* (see below). For the poet, this faculty prevails over thought, as is affirmed by al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd (al-Rūbī, 114-15, with abundant bibl.). As the imagination conceives and expresses a mimesis and a resemblance and not reality, it is a case of a *kadhib*, and the best poem is that which succeeds more than others in giving the illusion of reality, in inducing belief in the veracity of this *muḥākāt*.

(ii) *Takhayyul* denotes the power of creating images; it is stimulated, according to Ibn Sīnā, by an emotion which arouses the poet, by respect or admiration, by sadness or gaiety (*Fann al-shiʿr min kitāb al-Shifāʾ*; *Djawāmiʿ al-shiʿr*, 67-80). This power derives from a faculty called *al-mutakhayyila* (according to al-Kindī, *al-muṣawwira*, for al-Fārābī, *al-ḳalb*) responsible for the re-actualisation of images which have been perceived in the past. At the time of inspiration, the *mutakhayyila* does not confine itself to reviving these images, it restructures them, initiates new combinations of images which did not exist in this form in reality (al-Fārābī, *Ārāʾ ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, 70-2). The poet is therefore obliged to keep in mind those images stored in his memory, perhaps also the *maʿānī* inherent in these images and to remodel them in a new, or even divergent fashion. Ibn Sīnā adds to this the entire stylistic apparatus, such as poetic language, technical procedures, rhyme, metre and even *maʿānī* (*Fann al-shiʿr min kitāb al-Shifāʾ*, 163). Thus conceived, *takhayyul* ultimately encompasses the whole process of creation.

The Islamic philosophers ranked it above the *ḳuwwa nāṭiḳa* or logical force, but made it subservient to the intellect (*al-ʿaḳl*) on which it depends totally. The process of *al-takhayyul al-shiʿrī* appears to be a kind of emanation (*fayḍ*) or of vague and imprecise inspiration (*ilhām ghāmiḍ*). Such a conception confers on poetry a status resembling that of prophecy or something close to it; both are phenomena of conscious inspiration involving subjects endowed with natural dispositions. If poetry is part of logic, the fact remains that it lies in the eighth and last position according to the classification adopted by al-Kindī and, later, by al-Fārābī (al-Rūbī, 54-6).

All visions of *takhyīl*, translated into language, are transformed into *muḥākāt* or *aḳwāl muḥākiya*, i.e. symbols, mimeses and enigmas. Were it not for *muḥākāt*, the human *mukhayyila* would be incapable of operating and would remain at the stage of virtuality.

(iii) Arts such as drawing and painting are based on *muḥākāt* or imitation. Only poetry, among all the other arts, is a *muḥākāt* in the form of words. This faculty reconstructs the real into a better or worse form through the allocation of excess of beauty or of ugliness. Poetic discourse thus surpasses and transcends the real. In fact, this discourse, which is itself the fruit of *muḥākāt*, constitutes a subjective apprehension, since it depends on the vision which exists in the *mukhayyala* of the poet. In these terms, al-Fārābī stresses, a poem does not constitute a totally identical imitation of reality, but there is a relation of resemblance.

Ibn Sīnā gives valuable particulars regarding the nature and functioning of this force; it does not operate in the case of fables and of stories set to metre and rhyme. Neither of these belongs to the category of poetry. In the versified *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and in stories or tales, all is fictitious. They cannot be classed as *shiʿr*, which is concerned with things that exist or could exist. The Islamic philosophers followed the Aristotelian concept of the poet's role as transmitter of an event which is real or which could be so. Poetry, from this point of view, is closely akin to philosophy; both aspire to express global verities.

As regards the objectives which poetry sets out to retain, beyond aesthetic pleasure which is the primary aim, it is considered a school for the improvement of the soul. It is thus essentially a didactic discourse, being more easily digested by the "common people". It is the only means by which the latter can assimilate wisdom. Thus the ethical aspect, so highly esteemed by the puritans, is brought into play. The discourse which inflames the instincts and induces men to commit evil acts is thus denounced, and for this reason al-Fārābī reviles Arabic poetry as a school "of cupidity and mendacity". Ibn Miskawayhi advises that young people should not be instructed in the poetry of the *nasīb*, since it encourages fornication; on the other hand he sees educational merit in poems which celebrate courage and manliness.

D. The first grammarians

The first grammarians showed great interest in archaic poetry. Modern scholars have insisted on stressing the primal role played by versified texts in the researches of Arab grammarians and in the development of *ʿArabiyya*, the classical Arabic language. *Al-shiʿr al-ḳadīm* took the role of *shāhid*, proof text, and thus guardian of validity, of legitimacy of usage and of quality (Blachère, *HLA*, i, 89-96, 111-12). H. Fleisch asserts that treatises of grammar from the 2nd/8th century to the period of the *Nahḍa*, in fact present the grammar of Djāhilī poetry. Classical Arabic grammar allegedly revealed, studied and codified a stage of the language, that represented by ancient poetry (*Traité de philologie arabe*, i, 1961, 9-10; see also, J. Fück, *ʿArabiyya*, Paris 1955, 5; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Shilkānī, *al-Aʿrāb al-ruwāt*, Tripoli (Libya) 1391/1982, introd., 7, 29; Ibrāhīm Anīs, *Min asrār al-lugha*, Cairo 1958, 321).

Careful study of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* reveals the dominant role of the speech of Bedouin heard directly from their own mouths. Furthermore, discernible in the approach of the great grammarian is a certain reluctance to use *shiʿr* to legitimise a linguistic facet (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, Paris 1881-5, 7). In § 7 of the *Kitāb*, he declares that the rules governing *kalām* differ from those governing *shiʿr*; in other words, as grammar seeks to codify the rules of the language, it cannot rely on poetry. Furthermore, having quoted a verse and studied the form of expression which it initiates on the level of morphology and syntax, Sībawayhi adds *wa-hādhā lā yadjūzu illā fi 'l-shiʿri wa-fī ḍaʿf^{in} mina 'l-kalām* "this is only permissible in poetry and in approximative speech" (*ibid.*, 18, l. 3). This equivalence of poetry = approximative discourse dispenses with any commentary. This manner of regarding the poetic language derives from a broader conception of this form. This disciple of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad seems to have had little appreciation for the very artificial figures and expressions adopted by the poetic language. When he introduces poets, he criticises them "for being ready to accept aberrant forms and figures to such a point that they use words improperly, because they are [metrically] convenient and are not vitiated by any deficiency as regards the measure" *wa-yaḥtamilūna ḳabḥa 'l-kalāmi ḥattā yaḍaʿūhu fī ghayri mawḍiʿihi li-annahu mustaḳīm^{un} laysa fīhi naḳṣu* (*ibid.*, 9). For his part, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]) also fulminates against aberrant figures and the violence done to the language by poets (*ʿasf al-lugha*) on account of the tyrannies of form to which they are subject (*al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, Beirut 1992 [= Damascus 1968], 97-101). Later, the linguistic quest changes on account of the closure of the doors of *idjtihād* in grammar, and visiting the desert is seen as futile on account of the degradation of Bedouin speech. Consequently, ancient poetry is endowed with incomparable prestige in the eyes of grammarians: it is the perfect expression of good usage. In relatively late grammatical works, only the poetical *shawāhid* are retained for purposes of testimony.

V. *Unregulated poetry.*

Unregulated is used here in the sense of unrestrained, excessive (*Grand Robert*, s.v.). This is in fact the period of the fantastic, to borrow the expression of Heinrichs, in the long evolution of Arabic poetry. By means of an intensive and original usage of tropes, the poets break all logical links between the elements in a comparison; they opt for an imagery totally divorced from nature and proceed towards constructions dependent on the imaginary, in other words a fantastic creation. The later ʿAbbāsid poets show themselves consummate masters of this art. An example given by Heinrichs is the image whereby al-Ṣanawbarī compares red anemones tossed by the wind with banners made of rubies set on a background of chrysolites (Heinrichs, 26).

In order to understand the full significance of this approach, it needs to be linked to the role of the image in the poetics of al-Djurdjānī. Metaphorical language, he asserts, is magic (*Asrār*, 40). The image reconciles the irreconcilable, unites incompatible opposites and introduces us to a world of the bizarre, in which images are not immediately comprehended by the imagination (*ibid.*, 140, 144, 150, 188). Evidently,

what is involved here is an artificial creation, even a discourse full of affectation. There is nothing pejorative in this concept. Modern conceptions of aesthetics consider it on the contrary as an art form tending towards irrealism, refined and sophisticated, drawn to fantasy and paradox and transcending affectation and oddity; the subjects here are unashamedly fantastic, even esoteric. This important process of evolution proceeded for several centuries. Beginning in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, it reached its zenith in the 6th-12th century. The centuries of affectation are characterised by an intense poetic activity directed entirely towards a single objective: what matters in poetry is literature, i.e. recourse to a formed and formalised language.

(1) *The revival of established genres.*

The poets of these centuries are outstanding painters. In the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, descriptive poetry demonstrates an intense love of nature; the poets of Spain, of Syria and of Egypt celebrate it with enthusiasm. The countryside is transformed here into a cornucopia of colours and scents bathed in abundant water (Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1986, 149-50, 178, the perfumes of Damascus); human arrangements, *ṣihrīdjs*, places of libation (*madjlis*), wells, etc., are shown in the forefront of the scene (Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī, 133, § 40, 134, § 42; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1967, 358-63). Similarly, rivers and lakes are very often celebrated (Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1990, 81, 85, 133, 145; Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *al-Adab fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī*, Cairo 1971, 115-16).

This attachment to nature remains a powerful influence under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, and the tendency to sing the praises of its more enchanting aspects becomes a regular feature among the poets of the two periods: Ibn Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād, Ibn Ḳasīm al-Ḥamwī (d. 542/1156), al-Shihāb al-Shāghurī (d. 615/1218), and for the Ottomans, Ibn al-Naḳīb (d. 1081/1670, Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī (d. 1052/1642) and Abū Maʿtūḳ al-Mūsawī (1087/1676) have evoked in numerous instances the beauties of Syria and, in the case of Egypt, the Nile and its verdant banks. At the same time, this taste for nature is revived by love of the soil, by literary reminiscences and the introduction of a new poetical form which wallows in nature, the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] of Andalusian origin. Also encountered in the texts is a sustained interest in the climate and in meteorological phenomena, rains, wintry weather (al-Suyūṭī, ii, 398), snowflakes and the cheerful nature of the spring (*ibid.*). Furthermore, conventional or scientific objects such as the astrolabe (Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 90-1, § 111), censers (*ibid.*, 93, § 118), candles, tooth-picks (*Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 59), etc., which could seem prosaic at first sight, are frequently evoked.

Description adopted a poetic language which was sometimes elliptical, most often enigmatic, and *maʿānī* which, far from revealing the object, screened it in a subtle and pleasurable manner through the adoption of procedures of affectation and fantasy. Very often, the poet gave to his description an enigmatic form by recourse to the interrogative pronoun "what-is-it-that?" (*mā*), and an allegorical language. Fityān al-Shāghūrī, describing the cupola of the Umayyad Mosque, transforms it into a young woman (*ghāda*) of great beauty born by a vulture (al-Shihāb al-Shāghūrī, *Dīwān*, Damascus 1967, 245). Nothing in the poem helps the reader to penetrate the secret of this fantastic image. In these conditions, it can be understood how works of poetics under the Mamlūks insisted on *tawriya* [*q.v.*] or double-meaning, the less common interpretation being envisaged. No fewer than three works are attested by al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥidjdja and Ibn Khātima (Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Taʾrīkh al-naḳd*, ii, 332, 366, 369) which clearly illustrate the tendencies of this poetry.

(2) *The vigour of religious poetry.*

Ṣūfī poetry experienced the most ostentatious period of its history. The works of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1231) and of Muhyī 'l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) gave the impetus to a trend which was to be maintained until the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*]. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī (d. 662/1264), al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf (d. 688/1293), ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (690/1291), al-Ẓahīr al-Irbilī (d. 697/1302), Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī (d. 1052/1642) and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1142/1731) are the loyal heirs of their illustrious predecessors. In the best examples, the discourse aspires to escape from the rational. The language is allegorical and the words take on a symbolic meaning which can be penetrated only by initiates. This essentially subjective poetry transcends semantics to express that which transcends words. Here, there is no self-modelling according to the exigencies of a well-defined dogma. In a sense, the involvement here is with open texts, bearing multiple suggestions. Furthermore, the Ṣūfī poems of the period renew acquaintance with an ancestral tradition closely associated with the use of song among mystics (al-Ahwānī, *Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk wa-mushkilat al-ʿuḳm wa 'l-ibtikār*, Cairo 1962, 197). Furthermore, no doubt influenced by the mystical poems of the Persian *sāḳī-nāma*, the Ṣūfī *khamriyya* [*q.v.*] enjoys a certain vogue; numerous poems based on this pattern are attested from the 7th/13th to the 12th/18th century. Finally, it should not be forgotten that it is this period which sees the emergence and proliferation of the poems called *al-madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya* or eulogies of the Prophet: generally long pieces, constructed on a binary base, the opening being reserved for the *nasīb nabawī* (a love-song addressed to the Prophet) which is combined with the *naʿt al-nabī* (portrait of the Prophet), praises and accounts of his miracles, his virtues and his fine deeds (Zakī Mubārak, *al-Madāʾiḥ al-nabawiyya fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1967, index). A woman, ʿĀʾisha al-Baʿūniyya (d. 922/1516), seems to have been particularly distinguished in this field: she devoted a special *dīwān* (*dīwān mustaḳill*) to this type of poem. Certain researchers see in this renewal of religious poetry an attempt to find a refuge from an unbearable reality and a reaction to the decline in status of the professional poet. Henceforward, their numbers were to contract and they were replaced by scholars, in particular, by *ḳāḍīs* possessing profound affinities with religious motifs (Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Adab*, 109).

Imitation and decline

During the five centuries from the 5th-10th/11th-16th, Arabic poetry ceases to be regarded exclusively as entertainment and regains a part of its ancient primacy. Circumstances favoured this development. Various campaigns and victories over the Crusaders stirred up among contemporaries, poets in particular, a great wave of enthusiasm and optimism. The victories of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and those of al-Ẓāhir Baybars inspired numerous poems on the part of the *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil, al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, Abu 'l-Faḍl and al-Djilyānī, who were not lacking in epic spirit (Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1956-62, ii, 102-18; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, Cairo 1953-60, 234 ff.; for the Baybars cycle, Ibn Taghrī-birdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1929-56, xii, 322; Bāshā, i, 530-3).

This poetry is produced by epigones; the poets of

this period made imitation of the ancients and slavish adherence to established models into an institution.

New forms, the *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*], the *takhmīs* [*q.v.*] and the *tasmīṭ* [see MUSAMMAṬ], impose on the poet the need to introduce whole poetical phrases, ranging from the hemistich and the verse to the totality of the *ḳaṣīda*. The later poet becomes, at best, a commentator and his poem a continuation and elucidation of that of the model. The case of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī seems typical in this respect: a considerable proportion of his poems are *muʿāraḍas* of poems of al-Mutanabbī, or *tasmīṭs* of the *ḳaṣīda* of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa, of the *lāmiyya* of al-Samawʾal and of the *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn; another poem includes the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* of al-Shanfarā: verses by the *ṣuʿlūk* poet are cited textually (*taḍmīn*), separated one from another by those of the Mamlūk poet. The same procedure is attested with the *maḳṣūra* of Ibn Durayd, two integral poems of al-Mutanabbī and of al-Ṭughrāʾi and the second hemistiches of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām. Originally, it is quite possible that the later poets were induced to follow these procedures through their admiration for a valued heritage, or as a means of protecting and conserving it. In this regard, under the Ottomans, the poets Ibn al-Naḳīb and Amīn al-Djundī (d. 1257/1841) proceeded in an absolutely identical fashion. Furthermore, the former, no doubt considering himself a memorialist, and still with the aim of conveying a culture, composed a poem of 119 verses entitled *Djamharat al-mughannīn* and dedicated to musicians, singers, favourites and drinking companions (*nudamāʾ*) from the Umayyads to al-Rāḍī; he also evokes here the sweetness of life among the Barmakids and the enjoyable parties given by al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād and al-Muhallabī. All these evocations were strewn with quotations from verses composed in earlier periods (al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, Cairo 1384, ii, 396-7). On reading Mamlūk and Ottoman compositions, there is no justification for speaking of decadence or of lexicographical poetry. Admittedly, since the time of the Ayyūbids there is a marked tendency among poets to engage in extravagant rhetorical games: the verses known as *al-abyāt al-mushadjdjara*, which can be read from beginning to end, but also from end to beginning, constitute, at best, a verbal prank and a tangible sign, perhaps the only one, of undeniable mastery of the language. Finally, poets were much fewer in number, as the culture itself had contracted and was upheld only in small and isolated enclaves. Looking to a past which it sought to safeguard and deprived of any regenerative element, it perpetuated a patently outdated discourse. At this time, poetry had lost its momentum and was evidently awaiting a change—which came with the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*].

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(b) The modern period.

The science of literature (*ʿilm al-adab*) among the Arabs is defined as "the systematic science of literature that deals with language in the form of poetry and prose from the point of view of purity of language and rhetoric" (Cheikho, *ʿIlm al-adab*). The Arabic language is considered by the Arabs as the most "poetic language" (*al-lugha al-shāʿira*) created by God, a language whose characteristics distinguish it from other languages. As the language of the Holy Ḳurʾān, Arabic acquired an aura of sanctity, stability and eternity. Thus the poetics of Arabic language should conform to the language of the Ḳurʾān and address itself to serious subjects. As such, a fundamental difference exists between Arabic and European poetics. The European understanding of poetics as a systematic science of literature, as art, as communication, as an expression of culture in history and as a personal creation, was a concept which was not rediscovered by Arab poets until the 20th century.

In fact, throughout the history of Arabic literature there are clear-cut definitions of poetry and prose, distinguishing one from the other, so as not to allow prose to be confused with poetry, though the former may have rhyme, rhythm, metaphor or any other poetical technique except metre and the intention to write poetry. The revolt against conventional Arabic metres reflected a problem with a long-disputed course of development. Although poetry has in the recent years lost its prominence, nevertheless the problem of the rigid rules of Arabic metre which started at the beginning of the 20th century is still going on.

Poetry written in literary Arabic is considered among the Arabs as the most venerated and most sublime literary trend of Arabic literature. Hence colloquial poetry was excluded as a literary genre. During the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, under the impact of the West, some Arab poets tried to introduce new poetic diction, metaphors, themes and to find new forms and music which suited them, in order to be able to avoid what they considered the enslaving style, monometre and monorhyme, and the sonorous and declamatory tone of the classical Arab poetry.

Arab poets noticed that the most distinctive features in European poetry when compared with Arabic are the dramatic, narrative and epic poetry, which use stanzaic form and blank verse, while the most prominent trend in Arabic poetry is confined to the lyrical monorhymed ode (*ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]). However, most of the Arab poets, mainly the neo-classicists of the second half of the 19th century, who were convinced of the richness of their language, agreed that rhyme is essential in Arabic poetry. It provides a musical effect and adds melody through the harmony of sound; it proves the ability of the poet and attracts attention; it adds dignity and helps in memorising the sequence of lines; it divides the poem into equal and parallel verses; it raises and satisfies the expectation of the listener; and it helps to make the verse more memorable and binds the lines together with one common bond.

The neo-classical trend emerged in an epoch when poets were still using the diction, style and poetic forms of the stagnation period in which the dominant social trend of poetry recorded happy and sad occasions, was composed with emphasis upon form and verbal play on words, spurious embellishment, paronomasia (*tadjnīs*), plagiarism, alliterations, antithesis and different types of parallelism (synonymous, antithetical and climactic). Various types of pun were also used, with an emphasis upon form, such as verses in which all the words are without diacritical marks. Alternately, one word may bear the diacritical marks while the other words remain unmarked. It was also prevalent to use *tashṭīr*, i.e. to add to each verse of

a well-known poem a second hemistich to its first hemistich and a first hemistich to the second one, padding its meaning and extending it. Many such poems end with a verse denoting the year of the event according to the numerical value (*ḥisāb al-d̲j̲ummal* [*q.v.*]) of the alphabetic letters of the last hemistich or verse. These forms in which the poet tries to show his wit and his ability to draw on the supply of classical methods stored in his memory, inventing new puns or tricks, transformed Arabic poetry into pseudo-classical poetry, into an intellectual game and an intelligent form of frivolous entertainment admired by the élite.

During the second half of the 19th century, a new generation of poets influenced by European poetry, strove to revive the classical *ḳaṣīda*, its form, diction, metaphors and themes, after its decline to low levels of weak and pseudo-classical verse mentioned above. The revival of the conventional Arab ode by neo-classical poets began in Egypt and the Arab world when the revival of the Arab-Islamic heritage was considered the best response to the foreign, hostile and invading Christian European culture. The neo-classical trend began with Arab poets such as Nāṣīf al-Yāzid̲j̲ī (d. 1871 [*q.v.*]) in Lebanon and Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (d. 1914 [*q.v.*]) in Egypt. The form of the *ḳaṣīda* ideally suited the poets who served the ruling courts, high government officials, influential families, the Arab national and social movements and the religious revival.

Although European literary critic theories began to show their initial influence, yet the conventional definition of poetry was the dominant one among Arab scholars and prosodists. Conservative poets and writers still dealt with the usual themes such as *madīḥ* (panegyric), *rit̲h̲āʾ* (elegy), *g̲h̲azal* (erotic poetry), *waṣf* (description), *tahānī* (congratulation) and served rulers and influential personalities. In this neo-classical Arabic literature, Arab poets revived the rhetoric and declamatory style and the religious and fatalistic spirit of classical poetry. The new poetics sought to emulate the conventions and the basic canons of poetics through *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*] (imitation of an excellent classical poem using the same metre, rhyme and theme with the intention of surpassing it). This trend of platform poetry developed not only to serve rulers, religious and national revivals but also to emphasise national ideas by recalling the glorious and profound classical heritage.

When the Ottoman consul-general in Bordeaux, Rūḥī al-K̲h̲ālidī [*q.v.*] compared the *ʿilm al-adab* among the Arabs and the Europeans, he said in his monumental *Taʾrīk̲h̲ ʿilm al-adab* that European writers claim that Arab poets were interested in word-juggling and artificial embellishment with and without diacritical dots and in rhetorical devices, yet with no thought or fictional imagery. Moreover, these European writers say that the *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] deal with deception, with erotic subjects directed towards males and with perverted love. To these accusations, they add that when great Arab poets and writers deal with deep thoughts, they express them in an artificial and difficult language (2nd ed., 71-2).

Yet the neo-classical poets were proud to achieve the purity of diction, strength of texture, polished language, aristocratic tone, rhetorical devices considered as making up the only perfect and sublime poetry, expressive of the collective conscience and aesthetics of their religion and culture. Any other form or style was considered inferior or unsuitable for the "serious" subjects of traditional poetry. The neo-classical poets' identity and confidence in their culture were not shaken. They saw their achievement as a step toward the restoration of the magnificent Arabic heritage and its glorious past, and precisely for this reason, any attack upon neo-classical poetry by modernist Arab critics and poets was considered as an attack on Islam.

Modernist critics and poets sought to formulate new poetic theories by combining Arabic conventional poetics with modern European theories. Even in 1949, after the rise of three romantic schools in Arabic poetry, *al-Rābiṭa* (1920-31) in the USA, *al-Dīwān* (1921), and *Apollo* (1932-4) in Egypt and their new theories of poetics, the Egyptian critic al-K̲h̲afad̲j̲ī in his *Fann al-s̲h̲iʿr* ("The poetic art") defined Arabic poetry as "speech versified according to the Arabic metres, with the intention of using metre, expressing sense and using rhyme". Earlier, numerous definitions were attempted, which the Lebanese-American romantic poet, writer and critic Mīk̲h̲āʾīl Nuʿayma [*q.v.*] considered to be dull and inaccurate. Influenced by Russian poetics, especially by the critic V.G. Belinski (1811-48), he cautioned that, in addition to metre, rhyme, emotion and imagination, poetry should communicate pantheistic and metaphysical sensitivity. Such critics maintained that poetry, as established in classical Arabic literature, is the most artistic of all literary genres. Poetry employs language in a particular manner: it makes use of alliteration and onomatopoeia, and it is far more tolerant of metaphors and symbols than prose.

The new vision of the modernists rebelled against the neo-classical platform orator poet, in short, the elegant poet whose ambition was to become a poet-laureate on the pay-roll of the ruler or of the Muslim religious endowments (*awḳāf*). Modernists, in contrast, demanded from the poet independence in the humanist European tradition. The poet was now freed to depict his own life, emotions and thoughts as the subjects of his compositions. Unfortunately these poets and critics derived their deals haphazardly from heterogenous European critical, scientific and philosophical theories, showing an indiscriminate fascination with all Western products in the context of their desperate quest for a theory of contemporary poetics that would explain the dichotomy between word and meaning, form and content.

The pioneer modernists calculated that, by adopting the forms and themes of Western poetry, a revolution in Arabic literature and a general change in the spirit of Arabic culture and poetry would ensue. Their objective was to attack the major neo-classical poets and establish their own new poetic movement. This struggle came to be known as the struggle between the old and the new (*al-ṣirāʿ bayn al-ḳadīm wa ʾl-d̲j̲adīd*). This resulted in the romantic trend in modern Arabic poetry, involving a vehement struggle on the part of the poet for freedom to express his own ideas and emotions and his own personal experience. In effect, the modernists denounced the neo-classical blind imitation of classical themes, such as the yearning for the place of the beloved, or the lamenting over the ruins of encampments, experiences which they had never themselves known.

Only during the second half of the 20th century, after the split in Arabic poetry into two distinct trends, have Arab poets and critics succeeded in formulating a completely new conception of Arabic poetics. Poetry is no longer defined in terms of its form, i.e. as speech in metre and rhyme. Rather, the evaluation is based on the poem's expressive value and its organic unity. The following themes have come to assume paramount

importance: humanistic trends, optimistic, psychological and rational undercurrents, and universal experience. The emphasis is now on thematic content; poetry becomes a vehicle for narrative, dramatic, epic and lyrical trends, and form is secondary. Form was liberated, into free verse (*shiʿr ḥurr*) in the sense of *vers irrégulier* or the Cowleyan ode; blank verse (*shiʿr mursal*), employing conventional Arabic feet in unrhymed verses, or rhymeless verses of irregular number of feet; in poetic prose (*shiʿr manthūr*), using the music of thought based upon repetition and parallelism; and even the prose poem (*kaṣīdat al-nathr*) advocated by Adonis (ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd) in accordance with the French *poème en prose.*

For the Romantic Arab poets and critics, contrary to the classical view, the first criterion of poetic excellence is that poetry should contain human values and not only embellished language.

After the Second World War, the social-realistic trend in modern Arabic literature replaced the romantic trend. The poets of this trend acquired a common ideology and employed similar artistic techniques and diction, forming a literary school in the proper sense of the word. This school insisted on utilitarian values and practiced engaged or purposive literature. They formed an ideology consisting of a blend of socialism and existentialism, describing their new brand of literature as "realistic, optimistic and constructive literature". Committed literature was viewed by its practitioners as a revolt against romantic poetics, which they dismissed as emotional, metaphorical, pessimistic and destructive.

With the gradual decline of social, political, patriotic, national and descriptive trends in Arabic poetry during the mid-20th century and the success of the Romantic Arab poets in achieving harmony between form and content, a new trend arose. This was led by the *Shiʿr* ("Poetry") magazine, established in Beirut in 1957 by Yūsuf al-Khāl and its theoretician the Syro-Lebanese poet Adonis. The group of poets who edited and supported the magazine dealt with the question of the dichotomy between the literary and colloquial Arabic, and gave it precedence over the question of words and meaning. They believed that language in poetry is not a means of expression but of creation. For the *Shiʿr* group, words were expected to suggest and inspire rather than express. In addition, the new poetry was to have a dominant metaphysical tendency; it should strive to go beneath the surface level to the deeper reality of the universe.

The argument of the new trend of post-modern poets is that political events cannot be the object of poetic inspiration but only of prosaic forms of literature. To love beauty teaches people to rebel against oppression; as such, didactic and socio-political poetry are superfluous. Poetry should reflect the personality, mentality and psychological mood of the poet, a particular self-image and a unique inner life. On the other hand, those who defend the obligation of the poet to his society are the proponents of a national literature which expresses itself in the social-realistic trend.

The post-modern poets maintain that their new poetry has outgrown the conventional themes and rules, just as the modern age has superseded preceding ages. Poetry, they argue, is an expression of a poetic experience which should not be confined to the personal emotions. Conventional poetry recorded events and emotions, but did not go beyond them. Modern poetry is less limited, since it attempts to reveal the essence of life and not merely to be moved by it. It assumes a more positive stand. The essence of modern poetry is creative and evolutionary thought, not precise description. It is a comprehensive realisation of the Arab existence, a call to give expression to life's deepest meaning. It stems from a metaphysical sensitivity, which does not feel things according to their essence, but is a quality which only the imagination can reach. This quality allows modern poetry to break the chains of time, events, reality and predetermined ideas. It is not a reflection of something, but a conquest revelation of a new world. The search in a poem is not for images, but for a poetic universe and for connections with the human being and his situation.

With the flexible form of Arabic free verse and *poème en prose* of the new trends of Arabic poetry, the modernisation of Arabic poetics was completed. This new poetry was influenced by classical Arabic poetry as well as by Western thinkers and critics from Plato and Aristotle to Rousseau, Darwin, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Renan, Sainte-Beuve, Auguste Comte, Bergson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Sartre and Camus, as well as European and American poets from Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Eluard, Poe, Eliot, Blake, Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth and Whitman to Pasternak.

The influence of these thinkers and poets has gone beyond changing the form and content of modern Arabic poetry; they have also enabled Arabs to understand better their classical heritage. This point has been discussed by the defender of the poetics of Arab modernity, Adonis, who has admitted that "I did not discover this modernity in Arabic poetry from within the prevailing Arab cultural order and its systems of knowledge. It was reading Baudelaire which changed my understanding of Abū Nuwās and revealed his particular poetical quality and modernity, and [it was] Mallarmé's work which explained to me the mysteries of Abū Tammām's poetic language and the modern dimension in it. My reading of Rimbaud, Nerval and Breton led me to discover the poetry of the mystical writers in all its uniqueness and splendour, and the new French criticism gave me an indication of the newness of al-Jurjānī's critical vision. I find no paradox in declaring that it was recent Western modernity which led me to discover our own, older, modernity outside our 'modern' politico-cultural system established on a Western model" (Adonis, *An introduction to Arab poetics*, 81).

As in the case with Western literature, modern Arabic poets use mythology, religious symbols, Greek and Eastern legends as well as Christian, Muslim and Hebraic symbols to communicate their new poetic vision. These symbols are employed even by practising Muslim poets and by formerly active Communists, who in this respect follow Boris Pasternak and other Russian poets. Eastern, and especially Syro-Phoenician, Babylonian and ancient Egyptian mythology and gods, have returned to the East through Western poetry.

These religious and mythological symbols are used in modern Arabic poetry not as expressions of religious experience, but in order to convey mental and physical states. Their main purpose is to communicate the psychological mood of the poet, who feels persecuted and alienated from his politically suppressive society. His efforts to reform his society and country are futile because of the military or semi-military régimes dominant in Arab countries. In this pessimistic context, most of the symbols used are tragic ones. Christ is the favourite symbol of the poet who sacrifices himself for his country and people. Other symbols connected with the Crucifixion are also used, such as Christ bearing the Cross, an image denoting

the long path of suffering through which the poet has to pass.

Already in 1965, these symbols provoked tremendous objections by official and the growing conservative circles in the Arab world who announced that their duty was to guard the sacred and stable values of Muslim society. They argued that the destruction started by the new trends has encroached upon the Arabic language itself. Poetry, the art and glory of choice language, have a strong connection with the national spirit. Moreover, they have accused modern poetics of allowing corrupting foreign elements to penetrate the Arab existence. Among these alien elements, they have warned, is the practice of incorporating ideas and symbols derived from non-Muslim religions. Some of these ideas had already been rejected by Islam, such as Original Sin, the Crucifixion and Redemption. Moreover, the poets have used the word *ilāh* "deity" in its original pagan sense. These attacks by official circles in the Arab world represent a serious blow and a severe setback to Arabic thought. These conservative arguments preceded the assassination of the Egyptian thinker Dr. Faradj Fūda, the attempt by Muslim fundamentalists in Egypt on the life of the Nobel Prize laureate of literature, Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ in 1994, and the threat to assassinate the writer, thinker and philosopher Anīs Manṣūr. On the other hand, poets such as Nizār Ḳabbānī and Maḥmūd Darwīsh remained rather conservative in their political attitudes and in their use of metaphor and religious symbols.

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(S. Moreh)

2. In Persian.

In the introduction to *Miʿyār al-ashʿār*, a Persian textbook of prosody written in 649/1251-2, and ascribed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], *shiʿr* is said to be "imitative and measured speech" (*kalām-i mukhayyal-i mawzūn*), according to the logicians, or speech "with measure and rhyme" (*mawzūn-i muḳaffā*) in popular usage. These definitions, which refer to the Aristotelian *mimesis* as well as to the basic prosodical features, express a conformity to a concept of poetry commonly held in traditional Islamic civilisation. This is rooted in the paradigmatic role assigned since early Islam to Arabic poetry and the formal rules governing that poetry. Persian classical poetry, the beginnings of which can be traced back to the 3rd/9th century, is the oldest example of the adaptation of an indigenous poetic tradition to the Arabic standards. Although several fragments of Persian poems, dating back as far as the 1st century A.H., are on record, until the 3rd century all lack the characteristics of metre and rhyme marking classical poems. They are remnants from the pre-Islamic poetry of Persia, which was almost exclusively an oral art. The prosody of that tradition is still imperfectly understood, but it was undoubtedly very different from the classical standards, especially because of the absence of quantitative metres and regular rhyme. Persian critics of the Middle Ages refused to recognise anything as poetry that was not written according to these standards. Shams-i Ḳays [*q.v.*] went as far as to state that prosody was in all its aspects an invention of the Arabs to which the Persians had added nothing new (*Muʿdjam*, 68).

In modern times, the Indian scholar U.M. Daudpota still put much emphasis on the virtual identity of the two traditions. However, Hellmut Ritter, examining the aesthetic function of imagery in the poetry of Niẓāmī, found a fundamental difference in the prevalence of explicit poetic comparisons in Arabic poetry on the one hand, and a Persian preference for metaphorical expression on the other (*Bildersprache*, 13-21; see also *Geheimnisse*, 1*f.) This immediate and flexible use of imagery provided Persian poetry with a manneristic idiom which for centuries dominated the literary language, both in poetry and in prose. Benedikt Reinert has clarified the complex relationship between Arabic and Persian poetry by pointing out that there was in fact an interplay of literary influences from both sides. The ʿIrāḳī phase in the history of Arabic poetry, when the *muḥdathūn* [*q.v.*] poets introduced rhetorical innovations and new genres into the tradition inherited from the Djāhiliyya, was the immediate ancestor of Persian poetry, but was itself influenced by Middle Persian forms of poetry. Features favoured in particular by the Persian poets were, among others, the use of the *radīf* rhyme, a strict application of the quantitative principle in Persian metrics, a different structure of poetical comparisons, an excessive use of hyperbole, the introduction of the heroic and didactic genres and the description of nature as a theme for the *nasīb* (*Probleme*, see esp. 72-82).

Writers on various aspects of literature have left statements about the values attached to poetry in Persian culture. Kay Kāwūs [*q.v.*], the author of the oldest Persian Mirror for Princes, classified poetry among the intellectual pursuits, warning at the same time against difficult poetry which would be in need of a commentary and could therefore fail to speak directly to those for whom it was written (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, 187). Being concerned in particular with the usefulness of poetry to a ruler, Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī [*q.v.*] pointed to the catharsis which could be effected by poetry, for instance in politics, as well as to the publicity value which provided one of the most important justifications for traditional court poetry. In rhetorical textbooks, the practical advantage of a critical knowledge of poetry was emphasised for any one who was concerned with composition, including especially official scribes, because the stylistic convention prescribed the embellishment of prose by means of poetic insertions.

More fundamental are the attempts to establish the metaphysical status of poetry by emphasising its connection with human speech and logic. Such considerations are to be found as more or less obligatory introductions to anthologies, e.g. of ʿAwfī's *Lubāb al-albāb* and Dawlats͟hāh's *Tad͟hkirat al-s͟huʿarāʾ*. Speech (*sukhan*) constitutes God's special gift to mankind, by which the human species is distinguished from all other living beings. On account of its privileged relationship to the capacity of speech, the writing of poetry belongs to the highest pursuits of the soul. Poets also frequently express their views on this particular aspect of their art. Passages on the relationship between speech, or logic, and poetry have found their place among the subjects treated in the introductions of *mathnawī* poems. A remarkable specimen is the long and intricate introduction which Niẓāmī Gand͟jawī [*q.v.*] added to the dedication of his didactic poem *Mak͟hzan al-asrār*. Defending the originality of his work, he makes use of the allegory of a spiritual journey in search of the inspiration which only the poet's own heart can provide. Poetry is related to the *logos* but also to the Divine word of revelation; the latter association gives the poet a spiritual status close to that of the prophets. Niẓāmī also points out that poetry is an immaterial art, in spite of the fact that it uses all the elements of the cosmos as the raw material for its imagery (*Mak͟hzan al-asrār*, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku 1960, sections xii-xviii).

Such a high opinion of poetry could not fail to lead to a discussion about the permissibility of the "mercenary" panegyrics of the court poets. This question became particularly acute since the 6th/12th century, when Persian poetry came to be used more and more for religious purposes. Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] reduced the conflict between his calling as a homiletic poet and the practices of professional court poetry to a choice between "the Law" (*s͟harʿ*) and "poetry" (*s͟hiʿr*). Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], claiming the rightful use of poetry by the mystics, harmonised the opposition implied in Sanāʾī's word play by adding a third term, viz. "the (heavenly) throne" (*ʿars͟h*), symbolising the goal of the mystical search, which in his view sprang from the same source as literary art and the obedience to the Law of Islam, just as the three words shared the same letters (*Muṣībat-nāma*, 46-7).

By then, poetry was firmly established as a medium for the expression of mystical experience and religious and ethical instruction. Remarkable for this development were the greater importance of the *g͟hazal* [*q.v.*], and of the didactical *mat͟hnawī* [*q.v.*], which became enriched by the often intricate use of narrative elements. The scope for secular epics became restricted, except on the level of popular literature. The panegyrical *ḳaṣīda*, as well as the stanzaic poems, were used for other purposes more suitable to religious interests such as didacticism, religious hymns and elegies on the S͟hīʿī martyrs. The dichotomy between court and religion is only a simplified model of the actual situation. There was an exchange of motives and themes, going into both directions, which gave Persian poetry the ambiguity which became one of its most fascinating features.

According to many modern critics, Persian poetry reached its culmination point in the 8th/14th century, especially with Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], and then ceased to develop any further. During the Tīmūrid period, a decline already began, marked by the mere imitation of earlier poets and an empty display of rhetorical virtuosity. Under the Ṣafawids [see ṢAFAWIDS. III. Literature], there was a brief and limited revival of creativity, exemplified especially in the 16th century by the stylistic fashion of *wuḳūʿ-gūʾī*, and subsequently by the rise of the *sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]. In Persia, the Indian style was not long accepted as an avenue to escape from the impasse, though it produced at least one generally recognized master in the poet Ṣāʾib [*q.v.*]. About the middle of the 18th century, a reaction to the Indian style, afterwards styled the "literary return" (*bāzgas͟ht-i adabī*), took the form of a neoclassicism which continued to dominate poetry until the 20th century. This revival was founded on the early court poetry, which was admired for its harmony, natural grace and simplicity. Nearly all poetry written in the Ḳād͟jār period is at best a clever imitation of poetry produced at the courts of the Sāmānids, G͟haznawids and Sald͟jūḳs.

In the first decade of this century, the Constitutional Revolution (*inḳilāb-i mas͟hrūṭa*) again challenged the inventiveness of Persian poets. The novelty of the *mas͟hrūṭa* poetry consisted mainly in the introduction of new subjects, derived from current events, and in an attitude of *engagement* towards society, both of which had been virtually unknown to the classical tradition. Formal innovation was still only incidental to the main concern with contents, but a few experiments with prosody can be noticed, e.g. the choice of new rhyme schemes by Dihk͟hudā (1879-1956) and Bahār's [*q.v.*] use of uncommon variations of the stanzaic poems, like the *mustazād*, an extension of the classical *mat͟hnawī*. More interesting was the turn towards forms hitherto restricted to oral poetry: both ʿĀrif [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] and Bahār recognised the effectiveness of the *taṣnīf*, a ballad already in use for popular comments on political events, to reach mass audiences during public performances of poetry and music. The strength of the tradition showed itself not only in the overall tendency to stick to the timeworn vocabulary and imagery, but also in attempts to provide individual poems from the past with a topical meaning. A striking example is the treatment of K͟hāḳānī's famous *ḳaṣīda* on the ruins of the Sāsānid palace at Ctesiphon as a symbol of the modern longing for the rebirth of vanished greatness. Muḥammad Riḍā ʿIs͟hḳī (1893-1924 [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] chose Ctesiphon as the setting for his poems *Rastāk͟hīz-i salāṭīn-i Īrān* and *Kafan-i siyāh*, written in the novel form of musical drama. In an ode on the Communist Revolution, Lahūtī (1887-1957 [*q.v.*]) transferred this theme to the Kremlin. The form of the strife poem (*munāẓara*), used by Asadī (11th century), was transformed into a medium for modern social and moral criticism by Parwīn Iʿtiṣāmī (1906-41 [*q.v.*]).

The impact of Western poetry, which has been

instrumental in the process of literary modernisation in all non-Western cultures, made itself felt comparatively late in Persia. Debates between the proponents of change and the defenders of traditional poetry (*shiʿr-i sunnatī*) went on until after the Second World War, although the first signs of Western influence can already be noticed in the early 1920s. Among the first to turn to Western models were ʿIshkī, with his musical dramas, and Īradj Mīrzā (1874-1924), whose *Zuhrā u Manūčihr* was an imitation of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. The allegorical narrative *Afsāna* (1922) is in retrospect seen as a landmark in the development of modern poetry, although the poet Nīmā Yūshīd [*q.v.*] did not yet depart much from traditional prosody. More important are the atmosphere, which reminds one of French romantic poetry of the 19th century, the realistic descriptions of nature and the reflections on the future of Persian poetry in the discussions of the poet and his muse. In the following decades, Nīmā began to question the principles of classical Persian verse. He rejected its isometric lines and tight rhyme schemes as unsuitable for contemporary poetry, because they forced the poet to use superfluous words in order to fill empty spaces in prescribed patterns and thereby limited his creative freedom. Instead, metre and rhyme should be subservient to poetic expression. In his "broken metrics" (*ʿarūḍ-i shikasta*), the ancient metrical feet can still be recognised, but their number in each line varies according to the expressive needs of the poet. Rhyme also was freed from its formal rigidity; this opened the possibility for various kinds of irregular rhymes as well as for blank verse. Even more radical were Nīmā's experiments with a new poetic imagery which equally were inspired by modern literary trends in the West, notably by surrealism.

For a long time, Nīmā remained a more or less isolated and controversial pioneer. Only *ca.* 1950 did a number of young poets accept his ideas as the basis of a modern Persian poetry. Starting from the nucleus of his fundamental rules, they developed themselves into various directions. The most radical innovator among them was Aḥmad Shāmlū, who also broke through the barrier which had always divided the language of written poetry from spoken Persian. The debate between the modernists and the defenders of the tradition gradually lost most of its heat. Although prominent poets like Shahriyār [*q.v.*] could still make a meaningful use of the ancient forms, by the 1960s the new poetry had become generally accepted.

The political events in Persia after 1941 affected poetry as much as the Constitutional Revolution had done this. Political and social *engagement* (*taʿahhud*) became again an avowed task of poetry, although political oppression and censureship did not leave a very large scope for the expression thereof. External conditions often forced poets into opaque symbolism. However, the desire to be in line with international trends of modern poetry also gave much modern Persian poetry an obscurity which made it difficult to understand for readers who were still attached to the poetic idiom of the past.

The process of poetic modernisation fostered the rise of literary criticism on a scale which Persia had not known before. Nīmā's own theories were expounded in private letters and scattered articles which were only recently collected and published by Sīrūs Ṭāhbāz. To most critics, they constitute the basics of their own evaluation of modern poetry.

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(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

3. In Turkish.

A. The pre-Ottoman period [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ. III. (a) 1; TURKS. Literature].

B. The Ottoman period [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ. III. (a), (b), (c)].

C. The Republican period.

When the Ottoman Empire dissolved, the overornate *Dīwān* poetry of the élite, written in *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] using Ottoman Turkish, lost its frame of reference. Republican values envisaged that the literature should go to the people and reflect their lives and values using their language, i.e. spoken Turkish. Although the roots of a search for new forms and expressions for a wider audience go back to the *Tanẓīmāt* period (mid-19th century), it was during the War of Independence and after the declaration of the Republic (1923) that Turkish intellectuals moved outside Istanbul to acquire a first-hand experience of Turkey and its people. For the poets, the Anatolian villager, the folk poetry in spirit and form (its traditional syllabic metre and various poetic forms) and the wealth of folk traditions which had been so far neglected, now became major sources of inspiration as well as providing vast amount of subject-matter. *Dīwān* poetry and *ʿarūḍ* did not vanish immediately after the Republic; in fact, its influence can be traced even in contemporary poets in a synthesised form. Ahmet Haşim (1885-1933), Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936) and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958) continued to write in *ʿarūḍ* after the 1920s. Atilla İlhan (1925-), Edip Cansever (1928-85), and Behçet Necatigil (1916-79) make use of the *Dīwān* style, but without *ʿarūḍ*, in their works. Beginning with the *Tanẓīmāt* period, and during the early years of the Republic, it was the French poetic tradition which inspired the Turkish poets; e.g. Beyatlı was

under the influence of the Parnassians, and Ahmet Haşim (1884-1933) of Symbolism. One way of looking at modern Turkish poetry is by decades, although the time span is short and the same poets will have continued to write in the next decade, possibly with a change in style.

a. 1923-38. This was the decade when excitement about the new state and the newly-discovered populism and nationalism was deeply felt. The poets of the old school, such as Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1852-1937), Ahmet Haşim, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Celal Sahir Erozan (1883-1935), and Mehmet Akif Ersoy [see MEḤMED ʿĀKIF] continued to write, usually with *ʿarūḍ* but using a purer Turkish than before. Beyatlı lauded the magnificence of the Ottoman Empire and the pain of losing it, as expressed in "The Open Sea":

> While my childhood passed in Balkan cities./ There burned in me a longing like a flame./In my heart the melancholy that Byron knew./

Haşim, the Symbolist, talked of spiritual exile, and declared "We ignore the generation which has no sense of melancholy"; these two poets were to influence the coming generations more than any of the other poets of the era. Ersoy, writer of the lyrics of the Turkish national anthem, adapted *ʿarūḍ* to spoken Turkish masterfully and his use of the style of the Islamic *khuṭba* created a most original effect. His poetry was heroic, didactic, idealistic, preaching purity of the soul, and his elegy "For the Fallen at Gallipoli" is one of the most famous poems of the period:

> Soldier, you who have fallen for this earth/Your fathers may well lean down from heaven to kiss your brow./You are great, for your blood saves the True Faith./Only the heroes of Badr are your equals in glory./

For the populist/nationalist poets of the period, inspired by folk poetry, Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) [see GÖKALP, ZIYA], and Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944) [see MEḤMED EMĪN] are the best examples, didactic in tone and close to folk poetry in form. Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel (1898-1973) [see ČAMLÎBEL, in Suppl.] wrote about Anatolia and its people with the eyes of an urban intellectual observing the rural scene for the first time. Halit Fahri Ozansoy (1891-1971), Orhan Seyfi Orhon (1890-1972) [see ORKHAN SEYFĪ], Yusuf Ziya Ortaç (1913-1975) [see ORTAČ, YŪSUF ḌIYĀ], Enis Behiç Koryürek (1891-1949) [see ḲORYÜREK], Cahit Külebi (1917-) and Ceyhan Atuf Kansu (1919-78) began to write also during this period. Most of these poets were teacher-poets. Through the Halkevi or "People's Houses" [see KHALḲEVI] organisation and its publication, they were able to disseminate their ideas and poems, and an interest in folk culture became popular among the masses through them. A painter and a poet, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (1913-75) [see EYYŪBOGHLU, in Suppl.], not only used the folk poetry tradition but also depicted the colours and the art of Anatolia using words. Some of these poets were more didactic than others; e.g. Behçet Kemal Çağlar (1908-69) dedicated his poetry to the love of Atatürk and the Republican ideals. The poets painfully observed the wretched economic and social condition of Anatolia, and some perceived the Russian Revolution as a new source of hope. This brings Nazım Hikmet (1902-63) [see NĀẒIM ḤIKMET] to mind. Under the influence of Mayakovski in his earlier poems, he launched his free verse and, although he also wrote sensitive and tender love poetry, he is better known by his poems of revolution. In the "Epic of Şeyh Bedrettin"; using modern verse, he united, with great skill, the traditions of *Dīwān* poetry and folk literature:

> It was hot/very hot./The heat was a knife with a bloody handle/and a dull blade,//It was hot./The clouds were loaded,/ready to burst/to burst right away.//Without moving, he looked down/from the rocks/his eyes, like two eagles, descended on the plain./There/the softest and the hardest/the stingiest and the most generous/the most loving/the greatest and loveliest woman/the EARTH/was about to give birth/to give birth right away.//

The era was not dominated only by Nazım Hikmet; there was also much diversity. While Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1905-83) used religious and mystical themes, a group of young poets believing in art for art's sake gathered their poems into a book called *Yedi meşale* "The Seven Torches" (1928). These were Muammer Lütfi (1903-47), Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil (1907-68), Yaşar Nabir Nayır (1908-81), Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk (1907-61), Cevdet Kudret Solok (1907-) and Ziya Osman Saba (1910-57). They asserted that they were tired of the current state of poetry and sought new ways, but on close reading, their poetry is clearly under the influence of Parnassianism, and the movement was in any case short-lived. Their contemporaries were Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-62), Ahmet Muhip Dranas (1909-80), both students of Yahya Kemal, who wrote under the influence of Haşim and Valéry, whilst Ahmet Kutsi Tecer (1901-67) wrote in traditional syllabic metre in stanzaic form expressing genteel sensibilities and Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı (1910-56) achieved popularity with his sincere love of humanity and celebration of life.

b. 1940-60. Politically, the early part of the period was marked by the move from a single-party system to pluralistic democracy and liberalisation, whereas the second part is marked by the crises of democracy and military intervention. In poetry, the 1940s bring to mind firstly the *Garip* "Strange" or *Birinci Yeni* "First New" movement. Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-50) [*q.v.*], Oktay Rifat Horozcu (1914-88) [see OKTAY, RIFAT] and Melih Cevdet Anday (1915-) caused a literary upheaval when they published their poems in a book called *Garip* in 1941. In this they called for abandoning everything that Turkish literature had so far been teaching, including conventional rigid forms and metres. They asked for less rhyme and for a language reduced to a bare minimum, and an avoidance of metaphors and word plays; instead, their theme would be to celebrate the common man and their aim to write for him. Kanık's poem "Epitaph", which talks about the corns of Süleyman Efendi, is a good example. There was little room for sentimentality, but the love and joy of life were always there, mixed with a sinister sense of humour and poetic reality; his "For the Homeland", often recited even today, is one such poem:

> All the things we did for our country/Some of us died/Some of us gave speeches./

Oktay Rifat caught the underlying political desperation of his contemporaries in his "Underdeveloped".

> To fall behind; in science, in art, leafless/ Unflowering in the spring; an aching star/ Imprinted on the forehead.

But Kanık died young, and the other members of the group were to leave it in the 1950s. This latter decade in Turkey saw the liberalisation of political life. There was a growing middle class which did not care too much for poetry; the beginnings of industrialisation (with all its pain) and emigration to the

big cities caused complex socio-economic changes. The *Garip* movement in poetry had outlived its time, and its followers had by now turned to other more personal styles: Rifat took up Neo-Surrealism, and Anday began to write in an epic style, intellectually complex poetry. Some of the poets of the period grew tired of the "poetic realism" which had become fashionable with the *Garip* movement. Salah Birsel (1919-) wrote:

> Take "Love for Mankind" as your topic/And free verse as your prosody./Relevant or not,/ Whenever it occurs to you,/Insert the word "Hunger"/At a convenient spot./Near the end of the poem/Rhyme "Strife" with "the Right to Good life."//There, that's the way to become A Great Poet.

More organised reaction to the *Garip* came in the form of the *İkinci Yeniler* "Second New" movement (1955-65), which advocated "art for innovation's sake". In the 1960s, a monthly review called *Papirüs* edited by Cemal Süreyya (1931-90) brought the proponents of this together; İlhan Berk (1916-), Cemal Süreyya, Turgut Uyar (1927-85) and Edip Cansever (1928-86) are the better-known poets of this movement. They tried their hands at new rhythms and more modern imagery, with distortion of language to the degree of meaninglessness as their mark. They tried to recover the poetic qualities banished by the *Garip* poets, but they were neither élitist nor anti-populist; on the contrary, they tried to depict the experiences of the individual in the city. They were esoteric, individualistic and metaphysical. Thus Cemal Süreyya is witty, subtle and full of clever imagery, with love, understanding, warmth and irony as the major features in his works:

> The clock chimed like a Chinese jar./Bending my brim hat over my misery,/Out of my white insomnia, I,/Exiled to your face,/You woman,/ You were in every secret corner,/Your shadow nettled on the dark street,/(from "Country")

Edip Cansever, influenced by T.S. Eliot, told of the alienated man in an urban setting; Ece Ayhan (1931-) was obscure in his prose poems about history and the underworld; Sezai Karakoç (1933-) was inspired by Islam; whilst Kemal Özer (1936-) was politically committed.

During the 1950s, the proponents of classical Turkish poetry formed a circle around the journal *Hisar* (ran until the 1980s), with such prominent names involved in it as Munis Faik Ozansoy (1911-75), Orhan Seyfi Orhon and Mehmet Çınarlı (1925-).

c. 1960-. The striking feature of the 1960s was the politicisation of the young poets after the military takeover, which advocated a firm return to populism and the teachings of Atatürk. The young poets of the 1960s were a sober group, critical of anyone who did not write for a political purpose, so that Nazım Hikmet and Ahmet Arif (1926-91) became their heroes. Ataol Behramoğlu (1942-), Süreyya Berfe (1943-), İsmail Özel (1944-) started a joint action against what they called the bourgeois writers under the name of "Revolutionary Young Poets". But after the military intervention of 1971, Behramoğlu abandoned crude propaganda and his didactic attitude; Berfe identified with the underprivileged and wrote with a folk style and popular language and İsmet Özel turned to Islam.

Amongst the other poets of the period may be mentioned Hasan Hüseyin (1927-84), Özdemir İnce (1936-), Arif Damar (1925-), Refik Durbaş (1944-), Özkan Mert (1944-), Kemal Özer (1935-), Turgut Uyar (1927-85), Metin Eloğlu (1927-85) and Edip Cansever (1928-85), whilst Atilla İlhan (1925-) and Can Yücel (1926-) became influential also. Atilla İlhan combined the elements of classical with folk poetry, and his exotic and romantic imagery made him popular among the young generation in the 1960s. Yücel is subtle in his irony, combined with lyricism and sensitivity; he tackles politics and sex with the same ease, and his mastery of both Ottoman and folk expressions and puns have contributed to his popularity:

> We can show you two kinds of people/who've learned a thing or two about political finesse:/ politicians and convicts./The reason is there for all to see:/for politicians, politics is the art of staying/out of jail,/for convicts it is the prospect of freedom. (Poem no. 26).

General characteristics of modern Turkish poetry are thus the discovery of Turkish, as used by the folk, in its various forms and its wealth of expressions; and a synthesis of centuries of oral tradition, folk literature, *Dīwān* poetry and universal literary traditions. Halman (1982, 21) lists some of the themes and concerns of Turkish poetry as "nationalism, social justice, search for modernity, Westernization, revival of folk culture, economic and technological progress, human dignity, mysticism, pluralistic society, human rights and freedoms, democratic ideals, hero-cult, populism, Atatürkism, proletarianism, Turanism, Marxist-Leninist ideology, revival of Islam, humanism—in fact, all aspects and components of contemporary culture".

Bibliography: Nermin Menemencioğlu and Fahir İz (eds.), *The Penguin book of Turkish verse*, London 1978; Talat Sait Halman (ed.), *Contemporary Turkish literature*, London 1982; Mehmet Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet devri Türk şiiri*, Ankara 1990; Mahir Ünlü, *20. Yüzyıl Türk edebiyati 1940-1960*, Istanbul 1990; Cevat Çapan, section *Turkey*, in *Modern literature in the Near and Middle East 1850-1970*, London 1991; Feyyaz Karacan Fergar (ed.), *Modern Turkish poetry*, Ware 1992; *Türk şiiri özel sayısı* (*Çağdaş Türk şiiri*) in Türk Dili, nos. 481-2 (Ankara 1992); Ataol Behramoğlu (ed.), *Son yüzyıl büyük Türk şiiri antolojisi, i-ii*, Istanbul 1993. (Çiğdem Balim)

4. In Urdu.

The word has two common meanings in Urdu. Firstly, it means poetry in general, as an art form. It has a synonym, *s͟hāʿirī*, and the two words are sometimes combined in the expression *s͟hiʿr-ō-s͟hāʿirī*. Another Arabic word, *naẓm*, is also used. The second meaning of *s͟hiʿr* is a verse or couplet, pl. *as͟hʿār*. There was comparatively little interest in Urdu prose in India until the end of the 18th century. But poetry, following Persian models, thrived in the South—the Deccan—under the patronage of local Muslim rulers, such as those of Golkonḍa and Bid͟jāpūr, from the early 17th century onwards. Whether the language used is better described as a dialect of Urdu, or as a distinct Dakhani language, is for linguisticians to decide. What cannot be denied is that poetry in the Urdu *lingua franca* of northern India owed much to a few years' stay in Dihlī by a poet of the Deccan, Walī; it is not entirely fanciful to suggest that he is to Urdu poetry what Chaucer is to English.

The forms and techniques of the poetry were based on those of Persian, which in their turn were based on Arabic. The favourite theme was love, embodied in *g͟hazal* [*q.v.*] poetry. The poet complained of his beloved's neglect of him, each poem consisting of between ten and twenty verses. The verse consisted of two hemistiches (*miṣraʿ*), each second one having the same rhyme. The rhyme was also established in the first hemistich of the first verse. In some *g͟hazals*, the beloved might be God, whilst when this

beloved was human, it might be masculine rather than feminine.

There were other forms of monorhyme poetry, the most important being *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] or eulogy, and satire or *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. There were various types of stanzaic poetry, the simplest, used for longer narrative poems, being *mathnawī* [*q.v.*] in rhymed couplets. Elegy (*marthiya* [*q.v.*]) was at first in verses of four, then later six, hemistiches. In addition, mention should be made of short poems (*ḳiṭʿa*, pl. *ḳiṭaʿ*), consisting of as few a one or two verses. These might, for example, serve as chronograms, giving birth or death dates of famous men in Arabic letters instead of numbers.

Authoritative critical and analytical books about poetry in Urdu did not appear until the 19th century. By this time, the so-called Dihlī school of Urdu poetry, which owed its origin to Walī, was on the decline. Political instability, due to Afghan and Marāthī incursions, had made the capital of the Mughal Empire a difficult place of residence, and poets gravitated to Lucknow. India fell increasingly under the control of the British, through their East India Company. This control was strengthened by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Education followed British criteria. This affected the ʿAlīgaṛh Movement led by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*]. Among the major influences on Urdu poetry were loosening of the stranglehold of *ghazal* and of Persian influence, and the rise of literary criticism. As Muhammad Sadiq says (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 269 ff.), the *Muḳaddama-yi-shiʿr-ō-shāʿirī* by Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī "Marks the dawn of historical and scientific criticism in Urdu ... it is the first formal treatise on poetry in Urdu." Ḥālī saw poetry as a civilising instrument instilling morality. Its degeneration in the East was due largely to political reasons. Despotism killed sincerity and encouraged exaggeration. To end this decadence, poetry should not only be subordinate to morality but should also eschew the supernatural and follow reality. Ḥālī refers to English, Persian and Arabic as well as to Urdu poetry. He aimed to commend poetry to the puritanical Indian middle classes who were highly suspicious of it. He was himself a poet; he did not always live up to his own standards, but in his *Musaddas* (a long poem subtitled "The flow and ebb of Islam", in stanzas of six hemistiches) he found a theme worthy of his genius.

A second major study of Urdu poetry is *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (1830-1910) (see Sadiq, 288 ff.). But much of our information about Urdu poets comes from a literary form called *tadhkira* [*q.v.*]: that is, short notes on a number of poets illustrated by short quotations. In the earlier examples, the biographical information tended to be in Persian.

The popularity of poetry was both illustrated and stimulated by the social institution of the *mushāʿara* [*q.v.*]. This took the form of a meeting of poets who would recite their poems in rivalry—not unlike that of the mediaeval German Minnesingers. These played a major role in the emergence in Lucknow in the mid-19th century of the *marthiyas* of Anīs and Dabīr [*q.vv.*] as rivals to *ghazals* in popularity.

This article is not intended to be a history of Urdu poetry. For this, reference should be made to the two general works by Muhammad Sadiq, and Ram Babu Saksena in the *Bibl.*, and to the individual articles on poetical forms and individual poets in this *Encyclopaedia*. As with modern Arabic poetry, one sees classical traditions modified by Western notions. Those notions in Urdu came largely from English, though occasionally from Russian and (in the case of Iḳbāl) German. Until the present century, it was quite common for poets to produce Persian *dīwāns* as well as Urdu ones—not infrequently as copious as or even more copious than their Urdu *dīwāns*. This applied to Ghālib (1797-1869 [*q.v.*]), considered by many as the last of the great classical Urdu poets, but it also applies to Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1873-1938 [*q.v.*]), the "national poet of Pakistan."

Bibliography: Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, is a mine of information on the subject, often unrivalled in the analysis and discussion of important aspects. Examples are his accounts of Walī, Ḥālī and Āzād. Particularly helpful are the numerous Urdu quotations, with English translations. Unfortunately, these are lacking in the other major study, Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927. For a general account in Urdu, see ʿIbādat Brēlwī, *Shāʿirī awr shāʿirī kī tanḳīd*. For the *tadhkira*, see Farmān Fatḥpūrī, *Urdū shuʿarāʾ kē tadhkirē awr tadhkira nigārī*, Lahore 1972. Among the many editions of Ḥālī's *Muḳaddama-yi-shiʿr-ō-shāʿirī*, one may mention that edited by Waḥīd Ḳurēshī, Lahore 1953. Āzād's *Āb-i-ḥayāt* was first published in 1881, but made no mention of the important poet Muʾmin [*q.v.*]; consequently, a later edition should be used.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

5. In Malay and in Indonesia [see Suppl.].

6. In Swahili [see SWAHILI. 2. Literature].

7. In Hausa.

Hausa *waka* includes all forms of song, including a number of categories borrowed from Classical Arabic literature. The most important of these are: *madahu* (< *madh, madīh*), or sometimes *begen annabi*, basically "pleading with the Prophet"; *wa'azi* (< *waʿẓ* "warning, admonition"), which dwells on the torments of Hell Fire for the wicked and the joys of Paradise for the believer; *wakokin tausari* or *wakokin najumi*, astrological verse, dealing with the Zodiac and other astronomical and astrological matters; *wakokin tauhidi* (< *tawḥīd*), which sets out the essentials of Islamic theology; and *wakokin fikih*, dealing with Islamic law. These categories are, however, only approximate, and there is much overlapping; thus *wa'azi* verse may include material pertaining to *tauhidi* or even *madahu*.

For a fuller treatment, and for bibliography, see HAUSA. iii. Literature. (M. HISKETT)

SHIRĀʾ (A.), verbal noun of the root *sh-r-y*, a technical term of early Islamic religion and, more generally, of Islamic commercial practice and law. The word appears to be one of the *aḍdād* [*q.v.*], words with opposing meanings, in this case, buying and selling; the basic meaning must be to exchange or barter goods.

Early theological usage was based on such Ḳurʾānic texts as II, 203/207, "Amongst the people is the one who sells (*yashrī*) himself, desiring God's approval (or: to satisfy God)"; II, 15/16, "These are those who have purchased (*ishtaraw*) error for right guidance/bartered guidance for error"; and XII, 20, "They sold him (*sharawhu*, sc. Joseph) for a low price". The *sabab* of II, 203/207, is said by Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr*, Beirut 1987, i, 254), from Ibn ʿAbbās, to have been when the Companion Ṣuhayb al-Rūmī lost his wealth by making the *hidjra* to Medina, and the Prophet told him that he had in fact gained a profit. Al-Ashʿarī (*Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, i, 102) reports that the leader of the Ḥafṣiyya sub-sect of the Ibāḍiyya sect of the Khāridjites, Ḥafṣ b. Abī Miḳdām [see IBĀḌIYYA, at vol. III, 660a], interpreted the verse as referring to the assassin of ʿAlī, Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*].

Thus this concept became especially associated with the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], who interpreted the Ḳurʾānic references as applying to Khāridjite believers who sacrificed their lives in opposing an unjust ruler and thereby "purchased" Paradise. Accordingly, the active participle *shārī*, pl. *shurāt*, becomes a name for the Khāridjites in general (see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii, 13).

Hence in legal practice, *shirāʾ* has the predominant meaning of buying rather than selling. The importance of *shirāʾ* as a legal term can be found in its nature as a positive action that formulates the purchasing element of the contract of sale. However, the legal literature on *shirāʾ* seems to treat it as a subsidiary component of *bayʿ* [*q.v.*] and is therefore dealt with as part of that contract. The contract subject (*maḥall al-ʿaḳd*) of both *bayʿ* and *shirāʾ*, is covered by the maxim that applies to all contracts of exchanges, i.e. what is prohibited to take is prohibited to give.

Shirāʾ appears to be discussed, as an identified issue, when it can lead to a prohibited transaction. To avoid the possibility of interest (*ribā* [*q.v.*]) the buyer is prohibited from reselling a commodity before purchasing it unless it is in the form of *murābaḥa* (see below). In the civil laws of Islamic countries like Egypt, Syria, Libya and ʿIrāḳ, the sale contract creates three fundamental obligations upon the purchaser (*al-mushtarī*): payment of the price, payment of the contract's expenses, and collecting the goods. The *Madjalla* [see MEDJELLE] agrees with the principle of these three obligations, giving a definition of the *mushtarī* as "he who buys" (art. 161). This definition could be understood to include "any person" who buys, whether for the purpose of consuming the goods or reselling them. The inclusion of the two types of buyer in one definition, without distinguishing their contracts on the base of their intention, can be significant in the case of the *murābaḥa* contract when the intention of the buyer to resell is clearly declared. *Murābaḥa* is a permissible form of sale that allows a purchaser to buy with the intention of subsequently reselling to a designated buyer with a fixed profit rate. The payment of the sale price, inclusive of the agreed profit margin, may be immediate or deferred. *Murābaḥa* also serves to protect the innocent general consumer who is inexperienced in trade. According to Udovitch, by basing the sale price on the original price, the customer was provided with a modicum of protection against unfair exploitation by merchants. Today, *murābaḥa* is considered as the most popular mode of financing used by Interest-Free Banking. The views on the legitimacy of *murābaḥa* banking are divided regarding the nature of the guarantee that some Interest-Free Banks "expect" from the client/consumer for whom they purchased the commodity. If the customer is given total freedom to purchase the commodity or not, it is a legitimate practice; otherwise it is treated with doubt, as it could mask interest (*ribā*) in the guise of a legitimate form of sale. The above definition in the *Madjalla* appears to open the gate to include both kinds of *murābaḥa*, whether with a designated buyer or without, since "any" buyer can fit the category.

The rights of the *mushtarī* appear to be well taken care of in Islamic law under the institution of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] However, he seems to be more protected by *ḥisba* before the contract than after it. If the item is purchased and then appears to be fraudulent, then the dispute can only be settled in court on the ground of *gharar* or *ghishsh* in the same way as any other contract.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Bakīr bin Saʿīd Aʿwasht, *Dirāsāt Islāmiyya fī al-uṣūl al-ibāḍiyya*, 2nd ed., Algiers n.d., 112; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, *al-Wasīṭ fī sharḥ al-ḳānūn al-madanī*, Beirut 1968, iv, 769; A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in Medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970, 220; Ismaʿīl al-Djawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Beirut 1979, vi, 2391; Salīm Rustum Bāz al-Lubnānī, *Sharḥ al-Madjalla*, Beirut 1304/1886-7 repr. 1986, iii, 74; Aḥmad Muḥammad Djalī, *Dirāsa ʿan al-firaḳ fī taʾrīkh al-muslimīn*, Riyāḍ 1988, 51, 97-100.

(M.Y. IZZI DIEN)

AL-**SHIʿRĀ** (fem., with *alif maḳṣūra*), the old Arabic name for Sirius (α Canis Maioris), the brightest fixed star in the sky (apparent magnitude -1.46).

The origin and meaning of the name are debated; while some scholars, less probably, assume a derivation of *al-shiʿrā* from the star's Greek name Σείριος (on this, cf. Scherer, 111 ff.), others, with more probability, maintain a genuine Arabic origin (see the discussion and references in Kunitzsch [1], 117-18, nos. 1 and 3; Eilers, 124). In the dual, *al-shiʿrayān* designated the two stars Sirius, α Canis Maioris, and Procyon, α Canis Minoris, together. Both of them were also given specifying adjectives, Sirius as *al-shiʿrā al-ʿabūr* ("*al-sh.* which has crossed [the Milky Way]") and *al-shiʿrā al-yamāniya* ("the southern *shiʿrā*") and Procyon as *al-shiʿrā al-ghumayṣāʾ* ("*al-sh.* with eyes filthy from weeping") and *al-shiʿrā al-shaʾāmiya* ("the northern *shiʿrā*"), and each of them could be named by one of the adjectives alone (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 289a/b, 290a/b). In *anwāʾ* books and other texts it is often mentioned that *al-shiʿrā* is "in *al-djawzāʾ*" which refers to its position, in ecliptical longitude, in the zodiacal sign of *al-djawzāʾ* = Gemini, the Twins. In Greek-based "scientific" astronomy, following Ptolemy, Sirius is located on the mouth of the Greater Dog. In the star catalogue of his *Almagest*, Ptolemy gives the proper name of the star as ὁ Κύων ("the Dog", a name identical with the name of the whole constellation, Canis Maior, the Greater Dog; the classical name, Σείριος, is not mentioned here), which was rendered in the Arabic versions as *al-kalb* ("the Dog"), for which elsewhere *kalb al-djabbār* ("Orion's Dog") is also found (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 139-40). In modern times, Sirius is reported as being called *el-Mirzem* in Central Arabia (Hess, 221, and others; in classical tradition *al-mirzam* designated β Canis Maioris, β Canis Minoris and γ Orionis; cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 164a/b/c, 165a/b, 166a/b) and, perhaps, *ʿalib* in some places in the Yemen (cf. Gingrich, 161-2, and others). *Al-shiʿrā* is frequently mentioned in classical Arabic poetry. Some Arabs counted *al-shiʿrā* among the *anwāʾ* asterisms, though not as one of the 28 lunar mansions [see ANWĀʾ; MANĀZIL], and they had *radjaz* verses on its heliacal rising (around 27 June; see Pellat, 23, nos. 13-14). There are traditions saying that *al-shiʿrā* was one of the stars worshipped in pre-Islamic times by certain tribes, this star being indicated for the Ḳays (Henninger, 66 ff.). Ibn Ḳutayba specifically tells that Abū Kabsha was the first to worship *al-shiʿrā* (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1956, 46). It is obviously with regard to this pagan superstition that the Ḳurʾān asserts "He [i.e. God] is the Lord of *al-shiʿrā*" (LIII, 49). In the *tafsīr* literature (*ad locum*) this item was afterwards discussed extensively. In another context it is well known that Sirius ("Sothis") was of special importance in ancient Egypt; its heliacal rising indicated the rise of the Nile and determined the beginning of the new year (cf. van der Waerden, 11 ff.). In Hellenistic times there developed a genre of

astrological and astrometeorological literature describing weather prediction and other prophecies related to the heliacal rising of Sirius, partly in connection with observations of the Moon (cf. Gundel, index s.vv. Sirius, Sothis). In the course of the transmission of the ancient sciences to the Arabs, texts of this kind also reached the Islamic world and are now found in numerous manuscripts, often ascribed to such pseudo-authors as Hermes or Ptolemy; one such treatise was also written by the famous Egyptian astronomer Ibn Yūnus, d. 399/1009 (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 54, 67, 173, 199, 312, 317; Fahd, 488-9, 494; Ullmann, 284, 291). A reflex of these traditions is also found in the *anwāʾ* book of Ibn Māsawayh, d. 243/857 (*K. al-Azmina*, ed. P. Sbath, in *BIE*, xv (1933), 235 ff., esp. 254, ll. 3-8 = tr. G. Troupeau, in *Arabica*, xv (1968), 113 ff., esp. 132, on 19 July).

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SHĪRAWAYH, Abū Shudjāʿ b. Shīrawayh b. Shahradār b. Shīrawayh b. Fannākhusrū al-Daylamī al-Hamadhānī (b. Hamadhān 445/1053, d. 509/1115), traditionist and historian. His father, his son Shahradār and his grandson Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim Shīrawayh were all scholars and traditionists of great erudition (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 193). Abū Shudjāʿ pursued his studies as a pupil of the greatest masters of the period, in particular: Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Kūmasānī, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Mustamlī and Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Dīnawarī.

Having acquired a sound and thorough education, especially in jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), in tradition (*ḥadīth*) and in history, he devoted himself to teaching in the *madrasa* of Hamadhān. He was then tutor to numerous pupils, including his son Shahradār, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Isfarāʾīnī and Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī who, in their turn, became eminent traditionists (Subkī, *op. cit.*). Shīrawayh died on 9 Radjab 509/29 November 1115 (*op. cit.*) at 64 years of age.

He composed numerous monographs, most of which no longer exist, such as his *Taʾrīkh Hamadhān* ("History of Hamadhān") to which he owed his reputation among his contemporaries. Unfortunately, no information is currently available regarding this book. Fortunately, however, three other works of his, of *ḥadīth* and of history, have been preserved; numerous manuscripts, as yet unedited, are kept in various libraries (see Brockelmann, I[2], 419-20, S I, 586):

(1) The *Firdaws al-akhbār bi maʾthūr al-khiṭāb al-mukharradj ʿalā K. al-Shihāb* ("The Paradise of stories"). This is a collection of traditions, drawn from the *Shihāb al-akhbār* of Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Kuḍāʿī (d. 454/1062). Like its author, this work was evidently much appreciated by the specialists of the period. It contains some ten thousand *ḥadīth*s, accompanied by complete chains of transmitters (*isnād*s) and divided into chapters arranged in alphabetical order (*Bāb al-alif, Bāb al-bāʾ, Bāb al-tāʾ*, to *Bāb al-yāʾ*). Later traditionists followed his example; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), among others, adopted the same method of classification in his *Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (cf. Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ii, 1254). In numerous instances, the *Firdaws* of Abū Shudjāʿ has been annotated, supplemented or summarised. His son Shahradār (d. 558/1162) enriched it with a supplement, the *Musnad al-Firdaws*, in four volumes, where he assembled 558 chains of transmitters (*isnād*s) used by his father (ms. Rāmpūr, no. 359). A certain ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. ʿAlī composed a summary of it entitled *Bustān al-mustakhradj min al-Firdaws* ("The Garden", extract from the *Firdaws*), contenting himself with only 1,140 traditions. An abbreviated manuscript of this book is to be found in the Algiers Library (no. 496). Numerous manuscripts of the *Firdaws* of Shīrawayh are still preserved in several libraries, especially in Cairo, Rāmpūr, Berlin etc. (cf. Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*).

(2) *Riyāḍ al-uns li-ʿuḳalāʾ al-ins* ("Garden of amusement for the sages of mankind"). In this work, the author traces, in great detail, the history of Islam from the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad to the time of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaẓhir bi-llāh (487-512/1094-1118), his contemporary. Apparently, a single manuscript of this work, which comprises 86 leaves, has survived. It is kept in the National Library of Cairo (no. 48 *ma*). The copyist, Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan, claims to have copied it in 585/1190 from an autograph manuscript.

(3) *Nuzhat al-aḥdāḳ fī makārim al-akhlāḳ* ("Survey of ethics"). This also constitutes a small collection of traditions. Like the *Firdaws*, it is subdivided into chapters arranged in alphabetical order; it seems that only one manuscript is still in existence.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1958, iv, 1258; idem, *al-ʿIbar*, Kuwait 1960, iv, 18; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, Istanbul 1949, xvi, 217-18; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1989-91, iii, 198; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1964-76, vii, 111-12; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, Cairo 1929-52, v, 211; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Tehran 1967, ii, 1254, 1684; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1931-32, iv, 23-4; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951-55, i, 420; idem, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 599; Brockelmann, I[2], 419-20, S I, 586; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Beirut 1969, iii, 268; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1960, iv, 313; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hdss. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1889, xvii, 111-12, nos. 1278-9; *Catalogue of Arabic books in the Rāmpūr State Library*, Rāmpūr 1902, i, 102, nos. 208, 112, 359; *Catalogue général des mss. des bibliothèques publiques*, Algiers 1893, xviii, 124, no. 496; *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-maḥfūẓa bi 'l-kutubkhāna al-khidīwiyya*, Cairo 1890, v, 64-5; *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-mawdjūda bi-Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1930, v, 209. (Moktar Djebli)

SHĪRĀZ, which has the title *dār al-ʿilm*, the capital of the province of Fārs, is an Islamic foundation, on a continually inhabited site, which may go back to Sāsānid, or possibly earlier, times. It was probably founded, or restored, by Muḥammad the brother of Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, or by his cousin Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, in 74/693 (A.J. Arberry, *Shiraz, Persian city of saints and poets*, Norman, Okla. 1960, 31). It is situated at 5,000 ft. above sea level in 29° 36' N. and 52° 32' E. at the western

end of a large basin some 80 miles long and up to 15 miles wide, though less in the vicinity of Shīrāz. A river bed, which is dry for most of the year, bounds the northern part of the city and runs southeastwards towards Lake Māhalū (J.I. Clarke, *The Iranian city of Shiraz*, University of Durham, Department of Geography Research Papers series no. 7, 1963, 8).

According to Mustawfī, there were eighteen villages, irrigated by *ḳanāt*s, in the surrounding district (*ḥawma*) of Shīrāz, which belonged to the city (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, text, 116). A network of roads radiates from Shīrāz (see Le Strange, *Lands*, 195-8). It is approached on the south from the Persian Gulf through high mountain passes, and on the north through a series of hills which separate it from the plain of Marwdasht. Its water supply comes mainly from *ḳanāt*s, of which the most famous is that of Ruknābād [*q.v.*], made by Rukn al-Dawla b. Būya (Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*, 115). July is the hottest month with a mean temperature of 85°, February the coldest with 47°. The annual rainfall is 384.6 mm (*Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, *The land of Iran*, ed. W.B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, 249). There have been several major earthquakes; those of 1824 and 1853 caused heavy loss of life and destruction of property (Clarke, 11). Over the centuries, the city has also suffered from floods, famines epidemics and sieges.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Shīrāz was a centre of learning, where Islamic theology, mysticism and poetry flourished. Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/982 [*q.v.*]), who founded a *ribāṭ* there, is buried in the city. *Ḳāḍī*s, *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs and, to some extent, the rulers of the city as well as the people generally, shared in the vigorous religious life which prevailed (see Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, London 1921, 117-18, on the *ḳāḍī*s of Shīrāz; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Wāʿiẓ Djawādī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971-2, on the *ʿulamāʾ*; and Djunayd, *Shadd al-izār*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1327/1948-9 on the Ṣūfīs). Mustawfī mentions that the people of Shīrāz were much addicted to holy poverty and were of strict orthodoxy (*Nuzhat*, 115, Fr. 113). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also states that they were distinguished by piety, source religion and purity of manners, especially the women (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 300). The Dhahabiyya order, established in the early 11th/17th century had, and has, its centre in Shīrāz (see R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. xxxvi, 1, 1965, Bd. i, 2-4, 1976, Bd. xlv, 2, 1981; and see TARĪḲA). The poet Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], who lived in Shīrāz under Shāh Shudjāʿ b. Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad (759-86/1357-84 [*q.v.*]), is buried outside the city, as also is Saʿdī [*q.v.*], who flourished at the court of the Atabeg Abū Bakr b. Saʿd (623-59/1226-61).

In the early centuries, Shīrāz was under caliphal governors. Al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions the tax rates prevailing in Shīrāz (157). He states that the land in the bazaars belonged to the government (*sulṭān*) and private persons paid ground rents (158). In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, the Ṣaffārid [*q.v.*], having seized Fārs, made Shīrāz his capital. His brother ʿAmr b. Layth [*q.v.*], who succeeded him, built a cathedral mosque on the site of which the present *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* stands [see FĀRS]. ʿAlī b. Būya ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] took Fārs in 321/933. He was succeeded by his nephew ʿAḍud al-Dawla b. Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who ruled Fārs from 338/949 to 366/977 and ʿIrāḳ and Fārs from 366/977 to 372/983. Under his rule, Shīrāz became an important economic and cultural centre. The anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (written in 372/982-3) states that Shīrāz was a large and flourishing town with two fire-temples (tr. Minorsky, 126; see also Spuler, *Iran*, 191-2). ʿAḍud al-Dawla built there a large library, a hospital, mosques, gardens, palaces, bazaars and caravanserais and a cantonment for his troops called Kard Fanā Khusraw. This became a small town in which business flourished. It provided an annual revenue of 16,000 *dīnārs*. According to Ibn al-Balkhī, Shīrāz and Kard Fanā Khusraw together accounted for 316,000 *dīnārs* out of the total revenue of Fārs of over 2,150,000 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 132, 172). After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, Kard Fanā Khusraw fell into decay and was nothing but a hamlet when Ibn al-Balkhī was writing in the first decade of the 6th/12th century, and its estimated revenue (*ʿibrat*) was 250 *dīnārs*, though the sum collected was not more than 120 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 132-3). The hospital by this time was also in decay, but the library, which had been cared for by the family of the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Fārs, was still in good condition (*ibid.*, 133-4).

Towards the end of the Būyid period, there was much disorder in the neighbourhood of Shīrāz. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Bā Kālīdjār, fearing attacks, built a strong wall round the city (Ibn al-Balkhī, 133). According to al-Muḳaddasī, the city had eight gates (430), though some authorities mention eleven. The accounts of Fārs during the early years of Saldjūḳ rule are somewhat confused. In 439/1047-8 Abū Kālīdjār b. Sulṭān al-Dawla made peace with Ṭoghrïl Beg (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 536) and governed Shīrāz on his behalf. He was succeeded by his son Fulād Sulṭān, who was overthrown in 454/1062 by Faḍlūya, the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] leader, who was, in turn, defeated in the following year by an army from Kirmān under Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*]. Shīrāz was repeatedly plundered during these years (Ibn al-Balkhī, 133). After the death of Malik Shāh (485/1092), Saldjūḳ control over Fārs weakened, but various of the Saldjūḳ governors, in spite of frequent struggles between rival *amīr*s for control of the province, appear to have established a degree of security and good government in Shīrāz. Among them were Čawlī Saḳaw, Ḳarača, Mengü-Bars, and Boz-Aba [see BŪZ-ĀBEH]. The first-named was assigned Fārs by Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] in 502/1108-9 or 503/1109-10, and he went there with Čaghrī, Muḥammad's infant son, to whom he was atabeg (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 517, Ibn al-Balkhī, 141, 146-7). Ḳarača, who was atabeg to Saldjūḳ Shāh b. Muḥammad, built and endowed a *madrasa* in Shīrāz, which was still one of the great *madrasa*s of the city in the 8th/14th century (Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, 64-5).

Mengü-Bars also built a *madrasa* in Shīrāz, and during his government Abū Naṣr Lāla founded a *madrasa* near the Iṣṭakhr Gate, which was in excellent condition when Zarkūb was writing (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 65). After the death of Mengü-Bars, Boz-Aba took possession of Fārs in 532/1137-8. He was turned out by Ḳara Sunḳur, but retook the province in 534/1139-40. He died in 542/1147. His wife Zāhida Khātūn is reputed by Zarkūb to have governed Shīrāz for twenty-one years (this must have been both during Boz-Aba's lifetime, when he was presumably often absent from the city on campaigns, and thereafter). She built a magnificent *madrasa* in the city and constituted numerous *awḳāf* for it. Sixty *fuḳahāʾ* received allowances daily and many pious and learned men dwelt there. It had

a high minaret but this, Zarkūb states, was in ruins when he was writing (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 66-7).

The Salghurids [*q.v.*] established themselves in possession of Fārs by the middle of the 6th/12th century. Under their rule, Shīrāz flourished. They and their ministers made many charitable foundations in the city. Sunkur b. Mawdūd (d. 558/1162-3), the founder of the dynasty, built the Sunkuriyya *madrasa* and a mosque, and a minaret near the latter and a *sikāya* near the former (*ibid.*, 72-3). His tomb was in the Sunkuriyya mosque, and 208 years after his death the people of Shīrāz were still seeking fulfilment of their vows at it and the *shar'ī* judge accepted oaths invoking the name of his tomb (*ibid.*, 73). Zangī b. Mawdūd (d. 570 or 571/1175-6) constituted several large villages and pieces of land into *wakf* for the shrine of Ibn Khafīf (*ibid.*; Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, Tehran AHS 1336-9/1958-61, 504). He also built a *ribāṭ* in Shīrāz (Zarkūb, 73). Amīn al-Dīn Kāzirūnī (d. 567/1171-2), the *wazīr* of Tekele b. Zangī, who succeeded Zangī b. Mawdūd, built a *madrasa* close to the 'Atīk mosque and a *ribāṭ* (*ibid.*, 72). After a period of internecine strife during which agriculture was ruined and famine and pestilence broke out (Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, 504-5), Sa'd b. Zangī (591-623/1195-1226) established his supremacy, and prosperity was restored in the early years of the 7th/13th century. According to Waṣṣāf, Sa'd's tax administration was lenient (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, Bombay 1269/1852-3, 161). He built a wall round the city, a splendid new *djāmi'* and the Atābakī Bazaar (Waṣṣāf, 155; Zarkūb, 77). His *wazīr* 'Amīd al-Dīn Abū Naṣr As'ad also built a *madrasa* in the quarter of the Iṣṭakhr Gate (*ibid.*, 79). Sa'd, who had extended his rule to include Kirmān, made an expedition into 'Irāk in 613/1216-17 but was defeated by the Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad. On his return to Shīrāz, his son Abū Bakr, displeased with the terms he had made with the Khwārazmshāh, refused him entry into the city. In the fighting which ensued, Sa'd was wounded, but the people of Shīrāz let him into the city by night. He seized and imprisoned Abū Bakr. However, on Sa'd's death in 628/1230-1, Abū Bakr succeeded him (Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, 505).

The Mongols were meanwhile advancing on Persia, and so Abū Bakr sent his nephew Tahamtam to Ögedey offering submission and agreeing to pay tribute (Waṣṣāf, 156). Shīrāz was thus spared devastation by the Mongols, though Mongol *shiḥnas* came to Shīrāz and lived outside the city (*ibid.*, 157). However, the favourable tax situation which had prevailed under Sa'd b. Zangī did not continue. The demands of the Mongol commanders, and the establishments of the Mongol princesses, together with the needs of Abū Bakr's army and administration, increased. A new settlement, the *mīrāthī* settlement, was drawn up by 'Imād al-Dīn Mīrāthī, the head of Abū Bakr's *dīwān al-inshā'*. Under it, new and higher taxes were imposed on Shīrāz, including house taxes (*dārāt*), *ṭayyārāt* (the meaning of this term is uncertain; it may have meant in this context water taxes), imposts upon the import of cloth, taxes on horses, mules, camels, cattle and sheep, and *tamgha* taxes on foodstuffs apart from wheat and barley (Waṣṣāf, 161-2; Zarkūb, 82). Despite higher taxation, Abū Bakr is well spoken of by the sources. He made many charitable bequests (Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, 506). He built a hospital in Shīrāz and a *sikāya* at the 'Atīk mosque and constituted many *awkāf* for them (Zarkūb, 85). Two of his ministers, Amīr Mukarrab al-Dīn (d. 665/1266-7) and Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Bakr, emulated him; the former built a *madrasa* in the Shīrāz bazaar and a *ribāṭ* adjoining the 'Atīk mosque, a *dār al-ḥadīth* and hospital and a *sikāya* by the 'Atīk mosque and constituted many *awkāf* for them, while the latter built a *djāmi'*, *dār al-ḥadīth*, hospital and *sikāya*. The *djāmi'* was in good repair when Zarkūb was writing and the Friday prayers were held in it (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 84).

On Abū Bakr's death in 659/1261, Fārs fell into a state of disorder (Waṣṣāf, 180). Finally, Hülegü sent an army to Shīrāz to avenge the murder by Saldjūk Shāh b. Salghur Shāh of two *baskaks* whom Hülegü had sent to Shīrāz. He was defeated and killed in 662/1263-4 (*ibid.*, 183-9). The last of the Salghurids was Abish bt. Sa'd (d. 685/1286-7). She was married to Tash Möngke, Hülegü's son, and was given estates in Shīrāz and a grant on the taxes of the city as her marriage portion (*mahr wa shīr bahā*) (Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, 272). At the beginning of 665/1266, two Mongol officials were sent to Shīrāz to take what was in the provincial treasury and to collect the annual taxes, a task which they were unable to carry out. The next few years were troubled by much disorder (Waṣṣāf, 190-3). In 680/1281 Abaka died. Tegüder appointed Tash Möngke as governor of Shīrāz with orders to dismiss Bulughan, Abaka's *baskak*. Bulughan fled, and Fārs submitted to Tash Möngke. When Tash Möngke returned to the *urdu* in 682/1283-4, his wife Abish was made governor of Shīrāz by Tegüder. Her appointment coincided with the outbreak of three years of drought and famine in 683-5/1284-7, during which, Waṣṣāf alleges, over 100,000 persons died (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 209; Lambton, *op. cit.*, 272 ff.). After the death of Abish in 685/1286-7, disorders broke out in Shīrāz. Djočī, who was sent by Arghun to restore order, made heavy exactions on the people (Waṣṣāf, 225).

During the Ilkhanate, repeated demands for alleged arrears of taxation by *ilčis* [see ELČĪ] and others were made on the province of Fārs and there is no reason to suppose that Shīrāz was exempt from these demands (Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia, II*, in *SI*, lxv [1987], 104-15). The situation was further worsened by natural disasters. Spring rains failed again in 698/1299; pestilence broke out and an epidemic of measles (*surkhadja*), from which, Waṣṣāf alleges, 50,000 people died in Shīrāz and the surrounding districts (*Tārīkh*, 359). Under Ghazan [*q.v.*] various steps were taken to reform the administration of the province, but according to Waṣṣāf these measures were not successful (*ibid.*, 115-22). Mustawfī mentions the absence of justice in Shīrāz in his time (*Nuzha*, 115). He states that the taxes of Shīrāz were levied as *tamgha* and farmed for 450,000 *dīnārs* (*ibid.*, 116). There were 500 charitable foundations (*buk'a*) in Shīrāz, which had been made by wealthy people in the past and which had innumerable *awkāf*, but, he continues, "few of these reach their proper purpose: for the most part they are in the hands of those who devour them" (*ibid.*, 115). He states that the city had 9 gates and 17 quarters (114). Ghazan made a *dār al-siyāda* in Shīrāz (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 204) and in 702/1302-3 a *yarligh* was issued for a high wall and deep moat to be made round the city. Five *tumans zar* from the taxes, presumably of Shīrāz, for that year were allocated to this purpose, and when this proved insufficient, the order was given for the revenue for the whole year to be allocated (Waṣṣāf, 385). Whether the work was ever completed is not stated.

Küdüdjin, the daughter of Abish Khātūn and the eldest of Tash Möngke's many daughters, was given

a permanent contract (*muḳāṭaʿa-i abadī*) on the taxes of Fārs by Abū Saʿīd, the last of the Il-Khans, in 719/1319-20. Waṣṣāf praises her care for the people. He records that she paid particular attention to the upkeep of the buildings made by her forbears, including the ʿAḍudī *madrasa* in Shīrāz (*Tārīkh*, 625). This *madrasa* was built by Terken Khātūn, the wife of Saʿd b. Abī Bakr, and possibly named after her son Muḥammad, who had the *laḳab* ʿAḍuḍ al-Dīn. Waṣṣāf states that the revenues of the *awḳāf* of the *madrasa* amounted to over 200,000 *dīnār*s when he was writing (i.e. in 727/1326) and that Kürdüdjin expended them on their proper purposes and increased them (*ibid.*, 624-5; Lambton, *Continuity and change*, 275-6).

During the reign of Abū Saʿīd, Maḥmūd Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh Indjü, who had been sent to Fārs by Öldjeytü to administer the royal estates, succeeded in making himself practically independent in Shīrāz and Fārs [see INDJŪ]. He was succeeded by his son Masʿūd, who surrendered Shīrāz to Pīr Ḥusayn, grandson of Čoban [see ČŪBĀNIDS], in 740/1339. He was driven out two years later by his nephew Malik Ashraf. On the latter's withdrawal in 744/1342-3, Abū Isḥāḳ, the youngest son of Maḥmūd Shāh, established his rule. It was during his reign that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Shīrāz for the second time in July 1347. In spite of the extortion and financial disorders in Shīrāz under the Ilkhanate described by Mustawfī and Waṣṣāf, there seems to have been a revival under the Indjüids. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that the revenue yield was high (*Travels*, tr. Gibb, ii, 1962, 307). He speaks highly of the bazaars of Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 299). He describes how Abū Isḥāḳ conceived the ambition to build a vaulted palace like the Aywān Kisrā at Ctesiphon and ordered the inhabitants of Shīrāz to dig its foundations. When he saw this edifice, it had reached about 30 cubits from the ground (*ibid.*, 310). Among the sanctuaries of Shīrāz, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions especially that of Aḥmad b. Mūsā, which was highly venerated by the Shīrāzīs. Tash Khātūn, the mother of Abū Isḥāḳ, built at his tomb a large college and hospice, in which food was supplied to all comers and Ḳurʾān readers continually recited the Ḳurʾān over the tomb. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that the Khātūn made a practice of going to the sanctuary on the eve of every Monday, and on that night the *ḳāḍī*s, the doctors of the law and *sharīf*s would assemble there. He was told by trustworthy persons that over 1,400 *sharīf*s (children and adults) were in receipt of stipends (313). The tomb-mosque of Aḥmad b. Mūsā was known locally as Shāh Čirāgh. It was rebuilt in 1506 and again later, but by then the *madrasa* and hospice no longer existed (313, 135 n.). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also mentions the mausoleum of Rūzbihān Baḳlī (316) and the tomb of Zarkūb (317).

In 754/1353 Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] captured Shīrāz. Abū Isḥāḳ fled, but was captured and executed in 758/1357. Tīmūr invaded southern Persia in 789/1387 and placed the Muẓaffarid Shāh Yaḥyā in control of Shīrāz, but after Tīmūr's withdrawal Shāh Manṣūr wrested Shīrāz from him. In 795/1393 Shāh Manṣūr was killed in an encounter with Tīmūrid forces outside Shīrāz. There appears to have been a cultural revival under the Tīmūrids. Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh (r. 812-17/1409-14), made a number of new buildings (J. Aubin, *Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz*, in *SI*, viii [1957] 75-6), and during his government and that of Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], who was appointed governor of Fārs in 817/1414, a new style of painting flourished in Shīrāz (H.R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in der Neuzeit*, Beirut 1989, 172; B. Gray, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, *Timurid and Safavid periods*, ed. P. Jackson and L. Lockhart, Cambridge 1986, 849).

The later Tīmūrids disputed possession of Fārs with the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. During the reign of Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who eventually defeated Djahānshāh, the last of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in 872/1467, and the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd in the following year, Shīrāz once more became a thriving city. Josafa Barbaro, the Venetian, whose travels spanned the years 1436-51, states that Shīrāz was a great city, full of people and merchants, with a population of 200,000, and that it had a prosperous transit trade. Large quanties of jewels, silks and spices were to be found there. The city had high mud walls, deep ditches and a number of excellent mosques and good houses. Security prevailed in the city (*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, London 1873, 74). Ludovico di Varthema (who set out for the east in 1502) also states that large quantities of jewels were be found in Shīrāz (*Travels ... A.D. 1503-1508*, tr. J.W. Jones and ed. G.P. Badger, London 1863, p. iii).

In 909/1503 Shīrāz fell to the Ṣafawids (K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 10). Under the early Ṣafawids, Shīrāz was ruled by Dhu 'l-Ḳadr governors. However, ʿAbbās I appointed the *ḳullar aḳasi* Allāhwirdī Khān (d. 1022/1613) governor in 1004/1595-6. He was succeeded by his son Imām Ḳulī Khān. Under their rule Fārs enjoyed a considerable degree of independence, and Shīrāz prospered. Allāhwirdī Khān built the Khān Madrasa for Mullā Ṣadrā [*q.v.*], who returned to Shīrāz and taught there during the last thirty years or so of his life (Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ed. Suhayl Khʷānsārī, Tehran AHS 1317/1938, 299). Imām Ḳulī Khān built a palace in the *maydān* and walls round the city and planted cypress trees on both sides of the Iṣfahān road in imitation of the Čahār Bāgh of Iṣfahān (Lockhart, *Persian cities*, London 1960, 46). He entertained the English envoy Sir Dodmore Cotton at Shīrāz in 1628. He was suspected by Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) of harbouring rebellious intentions, and was murdered on the latter's orders in 1042/1632. The administration of Shīrāz was then placed under the control of the central *dīwān* under a *wazīr*, Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad (Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, 295; Röhrborn 37, 55).

Many European travellers passed through Shīrāz, which was on the direct line of communications from the Persian Gulf to Iṣfahān, the Ṣafawid capital, and recorded their impressions of the city. Among them were Della Valle (1612-21), Thomas Herbert (1628), Tavernier (1632-68), Thévenot (1663), Chardin (1666-9, 1672-7), Fryer (1676-8), Kaempfer (1683), and Cornelius de Bruin (1702-4). When Herbert passed through the city, part of the old walls were still standing, but they had disappeared by the time Tavernier and Chardin visited the city. In 1617 the English East India Company set up a factory in Shīrāz, but by the middle of the century trade had been much reduced as a result of the rivalry of the Dutch East India Company. A Carmelite house was established in Shīrāz in 1623. It was temporarily closed in 1631 and reopened in 1634 (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 322, ii, 1056-7).

In 1630 and 1668 the city was partially destroyed by floods, which on the latter occasion were followed by pestilence, but when Fryer visited Shīrāz in 1676 the town had largely recovered (Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 47). Several European visitors to Shīrāz mention ceramic

manufactures in the 11th/17th century. Some wine was exported to Portugal. It was made mainly by Jews, of whom there were some 600 families in Shīrāz according to Tavernier (*Voyages en Perse*, repr. Geneva 1970, 309-10).

After the fall of the Ṣafawids in 1722, Shīrāz suffered in the fighting between the Ghalzay Afghāns [see GHALZAY] and Nādir Ḳulī (later Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]). In 1723 an Afghān force marched on Shīrāz. The governor refused to yield. The city held out for nine months before famine compelled its defenders to surrender in 1136/1723. Nearly 100,000 persons are said to have perished during the siege (Muḥammad Shīrāzī, *Rūz-nāma*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran AHS 1325/1946, 3; Ḥasan b. Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi nāṣirī*, lith. Tehran 1313/1895-6, i, 161. See also Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 203). In 1729 Nādir, who had driven the Afghāns out of Iṣfahān, defeated an Afghān force near Shīrāz, which then fell into his hands. He gave orders for the city to be restored, part of the city and practically all of the gardens having been destroyed in the course of the final struggle with the Afghāns. He contributed 1,500 *tūmāns* for the restoration of the Shāh Čirāgh mosque (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 46). In 1733-4 Muḥammad Khān Balūč rebelled in Fārs, declaring in favour of the Ṣafawid pretender Ṭahmāsp. He was defeated by Nādir and escaped to Shīrāz and thence to Ḳays Island (*ibid.*, 72-8). Nādir reoccupied Shīrāz and appointed Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Shīrāzī b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, *mustawfī* of Shīrāz, as deputy governor of Fārs. His family had held in their possession from generation to generation the office of *mīrāb* of Ḳumisha and Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 80, and see Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i nāṣirī*, ii, 74-5). In January 1744 Taḳī Khān rebelled. A force sent by Nādir laid siege to Shīrāz, which fell after four months. The city was then sacked and many of the population put to the sword. Two towers of human heads were erected and the gardens round the town devastated. Plague broke out after the siege and allegedly carried off 1400 people (Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 241-2).

Nādir Shāh died in 1747. Between his death and the rise of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], Shīrāz was repeatedly plundered by the contending parties. By 1179/1765 Karīm Khān had emerged as the undisputed ruler of Persia apart from Khurāsān (see J.R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand*, Chicago 1979; and ḲĀDJĀR). In 1180/1766-7 he made Shīrāz his capital, which thus became the capital not simply of a province but of the kingdom, a position which it had not held since the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. Under Karīm Khān's rule, security, by all accounts, prevailed in Shīrāz. The city was repopulated and prosperity returned. Commerce and foreign trade were encouraged (*A chronicle of the Carmelites*, i, 665). Customs dues were paid on all goods coming into the city (Francklin, *Observations made on a tour from Bengal to Persia in the years 1786-7*, London 1790, 148-9). Provisions were cheap and their price regulated by the *dārūgha* [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, 146). Glass was made in Shīrāz and great quantities exported to other parts of Persia (*ibid.*, 147-8). Wine was also made, chiefly by Jews and Armenians, and exported to the Persian Gulf for the Indian market (*ibid.*, 143).

Prosperity was temporarily interrupted by famine which affected southern Persia in 1775 (Perry, *op. cit.*, 241), and after Karīm Khān's death decay set in (Francklin, 147). According to Muḥammad Hāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, the price of wheat bread in Shīrāz rose during the famine to 250 *dīnārs* per Tabrīz *man*. The state granaries were not opened in Shīrāz because it was thought wise to keep the stores for the army, but grain was brought to Shīrāz from *dīwānī* granaries elsewhere. Although the cost of this is alleged by Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ to have worked out at 1,400 *dīnārs* per Tabrīz *man*, Karīm ordered the wheat to be sold for 200 *dīnārs* per Tabrīz *man* and barley for 100 *dīnārs*. All livestock were sent to Ray, Ḳazwīn and Ādharbāydjān because of lack of fodder (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran AHS 1348/1969, 421-2).

Karīm Khān undertook a massive building programme in his capital, to take part in which craftsmen and workmen came from all over Persia (*ibid.*, 414). He built a new wall and a dry ditch round the city. William Francklin, who was in Shīrāz in 1786-7, shortly after Karīm Khān's death, states that the wall was 25 ft. high and 10 ft. thick with round towers at a distance of 80 paces from each other and that there were six gates (*op. cit.*, 52-3). According to Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 12,000 labourers were employed in digging the ditch (*op. cit.*, 420). Karīm Khān also built, or repaired, the fortress (*ḳalʿa*) of the city and built a citadel (*arg*), in which his successor Djaʿfar Khān resided (Francklin, 54-5; Fasāʾī, i, 216), a *dīwān-khāna*, artillery park (*tūp-khāna*) and a magnificent brick-built covered bazaar, known as the Wakīl Bazaar, the shops of which were rented to merchants by the Khān at a monthly rent (Francklin, 56-9). The foundations for a splendid mosque and associated buildings were laid but not finished before Karīm Khān died (*ibid.*, 64-4). Karīm Khān also built several thousand houses for the Lurs and Laks who belonged to his army (Fasāʾī, i, 216). The city had eleven quarters, five of which were Ḥaydarī quarters and five Niʿmatī (*ibid.*, ii, 47). The eleventh quarter was inhabited by the Jews, who had grown in number. The Armenians, who were mainly engaged in the wine trade, had also increased in number (Perry, 240).

On the death of Karīm Khān, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār [*q.v.*], who had been held hostage in Shīrāz, escaped. In 1204/1789-90 he made an expedition to the south. Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Zand [*q.v.*], who had succeeded Djaʿfar Khān in 1203/1789, fled to Shīrāz, where he was besieged. After three months, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān raised the siege, his attention being required to deal with disorders by the Yamut and Goklan Turkmens. In 1205/1791 Luṭf ʿAlī Khān made an abortive attempt to recover Iṣfahān, leaving Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, the *kalāntar*, in charge of Shīrāz. During Luṭf ʿAlī Khān's absence, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm seized the city and entered into negotiations with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān to surrender the city to him.

The government of Fārs under the Ḳādjārs, as that of other major provinces, was for much of the time in the hands of Ḳādjār princes. Shīrāz remained the provincial capital, but the governors were frequently absent on military expeditions or visits to the court. The administration was largely in the hands of the *wazīrs* of Fārs (see appendix in H. Busse, *History of Persia under Qajar rule translated from the Persian of Ḥasan-e Fasāʾī's Fārsnāma-ye Nāṣerī*, New York 1972, 422-5 for a list of governors and *wazīrs* of the province of Fārs under the Ḳādjārs). The distance from Tehran made control by the central government precarious and intermittent. In Djumādā II 1209/December 1794-January 1795, Fatḥ ʿAlī Mīrzā (Bābā Khān) [see FATḤ ʿALĪ SHĀH] was appointed governor of Fārs, Kirmān and Yazd by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. He proceeded to Shīrāz. On the murder of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān in 1797, he returned to Tehran. Having established himself as shāh, he appointed his brother Ḥusayn

Ḳulī Mīrzā governor of Fārs. The latter arrived in Shīrāz in Rabīʿ I 1212/September 1797. In the following year he rebelled, but submitted almost immediately. The governorship of Fārs was then conferred upon Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār Ḳoyunlu. He was succeeded in 1214/1709 by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's son Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā, who was accompanied to Fārs by 800 riflemen (*tufangčīs*) from Nūr in Māzandarān. They were joined two years later by their families and took up residence in the Murdistān district of Shīrāz (which had been inhabited by Laks in the time of Karīm Khān and then destroyed by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān). They were unpopular and committed many disorders, and in 1244/1828-9 were ordered to return to Tehran (Fasāʾī, ii, 55).

Scott Waring, who was in Shīrāz in 1802, states that at least a fourth part of the city was in ruins (*A tour to Sheeraz by the route of Kazroon and Feerozabad*, London 1807, 33); Sir William Gore Ouseley, who passed through the city in 1811 on his way to Tehran, also notes its apparent decay (*Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, etc., London 1819, ii, 17). James Morier estimated, with reservation, the population of Shīrāz in 1810 to have been not more than 19,000 (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 110-11).

Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā's governorship of Fārs, and the 19th century in general, were marked by natural disasters, the spread of family and tribal rivalries and financial maladministration. Pestilence (*wabā*) broke out in 1237/1822, and Fasāʾī alleges that, in the space of five or six days, 6,000 people died in Shīrāz (i, 368). Outbreaks of cholera were frequent. In 1247/1830-1 Shīrāz suffered famine as a result of locusts, which ravaged southern Persia, and plague (*ṭāʿūn*) (Ahmad Seyf, *Iran and the great plague of 1830-1*, in *SI*, lxix [1989], 151-65). Severe famine again set in 1860 and continued until 1871-2 (see C.J. Wills, *In the land of the Lion and the Sun, or Modern Persia*, London 1893, 251-5). On this occasion, Muḥammad Ḳāsim Khān, who was appointed governor of Fārs in 1288/1871, prepared a number of workhouses (*gadākhāna*) in Shīrāz, each with a capacity of 50-60 persons. He undertook responsibility for six of these himself and made several others the responsibility of the great men of Shīrāz (Fasāʾī, i, 331).

Farhād Mīrzā Muʿtamid al-Dawla, who was appointed governor of Fārs for the second time in 1293/1876, made an attempt to regulate the building trade in Shīrāz. At the beginning of the year the brickmakers, stucco workers and cement workers were assembled, and the number of bricks, their cost and the amount of cement needed, and the due of the master bricklayer (*ustād*), were fixed (Fasāʾī, i, 33). In 1299/1881-2, on the orders of Fatḥ ʿAlī Ṣāḥib Dīwān, *wazīr* of Fārs, the streets of the city were stone-paved, and on the orders of Ḳawām al-Mulk a brick roof was made for the coppersmiths' bazaar and the shops from the Iṣfahān gate to the Wakīl Bazaar.

By the beginning of the Ḳādjār period, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm had become the leading man of Shīrāz. He became Āḳā Muḥammad Khān's first minister. When he was seized and put to death with many of his family by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1215/1801, the family suffered a temporary setback. However, in 1226/1811-12, his son Mīrzā ʿAlī Akbar was made *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of Fārs and in 1245/1829-30 given the *laḳab* Ḳawām al-Mulk. He and his descendants, who became the leaders of the Khamsa tribal federation, played a major role in provincial and city politics. Their main rivals were the *ilbegis* and chiefs of the Ḳashḳāʾī tribe [see KASHKĀY]. The *ʿulamāʾ* also played an important part in city politics.

Morier mentions that there was great discontent in Shīrāz in *ca.* 1811 over the price of bread, which had risen because of the cornering of grain by an official believed to have been acting together with the prince governor's mother. The populous had recourse to the Shaykh al-Islām and expressed their grievances in a tumultuous way. The price of bread was lowered for a few days and the bakers were publicly bastinadoed (*Second journey*, 102-3).

A variety of tolls and dues was levied in the city by different officials. Scott Waring states that the commander of the citadel (*kutwāl*) levied a toll on every beast of burden which entered the city carrying a load (*op. cit.*, 80). Binning, who was in Shīrāz in the middle of the century, states that each craft and trade paid a lump sum in taxation to the government, which sum was apportioned among the members of the craft by mutual agreement (*A journal of two years' travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, London 1857, i, 278-9). He also gives a list of prices of commodities in Shīrāz *ca.* 1857 (*ibid.*, 328-9). Consul Abbott, writing in the middle of the 19th century, states that the bazaars of Shīrāz contained about 1,200 shops. A few articles of hardware and cutlery guns, swords, daggers and knives, and *khātam* work were produced (*Cities and trade. Consul Abbott on the economy and society of Iran, 1847-1866*, ed. A. Amanat, London 1983, 88).

Irregularity in the collection of the provincial taxes gave rise to frequent disputes with the central government. In 1244/1828-9 Fatḥ ʿAlī came to Shīrāz to look into the question of arrears. He accepted 200,000 *tūmāns* from Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā in settlement. In 1247/1831-2 a remission of taxes was given on account of ravages by locusts and plague. Failure to remit the provincial taxes, however, continued and in 1834 Fatḥ ʿAlī again set out for Shīrāz to collect arrears. He fell ill in Iṣfahān and died there on 23 October 1834. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā thereupon read the *khuṭba* in his own name in Shīrāz and marched on Iṣfahān. His forces were defeated near Ḳumisha. Rioting broke out in Shīrāz. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā surrendered and later died. Muḥammad Shāh meanwhile appointed his brother Fīrūz Mīrzā governor of Fārs.

During the 19th century, there were frequent outbreaks of disorder in Shīrāz. An insurrection, provoked in part by the conduct of the Ādharbāydjānī Turkish soldiers in Shīrāz and fomented by Shaykh Abū Ṭurāb, took place in 1254-5/1839 and led to the dismissal of Firaydūn Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā, who had been appointed governor in 1252/1836 (Fasāʾī, i, 296. See also Great Britain. Public Record Office. F.O. 60: 74. Sheil to Palmerson, no. 42. Erzerum, 24 August 1840 and enclosures). In 1261/1845 Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad declared himself to be the Bāb. He was arrested and expelled from the city [see BĀB]. Consul Abbott remarks on the unruly nature of the population of Shīrāz, and states that during the government of Bahrām Mīrzā (1264-6/1848-9) the city was often the scene of riot and bloodshed. He also notes that the Ḥaydarīs and Niʿmatīs indulged in frequent factional strife (*Cities and trade: Consul Abbot on the economy and society of Iran 1847-1866*, 88, 175-6; see also Binning, *op. cit.*, i, 273 ff.). In 1853 there were reports that the venality and oppression of the local authorities were alienating the sympathy of the people from the shāh and his government (F.O. 60: 180. Thompson to Clarendon, no. 63. Camp nr. Tehran, 13 July 1853). Communications with the capital were

improved when the Indo-European telegraph line from Tehran to Bushire, which passed through Shīrāz, became operational in March 1865 (W.K. Dickson, *The life of Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith*, London 1901, 225).

Ẓill al-Sultan, who had been made governor of Iṣfahān in 1874, was given the government of Fārs in 1881 also, and until he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān in 1887, most of southern Persia, including Fārs, was virtually independent of the central government. He continued to have his seat in Iṣfahān and governed Fārs and Shīrāz through subordinate officials. According to the census made in 1301/1883-4, there were 6,327 houses in Shīrāz, and the population of the eleven quarters numbered 25,284 men and boys and 28,323 women and girls (Fasā'ī, ii, 22-3). In 1891, at the time of the Tobacco Régie, there was violent opposition to the Régie in Shīrāz (see Lambton, *The Tobacco Régie, a prelude to revolution*, in *SI*, xxii [1965], 127, 131-2, also in eadem, *Qājār Persia*, London 1987, 230-1, 234).

The movement for constitutional reform at the beginning of the 20th century spread to Shīrāz as to many other cities, though Shīrāz did not become one of the major centres of the movement. There were disturbances there in 1906 and riots in March 1907. Much of Fārs was in a state of turmoil, and during the First World War disorders continued. The officers of the Swedish gendarmerie were favourably disposed towards the Central Powers; and in the autumn of 1915 the Ḳashḳā'ī and mutinous gendarmerie seized the British consulate, the offices of the Imperial Bank of Persia (which had been opened in May 1891) and the Indo-European Telegraph Company in Shīrāz, and took members of the British community prisoner (Sykes, *A history of Persia*[3], London 1969, ii, 445-7, C. Skrine, *World War in Iran*, London 1962, pp. xx-xxi). In 1916 and 1917 order was to some extent restored in Fārs, and the Southern Persian Rifles were formed and officially recognised by the Persian Government in March 1917 (Sykes, ii, 476). By May 1918 the situation had again deteriorated, and in the summer of that year the Ḳashḳā'īs invested Shīrāz but were defeated in October (*ibid.*, ii, 499 ff.). In the influenza epidemic of 1918 10,000 persons in Shīrāz lost their lives (*ibid.*, ii, 515). In the 1920s the tribal areas in Fārs were in a state of turmoil until Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] reduced them. During his reign Shīrāz did not have a major share in the industrial developments which took place in some parts of Iran, but in the years after the Second World War there was considerable development. By 1961-2 the population of the city of Shīrāz had risen to 129,023 (*Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'ī-i Īrān*, ed. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Razmārā, Tehran AHS 1330/1961-2, vii, 148) and to *ca.* 325,000 by 1972.

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SHĪRĀZĪ, the *nisba* of the Sultans of Kilwa [*q.v.*], in frequent use by Africans and Europeans to perpetuate a myth of a "Shīrāzī" period of history and of "migration" into East Africa.

The *nisba* is first recorded in Barros' translation of a dynastic history of Kilwa of *ca.* 1506, and in the independent Arabic *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa* (*ca.* 1550; B.L. Or. ms. 2666); and on two seals, in a treaty between the Sultan of Kilwa and a French slave-trader, 4 November 1776. Various Swahili histories collected in the 19th century and after, on the coast and as far as the Comoro Islands, repeat it. These all claim that the Kilwa dynasty originated from Shīrāz in Persia, albeit they situate Shīrāz on the coast. Members of the family were still using the *nisba* in 1958.

A "Shīrāzī" colonisation of East Africa has been postulated by European archaeologists and historians, by Justus Strandes (1899), A.C. Hollis (1900), Pearce (*ca.* 1920), and elaborated by W.H. Ingrams (1931). It was popularised by L. Hollingsworth's *Short history of the East African Coast* (1935), an official school textbook translated into Swahili. They claimed that "Shīrāzīs" introduced stone buildings, Shī'ism (albeit the people are Sūnnis), manufacture of lime and cement, woodcarving and weaving cotton. Krumm (1940) went further to claim that Swahili contains numerous Persian words; nevertheless, such borrowings can be shown to have been transmitted through Arabic. One might expect Persian inscriptions: only two mention Persians in Mogadishu among numerous Arabic inscriptions; a Persian inscription, a fragment only of a tile, was recorded by Burton on a tomb at Tongoni, Tanzania, but is now lost. It has also been claimed, in Zanzibar [*q.v.*], in Pemba [*q.v.*], and on the mainland coast, that the celebration of Nau Ruzi [see nawrūz. 2.] proves Persian origin, whereas the Naw Rūz calendar was used by seamen throughout the Indian Ocean. At Manda [*q.v.*] H.N. Chittick claimed to have excavated what was originally a colony of the 9th century from Sīrāf [*q.v.*]. Subsequent excavations nearby and in Zanzibar and Pemba by M.C. Horton, while showing Sīrāfī influences in architecture, have produced no evidence for any connection with Shīrāz.

In addition, certain institutions connected with the royal houses of Pate, Malindi, Mombasa, Vumba and Kilwa have been attributed to the Shīrāzī. They include royal drums and trumpets, and ceremonial chairs. There is nothing identifiable in these with Shīrāz more than a possibly-connected *nisba*.

The popular legend of a "Shīrāzī" period was widely believed by one and all in colonial times. It was used in contradistinction to "African" to demonstrate a civilised historical past. This usage has since largely disappeared. In Zanzibar, in the 1950s, and in Pemba, "Afro-Shīrāzī" became the name of a political party opposed to the 'Umānī sultanate and to colonial rule. It was successful in the revolution of 1964 which ended the 'Umānī dynasty [see al bū sa'īd]. There were then numerous persons who claimed "Shīrāzī" descent, whereas in the time of Ingrams (1931) the number had been negligible. On the coast between Fundi Island, Kenya, and Tanga, in Tanzania, a distinct tribe on fishermen and mangrove cutters emerged at an unknown time. Among recent historians, Trimingham used the term for the 13th to 17th centuries, and Pouwels for the tenth to 16th centuries. Other than legitimately as a *nisba*, it may be doubted whether the term has any value at all or ever did.

Bibliography: See those to the arts. malindi, maḳdishū, mombasa, kilwa and nawrūz. 2. J. de V. Allen, *The "Shirazi" problem in East African coastal history*, in *Paideuma*, xxviii (1982), has an exhaustive bibl. (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

SHĪRĀZĪ, the *nisba* of a family of prominent Shī'ī *'ulama'* active in Persia and 'Irāḳ over the last century and a half.

1. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd, called Mīrzā-yi Shīrāzī-yi buzurg and al-Mudjaddid (1230-1312/1815-95).

Born in Shīrāz, he studied in Iṣfahān and Nadjaf, and after Murtaḍā Anṣārī's [*q.v.* in Suppl.] death in 1281/1864, became the leading Shī'ī scholar and sole *mardja' al-taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]. He is best known for his opposition to the Tobacco Régie in Persia (1891) [see nāṣir al-dīn shāh], and it seems that his famous *fatwā* was in part provoked by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's [*q.v.*] letters to him against the Persian government's policy over concessions. Mīrzā Ḥasan's intervention began with a telegram to the Shāh in July 1891 protesting against disrespect shown to another scholar, Sayyid 'Alī Akbar, expelled to Nadjaf after voicing opposition to the Régie. Shīrāzī tried to prove that the concession of any monopoly to foreigners was against God's command. In December, a nation-wide protest culminated in a boycott of tobacco, with a *fatwā* attributed to Shīrāzī against the use of tobacco in any form. He had already shown hostility to the Ḳādjārs, having refused to receive the Shāh when he visited the Holy Shrines in 'Irāḳ in 1870. Only in January 1892, when the concession had perforce to be abandoned, was the ban on tobacco lifted by Shīrāzī.

He was also important for having organised the teaching of *fiḳh* on lines which have continued till today, founding his own school at Sāmarrā' and making it a major centre of Shī'ī learning. He was also active there in social and charitable activities, acting as a mediator in sectarian conflicts and appealing for Islamic unity under the banner of the Ottomans, despite religious differences. He wrote no book of note, but was the teacher of the most prominent scholars of the next generation, such as Ākhund Khurāsānī (d. 1911), fervent supporter of the Constitutional Movement of 1905-11, and several others. He died at Sāmarrā'.

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Iran, 1785-1906, Berkeley 1969, index, esp. 210 ff.; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Damascus-Beirut 1935-63, xxiii, 264-89 = Beirut 1986, v, 304-10; Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī, *Muʿdjam ridjāl al-fikr wa 'l-adab fi 'l-Nadjaf*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, 262-3; Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl fi tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-udabāʾ*. Nadjaf 1384/1964; Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/1, 436-41; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, iii, 292-3; N.R. Keddie, *The Tobacco Protest of 1891-92*, London 1966; eadem, *The origins of the religious-radical alliance in Iran*, in eadem, *Iran. Religion, politics and society*, London 1980, 53-65; A.K.S. Lambton, *The Tobacco Régie: prelude to revolution*, in *SI*, xxii (1965), 119-57, xxiii (1965), 71-90; P.-J. Luizard, *La formation de l'Irak contemporain*, Paris 1991, index, esp. 225 ff.; M. Momen, *An introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven-London 1985, index; Muḥammad Sharīf Rāzī, *Gandjīna-yi dānishmandān*, Tehran 1352-4 Sh/1974-6, v, 427-9; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba. Usrat al-Shīrāzī. Taʾrīkh, fikr wa-djihād*, Beirut n.d. [*ca.* 1983], 14 ff.

2. Mīrzā al-Sayyid Ismāʿīl b. Sayyid Raḍī (1258-1305/1842-88).

Born in Shīrāz, he studied under no. 1 above, his cousin and brother-in-law, and worked with him in establishing the new centre at Sāmarrāʾ; he was considered to be the successor of Mīrzā Ḥasan, but died before his teacher. He wrote in Arabic and Persian, including poetry.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 262; Ṭihrānī, i/1, 156-6; Ḥirz al-Dīn, i, 109; Rāzī, i, 277 ff., v, 424-5; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 53.

3. Mīrzā ʿAlī Āghā (1287-1355/1870-1936).

Son of no. 1, went, about 25 years after his father's death, to Kāẓimayn and finally, to Nadjaf. After the death of Muḥammad Taḳī (no. 6), he became *mardjaʿ*. His son Muḥammad Ḥasan is one of the contemporary *ʿulamāʾ* of Nadjaf.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 264; Ḥirz al-Dīn, ii, 138-40; Rāzī, v, 434; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 54.

4. Mahdī b. al-Sayyid Ḥabīb Allāh al-Ḥusaynī (1304-80/1887-1960).

Related by birth and by marriage to several other members of the Shīrāzī family, he was born and died in Karbalāʾ, and was educated there and at Sāmarrāʾ and Kāẓimayn. His elder sons Muḥammad (see below) and Ḥasan (no. 7) played a leading role in the Shīʿī opposition to Ṣaddām Ḥusayn's régime, and his two younger sons Ṣādiḳ and Mudjtabā are active today as religious scholars in Persia. After the First World War, he took part in the rebellion against the British, and later, during ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim's [*q.v.*] régime, he was one of the *ʿulamāʾ* who attacked the Communist Party in a barrage of *fatwā*s, declaring that the prayers and fasting of Muslims who had embraced Communism were unacceptable to God, that Muslims could not buy meat from a Communist butcher and that a Communist son could not inherit from a Muslim father (cf. Hanna Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq*, Princeton 1978, 954).

His son, Āyatullāh al-Sayyid Muḥammad (b. 1347/1928-9, still living), has been active in ʿIrāḳ as spiritual leader of an opposition group there, the Islamic Task Organisation (*Munaẓẓamat al-ʿAmal al-Islāmī*); expelled from ʿIrāḳ in 1979, now teaching in Ḳum, he is a prolific writer, see Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn al-ʿirāḳiyyīn*, Baghdād 1969, iii, 247-50.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 265; Ḥirz al-Dīn, iii, 166; Rāzī, v, 451; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 66 ff., 143; J.N. Wiley, *The Islamic movement of Iraqi Shiʿas*, Boulder, Col.-London 1992, 36-7, 53, 78.

5. Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Hādī (1305-82/1888-1962).

Son of no. 2, he was brought up by nos. 1 and 3 after his father had died shortly after his birth, and studied at Nadjaf and Sāmarrāʾ. He took part, with Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī (no. 6) in Karbalāʾ, in the Shīʿī anti-British movement, and after its failure, devoted himself to *fiḳh* and eventually announced his readiness to be considered as *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd*. He was prominent in the Shīʿī campaign against Ḳāsim and the ʿIrāḳī Communist Party, and visits to Persia multiplied his following there. After the death of Burūdjirdī in 1961, he inherited a considerable number of his followers and was already seen as his successor, but died shortly afterwards. His three sons, as well as sons-in-law, are all religious scholars in Nadjaf, Tehran or Ḳum. His writings include several *fiḳh* treatises as well as some poems in both Arabic and Persian.

Bibliography: Amīnī, 265; Ṭihrānī, i/3, 1250-5; *EIr*, art. s.v. (H. Algar); Ḥirz al-Dīn, ii, 77-81; Kaḥḥāla, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Beirut 1985, 444; Momen, 248; Rāzī, i, 276, v, 432-3, vii, 271; *al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba*, 58.

6. Muḥammad Taḳī b. Muḥibb ʿAlī Ḥāʾirī, called Mīrzā-yi Shīrāzī-yi kūčik and Zaʿīm al-thawra al-ʿirāḳiyya (1269-1338/1853-1920).

Distantly related to nos. 1 and 4, he was born in Shīrāz and studied at Karbalāʾ and Sāmarrāʾ, where he became *mardjaʿ*. He is particularly associated with the struggle against the British occupation of ʿIrāḳ [see ʿIRĀḲ, at vol. III, 1258a]. In 1914 he had issued a *fatwā* calling for *djihād* against the British, and in 1918 moved to Karbalāʾ and became involved in setting up an anti-British secret society, the *Djamʿiyya waṭaniyya islāmiyya*. His *fatwā*s of 1919 and 1920 certainly precipitated the 1920 revolt against the British Mandate. One in 1919 proclaimed that "no Muslim should elect or choose any non-Muslim as his ruler", and its wide circulation made it difficult for the occupying power to use a plebiscite for installing a British governor in ʿIrāḳ. It enhanced Shīrāzī's prestige and led to his official recognition as *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd* after Yazdī's death in 1919. In 1919 he endeavoured to mediate between and unite the tribes and to appeal for foreign backing, writing to the Sharīf Ḥusayn in Mecca and the latter's son Amīr Fayṣal in Damascus. President Wilson of the U.S.A., whose "Fourteen Points" had impressed the Shīʿī religious leaders, was even contacted (see Luizard, 377 ff.). In late 1919, resistance to the British was still peaceful, but the situation deteriorated after the arrest and temporary exile of six scholars and prominent citizens. In spring 1920 Shīrāzī tried to unify *ʿulamāʾ*, *sayyid*s, *sharīf*s and tribal chiefs for a general insurrection, and appealed also to Sunnīs; military conflict broke out in June, continuing till the movement was crushed in January 1921. Karbalāʾ was the centre for the organising of the revolt during Shīrāzī's lifetime until he died in August 1920, after which Nadjaf became the rebellions's centre.

Amongst Muḥammad Taḳī's writings is a famous treatise on *fiḳh*, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā 'l-makāsib* (Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, vi, 218), and he was the teacher of many famous scholars.

Bibliography: ʿĀmilī, xliv (1960), 121-2 = (1986) ix, 192; Amīnī, 263-4; Tiḥrānī, i/1, 261-4; Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shiʿism and constitutionalism in Iran*, Leiden 1977, 122 ff.; Ḥirz al-Dīn, ii, 215-18; Kaḥḥāla, ix, 133; Luizard, index, esp. 374 ff.; Djaʿfar al-Shaykh Bāḳir Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī 'l-Nadjaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, Nadjaf 1955-8, i, 358-62; Momen, index; Wiley, 16-7, 122.

7. (Āyatullāh) Ḥasan b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥusaynī (1354-1400/1935-80).

As the younger brother of Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī (see no. 4, at end), he was also an opponent of the Ba'th régime in 'Irāḳ, and was imprisoned in 1969 and exiled to Lebanon in the next year. He was especially active in setting up mosques and institutions for religious education, welfare and social affairs, and at three of the *ḥawzas* for religious education, in Damascus, Beirut and Sierra Leone, he taught personally for a while. He likewise founded an Islamic publishing house, Dār al-Ṣādiḳ, to propagate *da'wa*, and wrote numerous books on religion and ethics before he was assassinated in Beirut in May 1980, just after he had denounced the execution in 'Irāḳ of Āyatullāh Bāḳir al-Ṣadr and his sister.

Bibliography: al-Shadjara al-ṭayyiba, 157 ff.; Wiley, 46, 53, 55, 78, 80.

(ROSWITHA BADRY, shortened by the editors)

AL-**SHĪRĀZĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD, mathematician, who flourished about the middle of the 6th/12th century. He studied Greek mathematics and astronomy. In his time, there was already available a good Arabic version of the *Conic sections* (χωνιχά) of Apollonius of Perga by Hilāl b. Abī al-Ḥimṣī (d. 270/883-4) and Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī (211-88/826-901 [*q.v.*]). With the help of this he prepared a synopsis of the contents of the χωνιχά, the Arabic version of which is in Oxford (Bodl. 913, 987, 988); it was translated into Latin by Ravius (publ. Kiel 1669). There is also attributed to him a compendious version (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, from which Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (633-711/1236-1311 [*q.v.*]) prepared a Persian translation of the *Madjisṭī*. The Arabic versions of the *Conic sections* of Apollonius are of great value for the history of mathematics because the three last of the seven books of this important work only survive in Arabic, while the eighth book of the χωνιχά (Ar. *Makhrūṭiyyāt*) had already disappeared from knowledge by the time of the Arab translator.

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, 126, 158; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 141: P. Ver Eecke, *Les Coniques d'Apollonius de Perge*, Paris 1959, p. xlviii; G.J. Toomer, *Apollonius' Conics, Books V to VII, the Arabic translation of the lost Greek original in the version of the Banū Mūsā*, New York 1990, i, pp. xviii, xxiii-xxiv. (C. SCHOY-[J.P. HOGENDIJK])

AL-**SHĪRĀZĪ**, al-Shaykh al-Imām ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. 'ALĪ b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābādī, eminent jurist whose work constitutes one of the major reference sources of the Shāfi'ī school [see AL-SHĀFI'IYYA].

1. *Biography*

Of decidedly humble origins, Abu Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī ("al-Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ" in classical Islamic literature) was born in Persia, at Fīrūzābād in the vicinity of Shīrāz, in 393/1003. Regarding the early years of his life, the biographers have nothing to say. From 410/1019 to 415/1024 he pursued a legal education—which he had begun at Fīrūzābād—at Shīrāz and at Baṣra as pupil of various Shāfi'ī masters (an article is devoted to each one of them by al-Shīrāzī himself in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, Beirut n.d., 133 and 140-1). In 415/1024 he was in Baghdād, where he attended classes given by al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 440/1048, cf. *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, 137), the jurist and proponent of the legal thinking developed by al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*], and where, more significantly, he became the leading disciple of the *Ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (died at one hundred years of age in 450/1058 [*q.v.*]) and his accredited assistant (*mu'īd*).

In 428/1036, al-Shīrāzī's long career in teaching began: first in various *masdjids* of Baghdād and subsequently, from 459/1066 onward, in the prestigious Niẓāmiyya *madrasa*, constructed in his honour by the Saldjūḳid minister Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092 [*q.v.*]) (an honour which initially al-Shīrāzī had refused to accept, possibly for political reasons, although this is by no means certain).

The biographers depict al-Shīrāzī as endowed with a gentle, refined and affable personality and leading a life of asceticism, a personality which did not prevent him, in 469/1077, from demonstrating great firmness of character, doubtless with the aid of his political supporters, against the Ḥanbalīs under the leadership of the *Sharīf* Abū Dja'far (d. 470/1078), a cousin of the caliph, at the time of the episode involving Abū Naṣr al-Ḳushayrī (the son of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*], the renowned author of *al-Risāla al-ḳushayriyya*). The Ḥanbalīs of Baghdād attempted forcibly to prevent al-Ḳushayrī, passing through Baghdād and a guest of al-Shīrāzī at the Niẓāmiyya, from publicly manifesting the Ash'arī doctrines, and violent riots ensued. At the end of the affair, al-Shīrāzī gained the upper hand by means of the restrained support of Niẓām al-Mulk to whom he had complained, with other scholars of Baghdād, about the fanaticism of the Ḥanbalīs.

The political role played by al-Shīrāzī is further illustrated by a remark of al-Subkī, stating that his intervention was decisive in the accession to the caliphate of al-Muḳtadī bi-Amr Allāh (r. 467-87/1075-94) (*wa-kāna al-shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ sabab*[an] *fī dja'lihi khalīfat*[an]: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubra*, Cairo n.d. iv, 223). As a general rule, the Shāfi'ī biographers firmly insist on the legitimism of al-Shīrāzī (*wa-huwa khādim min khuddām al-khalīfa*, al-Subkī writes, iv, 219), doubtless because this legitimism could seem to be compromised (Ḥanbalī authors openly allege this) on account of al-Shīrāzī's favourable relations with the Saldjūḳs, the real holders of political power at the expense of the 'Abbāsids.

Although principally of sedentary habits (according to the biographers, he lacked the means to make the Pilgrimage), towards the end of his life al-Shīrāzī undertook a highly successful journey to Khurāsān, negotiating on the caliph's behalf with the Saldjūḳ authorities. This was an opportunity for Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ to assess his popularity among the common people and in Ṣūfī circles, and his influence with the intellectual élite. At Nīshāpūr, he was to encounter his colleague Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]), the other great Shāfi'ī jurist of the period, and likewise the director of a *madrasa* constructed in his honour by Niẓām al-Mulk, with whom he conducted several sessions of judicial controversy (the text of these *disputatios* is preserved in al-Subkī, iv, 252-6).

In Baghdād, al-Shīrāzī maintained cordial links with numerous scholars of enduring renown, such as the Ḥanbalī jurist Abu 'l-Wafā' Ibn 'Aḳīl (d. 513/1119 [*q.v.*]) and the Shāfi'ī historian al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]). The number of his disciples and pupils was immense (the most important are listed in M.Ḥ. Hītū, *al-Imām al-Shīrāzī*, Damascus 1980, 136-57). Al-Shīrāzī died on Wednesday, 24 Djumādā II 476/November 1083.

2. *His work and his thought*

Mostly extant and published, the work of al-Shīrāzī extends to all the legal disciplines cultivated in the 5th/11th century, the golden age, in part as a result of his efforts, for these sciences. Al-Shīrāzī's youthful

works all belong to the realm of judicial controversy envisaged from a point of view which is either practical (*al-ikhtilāf*), or theoretical (*al-djadal* and *ikhtilāf* in matters relating to *uṣūl al-fikh*). One should not be too surprised at the extent to which the pedagogy of the time accorded an essential role to controversy in the training of tyro jurists and, according to the biographers, al-Shīrāzī showed particular brilliance in this field (al-Subkī relates that he was "a lion of the *disputatio*": *ghaḍanfar fi 'l-munāẓara*). These youthful texts, composed between *ca.* 425/1034 and *ca.* 450/1058 are: (1) The *K. fī Masā'il al-khilāf fi 'l-furū'* (ms. copied during the author's lifetime, in 466/1073, preserved in Istanbul under the title *Ikhtilāf al-fukahā'*; the section of this text devoted to transactions (*al-mu'āmalāt* [*q.v.*]) has been the subject of an unpublished thesis by al-Miṣrī); (2) *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-djadal* (ms., apparently edited by Niyāzī but not published, dated 590/1194, Istanbul); (3) The *K. al-Ma'ūna fi 'l-djadal* (ed. 'A.-M. Turki, Beirut 1988) is a summary of the preceding, possibly composed after 450/1058; (4) The *K. al-Ḳiyās* (lost) is not mentioned by the biographers, but al-Shīrāzī refers to it several times in *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*; and (5) *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-khilāf* (ed. under the title *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-uṣūl* by M.Ḥ. Hītū, Damascus 1982) is the first work of *uṣūl al-fikh* composed by al-Shīrāzī. It approaches only the controversial aspects of this science.

The works of al-Shīrāzī's mature period testify to a change in direction: the brilliant controversialist is replaced by a genuine *mudjtahid* anxious to establish his own doctrine. It was principally the works of this phase, and more specifically his two treatises on practical law (*fikh*) which were to confer upon him the prestigious status within the Shāfi'ī school which he still enjoys today. These two treatises on *fikh* are: (1) The *K. al-Tanbīh fi 'l-fikh* (Cairo 1929; French tr. G.-H. Bousquet, *Le Livre de l'Admonition*, i-iv, Algiers n.d.), a summary composed between 452/1060 and 453/1061 which has been the object of more than seventy commentaries (see Hītū, *op. cit.*, 169-77); and (2) *al-Muhadhdhab* (2 vols. Beirut n.d.), written between 455/1053 and 469/1076, which may be considered as al-Shīrāzī's crowning achievement and which has, like the aforementioned, been the object of a vast amount of critical apparatus (including the *Madjmū' fī sharḥ al-muhadhdhab* of al-Nawawī, 18 vols. Cairo n.d.). These two texts belong to a group of five key works of reference of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* (al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]), *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lughāt*, Beirut n.d., i, 3).

In terms of legal theory *uṣūl al-fikh*, the influence of Shīrāzī was no less important, principally on account of his summary *al-Luma' fī uṣūl al-fikh* composed *ca.* 450/1058 (numerous editions since Cairo 1908; critical ed. and French tr. E. Chaumont forthcoming) and his own commentary on it (ed. by 'A.-M. Turki, partially under the title *al-Wuṣūl ilā masā'il al-uṣūl*, Algiers 1979, and in entirety, *Sharḥ al-luma'*, 2 vols. Beirut 1988).

The *Index of jurists* (*Ṭabaḳāt al-fukahā'*), composed *ca.* 452/1060, is one of the oldest examples of its genre which has been preserved. It is interesting in that it is also the last which fulfils the original function of this literature: recording the *totality* of jurist-*mudjtahids*, irrespective of schools, whose advice should be sought for the purpose of constituting a unanimous agreement (*idjmā'* [*q.v.*], the third source of *fikh*) (see *Ṭabaḳāt al-fukahā'*, 13). Subsequently, the literature of *Ṭabaḳāt*, within each *madhhab*, would be confined to the evocation of jurists of one and the same allegiance (a sure sign of serious malfunction, predictable and long foreseen by Mu'tazilī scholars, in the exercise of *idjmā'* as theoretically defined).

Furthermore, al-Shīrāzī is also the presumed author (the mss. attribute them to him formally) of two small texts of *uṣūl al-dīn*: the *K. al-Ishāra ilā madhhab ahl al-ḥaḳḳ* and the *'Aḳīdat al-salaf* (ed. M. Bernand, *La Profession de foi d'Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī*, IFAO, Cairo 1987; ed. 'A.-M. Turki in respectively *Sharḥ al-luma'*, *op. cit.*, 91-116 (incomplete text) and *K. al-Ma'ūna*, *op. cit.*, 91-102). The question of al-Shīrāzī's theological opinions has always posed problems—was he an Ash'arī or closer to the creed of the Ḥanbalīs?—among mediaeval Muslim writers as well as his modern interpreters; the question seems to be resolved, and his Ash'arism confirmed, with the appearance of these two texts, if they are authentic (not one of the biographers mentions them, not even Ibn 'Asākir (d. 511/1175) who was determined to prove the Ash'arism of al-Shīrāzī, see *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, Beirut 1979; on this question, see Cl. Gilliot, *Deux professions de foi ...*, in *SI*, lxviii [1988], 170-86, and, in response to the latter, Chaumont, *Encore au sujet ...*, in *SI*, lxxiv [1991], 168-77).

Other minor texts are attributed to al-Shīrāzī, including an *Epistle on ethics* (*Risālat al-Shīrāzī fī 'ilm al-akhlāḳ*, Cairo 1901; possibly the *Advice to the scholars* (*Nuṣḥ ahl al-'ilm*) which is attributed to him by al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, 215, and Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*), *al-Nukat*, a list of 555 points of divergence between Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'ī (probably a summary of the *K. fī masā'il al-khilāf fi 'l-furū'* (see above), the *Book of Definitions* (*K. al-Ḥudūd*, lost) and the *Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-ḥadīth* (ms. B.N., Paris) which is of very dubious authenticity.

Fundamentally, the legal thinking of al-Shīrāzī expresses a radical insistence on the autonomy of the sphere of the legal sciences in relation to theology. In his treatises on *uṣūl al-fikh* (and it has to be assumed *a priori* that his writings on *fikh* represent the practical interpretation of its principles), al-Shīrāzī demonstrates unusual rigour in recognising the precise nature of the revelation of the Law as legal *discourse* (the Ḳur'ān, ultimate expression of the *Sharī'a*, is in fact a text). Furthermore, this discourse needs to be envisaged, according to the Ḳur'ān itself (logically, al-Shīrāzī invokes verses XII, 2, and XLI, 44), as a *common* discourse, in other words one that was immediately comprehensible to Arabic speakers at the time of the revelation (who, according to al-Shīrāzī, had perfect knowledge of their language and its nuances but were not born to be theologians). Thus the science of the basic comprehension of the Law borrows in his writing the form of a strict "grammar" of legal discourse, always attentive to the modes of the "speech of the Arabs" and consciously indifferent to the "thinking of the theologians" who, according to all indications, were at this time only too eager to intervene in debates belonging to the domain of the legal sciences (on this point, see G. Makdisi, *The juridical theology ...*, *SI*, [1984], 5-47 and, in a different perspective, Chaumont, *Bāqillānī ...*, in *SI*, lxxix [1994], 79-102).

Bibliography: The long article devoted to al-Shīrāzī by al-Subkī in his *Ṭabaḳāt* constitutes the principal source of information regarding his life and work. The book by M.Ḥ. Hītū (*al-Imām al-Shīrāzī ...*, *op. cit.*), is a compilation of everything which ancient literature has to say about al-Shīrāzī, and a study of the evolution of his legal doctrine. Al-Shīrāzī's milieu is studied by Makdisi in *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI[e] siècle*, Damascus 1963, but too much credence is given

here to Hanbalī sources. Al-Shīrāzī's theory of *idjtihād* is tackled in Chaumont, *La théorie classique*..., in *SI*, lxxv [1992], 105-39. (E. Chaumont)

SHĪRĀZĪ, Rafī' al-Dīn (*ca.* 947-1030/1540-1620), historian of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*]. A native of Shīrāz, he travelled to India as a merchant, and from the age of twenty served Sultan 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and later Sultan Ibrāhīm, in various capacities, including as ambassador to Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*], the capital of the Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.v.*], governor of the Bīdjāpūr fort, and treasurer. While he wrote abridgements of Mīr Khwānd's *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, Khwānd Amīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, and a *Farhang-nāma*, he is best known for his *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty and contemporary Indian and Persian régimes, begun in 1017/1608-9 and completed three years later (for mss., see Storey, i, 743, to which add Sālār Djang, i, 406, no. 362 [Hist. 142] and Āṣafiyya, handlist 5280). The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* is divided into an introduction and ten *faṣls* (expanded to twelve in some mss.), with a supplement on Indian temples, jewel mines, rivers, and wonders of the region. Rafī' al-Dīn Shīrāzī has been neglected as an historian, partly due to the canonisation of Firishta [*q.v.*] by the British, but the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* remains an important, independent source of Indo-Persian history.

Bibliography: *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, partial ed. H.S.S. Qādirī, *Tārīkh* [Hyderabad] iii/9, Suppl. (Jan.-Mar. 1931), 2-41, complete ed. A.N.M. Khālidī, rev. C. Ernst, forthcoming; partial tr. J.S. King, *The history of the Bahmanî Dynasty, founded on the Burhân-i Ma'âsir* [and the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*], London 1900. See also V.R. Natu, *A history of Bijapur by Rafiuddin Shirazi*, in *JBBRAS*, xxii (1905-8), 17-29; N.B. Roy, *Some interesting anecdotes of Sher Shah from the rare Persian Ms. of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, in *JASB, Letters*, xx/2 (1954), 219-26; I.A. Khan, *The Tazkirat al-Muluk by Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi as a source on the history of Akbar's reign*, in *Studies in History*, ii (1980), 41-56. (C. Ernst)

al-**SHĪRĀZĪ**, Ṣadr al-Dīn [see mullā ṣadrā shīrāzī].

al-**SHIRBĪNĪ**, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Djawād b. Khiḍr, an 11th/17th-century Egyptian author best known for a work with the punning title of *Hazz al-kuḥūf bi-sharḥ ḳaṣīd Abī Shādūf*, "The shaking of skull-caps (or: the stirring of yokels) in commenting the poem of Abū Shādūf." It mentions that he went on Pilgrimage in 1075/1664-5, that the work was undertaken at the behest of the Imām Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Sandūbī, and that among his teachers was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Ḳalyūbī (d. 1069/1659).

The work is in two parts. The first abounds in anecdotes, often more scatological than witty, on the grossness of manners and tastes of the peasants (*fallāḥīn*) of the Nile valley and their teachers' misunderstandings of the Law. It also pokes fun at spurious examples of folk poetry and at pretentious poets of the past. It ends with a 193-line *urdjuza* in literary Arabic in which he summarises the customs and ways of the peasants whom he has just depicted. Part II is devoted almost entirely to a fictitious peasant poet, Abū Shādūf, and his monorhyme poem of 47 lines in colloquial Arabic. It parodies with verve classical commentaries, and is studded with precious social and linguistic information.

Throughout, the peasant is depicted as irredeemably brutish. To read this—as do Shawḳī Ḍayf and al-Baḳlī (see below)—as a disguised condemnation of his oppressors is far-fetched.

There are lithographed editions (Cairo n.d. and Alexandria 1289), and printed ones (Būlāḳ 1274 and 1308, and Cairo 1322). A bowdlerised version was published by Muḥammad Ḳandīl al-Baḳlī (Cairo 1963).

The author mentions another work of his on peasant weddings. Manuscripts attributed to him (Brockelmann, S II, 987) appear to be of a single moralistic text.

Bibliography: K. Vollers, in *ZDMG* (1887), xli, 370 ff.; C.A. Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1913, 482; Brockelmann, S II, 387; Ziriklī, *A'lām*², ix, 333; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, xiii, 329.

(M. Ben Cheneb-[P. Cachia])

SHIRE, the Turkish name of the Aegean Greek island of Syros, vernacular Syra, Ar. Shira, an important island of the Cyclades lying south of Andros/Andire and northwest of Para.

Mentioned by al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, ii, 127) when it was under Byzantine control, it was captured by the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade and became part of the Archipelago Duchy after 1207. Renamed Lasudha (la Souda), it experienced a long Latin period, and over the centuries, the majority of the population became Latin Catholics (see G. Hoffmann, *Vescovadi catolici della Grecia. III. Syros*, Rome 1937; A. Sigalas, *I nomi e cognomi veneto-italiani nel' isola di Sira*, in *Studi Bizant. e Neoellen.*, viii/3 [1921], 194-200). Throughout the Latin and Turkish period, it retained the densest westernised population of the area, the *Frankosyrianoi* or "Frankish Syriots", becoming a bastion of Catholicism in the Aegean.

Sultan Meḥemmed I in 1419 recognised it as a Venetian possession, but in the 16th century, Shire suffered both Ottoman Turkish and Italian corsair raids, including those in 1515 by Ḳurtoghlu and in 1537 by Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] (cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii⁵, 375, 479, iii/2⁴ 101-2). These caused depopulation and famine, and only under Joseph Nasi's rule (1566-79) [see nakshe; para] was there relative prosperity. In 1566 the island received a favourable *'ahd-nāme* or treaty of dependence from the Ottoman government, renewed in 1580 and 1648, giving the local Greek authorities self-government; these last maintained representatives in Istanbul, the Syriot *ḳapukahyas*, 31 of whose letters are extant, giving valuable information on contemporary administrative and economic issues. On Nasi's death, Shire, with Andros, Nakshe, Para, Santorin and Melos were leased by the Porte to Süleymān Beg (1579-82) and later, to the Greek Comnenus-Choniates (1598-1601). But corsair raids continued, and in 1617 the *ḳapudan pasha* 'Alī Čelebi hanged the Latin bishop and abducted 300 captives. After then, the Syriots and Meliots paid *kharādj* to Istanbul. Roman Catholicism grew in importance after the 1630s, with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, and in 1700 the French traveller Tournefort mentions a Latin bishop and forty priests, but only a few Turks with their *ḳāḍī*. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74, Shire was occupied by the Russian fleet, but in 1774 sultan 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd I had the local Beg beheaded and granted the island as a *timār* to Selīm III's sister Shāh Sulṭāna. By the end of the 18th century, the island's population had reached 5,000, with a commerce based on its cotton, figs and wine.

Because of the dominance of Roman Catholicism, neither Shire nor Nakshe were fervent participators in the 1821-9 Greek War of Independence, but the modern capital of Syros, Ermoupolis, was founded by refugees from Sakiz/Chios and Psara at this time, becoming subsequently a major trading centre. In the Cretan outbreak of 1866-9, Syros sheltered Cretan refugees, and a naval engagement was fought off its

port between the Greek battleship *Enosis* and a Turkish squadron under the English admiral Hobart Pas̲h̲a; it was in Ermoupolis harbour, too, that the Turkish cruiser *Ḥamīdiyye* sank the Greek battleship *Macedonia* during the First Balkan War of 1912. The population of Syros in 1981 was 19,794.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see the *Bibls.* to NAKSHE, PARA and SANTORIN; also Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman empire*, map XIV. On the Turkish and Latin corsairs, see A. Krantonelle, *History of piracy*, i-ii, Athens 1985-91, index. (A. SAVVIDES)

S̲H̲ĪRĪN [see FARHĀD WA-S̲H̲ĪRĪN].

S̲H̲ĪRĪN MAG̲H̲RIBĪ, MUḤAMMAD, celebrated Persian Ṣūfī poet. His full name is given by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī Tabrīzī (*Rawḍāt al-d̲j̲inān wa d̲j̲annāt al-d̲j̲anān*, ed. D̲j̲aʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳurrāʾī, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 367, 566), as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿIzz al-Dīn b. ʿĀdil b. Yūsuf Tabrīzī. In literary and Ṣūfī circles, however, he is better known as Mullā Muḥammad S̲h̲īrīn Mag̲h̲ribī.

According to D̲j̲āmī (*Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. M. Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 613), he was born in the village of Ammand near Lake Urūmiya and died aged 60 in 809/1406-7. But a chronogram composed by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K̲h̲alwatī (d. 859/1454; "Mas̲h̲riḳī"), which Ibn Karbalāʾī cites (*Rawḍāt*, i, 73-5), commemorates Mag̲h̲ribī's death as 810/1407-8, and this is probably more correct.

Mag̲h̲ribī should be accounted as the most important Persian Ṣūfī poet—after ʿIrāḳī (d. 688/1289), Ḳāsim-i Anwār (d. 837/1433 [*q.v.*]) and Maḥmūd S̲h̲abistarī (d. *ca.* 740/1339-40 [*q.v.*])—of Ibn ʿArabī's school in the late 13th/early 14th century. The primary theme of his poetry (see *Dīwān-i Muḥammad S̲h̲īrīn Mag̲h̲ribī*, ed. L. Lewisohn; Tehran-London 1993, containing 1223 lines of Arabic poetry, 199 Persian *g̲h̲azals*, two *tard̲j̲īʿbands*, and 35 *rubāʿiyyāt*) is the "Unity of Being" (*waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd*). Although the imagery of romantic Persian poets such as Salmān Sāwad̲j̲ī (d. 778/1376) and Humām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314) also fills his verse, lending it a particular brillance and graceful beauty, it is as an exponent and exegete of the theomonistic doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī that his poems achieved their principal fame. In his own introduction to the *Dīwān* (*ibid.*, iv, 15-16) the poet admits that "the composer of this type of poetry in accordance with true visionaries and visionary men of Truth says the same thing which the author of the *Tard̲j̲umān al-as̲h̲wāḳ* [= Ibn ʿArabī] says." Since both D̲j̲āmī (*Nafaḥāt*, 613) and M. Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲ (*Silsilat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. M.T. Dānis̲h̲-Paz̲h̲ūh, in S.H. Nasr (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Henri Corbin*, Tehran 1977, no. 60) customarily referred to Ibn ʿArabī as "Ibn al-Mag̲h̲ribī", it is apparent that the poet adopted "Mag̲h̲ribī" as his *tak̲h̲alluṣ* in honour of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Akbar. Thus, when Ibn Karbalāʾī (*Rawḍāt*, i, 367)—citing a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Bizzāzī, one of the poet's disciples—speaks of him as *al-Mag̲h̲ribī mad̲h̲hab*^{an} ("Mag̲h̲ribī in religion"), it is obvious that he is alluding to the poet's Akbarian persuasion; and it is to this same connotation that Riḍā Ḳulī-K̲h̲ān Hidāyat in the *Mad̲j̲maʿ-i fuṣaḥā* (Tehran 1339/1965, iv, 57-8) alludes in stating that "Mag̲h̲ribī's creed is the Unity of Being and his particular mystical sensibility is the enjoyment of contemplative vision (*mad̲h̲habis̲h̲ waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd-ast wa mas̲h̲rabis̲h̲ lad̲h̲dhat al-s̲h̲uhūd*)".

After his celebrated *Dīwān*, Mag̲h̲ribī's other works listed by Ibn Karbalāʾī include: (1) *Asrār-i fātiḥa* (not extant); (2) *Risāla-yi d̲j̲ām-i d̲j̲ahān-namā* (consisting mainly of selections from Farg̲h̲ānī's commentary on Ibn Fāriḍ's *Tāʾiyya* entitled *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-darārī*, ed. D̲j̲. Ās̲h̲tiyānī, Tehran 1979; this *Risāla* has been published by Mīr-ʿĀbidīnī in his edition of Mag̲h̲ribī's *Dīwān*, Tehran 1979); (3) *Durr al-farīd fī maʿrifat al-tawḥīd* (a work still extant, see *Fihrist-i Kitāb-k̲h̲āna-yi Sipahsalār*, ii, 682, wherein it is said to be in Persian, treating in 3 chapters the divine Unity, Actions and Qualities); (4) *Nuzhat al-sāsāniyya* (evidently not extant and not listed in Munzawī's *Fihrist-i nak̲h̲ahā-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1979). Other works ascribed elsewhere to Mag̲h̲ribī include a *Naṣīḥāt-nāma* (mentioned in Munzawī's *Fihrist*, ii, 1706) and *Irāʾat al-daḳāʾiḳ fī s̲h̲arḥ-i Miʾrāt al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, on which see H. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, i, no. 2914, fols. 94b-113b).

Mag̲h̲ribī had five *silsila* affiliations according to Ibn Karbalāʾī (*Rawḍāt* i, 67-9) as follows: (1) Bahāʾ al-Dīn Hamad̲h̲ānī; (2) Ibn ʿArabī; (3) Saʿd al-Dīn; (4) Ismāʿīl Sīsī and (5) ʿAbd al-Muʾmīn al-Sarāwī, although his principal master was Sīsī (for a detailed study of the other masters, see Lewisohn, *A critical edition of the Divan of Maghrebi: with an introduction into his life, literary school and mystical poetry*, diss., London 1988, i, 60-83), who counted among his protégés and disciples three of the greatest Ṣūfī poets of the 8th/14th century, sc. Kamāl K̲h̲ud̲j̲andī (d. 803/1400), Ḳāsim-i Anwār, and Muḥammad ʿAṣṣār Tabrīzī (d. 792-3/1390-1). Sīsī was a Kubrāwī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, having been a disciple, either directly or indirectly, of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336). Mag̲h̲ribī was said to have experienced an illumination during an *arbaʿīn* held under Sīsī's direction, and recorded his enlightenment in a *g̲h̲azal* (on which, see Lewisohn, *Mohammad Shirin Maghrebi*, in *Sufi*, i, [1988], 33). Sīsī's other important disciples include Zayn al-Dīn K̲h̲wāfī (d. 838/1435), whose connection with Mag̲h̲ribī is discussed by H.T. Norris, *The Mirʾāt al-ṭālibīn of Ẓain al-Dīn Khawāfī of Khurāsān and Herat*, in *BSOAS*, liii (1990), 57-63; and Lewisohn, *A critical edition*, 75-9.

As a poet of the Akbarian school, Mag̲h̲ribī follows very closely the imagery and thought of S̲h̲abistarī and Saʿd al-Dīn Farg̲h̲ānī. Mag̲h̲ribī's poetic style was imitated by S̲h̲āh Niʿmat Allāh (d. 834/1431) and Muḥammad Lāhīd̲j̲ī ("Asīrī", d. 912/1506-7 [see LĀHĪD̲J̲Ī, S̲H̲AMS AL-DĪN]), the latter author quoting extensively from Mag̲h̲ribī's *Dīwān* throughout his famous *Mafātīḥ al-iʿd̲j̲āz fī s̲h̲arḥ-i Guls̲h̲an-i rāz* in order to illustrate S̲h̲abistarī's symbolism and doctrine (see Lewisohn, *Beyond faith and infidelity: the Sufi poetry and teachings of Maḥmūd Shabistarī*, London 1995, ch. 7). Many of the images and expressions of Mag̲h̲ribī's poetry have become proverbs in Persian (cf. ʿA.A. Dihk̲h̲udā, *Amt̲h̲āl wa ḥikam*, Tehran 1984, iii, 1242, 1319, 1343, 1347), and his influence can be seen in the writings of many of the Persian *Is̲h̲rāḳī* philosophers up to the present day. Quotations from his poetry, for instance, can be found scattered throughout the writings of the 19th-century *ḥakīm* Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī (d. 1289/1873).

Bibliography (in addition to references already given): M.D̲j̲. Mas̲h̲kūr, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Tabrīz tā payān-i ḳarn-i nuhum-i hid̲j̲rī*, Tehran 1352/1973, 766 ff.; ʿAzīz Dawlatābādī, *Suk̲h̲anwarān-i Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān*, Tabriz 1357/1978, ii, 217-19; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 330-44. For fuller details, and a fuller discussion of the problems involved, including analysis of the historical and literary evidence, see L. Lewisohn, *A critical edition ...* (L. LEWISOHN)

S̲H̲IRK, a term from the religious vocabulary, of Ḳurʾānic origin, which signifies the act of "associating" with God, in other words, accepting the

presence at His side of other divinities; it may be translated either literally, by *associationism* or, in more explicit fashion, by *polytheism*. In numerous instances in the Ḳur'ān there is criticism of the "associators" (*al-mushrikūn*, 42 occurrences; also encountered nine times is the phrase *alladhīna ashrakū*), defined as those who invoke (*yad'ūna*), adopt (*yattakhidhūna*) and worship (*ya'budūna*), besides God (*min dūni 'llāh*), other gods (*āliha*), give Him "associates" (*dja'alū li 'llāhi shurakā'*) and equals (*andād*).

It may be noted that the actual word *shirk* features seldom in the Ḳur'ān (five occurrences in all), and that in fact it is used only twice in this sense of "associationism" (XXXI, 13, XXXV, 14). Originally, *shirk* signifies "association" in the passive, not the factitive sense of the term. It is this sense which it has in XXXIV, 22; XXXV, 40; XLVI, 4, where it is denied that false gods would have been associated [with the true God] (*lahum shirk*[un]) in the creation of the heavens and of the earth. The proper term for "associationism" would normally be *ishrāk*, corresponding to the diverse forms of the verb *ashraka* which are extensively used, in this sense, in the Ḳur'ānic text. Clearly, it is *ḥadīth* which has imposed the usage of *shirk* in the factitive (and religious) sense of the term: certain practices (for example sorcery, ornithomancy) are denounced here as *shirk*; there is reference to the *ahl al-shirk* (as opposed to the *ahl al-islām*), to the *arḍ al-shirk*, etc. (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 114-16). Furthermore, in *ḥadīth* itself, certain uses of the word in its primary signification, i.e. as an equivalent of *shirka* or *sharika*, "association", appear occasionally: with reference to the common ownership of land (cf. Muslim, *musāḳāt* 135), of a slave (Bukhārī, *sharika* 14; Muslim, *'itḳ* 47-48), or even to participation in a sacrifice (*shirk fī dam*, al-Bukhārī, *ḥadjdj* 102).

To return to the Ḳur'ān, it is quite dangerous to claim to determine, even approximatively—as was attempted by Björkman in his article for *EI*[1]—at what point in time words from the root *sh-r-k* first entered the text. If Björkman is to be believed, they do not appear in "the most ancient sūras". But which are the most ancient sūras? In verse LXVIII, 41, the text reads: "Do they have associates (*shurakā'*)? Then let them come with their associates, if they are truthful!" Now, according to the chronology traditionally accepted in Islam, sūra LXVIII would be the second in the order of revelation (and v. 41 would not be among the Medinan additions). Without going so far as this, Weil and Nöldeke likewise dated this sūra in the "early Meccan period". It is true that, in the verse in question, the identity of the said "associates" is controversial (cf. al-Rāzī's commentary). But there is also LII, 43, which is considerably more explicit and where it is said, in conformity with numerous other passages in the Ḳur'ān, *subḥāna 'llāhi 'ammā yushrikūn* "how God is above that which they associate [with Him]!" Now, while the traditional chronology places this other sūra among the last revealed at Mecca, Blachère, Weil and Nöldeke agree in locating it on the contrary in the "early Meccan period"! All that can be said with certainty in this context is that in fact, in those sūras *unanimously* accepted as the earliest, the terms in question do not feature, and that those where they appear most often are, in descending order, VI (28 instances), IX (12) and XVI (11).

Who precisely are these "associators" of whom the Ḳur'ān speaks? It would normally be anticipated that they would include all those who, in one way or another, accept the existence of gods other than the one God. It would therefore be logical to expect to find the Christians described as such, seeing that, according to the Ḳur'ān, the Christians make of God "the third of three" (V, 73), they deify Christ (V, 72), and "take for two gods beside God (*ilāhayn*[i] *min dūni 'llāh*)" Jesus and his mother (V, 116). However, this is not the case. The Christians belong to the "People of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*), and the Ḳur'ān takes care to distinguish—even if they are considered comparable to disbelievers (*kuffār*)—between "associators" and the people of the Book (or "those to whom the Book has been given"), cf. in particular, II, 105; III, 186; V, 82; XXII, 17 (with reference not only to Jews and Christians, but also "Sabeans" and Mazdaeans); XCVIII, 1, 6. The same distinction, as al-Rāzī points out (on Ḳur'ān, IX, 29), is drawn implicitly in the first quarter of sūra IX: God first prescribes the treatment to be applied to "associators" (IX, 5), then that to be applied to "those to whom the Book has been given" (IX, 29). In other words, the Ḳur'ānic term *mushrikūn* does not in fact denote all those who, in some manner, practise a form of associationism, but only a minority among them—those among whom this associationism is most flagrant—i.e. the worshippers of idols (*'abadat al-awthān*). Admittedly, in the eyes of the commentators this distinction between "associators" and "people of the Book" is not always valid. With regard to IX, 30, where it is said that Jews and Christians proclaim 'Uzayr/Esdras and Jesus respectively the sons of God, al-Rāzī comments that God thus shows that Jews and Christians are also "associators", since, he says, "there is no difference between him who worships an idol and him who worships Christ or any other; the word *shirk* signifies nothing other than the man giving himself someone to worship in addition to God (*an yattakhidha 'l-insānu ma'a 'llah ma'būd*[an]); therefore, wherever anything of this sort is practised, there is associationism" (*Tafsīr*, ed. Tehran n.d., xvi, 33). And on XCVIII, 1, al-Ṭabarī mentions an exegesis according to which "associators" and "People of the Book" are indistinguishable (cf. moreover, al-Ṭabarī himself on XCVIII, 5).

For the Ḳur'ān, in any case, it is evident, in view of the clear distinction indicated above, that the "associators" represent a category of disbelievers other than that of the "People of the Book", i.e. the category of committed polytheists, these polytheists being identified at the time with idolators. Of the pseudo-divinities which they worship, it is said in fact, in numerous instances, that they do not hear, that they do not answer (VII, 194; XIII, 14; XXXV, 14; etc.), that they are incapable of inflicting harm or of being useful (V, 76; VI, 71; X, 18; etc.). In the time of the Prophet, the "associators" are those who, at Mecca or elsewhere, worship al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt (in sūra IX, which is historically dated, the *mushrikūn* evidently denote the Meccan polytheists, recently vanquished). In the past, they were predominantly the idol worshippers of the time of Abraham (the words *aṣnām, awthān*, or even *tamāthīl* being designedly used, cf. VI, 74; XIV, 35; XXI, 52, 57; XXIX, 17, 25), Abraham of whom it is said that he was not, for his part, counted among the associators (*mā kāna min al-mushrikīn*, cf. II, 135; III, 67, 95; VI, 79, 161; etc.).

Shirk is the worst form of disbelief. The treatment to be applied in this world to the "associator" is that prescribed in IX, 5 (the "verse of the sword", *āyat al-sayf*): death, at least if they do not become Muslims (whereas the "People of the Book" are, for their part, allowed to maintain their religion, so long as they pay the *djizya*, IX, 29). In the next world, they will be assuredly consigned to damnation; the Ḳur'ān

states in fact, twice, that God can pardon all sins save one, that of associationism (*inna 'llāha lā yaghfiru an yushraka bihi wa-yaghfiru mā dūnā dhālika li-man yashā'*, IV, 48, 116). The Ḳur'ān relates furthermore how, in the next world, these alleged "associates" of God who are worshippped by the *mushrikūn* will then disown their worshippers (VI, 94; X, 28-9; XVIII, 52; XXVIII, 62-3; etc.).

Shirk, by definition, is contrary to Islam, since the first article of faith of the Muslim is precisely the denial of all associationism, the affirmation of the single God: *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*. In the formula of the *talbiya* [*q.v.*] recited particularly during the Pilgrimage, it is said and repeated, *lā sharīka laka* "You have no associate".

In theological polemic, accusations of *shirk* are rife. With regard in particular to the status of the voluntary human act, the Sunnī theologians charge their Mu'tazilī adversaries with associationism, on the grounds that the latter attribute to man a creative power comparable to that of God (cf. al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, §§ 523, 540; D. Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 297-8); the Mu'tazilīs, for their part, level the same accusation at the Sunnīs, on the grounds that, for the latter, the voluntary human act would result from an association between God, who creates it, and man, who "acquires" it (cf. Gimaret, *op. cit.*, 292).

Bibliography: M.I. Surty, *The Qur'anic concept of* Al-Shirk (*polytheism*), London 1982, ²1990.

(D. Gimaret)

SHĪRKŪH, Abu 'l-Ḥārith b. Shādī, Asad al-Dīn al-Malik al-Manṣūr, one of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd's [*q.v.*] generals and statesmen, and the penultimate vizier of Fāṭimid Egypt.

His family was Kurdish (of the Rawādiyya clan) from Dvin in Armenia, where Shādī, his father, had served the Shaddādid dynasty [*q.v.*]. Later "noble" genealogies are fanciful. Ibn Abī Ṭayyi' says, "None of the Ayyūbid family knows any ancestor beyond Shādī" (quoted in *Rawḍ*, ii, 534-5). Shīrkūh served in the Saldjūḳ state, where his elder brother Ayyūb was governor of Takrīt. Because of assistance given to Zangī [*q.v.*] in 526/1132, and perhaps also because Shīrkūh had killed a Christian in the service of Bihrūz, the *shiḥna* of 'Irāḳ, the brothers fled to Mawṣil, where Zangī gave them *iḳṭā'*s in his Mesopotamian lands, and Shīrkūh fought in Zangī's Syrian campaigns.

After Zangī's death, Shīrkūh and his brother served Nūr al-Dīn. Shīrkūh became commander of his armies and held Ḥimṣ and Raḥba as *iḳṭā'*s. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī documents Shīrkūh's military activities in Syria on behalf of Nūr al-Dīn in the years 549-54/1154-9. In 556/1161 Shīrkūh performed the *ḥadjdj* in great magnificence.

In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 558/October 1163 the ousted Fāṭimid vizier Shāwar [*q.v.*] came to Damascus seeking aid towards his restoration and promising a third of the resources of Egypt to help the *djihād* in Syria. Shīrkūh was appointed commander of the Syrian force by Nūr al-Dīn (in various accounts each had doubts about the undertaking), and he set out in Djumādā I 559/April 1164 on the first of three expeditions. Shāwar was restored as vizier (Radjab/May) but refused to fulfil his promises and turned for support to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which was already receiving annual tribute from Cairo, and now embarked on a period of direct intervention in Egyptian affairs. Shīrkūh chose Bilbays as a defensive base and after a siege of several months he agreed on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/3 November to a settlement and the withdrawal of both external parties, being ignorant of Frankish anxiety at Nūr al-Dīn's successes in Syria.

Now convinced of the opportunities offered in Egypt, Shīrkūh persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to sanction a second expedition, which set out in Rabī' I 562/January 1167. Shāwar again sought aid from the Franks. Shīrkūh crossed the Nile at Aṭfīḥ and spent 50 days or so at Gīza, facing the combined enemy, before they effected a river crossing and pursued Shīrkūh south as far as Ashmūnayn. At a place called al-Bābayn, Shīrkūh won a hard-fought victory on 25 Djumādā I/18 March. He returned north and left his nephew Saladin [see ṣalāḥ al-dīn] and part of the army in Alexandria, with the Sunnī notables of which he had already made contact. Shīrkūh kept his mobility and ranged widely in Upper Egypt, while Saladin sustained a siege of four months. Eventually a new settlement was reached in Shawwāl/August, which allowed for an indemnity of 50,000 dīnārs for the Syrian force and, in principle, the withdrawal of both armies. By Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da/September Shīrkūh was back in Damascus.

About a year later, the Franks made another attack on Egypt, prompted by exiled enemies of Shāwar and hoping to exploit Nūr al-Dīn's absence in northern Syria. Besieged in Cairo, Shāwar appealed again to Nūr al-Dīn for assistance. Unwilling to abandon Egypt to the Franks, Nūr al-Dīn and Shīrkūh responded energetically. By Ṣafar 564/December 1168 a force of 5,000 had been enlisted and reviewed near Damascus. Nūr al-Dīn added 2,000 of his own troops with several of his *amīrs*. By Rabī' II/January 1169 Shīrkūh was at Cairo and the Frankish invaders had fled back to Palestine without a battle.

According to some versions, Shīrkūh established good relations with Shāwar, but on the other hand there are hints of secret negotiations with the caliph al-'Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] to remove Shāwar, who had certainly shown himself unreliable enough in the past. Shīrkūh, however, is even said to have warned Shāwar of plots against him by the Syrian officers. 'Izz al-Dīn Djurdīk, one of Nūr al-Dīn's *mamlūks*, played a leading part in the coup, although later ideas of what was fitting also assigned a major role to Saladin. At all events, Shāwar was led into a trap and assassinated on Saturday 17 Rabī' II 564/18 January 1169. The caliph "by the custom of the Egyptians" demanded his head and issued a document appointing Shīrkūh as vizier with the title *al-malik al-manṣūr amīr al-djuyūsh* (for text, see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, x, 80-90). Shīrkūh possibly entrusted the management of affairs generally to Saladin (but for a decree dated Djumādā II 564/March 1169 said to be issued by Shīrkūh, see S.M. Stern, *Fatimid decrees*, London 1964, 80-4). However, he did not long enjoy this new responsibility. He died suddenly on Sunday 22 Djumādā II 564/23 March 1169. He was buried first in Cairo, but after several years his body was transferred to the *ribāṭ* in Medina, which according to a mutual pact he had built as a last resting-place for himself and his friend, already deceased, the Mawṣilī vizier al-Djawād al-Isfahānī [*q.v.*].

Shīrkūh's personal *mamlūks*, the Asadiyya, played a significant role in subsequent Ayyūbid history. His son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad established a princely line in Ḥimṣ. Foundations attributed to Shīrkūh include a *djāmi'* and a *madrasa* at Aleppo, a *madrasa* at Raḥba, a *madrasa* for the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs outside Damascus and a *ribāṭ*, two *masdjids*, a Ṣūfī *khanḳāh* and possibly a *ḥammām* within the city.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashk*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, see index; ʿUmāra al-Yamanī, *al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarāʾ al-miṣriyya*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1897-1902, see index; Bundārī, *Sanā' al-bark al-shāmī*, ed. R. Şeşen, Beirut 1971, i, 60-81; Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, ed. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1964, 36-40; Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. A. Ḥilmī, Cairo 1962, i/2, 329-405, 415-38 (quoting Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ), 533-9; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ed. M. Ḥilmī, Cairo 1973, iii, 265-307; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 286, 338-9, 358, ii, 12-3, 251; ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra* (Aleppo and Damascus), ed. D. Sourdel and S. Dahan, Damascus 1953-6, see indices; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 479-81; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Beirut, xi, 298-342; idem, *al-Ta'rīkh al-bāhir fī 'l-dawla al-atābākiyya*, ed. A. Tolaymat, Cairo 1963, 119 ff. (D.S. Richards)

SHĪRWĀN, Shirwān or Sharwān, a region of eastern Caucasia, known by this name in both mediaeval Islamic and modern times.

Shīrwān proper comprised the easternmost spurs of the Caucasus range and the lands which sloped down from these mountains to the banks of the Kur river [*q.v.*]. But its rulers strove continuously to control also the western shores of the Caspian Sea from Ḳuba (the modern town of Kuba) in the district of Maskat (< *Maskut, Mashkut, to be connected with the ancient Eurasian steppe people of the Massagetes) in the north, to Bākū [*q.v.*] (modern Baku) in the south. To the north of all these lands lay Bāb al-Abwāb or Derbend [*q.vv.*], and to the west, beyond the modern Gök Čay, the region of Shakkī [*q.v.*]. In mediaeval Islamic times, and apparently in pre-Islamic Sāsānid ones also, Shīrwān included the district of Layzān, which probably corresponds to modern Lāhīdj (the two names must be etymologically connected), often ruled as a separate fief by a collateral branch of the Yazīdī Shīrwān Shāhs [*q.v.*]. These boundaries of Shīrwān were substantially the same in Il Khānid times, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 92-3, tr. 93-4. The plains and lowlands of Shīrwān were exposed to attack, and the Shāhs had to face aggressive neighbours: the Alans and the Hāshimid rulers of Bāb al-Abwāb from the north, the Rūs [*q.v.*] from the Caspian Sea, and rival Muslim powers like the Daylamī Musāfirids and Kurdish Shaddādids [*q.vv.*] from the south.

Among the mediaeval towns of Shīrwān are mentioned Bākū; Shāwarān Shābarān, the ancient capital, in the southern part of the Ḳuba district; and Shammākhī or Shammākhiyya (modern Russian Shemakha), said to have been named after a ruler of Shīrwān, al-Shammākh b. Shudjāʿ, contemporary with Hārūn al-Rashīd's governor of Arrān, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, Saʿīd b. Salm b. Ḳutayba (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 517 ff., and al-Ṭabarī, iii, 648). When Shammākhī became the capital of the Yazīdī Shāhs, it was probably this same town which was temporarily re-named Yazīdiyya (306/918), but it is the old name which has survived till today, with Shemakha an administrative and manufacturing centre of some importance (see below).

After the ending of the Shirwan Shāhs by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [see shīrwān shāh], Shīrwān formed a province of Persia and was usually governed by a Khān, who is often called Beylerbey or Amīr al-Umarā'. The inhabitants several times rebelled against the Shīʿī dynasty, and as Sunnīs appealed for help to the Ottoman sultan of Turkey. With other Caucasian lands, Shīrwān was taken by the Turks in 1578, held after a series of battles with varying results, and finally ceded to the Ottoman sultan by the peace of 1590. Under rule, Shīrwān was divided into fourteen *sandjaks*; it included Shakkī in the north-west and Bākū in the south-east, i.e. practically the whole of mediaeval Shīrwān. Derbend, which had long been separated from Shīrwān, formed a separate governorship. Persian rule was not definitively restored till 1607. In the 17th century, Ḳuba and Sālyān were given as a separate principality to the Ḳaytaḳ, who had migrated southwards. In 1722 the Khān of Ḳuba, Ḥusayn ʿAlī, submitted to Peter the Great and was confirmed in his dignity. By the treaty between Russia and Turkey of the year 1724, the coast territory with Bākū, now occupied by the Russians, was for the first time politically separated from the rest of Shīrwān, which was left to the Turks with Shemākha as capital. This division was retained as regards administration even after both parts were reunited to Persia. By the treaties of 1732, the coast lands north of Kura still remained to the Russians and the other parts of Shīrwān and Dāghistān to the Turks; it was only after Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] had taken their conquests from the Turks by force of arms (capture of Shemākha, 22 October 1734) that the coast lands were ceded to him voluntarily by the Russians (treaty of Gandja, 10/21 March 1735). After the death of Nādir Shāh, Persian rule could no longer be enforced in these regions; several independent principalities arose; the name Shīrwān was now limited to the territory of the Khān of Shemākha, which was later under Russian rule divided into three administrative districts (Shemākha, Gökčay and Djawād). Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān of Ḳuba (1758-89) succeeded in bringing Derbend as well as Shemākha under his sway, so that, as Dorn observed, "a true Shīrwān Shāh arose in him". During the last years of his reign, Fatḥ ʿAlī flattered himself with the idea of bringing Persia itself under his sway and ascending the throne of the rulers of Persia. When the Ḳādjārs had succeeded in restoring the unity of Persia, the sons of the Khān were no more able to maintain their independence than the other Caucasian chiefs and had to choose between Russia and Persia. General Zubov, who had been despatched by Catherine II, had already reached the Kura below Djawād (1796) when he and his army were recalled by the Emperor Paul. The Khān of Shīrwān (Shemākha), Muṣṭafā, who had already entered into negotiations with Zubov, submitted to the Russians in 1805, who occupied Derbend and Bākū next year (1806), but soon afterwards he made overtures to the Persians and sought help from them. By the peace of Gulistān (12/24 October 1813), Persia gave up all claim to Derbend, Ḳuba, Shīrwān and Bākū. Nevertheless, Muṣṭafā continued to have secret dealings with Persia. It was not till 1820 that his territory was occupied by Russian troops; the Khān fled to Persia and Shemākha was incorporated in Russian territory. The outbreak of hostilities again in 1826 was taken advantage of by Muṣṭafā and by an earlier Khān of Bākū, Ḥusayn, for an attempt to stir up their subjects against Russia, but without success. After 1840 the former territory of the Khān of Shīrwān was united with Ḳuba and Bākū to form one administrative area (at first the "Caspian territory"; from 1846 the "government of Shemākha"; from 1859, after the destruction of Shemākha by one of the earthquakes frequent there, the "government of Bākū"). The old capital of Shīrwān, as late as the middle of the 19th century, had a larger population than Bākū; according to Ritter's *Geografisch-*

statistisches Lexicon[5], 1864-5, Shemākha had 21,550 and Bākū 10,600 inhabitants. In the 1880s, the relationship was reversed (E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, 342-396: Bākū 45,679, Shemākha 28,545).

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the consequent upheavals in the Caucasus region, the old Shīrwān and Shemākha fell within the Azerbaijan S.S.R., and Shemakha (lat. 40° 38' N., long. 48° 37' E.) became the chef-lieu of a *rayon* or district. It is now (1994) within the independent Azerbaijan Republic. It is also a significant processing centre for local fruit and agricultural produce, including the making of wine. Numerous Islamic buildings, including mosques and mausolea, remain, though damaged by the earthquakes endemic to the region. In 1970 Shemakha had an estimated population of 17,900, still well below the 19th century level.

The older name of the district gives its name to the locally-woven Shīrwān woollen rugs, similar to the Dāghistān ones produced to the north of the Caucasus but slightly coarser in texture and with a longer pile.

Bibliography: See especially B. Dorn, *Geschichte Shirwans unter den Statthaltern und Chanen von 1538-1820* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker*, ii = *Mém. de l'Acad.*, etc., er. 6, *Sciences politiques*, etc., v, 317-433); Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 179-81; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 144, comm. 403-11; Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband* (= text, tr. and comm. on the anonymous *T. Bāb al-Abwāb* preserved in the latter Ottoman historian Müneddjim Bashī), Cambridge 1958, esp. 75-85. (W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SHĪRWĀN SHĀH, SHARWĀN SHĀH, the title in mediaeval Islamic times of the rulers of Shīrwān [*q.v.*] in eastern Transcaucasia.

The title very probably dates back to pre-Islamic times. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 17-18, mentions the Shīrwān Shāh as one of the local rulers who received his title from the Sāsānid emperor Ardashīr. Al-Balādhurī mentions the Shīrwān Shāh, together with an adjacent potentate, the Layzān Shāh, as amongst those encountered by the first Arab raiders into the region; he further records that Shīrwān and other principalities of the eastern Caucasus submitted during ʿUthmān's caliphate to the commander Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī (*Futūḥ*, 196, 203-4).

Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, governor of the northwestern Persian lands of the caliphate for al-Manṣūr, took possession of the naphtha wells (*naffāṭa*) and salt workings (*mallāḥāt*) of Shīrwān; the eastern part of the land was therefore at that date of greater importance than the western part, as the situation of the ancient capital, Shābarān, in the eastern part and north of the southeastern-most spur of the Caucasus, implies (cf. what is said concerning this in SHĪRWĀN). From the end of the 2nd/8th century, Shīrwān was ruled by members of the Arab family of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (d. 185/801) as part of his vast governorship of Ādharbaydjān, Arrān, Armenia and the eastern Caucasus region. His great-grandson Haytham b. Muḥammad is said to have assumed, during the troubled times in ʿIrāḳ consequent on the murder of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the ancient title of Shīrwān Shāh, beginning a line of Yazīdī or Mazyadī Shāhs which lasted up to Tīmūrid times.

For the earlier history of this dynasty, we have the anonymous *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb*, preserved in the later Ottoman historian Müneddjim Bashī [*q.v.*], the last date of which concerning the Shāhs is 468/1075. We know from this that the history of the Shāhs was closely bound up with that of the Hāshimids in Bāb al-Abwāb or Derbend [*q.vv.*], with intermarriage between the two Arab families and with Yazīdīs often ruling for various periods in the latter town. By the time of the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372-982), the Shīrwān Shāhs, from their capital of Yazīdiyya (very probably the later Shamākha), had absorbed neighbouring petty principalities north of the Kur river and thus acquired the additional titles of Layzān Shāh and Khursān Shāh (tr. Minorsky, 144, comm. 403 ff.). We can also discern the progressive Persianisation of this originally Arab family (a process parallel to and contemporary with that of the Kurdicisation of the Rawwādids [*q.v.*] in Ādharbaydjān). After the Shāh Yazīd b. Aḥmad (381-418/991-1028), Arab names give way to Persian ones like Manūčihr, Ḳubādh, Farīdūn, etc., very likely as a reflection of marriage links with local families, and possibly with that of the ancient rulers in Shābarān, the former capital, and the Yazīdids now began to claim a *nasab* going back to Bahrām Gūr or to Khusraw Anūshirwān.

These Shāhs buttressed their power, like other Eastern Islamic dynasties of the time, with professional slave troops (*ghulāms* [*q.v.*]), for it was necessary for them, *inter alia*, to maintain an army to ward off incursions by non-Muslim peoples like the Alans and Georgians. Fear of the Oghuz [see GHUZZ] led the Shāh Ḳubādh b. Yazīd in 437/1045 to build a stone wall with iron gates round Yazīdiyya and to fortify other towns; by 458/1066, Farīburz b. Sallār (455-*ca.* 487/1063-*ca.* 1094) had to pay an indemnity to deter the Turkmens under Ḳaratigin, who devasted the regions of Masḳaṭ and Bākū. In 459/1067 Farīburz submitted to the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan, undertaking to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 dīnārs, eventually reduced to 40,000; coins later issued by Farīburz acknowledge Malik Shāh as well as the ʿAbbāsid caliph.

Farīburz's diplomatic and military abilities enabled the Yazīdīs to survive in Shīrwān. Under sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31 [*q.v.*]), Shīrwān was occupied by Saldjūḳ troops. The sultan was invited by local leaders to come there himself; after his arrival, the Shāh (probably Manūčihr III b. Farīdūn) went to him to obtain justice, but was imprisoned. The people of Shīrwān, with whom the prince was very popular, tried to procure his release, but without success. This state of affairs encouraged the Georgians to invade Shīrwān, but they were driven out by Maḥmūd. The population suffered very much from the occupation of their country and these events became known as the "devastation" (*takhrīb*) of Shīrwān. The campaign took place in the first and last years of office of the vizier Shams al-Mulk, who was put to death by the sultan's orders in Rabīʿ I 517/May 1123 in Baylaḳān (probably on the way back to Persia from Shīrwān).

The same campaign appears in quite another light in Ibn al-Athīr, x, 433-4. The campaign is said to have been caused by the invasions of the Georgians and the complaints of the people, especially of the town of Derbend. Soon after the arrival of the sultan in Shamākha, a large Georgian army appeared before the town, which terrified the sultan; soon afterwards, however, a quarrel broke out between the Georgians and their allies the Ḳipčaḳ Turks, as a result of which the enemy had to retire "as if defeated" (*shibh al-munhazimīn*; they had therefore not actually been defeated). The sultan remained for some time in Shīrwān and returned in Djumādā II 517/August 1123 to Hamadān.

The middle years of the 6th/12th century were flourishing ones for the Yazīdids, although the succession and genealogy of the Shāhs from this time onwards becomes somewhat confused and uncertain. Münedjdjim Bashî, for instance, gives only a skeletal list from Manūčihr III b. Farīdūn I (whom he calls Manūčihr b. Kasrān; the name of Kasrānids now appears in some sources for the subsequent Shāhs) onwards (translated by Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband,* 129-38, including a commentary which brings in the information from recent numismatic work). Manūčihr III not only used the title of Shīrwān Shāh but also assumed that of Khāḳān-i Kabīr ("Great Khāḳān"), from which was taken the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of the Persian poet Khāḳānī [*q.v.*], a native of Shīrwān and the Shāh's eulogist in the earlier part of his life. During these decades, the Shāhs appear on their coins simply as vassals of the Great Saldjūḳs, and only after the death of the last of that dynasty, Ṭoghrïl III b. Arslan (590/1194) does the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph as overlord re-appear on their coins.

Shīrwān at that time was actually completely dependent on the Georgian kings, who took the title Shīrwān Shāh themselves. Matrimonial alliances were several times concluded between the Kasrānids and the Georgian royal house. The son and successor of Manūčihr III, Akhsitān I (*ca.* 544-*ca.* 575/*ca.* 1149-*ca.* 1179), no doubt owed to his powerful relative, ally and suzerain, king George III, his victory over a Russian fleet at Bākū and the reconquest of Shīrwān and Derbend. On the other hand, the lands of Shakkī, Ḳabala and Mūḳān were later taken from the Shīrwān Shāh by the Georgians (al-Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn,* ed. Houdas, 146, 174). Political conditions in the first half of the 7th/13th century are not quite clear; neither the Shīrwān Shāh Rashīd mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr under the year 619 (xii, 264-5) nor the Shīrwān Shāh Farīdūn b. Farīburz mentioned by al-Nasawī (175) under 622 A.H. are known from coins; in place of these we find on coins as contemporary of the caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) Farīburz II b. Farīdūn II b. Manūčihr, and following him under the same caliph, Farrukhzād b. Manūčihr II and Garshasp I b. Farrukhzād I. In contradiction to the above accounts, al-Nasawī says that the Shīrwān Shāh had paid sultan Malik Shāh a tribute of 100,000 dīnārs; the Khʷārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn therefore demanded the same sum from the Shīrwān Shāh when he appeared in Ādharbaydjān. According to al-Nasawī, the reply given him was that conditions were no longer the same as before, as a large part of the country was now in the possession of the Georgians. It was agreed to pay 50,000 dīnārs, but even of this 20,000 were remitted. Shortly before this time, the Khʷārazm Shāh had driven the officers of the Shīrwān Shāh out of the land of Gushtāspī at the junction of the Kura and Aras and farmed out this territory for 200,000 dīnārs; on the other hand, he restored to prince Sulṭān Shāh, Mūḳān [*q.v.*], which had been ceded by his father to the Georgians (on the occasion of the marriage of the prince with a Georgian princess, daughter of Queen Rusudan, 1223-47). After the subjection of Shīrwān by the Mongols, coins were struck in the name of the Mongol Great Khān; the name of the Shīrwān Shāh also appears, but without a title. Under the rule of the Īlkhānids, no coins were struck in Shīrwān; the country belonged sometimes to their empire and sometimes to that of the Golden Horde. As a province in the empire of the Īlkhānids Shīrwān brought the state treasury 11 *tūmāns* (the *tūmān* was 10,000 dīnārs) and 3,000 dīnārs (the dīnār was not now a gold coin, but a silver coin of 3, later 2 *mithḳāls*; cf. W. Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpiś na styenye Aniyskoi mečeti Manuče,* St. Petersburg 1911, 18-19, repr. in *Sočinenya*, iv, Moscow 1966, 313-38). Gushtāspī had remained separate and paid 118,500 dīnārs. The Kasrānid dynasty remained in existence; under the successors of the Īlkhānids, the Shīrwān Shāh Kay Kubādh and his son Kāwūs were again able to play the part of independent rulers (their coins were anonymous, like the coins of several dynasties of this period); but soon afterwards, Kāwūs had to submit to the Djalāyrids [*q.v.*] and strike coins in their name. Kāwūs is said to have died, according to Faṣīḥ (in Dorn, 560) in 774/1372-3); his son Hūshang was murdered by his subjects after reigning ten years, and with his death the dynasty of the Yazīdids/Kasrānids came to its end.

Control of Shīrwān passed to a remote connection of the Yazīdids/Kasrānids, Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Derbend (784-820/1382-1417), at first ruling as a vassal of Tīmūr and then, after the latter's death in 807/1404, as an independent prince. The long reigns of his successors Khalīl Allāh I (820-66/1417-62) and Farrukh Yasār (866-900/1462-1501) were decades of peace and prosperity for Shīrwān, with many fine buildings erected in Shamākha and Bākū. The history of the last Shīrwān Shāhs now becomes entwined with that of the Shaykhs and then Shāhs of the Ṣafawid family. The head of the Ṣafawiyya order Djunayd b. Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] was killed in 864/1460 during a raid on Shīrwān from Ādharbaydjān. His son Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] was likewise killed in 893/1488 at Ṭabarsān to the southwest of Derbend by a coalition of Farrukh Yasār and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan, who was apprehensive at the growing power of the Ṣafawids. After his seizure of power over Persia, Shāh Ismāʿīl I Ṣafawī avenged these killings by an invasion of Shīrwān in 906/1500-1, when he killed Farrukh Yasār and made Shīrwān a Ṣafawid dependency (see *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, 209-9, 211-12). Further Shāhs, descendants of Farrukh Yasār, continued in Shīrwān for nearly 40 years until the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I in 945/1538 incorporated Shīrwān fully into the Ṣafawid kingdom, reducing it to a governorship. A son of one of the last Shīrwān Shāhs, Burhān ʿAlī Sulṭān b. Khalīl Allāh II, and his son Abū Bakr attempted with Ottoman help to regain their former kingdom, but without lasting success.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker aus morgenländischen Quellen. i. Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences, St. Petersburg*, ser. VI, Section de sciences politiques, etc., iv, 523-602; V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958; Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Leiden 1992, 155-7; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 67 (for the chronology and genealogy of the Yazīdids/Kasrānids). See also AL-ḲABḲ.

(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SHĪTH (Hebr. Shēth), Seth the third son of Adam and Eve (Gen. IV, 25-6, V, 3-8), regarded in Islamic lore as one of the first prophets and, like his father, the recipient of a revealed scripture. He is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, but plays a considerable role in the subsequent *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] literature (see below). He is said to have been born when his father was 130 years of age, five years after the murder

of Abel. When Adam died, he made him his heir and executor of his will. He taught him the hours of the day and of the night, told him of the Flood to come and taught him to worship the divinity in retirement at each hour of the day.

It is to him that we trace the genealogy of mankind, since Abel did not leave any heirs and Cain's heirs were lost in the Flood. It is said that he lived at Mecca, performing the rites of pilgrimage until his death; that he collected the leaves revealed to Adam and to himself (numbering fifty) and regulated his conduct by them; and that he built the Kaʿba of stone and clay. On his death, he left as his successor his son Anūsh (Enoch); he was buried beside his parents in the cavern of Mount Abū Ḳubays; he had attained the age of 912 years. According to Ibn Isḥāḳ, he married his sister Ḥazūra.

Later traditions. Adam having fallen ill, desired to have olives and oil from Paradise; he sent Shīth to Mount Sinai to ask God for them, and God told him to hold out his wooden bowl; it was filled in a moment, with what his father had asked for, and he rubbed his body with the oil, ate a few olives and was cured. Adam was beardless; Shīth was the first to have a beard. He is also called the first *ūriyā* (a Syriac word signifying "teacher", cf. Hebr. *ōr* "light, teaching"). He was exactly like his father physically as well as morally. He was the favourite child. He spent the greater part of his life in Syria, where one tradition says that he was born. From his time, man was divided into two categories; those who obeyed him and the others who followed the children of Cain. As a result of his counsels, a few of the latter entered into the right path, but the others persisted in their rebellion. Maxims said to have been left behind by him are quoted (Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, lith. Bombay 1272, i, 12 ff.).

Above all, Shīth is described as the one who fought his brother Cain, as the murderer of Abel [see HĀBĪL WA-ḲĀBĪL]. He defeated Cain in battle, delivered him in fetters to the avenging angels and enslaved all his progeny. He then built over 1,000 cities and filled the earth with peace and justice.

Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, writes Shath and Shāth (i, 153), and says that Shīth is a Syriac form (*sūryānī*). The name signifies "in place of, gift (of God)" because he was given in place of Abel (Gen. IV. 26).

Al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*] held that the spirit of God was transferred from Adam to Seth (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Livre de la Création*, vi, 96). This idea comes from a Gnostic sect, the Sethites, who were found in Egypt from the 4th century, and who possessed a *Paraphrase of Seth*, to be more precise, seven books by this patriarch and seven others by his children, whom they called the "Strangers" (Epiphanes, *Haer.*, xxxix, 5). The Gnostics possessed the books of Jaldabaoth, the Demiurge, attributed to Seth (Epiphanes, *op. cit.*, xxvi, 8). The Ṣābiʾūn of Ḥarrān [see ṢĀBIʾA] had several writings attributed to Seth, and the latter was associated with Adam by the Manichaeans (P. Alfaric, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, Paris 1918, 6, 9, 10). Seth is always associated with Adam by the Druzes (P. Wolff, *Die Drusen*, Leipzig 1845, 151, 193, 372).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 152-68, 1122, 1123; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 35, 39; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, lith. 1277, 42; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978, 75 ff., 82-7 and index, and n. 69 at p. 347; Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 569; *Encyl. Judaica*, new ed., xiv, 1191.

(CL. HUART-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SHIVĀDJĪ [see MARĀTHĀS].

SHĪZ, the name of a very old Persian fire-temple, a place or district to the south-east of Lake Urmiya in Ādharbāydjān, said to be the native place of Zoroaster. According to A.V.W. Jackson, the name is said to be derived from the Avestan name of Lake Urmiya, Čaēčasta; according to Yāḳūt, it is an Arabic corruption of *Djazn* or *Gazn*, i.e. *Kanzaka* or *Gazaca* of the classical writers or *Gandjak* of the Pahlavi texts.

The older geographers correctly consider the two places and names to be distinct. The Arab traveller Abū Dulaf [*q.v.*] visited Shīz en route for Daylam and then Ādharbāydjān and Arrān in the mid-4th/10th century. According to him, the town lay among hills in which gold, quick-silver, lead, silver, arsenic and amethyst were found. Within the walled town was a pond of unfathomable depth, the water of which turned everything to stone. There was also a large ancient fire-temple there, which was held in great honour and from which all the sacred fires in Persia were lit. The fire had already burned 700 years without leaving ashes. The Persian kings used to bestow gifts on the temple, so that it collected vast treasures. Abū Dulaf went there specially to find hidden treasure. Sir Henry Rawlinson's photographs of Takht-i Sulaymān show the pond in the centre of the walls and the ruins of the temple.

Takht-i Sulaymān lies some 140 km/80 miles from the southeastern corner of Lake Urmiya, whereas the great Greek city of Ganzaka, where the fire temple originally stood, is only about 14 km/8 miles from this corner of the lake. What seems to have occurred is that the Sāsānid emperor Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79 [*q.v.*]) transferred the sacred fire and the temple treasures from Ganzaka near Lake Urmiya to a more inaccessible place in the mountains of southern Ādharbāydjān in order to protect it from Byzantine attack (Ganzaka was in fact twice occupied by Heraclius, on the second occasion in 628; see the detailed discussion in V. Minorsky, *Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene*, in *BSOAS*, xi [1944], 248-53, 256-60).

The fire temple at Shīz continued to be important for the local Zoroastrians during early Islamic times. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326, the caliph ʿUmar agreed with the *marzbān* of Ādharbāydjān to leave the fire temple undisturbed and to allow the people of Shīz to continue their dancing and other festivities. It seems doubtful, however, whether it was still functioning in Abū Dulaf's time, three centuries later, for his account did not convince his contemporaries.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 286; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 74; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 383-4; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, et. Wüstenfeld, ii, 267; Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 102; Sir Henry Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey from Tabriz ...*, in *JRGS*, x (184), 1-158; A.V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 195 ff.; idem, *Persia past and present*, 126-43; G.H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIᵉᵐᵉ et au IIIᵉᵐᵉ siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1938, 77; A. Godard, *Les monuments du feu*, in *Āthār-è Īrān*, iii (1938), 45-9 and figs. 25-7, 71; B.M. Tirmidhi, *Zoroastrians and their fire temples in Iran and adjoining countries ...*, in *IC*, xxiv (1950), 272-3, 275, 278.

(J. RUSKA-[C.E BOSWORTH])

SHKODRA [see ISHKODRA, in Suppl.].

SHLUḤ [see TASHELḤĪT].

SHOGHI EFFENDI [see SHAWḲĪ EFENDI RABBĀNĪ].

SHŌLĀPUR, the name of a District and of

its administrative centre, in the western Deccan of India. In British Indian times, these fell within the Bombay Presidency; within the Indian Union, they are now on the southeastern fringe of Mahārashtra State.

The town (lat. 17° 43', long. 75° 56' E.) was an early centre of the Marāthās [*q.v.*]. In 718/1318 it came finally under the control of the Dihlī Sultans, being governed from Deogīrī or Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], then under the Bahmanīs, then oscillating between the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur and the Niẓām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar before being incorporated by Awrangzīb into the Mughal Empire in 1078/1668. After possession by the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād, it passed towards the end of the 18th century to the Marāthās, but was conquered from the Pēshwā [*q.v.*] by General Munro in May 1818. The town still has some of its walls, which had eight gates, and still has an impressive fortress within their perimeter, begun in the late 8th/14th century by the Bahmanīs, but now dilapidated. In the early 20th century, the population of Shōlāpur town was roughly one-third Muslim and two-thirds Hindu; according to the 1971 census, the total population of the town was 398,361, but it is unclear what proportion of these were Muslims.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxii, 295-307; J.N. Kamalpur, *The Deccan forts. A study in the art of fortification in mediaeval India*, Bombay 1961, 88-91; *Maharashtra State gazetteers. Sholapur District*, revised ed. Bombay 1977, 967-96. (C.E. Bosworth)

SHUʿAYB, a prophet mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, who, on the basis of XI, 91, was understood to have come after Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Lot (Lūṭ) [*q.vv.*]. According to XXVI, 176-91, Shuʿayb was sent to the "People of the Thicket", *aṣḥāb al-ayka*, a group which is also mentioned in XV, 78, XXXVIII, 13, and L, 14. Furthermore, Shuʿayb is spoken of as sent to Madyan in VII, 85, XI, 84, 94-5, and XXIX, 36. This location is also mentioned in IX, 70, XX, 40, XXII, 44, and XXVIII, 22-3, 45. On the historical and geographic identity of these people and places, see MADYAN SHUʿAYB. As a result of the mention of Madyan in the context of Moses in Ḳurʾān, XX, 40, and esp. XXVIII, 22-8, the explanation arose in Islamic narratives (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 365, and most later exegetes) that Shuʿayb should be identified with (or be seen as the uncle of) Jethro (Yithrūn, Yathrā), the father-in-law of Moses mentioned in the Bible (Exod. iii, 1, iv, 18, xviii, 1-12) and referred to, but unnamed, in the Ḳurʾān.

The story of Shuʿayb, especially as told in Ḳurʾān, VII, 85-93, XI, 84-95, and XXVI, 176-91, follows the standard Ḳurʾānic narrative outline of prophetic history (see the analysis of the three versions in J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies: sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford 1977, 21-5). After his call by God, Shuʿayb preached monotheism, honesty in commerce and the necessity for order in the world and not hindering those who believe in God. The leaders of the community rejected him and threatened to expel him and his followers; they also considered stoning him, restrained only because he was one of them. An earthquake (so *radjfa* is commonly glossed; *ṣayḥa*, "shout" and *ẓulla*, "overshadowing" are also mentioned) destroyed their homes and the community, but Shuʿayb and his followers survived.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 365-71, tr. W.M. Brinner, *The history of al-Ṭabarī*, ii, *Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 143-7 (mainly exegetical expansion of the Ḳurʾānic elements of the story), and i, 458-63, tr. Brinner, *ibid.*, iii, *The children of Israel*, Albany 1991, 43-8; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1926, 93-4, 119-20, 138, for references to pre-Islamic sources; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen 1931, 249-54; S. Sycz, *Ursprung und Wiedergabe der biblischen Eigennamen im Koran*, Frankfurt 1903, 38-40; further bibl. cited in the article MADYAN SHUʿAYB, to which may be added C.E. Bosworth, *Madyan Shuʿayb in pre-Islamic and early Islamic lore and history*, in *JSS*, xxix (1984), 53-64. (A. Rippin)

SHUʿBA B. AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ b. al-Ward, Abū Bisṭām al-ʿAtakī, a *mawlā* from Baṣra with the honorific *shaykh al-islām*, was an eminent scholar and collector of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. Born during the years 82-6/702-7, his death from the plague is generally taken to have occurred in 160/776. Originally from Wāsiṭ, he came to live in Baṣra, where he sought out al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. Shuʿba is recorded to have studied *masāʾil* (= juridical problems) with him, so if that is historical he may be assumed to have arrived there in or before 110/728, the year in which Ḥasan died. About Shuʿba's personal circumstances very little is recorded. He is said to have had a speech defect. He wore dirty, dust-covered clothes, and his ascetic lifestyle was highly praised; his generosity towards the poor is lauded in many reports.

Early in life Shuʿba was allegedly fond of poetry and he associated with the poet al-Ṭirimmāḥ (d. *ca.* 120/738 (?) [*q.v.*]), but the story goes that when he once heard the well-known *faḳīh* and *ḥadīth* collector al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba (d. 112-15/730-3) transmit traditions from various masters, he was supposedly so struck with this that he henceforth began to gather *ḥadīth* himself. In due course he developed into Baṣra's most outstanding *ḥadīth* collector, seen in the honorary title *amīr al-muʾminīn fī 'l-ḥadīth* awarded him by a colleague ten years his junior, Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] is said to have referred to Shuʿba, probably pejoratively, as the *ḥashw al-miṣr* "the stuffing of the town".

Shuʿba is supposed to have heard traditions with large numbers of masters of whom al-Mizzī (*Tahdhīb*, xii, 480-6) records the names of more than 300, some 130 of whom are said to have hailed from Kūfa. The figure of 300 cannot be considered complete, for Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/856 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-ʿilal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, ed. Ankara 1963, i, 126, 128, 160-3) mentions many others who are not even included in al-Mizzī's list. Upon inspection, more than half of these 300 turn out to be mere names of otherwise totally nondescript people, in other words, they may be thought of as *madjhūlūn*.

Alongside his reputation as a great *ḥadīth* transmitter, Shuʿba's fame lies also in his expertise in *djarḥ wa-taʿdīl* [*q.v.*], the science of disparaging and declaring trustworthy *ḥadīth* transmitters, a science of which he is generally considered to have been the first exponent and which earned him the honorific *ḳabbān al-muḥaddithīn*, the steelyard of transmitters. There are numerous anecdotes in the sources describing him as particularly wary of *kadhib*, mendacity, sc. in *ḥadīth*. Thus he reproached the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, the story-tellers [see ḲĀṢṢ], for having "added" to traditions. He is even recorded as having expressed the desire to drag a notorious *ḥadīth* forger, one Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh (d. 138/755), to the court of the local *ḳāḍī*.

It is a curious paradox that arguably the most famous tradition, which according to Muslim mediaeval scholarship deserves the qualification *mutawātir* [*q.v.*] (i.e. broadly authenticated), is in all likelihood due to Shuʿba: *man kadhaba ʿalayya mutaʿammidan fal-*

yatabawwaʾ makʿadahu min al-nār (i.e. "he who deliberately puts false statements into my mouth must occupy a place in Hell"). In the few *isnād* bundles which support (versions of) this allegedly prophetic saying (see *Bibl.*), it is Shuʿba who is the oldest and at the same time best-attested common link. He is in fact what *ḥadīth* scholars have come to define as a *ṣāliḥ* [*q.v.*] transmitter. His saying reflects eloquently a general perception among 2nd/8th-century traditionists, namely that proliferating traditions whose moral or legal contents and/or underlying messages gain acceptance or popularity as from the time they emerge, as was the case with the *man kadhaba* saying, is *not* to be seen as *kadhib*, but rather seen as a practice fully condoned by Islam to codify its indispensable, extra-Ḳurʾānic foundations. The list of traditions in whose *isnād* bundles he is the undeniable common link, and thus responsible for (part of) the (wording of the) texts, is huge; in many chapters of the Six Books there are sayings attributed to the Prophet that are definitely his. Among these there are several crucial ones such as the statement which may be considered as a cornerstone in the early theorising of the *ahl al-sunna*: *man sanna fī 'l-islām sunnatan ḥasanatan fa-lahu adjruhā wa-adjru man ʿamila bihā baʿdahu* (i.e. "he who introduces into Islam a good custom/norm will be given the ensuing merit and the merit accruing to all those who practice/adopt it after him").

Apart from all this, his fondness of poetry is alluded to on many occasions. As al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]) stated: "We have never seen anyone more expert in poetry than he". Also concerning poetry and its position in society, he brought traditions into circulation in which he is observed trying his hand himself at making verses, some of which he then ascribed to the Prophet, cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, *On the origins of the poetry in Muslim tradition literature*, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1994, ii, 182-207.

Among his *ca.* 300 alleged *ḥadīth* masters there is one for whose traditions Shuʿba was generally criticised, sc. Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī (d. 128-32/746-50 [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, i, 294-8), whose name is usually associated with extreme Shīʿī doctrines. Initially, Shuʿba was himself not free from Shīʿa-related allegations: one source (al-Khaṭīb, ix, 260, 10) identifies him with *taraffuḍ* (= harbouring moderate (?) Rāfiḍī ideas) which one of his pupils, Yazīd b. Zurayʿ (d. 182/798), imputed to him. Eventually Shuʿba seems to have abandoned these.

Among Shuʿba's many alleged students two stand out as particularly important in that their transmission from their master is directly available in printed collections: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa 'l-rakāʾik*, Malagaon 1966, and Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 204/819 [q.v.]), *Musnad*, Ḥaydarābād 1321. To these two may be added seven more pupils of Shuʿba, equally prolific, whose numerous traditions were allegedly personally recorded by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*: Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar Ghundar (d. *ca.* 193/809), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 198/814), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (d. 198/814), al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 204/819), Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206/821), Muʿādh b. Muʿādh (d. 196/812) and Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ, while Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) has noted down in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* from his master Ādam b. Abī Iyās (d. 220/835) much material on the direct authority of Shuʿba.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-maʿrifa li-kitāb al-djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, 132-57, contains a list of transmitters about whom Shuʿba is recorded to have uttered criticisms; for further information on Shuʿba, see Fasawī, *Kitāb al-maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, ii, 283-5; Baḥshal, *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, 120-1; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*³, i, 193-7; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*², vii, 202-28; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, ii, 469-70 f.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 255-66; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-ridjāl*, ³Beirut 1988, i, 67-80; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, 338-46; Ibn Radjab, *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. S.Ṣ. Dj. al-Ḥumaydī, 159 ff. For a wide range of legal opinions which Shuʿba obtained from al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba and/or Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, cf. Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, indices vol. iv, 2208; the *isnād* bundles supporting the *man kadhaba* saying with Shuʿba as common link are detailed in Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, iii, no. 3623, iv, no. 4627, vii, no. 10087, viii, no. 11531. For more on the technical *ḥadīth* terms used in this article, such as *isnād* bundle and common link, see *al-Ḳanṭara*, x (1989), 343-83; *Arabica*, xxxix (1992), 287-314; *Le Muséon*, cvii (1994), 151-94; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, Cambridge 1983, index s.vv., and idem, *Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776) and his role in* ḥadīth *proliferation in Baṣra*, forthcoming in *Le Muséon*.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

SHUBĀṬ [see TAʾRĪKH].

SHUBHA (A., pl. *shubah*, *shubuhāt*), literally, "resemblance", a term that developed two distinct technical meanings.

In theology and philosophy, a *shubha* is a false or specious argument which "resembles" a valid one. In later scholastic treatises, positive arguments for a given view are often followed by a series of *shubah*, counter-arguments by opponents, and their refutations (see e.g. al-Āmidī, *Ghāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. Ḥ.M. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1971, 265-74, and for a logical controversy over *shubah*, see J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Icī*, Wiesbaden 1966, 353).

In law, a *shubha* is an illicit act which nevertheless "resembles" a licit one, and is relevant primarily to the *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] offences, those specifically forbidden in the Ḳurʾān and having fixed penalties, and especially to fornication (*zinā*). In attempting to avoid as much as possible imposition of the severe *ḥadd* penalties (stoning, amputation, and flogging), the jurists appealed to a prophetic *ḥadīth* instructing the believers to "avert the *ḥadd* penalties by means of ambiguous cases" (*idraʾū 'l-ḥudūd bi 'l-shubuhāt*). Thus, in contradistinction to other areas of the law, commission of a *ḥadd* offence through ignorance is considered grounds for suspension of the prescribed penalty.

This principle is recognised by all schools of law, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, although with varying terminology and scope. The most elaborate discussions are those of the Ḥanafīs, who recognise three categories: 1. *Shubha fī 'l-maḥall* (also known as *shubhat mulk* or *shubha ḥukmiyya*), in which the act's status as forbidden is contravened by some outside indicator; the standard example is that of sexual intercourse with one's son's slavegirl, the indicator being the *ḥadīth* which states that "You and your property belong to your father". In such cases, the penalty is suspended even if the offender is aware that the act is forbidden. 2. *Shubha fī 'l-fiʿl* (also known as *shubhat ishtibāh* or *shubhat mushābaha*), in which the offender claims to have believed, mistakenly but plausibly, that the act was licit; examples include sexual intercourse during her waiting period (*ʿidda*) with a wife thrice divorced. In these cases, the offender's explicit claim of igno-

rance of the law is essential for suspension of the penalty. 3. *Shubhat al-ʿakd*, resulting from an invalid marriage contract, such as one without witnesses, or an incestuous one. Abū Ḥanīfa claimed that such a *shubha* obtains even when the offender admits to awareness of the invalidity of the contract (thus he refused to apply the *ḥadd* penalty for prostitution), but was opposed on this point by his pupils al-Shaybānī and Abū Yūsuf.

The Shāfiʿīs also recognise three categories of *shubha*, but define them rather differently: 1. *Shubha fi 'l-maḥall*, such as intercourse with a foster relative. 2. *Shubhat al-fāʿil*, as when another woman is substituted for the bride on the wedding night. 3. *Shubhat al-ṭarīḳ* or *al-djiha*, in cases where the schools disagree, such as Shīʿī *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] marriage or Ḥanafī marriage by an adult woman without a guardian (*walī*). With less systemisation, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, as well as Imāmī Shīʿīs, generally accord *shubha* status to the same situations as the Shāfiʿīs. Some other cases of illicit intercourse not subject to the *ḥadd* penalty, such as intercourse with one's wife during her menses and intercourse under coercion, are sometimes also labelled *shubha*.

Bibliography: Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, 790-1; Ibn al-Humām, *Fatḥ al-ḳadīr*, Cairo 1315, v, 30 ff., Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1282, 130 ff.; al-Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-djalīl*, Tripoli 1969, vi, 290 ff.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1986, xii, 340 ff.; al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Nadjaf 1969, iv, 149 ff.; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 176-80; J.N.D. Anderson, *Invalid and void marriages in Hanafi law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 357-66. (E.K. ROWSON)

SHUBRĀ [see DAMANHŪR].

SHUDJĀʿ AL-DAWLA, Mīrza Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Ṣafdār Djang (1732-75), was the third *Nawwāb*, or ruler, of the North Indian, post-Mughal successor state of Awadh [*q.v.*] (Oudh) from 1754 until his death. One of the most capable statesmen of 18th-century India, he made his realm into the major indigenous power in North India, fighting the British almost to a standstill at the Battle of Baksar in 1764. Realising his value as an ally, the East India Company reinstated him in 1765, and for the next decade a process of mutual testing and political experimentation occurred. Under the subsidiary alliance system, in which he paid for the internal use of British-officered Indian troops, the way was opened for increasing Company intervention during subsequent reigns. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla nonetheless modernised his army during this period, closed Awadh to the disruptive effects of European trade, secured the treasury in the custody of his main consort Bahū Begam, and made large annexations, including Itāwā and Rāmpūr [*q.vv.*]. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, treated him formally as an equal, but after Shudjāʿ al-Dawla's death, the realm was further undermined by expansive British military, commercial, and diplomatic ambitions. See further AWADH.

Bibliography: Harnām Singh "Nāmī", *Taʾrīkh-i saʿādat-i djāwīd* (1806); Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Naḳawī, *ʿImād al-saʿādat*, Lucknow 1864; Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Siyar al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, tr. M. Raymond, Calcutta 1902; Mustadjāb Khān Bahādūr, *Gulistān-i raḥmat*, tr. C. Elliott, 1831; A.L. Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-daulah*, i, *1754-1765*, Calcutta 1939, and *Shuja-ud-daulah*, ii, *1765-1775*, Calcutta 1945; R.B. Barnett, *North India between empires*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1980. (R.B. BARNETT)

AL-SHUDJĀʿĪ, Shams al-Dīn, Mamlūk historian and contemporary of the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and his successors.

In the only surviving fragment of his chronicle *Taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-awlādihi* (ed. and tr. Barbara Schäfer, *Die Chronik aš-Šuǧāʿīs*, Wiesbaden 1977; *Šams ad-Dīn aš-Šuǧāʿī, Tārīḫ al-Malik an-Nāṣir … wa-aulādihi*, Wiesbaden 1985), the author's name appears both in the text and on the title page as Shams b. al-Shudjāʿī; however, in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, ii, 153, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa refers to the author as Shams al-Dīn al-Shudjāʿī al-Miṣrī. Although the editor and translator of the text correctly points out that "Shams" would not have occurred independently as an *ism* at this time and that the rendering "Shams al-Dīn" must therefore be correct, there is no explanation for her decision to follow Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in dropping the "ibn" but to ignore his "al-Miṣrī". The *nisba* is, of course, important in establishing the author's identity as is, moreover, the *nasab*, since P.M. Holt has recently tried to find a *mamlūk* in the biographical literature who would combine the *laḳab* "Shams al-Dīn" with the *nisba* "al-Shudjāʿī", derived from the uncommon Mamlūk *laḳab* of Shudjāʿ al-Dīn (see *Shams al-Shujāʿī: a chronicler identified?*, in *BSOAS*, forthcoming). On the basis of Mamlūk naming patterns, Holt assumes that the author was a *mamlūk* with the *ism* of Sunḳur or Aḳsunḳur in the service of an *amīr* Shudjāʿ al-Dīn known to have lived during the period 745-56/1345-56, dates for which there are personal references to the author in the text. The only suitable candidate is one Shams al-Dīn Aḳsunḳur, Amīr Djāndār, of the household of Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Ghurlū. Although the date of Aḳsunḳur's death is unknown, he is known to have been exiled to Tripoli in 748/1348 and thus could have been alive in 756/1356. But as ingenious as this identification may be, it loses some credibility by the suppression of "ibn", for if it is retained, there is the distinct possibility that Ibn al-Shudjāʿī was not a *mamlūk* at all but the son of one, and that his *ism* as a second-generation Muslim was probably Muḥammad, invariably associated with the *laḳab* Shams al-Dīn. Furthermore, since no references are to be found in any of the copious biographical dictionaries to a historian bearing any of these names, it is probably prudent to refer to him by the name cited in the text and on the title page of the manuscript, sc. Shams b. al-Shudjāʿī, or, following Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba's citations in his own history, simply al-Shudjāʿī (see Schäfer, 1985, 5). Besides the *terminus post quem* (756), we know only that the author made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 745/1344-5 and that he was in the service of Shaʿbān, presumably the sultan al-Kāmil Shaʿbān (746-7/1345-6 [*q.v.*]). Furthermore, if Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa is correct, al-Shudjāʿī was associated in some way with Miṣr, either the town of that name or the country Egypt.

The question of the significance of al-Shudjāʿī's *Taʾrīkh* is also fraught with difficulties. Although only a fragment for 737-45/1337-45 exists, it has been proved to be heavily indebted to al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī taʾrīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, for which there is only a fragment for mid-733 to mid-738 (ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ, Beirut 1986). Comparison of the two texts for the one year, 737, which the two fragments have in common indicates that al-Shudjāʿī paraphrased al-Yūsufī's text with only a few additions, mainly precise dates (D.P. Little, *An analysis of the relationship between four Mamlūk Chronicles for 737-45*, in *JSS*, xix [1974], 252-68). Collation of al-Shudjāʿī's passages from other

years with those attributable to al-Yūsufī in al-Maḳrīzī's and al-ʿAynī's histories shows that the pattern of al-Shudjāʿī's indebtedness to al-Yūsufī (d. 759/1358) is compellingly consistent up to the annal for 741, when the evidence is not as forthcoming as for the previous years. However, even then and thereafter, the textual evidence suggests that al-Shudjāʿī was heavily indebted to another source, probably al-Yūsufī. Unfortunately, references in the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, the only historian to cite al-Shudjāʿī by name, are not helpful in this regard. But whether or not al-Shudjāʿī continued to borrow from al-Yūsufī consistently is not so important as the undisputed fact that the *Taʾrīkh* contains many details, especially for the years 741-5, which cannot be found in other extant sources and is therefore of considerable importance for this period.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(D.P. Little)

AL-**SHŪF**, a district of Mount Lebanon, generally denoting the current districts of it south of the Beirut-Damascus road. However, names of geographical areas often follow political, demographical or administrative changes. From the early Islamic period until the end of the Crusades, "Mount Lebanon" (*Djabal Lubnān*) was applied only to the northern districts of Djubbat Bsharrī, Batrūn and Djubayl, the original homeland of the Maronites, while the southern districts were known as Djabal al-Shūf, which at times also included Djabal Kisrawān. The Mamlūks [*q.v.*], who ruled Syria from 659/1261 till 921/1516, divided the entire region according to three administrative units: Tripoli—Djabal Lubnān; Damascus—Djabal Kisrawān, al-Matn, and al-Gharb; and Sidon—al-Shūf. However, in local usage, al-Shūf denoted, as it does today, al-Shūf proper, Iklīm al-Shūf (a restricted area around Dayr al-Ḳamar) and, surrounding it, the Greater Shūf, the homeland of the Druzes [see AL-DURŪZ] from at least the 7th/13th century.

During the latter part of the Mamlūk era and at the beginning of the Ottoman period, Iklīm al-Shūf was ruled by Druze *amīrs* of the Maʿn family—chroniclers of the 10th/16th century accordingly called it al-Shūf al-Maʿnī. The Druze chronicler Ḥamza b. Sibāṭ (d. 926/1520) speaks of al-Ashwāf (pl. of al-Shūf), referring probably to the internal subdivision of Iklīm al-Shūf as known to the locals: al-Shūf al-Suydjānī, al-Shūf al-Ḥaytī, and al-Shūf al-Bayāḍī.

In their efforts to bring the Druzes under their control the Ottomans launched a number of expeditions against al-Shūf al-Maʿnī, where Druze resistance was strongest. When these proved too expensive, they arrived in 1001/1593 at a compromise with the local chief, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿnī [*q.v.*] II, whom they appointed *amīr al-liwāʾ* of the Ṣaydā [*q.v.*] *sandjak*. Soon Fakhr al-Dīn controlled not only the Greater Shūf, now often called Djabal al-Durūz, but also the Biḳāʿ valley, the coastal area between Sidon and Tripoli, northern Palestine and areas in Transjordan. When, inspired by Druze-Maronite unity and a period of economic prosperity, Fakhr al-Dīn tried to establish political autonomy, the Ottomans put an end to his rule in 1042/1633, and his successors controlled only a small part of al-Shūf.

In 1108/1697 the only candidate of the Maʿnī family for the *imāra* of al-Shūf preferred to serve in the Porte's bureaucracy, upon which, in order to maintain the political regime of the *imāra*, the Druze chiefs invited the Sunnī Shihāb family to rule as *amīrs*. Though the area continued to be called Djabal al-Durūz until the beginning of the 19th century, successive waves of immigrants from the north since the time of Fakhr al-Dīn II transformed the demography of al-Shūf, so that by 1800 Christians made up the majority of the population. The conversion in the 1750s to Christianity of part of the Shihābīs and the Abu 'l-Lamʿīs, the Druze rulers of al-Matn and al-Shūf al-Bayāḍī, meant the end of Druze supremacy and the rise of the star of the Maronites.

When, at the beginning of the 19th century *amīr* Bashīr Shihāb [*q.v.*] expanded his rule to Kisrawān, Djubayl, Batrūn and Djbbat Bsharrī, the *amīr* of al-Shūf came to be called *amīr Djabal Lubnān*, i.e. *amīr* of the whole of Mount Lebanon. No longer the *primus inter pares* of the *muḳāṭaʿdjīs* [see MUḲĀṬAʿA] of al-Shūf, Bashīr took advantage of their factionalism in order to consolidate his own power. Demographic changes, Druze factionalism, increasing European trade with Mount Lebanon, a strengthening of the political position of the Maronite Church, and Djazzār's and Ibrāhīm Pasha's [*q.vv.*] support for Bashīr are all factors which introduced a shift in al-Shūf's balance of power. In 1841, following the Egyptian withdrawal, sectarian strife broke out between the two communities—the Druze bent on regaining their former position of power, the Maronites seeking to maintain and even reinforce their new-found prosperity. In an effort to solve the conflict, the European Powers and the Ottomans imposed on Mount Lebanon a settlement based on the double *ḳāʾimmaḳāmiyya* [see ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM], whereby the districts north of the Beirut-Damascus road came under Christian, and those to the south, i.e. al-Shūf, under Druze administration. However, this settlement proved too fragile and recurring incidents set off a civil war in 1860. Though at first victorious, the Druzes were ultimately defeated because of French intervention—the Druzes left al-Shūf in large numbers to settle as immigrants in Djabal Ḥawrān, soon called Djabal al-Durūz. No longer a centre of political power, al-Shūf soon became integrated into the *mutaṣarrifiyya* [see MUTAṢARRIF] (1861-1918) and, subsequently, the state of Lebanon.

As a result of the civil war which broke out in 1975, by 1983 virtually the entire Christian population had fled from al-Shūf. Again a predominantly Druze area, al-Shūf has become a focal point in the efforts to resettle the refugees from the different regions and thus to find an overall solution for the Lebanese conflicts.

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(Kais M. Firro)

SHUFʿA (A.), lit. "pre-emption", the right of the co-owner to buy out his partner's share which is for sale. Should the property be sold without his approval to a third party, the partner has the privilege to purchase the property, even against the will of the new owner, who should be reimbursed with the price paid. Both Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* are cited by books of *fiḳh* in support of the concept, though the former seems to provide only indirect reference. The Ḥanafīs grant this privilege to the owners of adjacent properties and make it valid not only to non-fungible properties but also to appendages of the property, such as access and water rights. The *Madjalla* definition (art. 950) gives the term the power of "pos-

session" (*tamalluk*). *Shufʿa*, according to the four schools, is restricted to non-fungible property. The Ẓāhirīs extend *shufʿa* to fungible property, including animals, on the basis of the prophetic tradition that *shufʿa* is in "everything". Ibn Ḳudāma interpreted "everything" to mean only what cannot be divided, and he deprived both the *dhimmīs* and the Rafiḍī Shīʿa from the right to *shufʿa*, unlike al-Shāfiʿī and some other scholars, who see the right as general and not affected by faith.

Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Aṣamm (d. 957/347) completely rejected *shufʿa* on the grounds that it clashes with the individual's freedom to sell. This could result in the landowner's loss, since no-one would buy knowing that he might lose what he had purchased. Although al-Aṣamm's view is refuted in the *Mughnī*, his view would be better understood if the term were properly defined, for *shufʿa* is not a right but a reason that creates a right.

Shufʿa was retained in many secular laws introduced to Muslim countries, such as the Egyptian, French-based law of 1883. There has been a longstanding legal controversy over whether *shufʿa* is a personal (*ḥaḳḳ shakhṣī*) or real right (*ḥaḳḳ ʿaynī*). Al-Sanhūrī in seeking to resolve the controversy maintained that it is not a right at all, but a cause (*sabab*). He placed *shufʿa*, as a right-making "cause", on a parallel with other causes that create rights, like contracts and inheritance. Although al-Sanhūrī conveyed no opinion as to whether this cause creates a personal or real right, it is evident that Islamic law views *shufʿa* as both a personal and real right, if inheritance is used as a guide. Al-Zuḥaylī, referring to the Ḥanafī school, maintained that the cause (*sabab*) for *shufʿa* "right" is the "adjacency" of the two properties. This adjacency would appear to be only a cause leading to *shufʿa*, which is the actual legal designation (*sabab*) for the right of ownership.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 106, 142; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, *al-Wasīṭ fī sharḥ al-ḳānūn al-madanī*, Beirut 1968, ix, 446; Shāfiʿī, *al-Umm*, Beirut 1983, iv, 3-4; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Beirut 1984, v, 459-553; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-addillatuh*, Beirut 1985, v, 509, 792; Salīm Rustum Bāz al-Lubnānī, *Sharḥ al-Madjalla*, Beirut, 304/1886-7, repr. 1986, 563; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Beirut 1986, xiv, 90; Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-salām*, ed. F. Zimarlī, Beirut 1987, iii, 154-9; S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 201.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SHUFURWA or Shawarwa, Banū, conventional readings for the name of a family of Ḥanafī clerics and men of letters in Iṣfahān during the 6th/12th century. The name has not been explained and should perhaps be read rather as (Persian) Shaβ-rō "black-face". Although several members of the family are listed in biographical works, the only one about whom we have precise knowledge is Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ḥamza *al-maʿrūf bi-Shawarwa*, a religious scholar who spent time in Damascus and Cairo (where he met Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) before returning, in 570/1175, to his native Iṣfahān. Al-Ṣafadī quotes a few of his Arabic verses. His name appears as that of the author in at least some of the manuscripts of *Aṭbāḳ al-dhahab*, a little moralising tract in Arabic, a poor imitation of al-Zamakhsharī's *Aṭwāḳ al-dhahab* (printed Būlāḳ 1864 and often; tr. O. Rescher, in his *Beiträge zur Maqâmen-Litteratur*, vii, 1914).

This Arabic writer is perhaps identical with Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa, the author of an extant, but unpublished, poetical *dīwān* in Persian, consisting largely of panegyrics to the *atabeg* Djahān-Pahlawān Muḥammad b. Eldügüz, the *de facto* ruler of the Saldjūḳ empire 571-82/1175-86 [see ildeñizids]; he also praises the Saldjūḳid Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl (556-71/1161-76). The Persian anthologists from the time of Djādjarmī onwards give his personal name as ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, evidently identifying him with the above-mentioned cleric, but our earliest authority, Muḥammad ʿAwfī, calls him Sharaf al-Dawla wa ʾl-Dīn Muḥammad Shufurwa, implying that he was in fact a different member of the same family. The same author quotes a few poems by his cousin Ẓahīr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Shufurwa. The 7th/13th-century anthology compiled by Djamāl al-Dīn Sharwānī quotes a number of *rubāʿīs* by Sharaf al-Dīn, Ẓahīr al-Dīn and ʿIzz al-Dīn Shufurwa; the last is mentioned also by al-Ḳazwīnī.

Bibliography: ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 268-74 (with M. Ḳazwīnī's notes and those in S. Nafīsī's ed., 639-47); Djamāl al-Dīn Khalīl Sharwānī, *Nuzhat al-madjālis*, ed. M.A. Riḥānī, Tehran 1366 *Sh*./1987, see index; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 197; Muḥammad b. Badr al-Djādjarmī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār fī daḳāʾiḳ al-ashʿār*, ed. Ṭabībī, Tehran 1337-50 *Sh*./1959-71, ii, 1079-81, 1117; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xix, no. 217; Ibn Abi ʾl-Wafāʾ, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332/1914, i, 332, ii, 205, 375; Dawlatshāh, 154-5; Brockelmann, I², 349, S I, 512 (for the *Aṭbāḳ al-dhahab*); ʿA. Iḳbāl, *Khānadān-i Shufurwa*, in *Yādgār*, v/6-7 (1327 *Sh*./1949), 108-17; Storey-de Blois, v/2, 539-43, 561-2 (with further literature).

(F.C. de Blois)

SHUGHNĀN, Shighnān, a district on the upper Oxus, there known as the Pandj River, extending over both banks from where the river leaves the district of Wakhān [*q.v.*] and turns directly northwards before flowing westwards again. The left bank part of Shughnān now falls within the Afghān province of Badakhshān [*q.v.*] and the right bank one within the Pamir region of the former USSR, a division likewise reflected in the districts of Ghārān immediately to the north of Shughnān and Rawshān to its south. The whole district is extremely mountainous, with the lowest parts, the valley bottoms, at an altitude of 1,828 m/6,000 feet, and with the pass over the Shughnān range of mountains in the Pamir, which separates the Ghund (Russ. Gunt) valley on its northern edges from the Shakh-dara (Russ. Shakh-darinskiy) range (which rises to 6,726 m/22,060 feet) being at 4,267 m/14,000 feet. The Tādjīk population is very sparse and confined to the valley bottoms.

The name of the region has various spellings in the medieval Islamic geographers, including Shiḳ(i)nān, Shik(i)nān, Shiḳīna, Shikīna. The form شكينه "a large village" of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 112, perhaps points to Shaḳīna, which the translator thought was probably the later Ishkāshim (see below). In the travel account of the Buddhist monk Hiuen-tsang (early 7th century A.D.) and in the T'ang dynastic annals, Shughnān appears as Shi-k'i ni (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kioue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 152); in 646, envoys from Shughnān visited the Imperial court. In the period shortly afterwards of the Arab conquest of Central Asia, its ruler was a vassal of the Yabghu who ruled the whole upper Oxus region. The Arab geographers attach it administratively to Badakhshān or Ṭukhāristān [*q.v.*], and al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 292, tr. Wiet, 109, speaks of the local ruler as (?) Kh.mār Beg (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 65; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 223,

225). In the late 13th century, Marco Polo mentions the mining of "Balas" rubies in the mountains of Syghinan, although it is actually in the adjacent district of Ghārān that the abandoned mines can be seen (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*³, London 1902, i, 157).

Al-Ya'kūbī also mentions, 304, tr. 133, that the Barmakī al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā conquered Shughnān in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but it is dubious whether Islam was permanently introduced there at this time. This seems more likely to have been the work of Nizārī Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* or propagandists, sent to Badakhshān by the Grand Masters in Alamūt, amongst whom is mentioned a Sayyid Shāh Malang Khurāsānī and, in the 7th/13th century, the Ḥusaynid Sayyid Shāh Khāmūsh Shīrāzī. This brought about the permanent presence of Khōdja Ismā'īlism in the upper Oxus region, and in Shughnān, Ismā'īlī *pīrs* and *mīrs* ruled hereditarily till the 19th century (see Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambrige 1990, 27, 441, 486-7, noting also the preservation there of Ismā'īlī works in manuscript, some of them brought back to Dushanbe by the Soviet research expedition to the region in 1959-63). The Amīrs of Kābul Shīr 'Alī Khān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān endeavoured to bring Shughnān under their sway, so that towards the end of the 19th century the local people appealed to the Amīr of Bukhārā and to the Russian Governor-General of Turkestan. In March 1895, after diplomatic negotiations in London involving Russia and Great Britain, the Afghāns agreed to evacuate the right bank of the Pandj river, whilst the Amīr of Bukhārā relinquished his possessions in Darwāz on the left bank to the north of Shughnān.

Russian authority in the district was exercised from 1895 onwards from Khārāgh (Russ. Khorog) where the Ghund and Shakh-dara rivers join the Pandj, but the shock waves of the Bolshevik Revolution were felt even in Shughnān, and Bolshevik forces took over the Pamir region in November 1920. Right-bank Shughnān eventually became part of the Gorno-Badakhshaya Autonomous Oblast in the eastern part of the Tadzhikistan SSR (now the Tadjikistan Republic), whilst left-bank Shughnān remained part of the Afghān *wilāyat* or province of Badakhshān. Afghān Shughnān contains the settlement of Ishkāshim, on the left bank of the Pandj and commanding the only winter route between Badakhshān and the trans-Oxus districts of Shughnān and Wakhān; it was here that the English traveller John Wood crossed the Oxus ice in 1837 (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*², London 1872, 204-6; see also C.E. Bosworth, *EIr* art. *Eškāš(e)m*).

Finally, one should note the presence in Shughnān of speakers of the Modern East Iranian Pamir language, Shughni, with its component dialects of Shughni, Bajui, Khufi, Roshani, Bartangi, Oroshori and Sarikoli (see G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group*, Wiesbaden 1976; J.R. Payne, *Pamir languages*, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 417-44; ĪRĀN. iii. Languages, in Suppl.).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see especially *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 71, 112 comm. 349-51; A.A. Semenov, *Istorya Shugnana*, Tashkent 1916; W. Holzwarth, *Segmentation und Staatsbildung in Afghanistan. Traditionale sozio-politische Organisation in Badakhshan, Wakhan und Sheghnan*, in K. Greussing and J.-H. Grevemeyer (eds.), *Revolution in Iran und Afghanistan*, Frankfurt 1980, 177-235. For older bibl., see Minorsky's *EI* art. See also ĀMŪ DARYĀ; BADAKHSHĀN; PAMIRS; WAKHĀN. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHUKĀ'Ā or SHUKĀ' (A.) is the thistle.

The word is a collective term used to indicate various more or less spiny plants, comprising mainly species and types of the *Compositae*, but also of other families. Mention should be made above all of *Carduus* and *Cirsium*, each with numerous types, further *Sonchus, Onopordon, Centaurea, Cnicus, Carthamus* and others. The whitethorn of Dioscurides (ἄκανθα λευκή, *al-shawka al-bayḍā'*) is defined by Ibn Djuldjul [*q.v.*] with *shukā'ā* (*Dioscurides triumphans*, iii, 13, see *Bibl.*), but this is hardly justifiable because the latter term simply indicates the thistle. The white acanthus therefore is mostly rendered with *bādhāward*, which in *Dioscurides triumphans*, iii, 14, should be the Arabic acanthus (ἄκανθα 'Αραβική, *al-shawka al-'arabiyya*), which in its turn appears just as often as *shukā'ā*. *Shukā'ā* and *bādhāward* are often "compared" with one another, not identified. Only tentatively may it be assumed that with the white acanthus *Onopordum acanthium L., Compositae*, is perhaps also meant *Cirsium ferox L.* and variants. This type spreads its leaves rosette-like, which fits the botanical description (*op. cit.*). As synonyms are also found Romance *ṭūb(a)* (from latin *tubus*), so-called because of its high stalk, with which fire is fanned (*op. cit.*, iii, 71), further *ibrat al-rā'ī* ("shepherd's needle") or *ibrat al-rāhib* ("monk's needle") because of the pointed thorns, and the Berber words *ayfd* and *tāfrūt*. It cannot be determined whether these and other words indicate synonyms or other types of the thistle; cf. Renaud's explanations on *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* no. 457, and those by Meyerhof on Maimonides' *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uḳḳār*, no. 362.

As for *shukā'ā* as a medicine, if put on children's pillows, the thistle stills the saliva which flows from their mouths. If applied as a compress, the thistle is good for hemiplegia (*fālidj*), and if pulverised, it helps against swellings which occur at the backside, and it cicatrises putrefying ulcers. Ashes of the thistle slow down chronic dyscratic moistures (*al-ruṭūbāt al-muzmina*), which flow from the womb.

Bibliography: Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 362; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 457; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, ³Berlin 1891, 680-2; H.A. Hoppe, *Drogenkunde*, ⁸Berlin-New York 1975-7, i, 292-3, 765-6. Numerous source references in A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 3. Folge, nos. 172 and 173, Göttingen 1988), iii, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20; iv, 107; idem *Die Dioskurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Baiṭār* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 3. Folge, no. 191, Göttingen 1991), iii, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19. (A. DIETRICH)

SHUKR (A.), thankfulness, gratitude; acknowledgment (pl. *shukūr*); it also has the meaning of praise, which is gratefulness with the tongue.

1. As a religious and mystical concept.

As a Ṣūfī term for an internal state and its external expression, *shukr* is a station (*maḳām*) of the wayfarer (*sālik*) and has all the above meanings when referring to human beings.

However, *shukr* on the part of God signifies the "requiting and commending [a person]" or the "forgiving" a man: or the "regarding" him "with content, satisfaction, good will", or "favour": and hence, necessarily, the "recompensing", or "rewarding, him". The saying *shakara 'llāhu sa'yahu* signifies "May God recompense, or reward, his work or labour" (Lane).

In the Ḳur'ān, God is *al-Shākir* (II, 158; IV, 147) and *al-Shakūr* (XXXV, 29-30; XXXV, 34; XLII, 23; LXIV, 17) the latter also being one of His Most

Beautiful Names, meaning "He who approves, or rewards, or forgives, much, or largely; He who gives large reward for small, or few works; He in whose estimation small, or few, works performed by His servants increase, and who multiplies His rewards to them" (Lane). God is *al-Shakūr* "in the sense of widely extending His favours, not (thankful) in a literal sense", giving thankfulness for thankfulness, "just as He has stated, 'The recompense for an offense is one equal thereto' (XLII, 40)" (al-Ḳushayrī, 384, tr. Von Schlegell, 132). "Only God ... is absolutely grateful, because His multiplication of the reward is unrestricted and unlimited, for there is no end to the happiness of paradise" (see LXIX, 24) (al-Ghazālī, tr. of *al-Maḳṣad*, 101) "The one who rewards a good deed manifold is said to be grateful for that deed, while whoever commends the one who does a good deed is also said to be grateful" (*ibid.*). So God's reward, His praise for a good deed is praise for His own work, "for their works are His creation" (*ibid.*).

As for human beings, whose qualities are derived from the divine qualities "the thankful one (*al-shākir*) is he who is thankful for what is, and the very thankful one (*al-shakūr*) is he who is thankful for what is not" (al-Ḳushayrī, 385, tr. Von Schlegell, 134).

The importance of *shukr* is clearly expressed in XIV, 7: *And when your Lord proclaimed: "If you are thankful, surely I will increase you, but if you are thankless, my chastisement is surely terrible"*. It is called the key to Paradise on the basis of XXXIX, 74: *And they shall say: "Praise belongs to God, who has been true in His promise unto us, and has bequeathed upon us the earth, for us to make our dwelling wheresoever we will in Paradise! How excellent is the wage of those that labour!"*

Al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā'* has a comprehensive chapter on *ṣabr* [*q.v.*] and *shukr*, which are characterised as the two parts of *īmān* (which equals *yaḳīn*, see al-Makkī, 421) which support and complement each other, *ṣabr* being the precondition for *shukr*. Since these are divine qualities and yield two of God's Most Beautiful Names (*al-Ṣabūr, al-Shakūr*), ignoring them means ignoring not only *īmān* but also the qualities of God.

Since al-Ghazālī uses the material of the important Ṣūfī compendiums (mainly al-Ḳushayrī and al-Makkī; see Gramlich, *Stufen zur Gottesliebe*, 4 ff.), structuring it in a clear, logical order with many additions and clarifying similes of his own, this comprehensive chapter will be used here as a basis.

Although mentioned in different ways before, it was one of al-Ghazālī's most important original ideas to give a clear exposition of the three parts of *shukr*: (1) *ʿilm*, "knowledge", (2) *ḥāl*, "(the right) state" and (3) *ʿamal* "acting", and their interrelation with each other.

(1) Knowledge is the real understanding that nothing except God has existence in itself, that the whole universe exists through Him and that everything that happens to a person (including afflictions) is a benefaction from Him. This leads to knowledge of God and His acts, *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*], and the ability to thank Him which also is a divine benefaction requiring gratitude. Constant awareness of this connects the term with invocation (*dhikr*), and those who have gratitude in every situation are those who give praise (*ḥāmidūn*). *Shukr* as knowledge of the impossibility of really thanking God is expressed in the words of Moses: "O Lord, how can I thank you while being unable to thank you except with a second benefaction from you?" God's answer is: "If you know this, you have already thanked me" (*Iḥyā'*, iv, 83, l. 16) Whoever has this knowledge in its absoluteness is a pure *shākir*.

(2) Deriving from this knowledge is the second part of *shukr*, the state of joy in the benefactor (not in the benefaction or the act of grace), with the attitude of *khuḍūʿ* "humility" and *tawāḍuʿ* "modesty". Joy in the benefactor, not for Himself but for the caring that prompted Him to give is the state of the *ṣāliḥūn* [*q.v.*] who are grateful for fear of punishment and hope for reward. The highest degree of the state of joy lies in using the benefaction as a means to reach God's presence and gaze at His face eternally (al-Shiblī: "*Shukr* means vision (*ruʾya*) of the benefactor, not vision of the benefaction" [*Iḥyā'*, iv, 81, l. 23]). Thus *shukr* is connected to *dhikr*, the only healthy state of the heart (sūra II, 152: *Therefore remember Me, I will remember you, give thanks to Me and reject Me not*).

(3) The action in accordance with the state of joy deriving from complete knowledge of the benefactor has three aspects: the (hidden) action of the heart which is intending the good; the (manifest) action of the tongue which is praise of God; and the action of the members of the body, which is using them in obedience for Him and as a means against disobedience as expressed in *shakwā* "complaint", which is thereby diametrically opposed to *shukr*.

Ignorance of the real meaning of *shukr* as explained above, and thus neglect and misuse of God's benefactions, is *kufr*. The increasing proximity to God through *shukr* and the increasing distance from God through *kufr* is expressed in sūra XCV, 4-6: *We indeed created man of the fairest stature. Then We restored him to the lowest of the low—save those who believe, and do righteous deeds; they shall have a wage unfailing.*

Understanding of the difference between *shukr* and *kufr*, which, ultimately, has to be an understanding with the heart, is based on knowledge of all the principles of the religious law brought about by hearing the verses/signs of God and relying on them, which cannot be done without the prophets sent by God. Through this, God's wisdom in all existing things and the true meaning of His benefaction and its different kinds can be understood, which leads to seeing with the eye of certainty.

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(Alma Giese)

2. As a factor in public life and in the principles of law.

In earliest Arabic the term seems to refer to a public proclamation of gratitude or debt. In later Arabic, the term refers also to the affective state of feeling grateful, and is usually tied to the concepts of *niʿma* (benefaction) and *riḍā'* (contentment/satisfaction).

In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the poet Ḥuṭay'a [*q.v.*] is spared by Zayd al-Khayl and "when al-Ḥuṭay'a returned to his people he began praising Zayd,

proclaiming (*shākir*[an]) his benefaction (*li-niʿmatihi* ...) (Cairo 1389/1970, xvii, 266 ll. 4 ff.)". Here and elsewhere (e.g. *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 671-2, 740, 1063) this complex of ideas suggests that sparing life, particularly, evoked a public declaration of gratitude to the benefactor; the relationship thus acquired required some sort of acknowledgment or repayment so that the benefactor was contented. Refusing to acknowledge this benefaction, ingratitude, in this context, was called *kufr*.

In the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), the concept of thanking the benefactor (*shukr al-munʿim*) was an occasion for controversy: those who believed that the intellect (*ʿaḳl*) contains certain sorts of natural moral knowledge considered "thanking the benefactor" one of the indubitable items of *ʿaḳlī* knowledge—like the value of equity (*al-inṣāf*) or the reprehensibility of falsehood. Thanking is thus one of the items of moral knowledge known "before the arrival of the *sharʿ*" in the view of the Muʿtazila, some early Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanbalīs, and, even, later Ḥanafīs. Ashʿarīs and later Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs denied that such natural knowledge was possible, and al-Ghazālī, in his *Mustasfā* argues that God might have ordained indifference to benefactions, or might have seen feeble efforts to thank Him as impertinent (i, 61). Despite the disparagement of *shukr* as a piece of natural knowledge, all conceded that it was, after the arrival of the *sharʿ* or revelation, an important element of piety (see al-Kharāʾiṭī, *Kitāb Faḍīlat al-shukr, passim*). It was also an important concept in the construction of artificial social relations, particularly of commander and soldiery (see Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership*, index, s.v. "thanking the benefactor").

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2. Studies. M.M. Bravmann, *The spiritual background of early Islam; studies in ancient Arab concepts*, Leiden 1972 (excellent discussion of *shukr al-munʿim* in pre-Islamic literature in the article on "*jizya ʿan yad*", and *passim*); R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980; A.K. Reinhart, *Before revelation*, Albany 1995 (in slightly earlier form, with slightly different emphasis, in idem, *Thanking the benefactor*, in *Spoken and unspoken thanks: some comparative soundings*, ed. J. Carman and F.J. Streng, Cambridge and Dallas 1989, 115-33); Geneviève Gobillot, *Patience (ṣabr) et rétribution des mérites. Gratitude (shukr) et aptitude au bonheur selon al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī*, in *SI*, lxxix (1984), 51-78.

(A.K. Reinhart)

SHUKRĪ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1886-1958), Egyptian poet, writer, educator and critic of North African origin whose grandfather settled in Egypt. Shukrī was born in Port Said and graduated from secondary school in Alexandria in 1904. His grandfather as well as his father were nationalists active in Egyptian political life. Shukrī befriended his father's friend ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] and backed Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*]. He defended the Egyptian revolution with an anti-British poem which caused his expulsion from the Law College (1906). On the advice of Muṣṭafā Kāmil [*q.v.*], he joined the High School for Teachers, where he studied Arabic and English literatures. There he met the poet Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī [*q.v.*], who reviewed in *al-Dustūr* Shukrī's first romantic *dīwān*, *Ḍawʾ al-fadjr* ("The light of dawn") (1909). This *Dīwān* contained narrative, romantic and meditative poems dealing with life, love and soul; one of its poems was written in blank verse (*shiʿr mursal*).

As a successful student, Shukrī was sent to study English Literature at Sheffield University, where he got his B.A. degree in literature and history, a period (1909-12) which left a great impression upon his personality and poetry. There he learnt to admire the English Romantics, whose influence upon Shukrī equalled that of the great poets of the ʿAbbāsid period. After his return from England he published his second *dīwān*, *Laʾāliʾ al-afkār* (1912), which reflected the same tendencies as his first one. In the introduction to his third *dīwān*, *al-Khaṭarāt* ("Notions") (1916), he expressed his new understanding of poetry as a humanistic, spiritual and intellectual experience, and criticised the conventional judgement of poetry that it should resort to falsehood and fancy (*tawahhum*) as opposed to imagination (*takhayyul*).

Shukrī now worked as a teacher of English and Arabic literature. It was during that period that he, together with his friends al-ʿAḳḳād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and al-Māzinī, formed a group of poets and critics who defended the English Romantic trend of poetry and its critical views and was known as *Madrasat al-Dīwān*. This group opposed what they considered as the bad influence of French literature because of its sentimentality, rhetorical tendencies and lack of organic unity. The group denounced composing poetry in conventional genres such as elegy, eulogy, panegyric and defamation, and strove against the *ḳaṣīda*'s embellished style and stereotyped themes as revived by the neo-classical poets such as Aḥmad Shawḳī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm [*q.vv.*].

In 1916 the solidarity of this school was shaken when Shukrī accused al-Māzinī of plagiarism from English Romantic poetry in the introduction to *al-Khaṭarāt*. In 1921 al-Māzinī retaliated by charging Shukrī with plagiarism of ideas and metaphors from English poetry and by accusing him of tendencies to madness, as reflected in his *al-Iʿtirāfāt* ("Confessions") (1916).

Between 1909-19 Shukrī published seven *dīwān*s and five books, but after 1919 there was a long interval of silence. It was only in 1936 that he started writing some articles on education, psychology and literature in periodicals such as *al-Risāla*, *al-Thaḳāfa*, *al-Hilāl* and *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. During 1934-8 Shukrī worked as a principal in a secondary school and an Inspector at the Ministry of Education, retiring in 1938 to Port Said and dying in 1958.

Shukrī experimented widely with the new forms of poetry, and composed unrhymed verses, using monometre and monorhyme, but did not notice the importance of using enjambement. The deviation of Shukrī's poetry from the neo-classical trend was in his narrative, romantic and meditative poems, in which he avoided using conventional images of classical Arabic poetry. His approach can be seen in his collected eight volumes of poetry published posthumously in Alexandria in 1960 in 666 pages.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S III, 125; Nīḳūlā Yūsuf, Introd. to *Dīwān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrī*, vols. 1-8, Alexandria 1960, 2-15; J. Brugman, *An introduction to the history of modern Arabic literature in Egypt*, Leiden 1984, 112-21; S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry, 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, 65-79; idem, and M. Milson (eds.), *Modern Arabic literature. A research bibliography 1800-1980*, Jerusalem 1993, 240-2; ʿA.F.ʿA.M. al-Shaṭṭī, *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrī shāʿir*[an], Cairo 1995.

(S. Moreh)

SHÜKRÜ (i.e. **SHÜKRĪ**) **BEY**, Aḥmed (1875-1926), son of Ibrāhīm, Young Turk politician, was born in Kastamonu, near the Black Sea, into a poor family.

Shükrü graduated from the teachers' training college in Istanbul and started out on a career in education, serving both as a teacher himself and as director of education. He joined the underground opposition movement of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]) before the constitutional revolution of July 1908. After the revolution, he served as the district governor of Siroz [*q.v.*] and spent some time at the home office, but he came to the fore as Minister of Education from 1913 to 1918. During this time he was very successful in raising the number of schools (including those for girls) and enlarging and improving the University and the teachers' training establishments (from 1915 onwards, with the help of German specialists). He also devoted much attention to the publishing of teaching materials. He came into conflict with the Sheykh al-Islām Khayrī Efendi when he tried to unify all education under the jurisdiction of his ministry and put an end to the independent status of the *Awḳāf* schools, but gradually got his way. Some enlightened Ottoman educators such as Khālide Edīb (Adıvar) accused him of being interested in quantity, i.e. in raising the number of pupils, rather than in quality.

After the First World War, he was among the first prominent Young Turks to be deported by the British, first to Lemnos (May-September 1919) and thence to Malta, for internment there. Together with fifteen others, he escaped in September 1921 and made his way back to Turkey. After his return, he first served on the provincial council in Izmit and was then appointed governor of Trabzon province by the nationalist leadership in Ankara. In April 1923 he played a prominent role in the attempts of a group of former Unionists led by Ḳara Kemāl, the former party boss in Istanbul, to revive the C.U.P., which had been disbanded in 1918. Nevertheless, in August 1923 he was elected to the second Grand National Assembly as representative of Izmit in the interest of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha's People's Party (*Ḥalḳ Fïrḳasï*).

In November 1924 he resigned from this party to be among the founders of the opposition Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳīperwer Djumhuriyyet Fïrḳasï*), which was closed down by the Kemālist government in June 1925. In 1926 he was among those accused of planning to assassinate the President of the republic. He was tried and convicted by the Independence Tribunal and hanged in Izmir on 13 July 1926.

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SHŪL. 1. The name of a land and a city in China mentioned in the mediaeval Arabic geographer Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], 264, here borrowing material from the lost part of his predecessor Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*]. According to Ḳudāma, Alexander the Great, in company with the Emperor of China, went northwards from China and conquered the land of Shūl, founding there two cities, Kh.mdān and Shūl, and ordering the Chinese ruler to place a garrison (*rābiṭa*) of his troops in the latter place.

Khumdān is well-attested in other Islamic sources (e.g. Gardīzī; Marwazī, tr. Minorsky, 25-6, comm. 71, 84), and usually identified with the capital of the T'ang dynasty, Č'ang-an-fu, later Hsi-an-fu, lying on the Weiho, a right-bank affluent of the Huang-ho and already mentioned in a 6th century Byzantine source as Χουμαδάν or Χουβδάν, cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 84, comm. 229, 231. Shūl, however, has not been satisfactorily identified. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 90, and *Ērānšahr*, 316, saw in it Turkish *čöl* "steppe, plain, desert", a translation of Chinese *sa-ču* "sandy settlement", the Sachiu in Tangut of Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], i, 203, 206). But according to Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 420, *čöl* is a loanword from Mongolian not traceable in Turkish before the Čaghatay period. One might conceivably identify Shūl with the Čülig of the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions, a country listed as one which sent representatives to the Kaghan Ishtemi's funeral, and, if the list is in geographical order, Čülig lay between Korea and China (Clauson, *loc. cit.*). Finally, one may remark that the suggestion at the end of the *EI*[1] art. shūl that the Shūl of the Arab geographers may refer to a colony of Soghdians is dubious; one might more pertinently mention that the town of Kāshghar [*q.v.*] in eastern Turkestan appears as Shu-lê in Chinese and Shulig in Tibetan (cf. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, comm. 280, who also notes at 225 various emendations that have been made of the reading *sh.w.l*). It seems impossible to reach any certainty regarding the whole question.

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2. A Lur tribe of southern Persia [see shūlistān].

SHŪLISTĀN, literally, "land of the Shūl" [see shūl. 1. above], a district, formerly a *bulūk*, in the southern Persian province of Fārs.

Three epochs must be distinguished in the history of the district: one before the arrival of the Shūl, the period of their rule (from the 7th/13th centuries), and the period of its occupation by the Mamassanī Lurs about the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

During the Sāsānid period, the district was included in the *kūra* of Shāpūr-khūra. The founding of its capital Nawbandagan (Nawbandjān) is attributed to Shāpūr I. This important town situated on the road from Fārs to Khūzistān was taken by ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ in 23/643 (Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 31); it is often mentioned by Arabic historians and geographers [see further, nawbandadjān]. The district is watered by the river system which finally forms the river Zohra, which flows through Zaydūn and Hindiyān. In the old *Fārs-nāma* (151) the river of Nawbandjān bears the name Khʷābdān. The river system is described in detail in *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 326; the principal water-course comes from the direction of Ardakān and is now called Āb-i Fahliyān or Āb-i shūr.

The description of Fārs (*Fārs-nāma*) composed in the life-time of the Atabeg Čawulī (early 6th/12th century) does not yet know the expression *Shūlistān*, that is to say, "the country of the Shūl". This last tribe at first inhabited Luristān [*q.v.*], of which the half was under its rule about 300/912. The great chief (*pīshwā*) of the Shūl was Sayf al-Dīn Mākān Rūzbihānī, whose ancestors had governed the district from the time of the Sāsānids. We may here mention that the Rūzbihānī figure among the Lur tribes. At the same time as this *pīshwā*, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions a governor (*ḥākim*) of the *wilāyat* of the Shūl, who was called Nadjm al-Dīn. From the year 500/1106, the Kurd tribes and others from Djabal

al-Summāḳ (in Syria) began to move into Luristān. From these Kurds the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lur [see LUR-I BUZURG] is sprung. Under the Atābeg Hazārasp (600-50/1203-52) the newcomers drove the S͟hūl back into Fārs.

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, i, 83-5) mentions amongst the eight "kingdoms" of Persia, *Suolestan*, which may refer to the new territory around Nawband͟jān occupied by the S͟hūl. The old Chinese map studied by Bretschneider (*Mediaeval researches*, ii, 127) marks a *S͟he-la-tsz'* between S͟hīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to S͟hūlistān. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the S͟hūl dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawfī had hereditary governors, the descendants (*nawādakān*) of Nad͟jm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawband͟jān: during the campaign of 795/1393 Tīmūr halted at Mālāmīr-i S͟hūl ("the estates" of the Amīr of the S͟hūl being thus distinguished from Mālāmīr = Īd͟had͟j [*q.v.*]); the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fahliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The S͟hūl must form an ethnically distinct unit. The history of the Kurds by S͟haraf al-Dīn only mentions them incidentally perhaps because the author excluded them from his category of "Kurds". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 88), who in 748/1347 met S͟hūl at S͟hīrāz and on his first stage on the road from S͟hīrāz to Kāzrūn (Das͟ht-i Ard͟jan?), calls them "a Persian tribe (*min al-aʿād͟jim*) inhabiting the desert and including devout people". The Persian dictionaries mention a peculiar dialect *S͟hūlī* (Vullers, ii, 481: "a kind of *Rāmandī* and *S͟hahrī* which is spoken in Fārs"). S͟hihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (who died in 749/1348) states that the S͟hūl have very considerable affinities with the S͟habānkāra [*q.v.*] and asserts their generosity and hospitality. Their warlike character is evident from the remark of Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, who in speaking of the Tātārs, capable of killing one another "for a few words", compares them to the Kurds, the S͟hūl, and the Franks (ed. Bérézine, vii, 62). In 617/1220 the Atābeg of Luristān Hazārasp advised Muḥammad K͟hʷārazms͟hāh to entrench himself behind the chain of Tang-i Talū (Balū? "oak") and to mobilise there against the Mongols, 100,000 Lurs, S͟hūl, the people of Fārs and S͟habānkāra" (D͟juwaynī, 114, tr. Boyle, ii, 383). Ras͟hīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, 380) mentions amongst the valiant defenders of Mawṣil in 659/1260 "the Kurds, the Turkomans and the S͟hūl".

Established on the great road, the S͟hūl nomads were themselves exposed to invasions; the Atābeg of Luristān Yūsuf S͟hāh (673-87/1274-88) attacked them and killed the brother of their chief Nad͟jm al-Dīn (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Guzīda*, 343); in 755/1354 the Muẓaffarid S͟hāh S͟hud͟jāʿ chastised them severely when they attacked S͟hīrāz (*ibid.*, 660); in 796/1394 ʿUmar S͟hayk͟h marching in the rear-guard of his father Tīmūr pillaged on his way all the unsubdued "Lurs, Kurds and S͟hūl" (*Ẓafar-nāma*, 615).

The nomad (or semi-nomad) state and the warlike character of the S͟hūl, the similarity of their speech to Persian, the inroads of their neighbours, all these factors must have contributed on the one hand to the dispersion of the S͟hūl and on the other to their assimilation and final absorption.

In modern Persia, the only traces of the S͟hūl are to be found in the toponomy of Fārs, where there exist in the *s͟hahrāstāns* of S͟hīrāz and Būs͟hahr several villages with S͟hūl as an element of their names (see Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i d͟jug͟hrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, vii, 142-3).

At the time of the last Ṣafawids (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 302) or after the rise of Nādir (Bode, i, 266) S͟hūlistān was occupied by new invaders, the Mamassanī Lurs, after whom the district became called *bulūk-i Mamassanī*. Its extent was then about 100 by 60 miles, between the following boundaries: to the east Kāmfīrūz and Ardakān; to the north and to the west Razgird and the country of the Kūh-Gālūʾī (Kūh-Gīlūya) Lurs; to the south Kāzrūn and the mountain of Marra-S͟higift (the northern slopes of the Marwak in Das͟ht-i Ard͟jan). Of the six cantons of the district four (*čar-bunīča*) bore the names of Mamassanī clans: Bakes͟h, D͟jāwīdī, Dus͟hmanziniyārī and Rustam. In these cantons there were 58 villages and 5,000 families. The clans were governed by their hereditary *kalāntars*. The Mamassanī claimed to possess the annals of their tribe and said that they came from Sīstān (J. Morier, in *JRGS* [1837], 232-42); this legend must have attached itself to the name of Rustam, the name of one of the four clans. The language of the Mamassanī is a Lurī dialect.

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2. Studies. Macdonald Kinneir, *Geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 73; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, London 1845, i, 210-51, 262-75: Kāzarūn-Bahrām-Nawband͟jān-Fahliyān-Bāsht; Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, S. Petersburg 1881, p. xxi; H.L. Wells, *Surveying tours in Southern Persia*, in *Procs. RGS*, v (1883), 138-63: Bihbahān-Bās͟ht-Telespīd-Pul-i Mūrt-S͟hūl-S͟hīrāz; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 318-20; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 264-7; E. Herzfeld, *Eine Reise durch Luristān*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, liii (1907), 72-90: Bās͟ht-Pul-i Mūrt-ʿAlī-ābād-S͟hūl-S͟hīrāz; O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, part ii, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, pp. xv, xvi, 1-59 (Mamassanī texts); G. Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), 85-150. Cartography: the works of de Bode, Wells and Herzfeld, the map by Haussknecht-Kiepert, Berlin 1882. See also the *Bibls.* to LUR and LURISTĀN. (V. MINORSKY*)

S͟HŪMĀN, a district of the upper Oxus region mentioned at the time of the Arab invasions. It lay near the head waters of the Kāfirnihān and Surkhān rivers, hence in the upper mountainous parts of Čag͟hāniyān and K͟huttalān [*q.vv.*]. In Chinese sources such as Hiuen-Tsang, it appears as Su-man. In al-Tabarī, ii, 1179, 1181, where the conquests of the governor Kutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] in upper K͟hurāsān during 86/705 are being described, S͟hūmān is linked with Ak͟harūn or K͟harūn as being under a local prince, whose name seems to be the Iranian one *Gus͟htāspān. By 91/710, however, he was in revolt against Kutayba (*ibid.*, ii, 1227-8, 1230), necessitating a punitive expedition by the Arabs.

It appears in the 4th/10th century geographers as

a town with a strong citadel and as supplied with well-endowed *ribāṭs* (presumably against the pagan Turks to the north and east) (see e.g. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 455, 477, tr. 439, 459; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 115, 120). It seems to be Shūmān which is mentioned in Tīmūrid sources, e.g. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, as Ḥiṣār Shādmān, which Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 439-40, took to be the later town Ḥiṣār.

Bibliography: See also Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 226, 236-7, 299; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 74, 185.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SHUMAYM, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAntar al-Ḥillī, best known under his Sibylline surname of Shumaym, usually without the definite article, littérateur of mediaeval ʿIrāḳ (511-601/1117-1204).

Originally from the Mazyadid centre of al-Ḥilla [*q.vv.*], he later moved to Baghdād where he studied and tried to earn his living, but we know very little of this period of his life. In any case, he did not stay there long but preferred to move to Syria and Diyār Bakr, where he found generous patrons whom he eulogised in return for substantial presents; finally, he settled at Mawṣil, where he died.

He had a certain talent, seen in both poetry and artistic prose, leaving behind an abundant and rather interesting œuvre. On the pattern of Abū Tammām, he composed a *Ḥamāsa* or poetical anthology, but this was largely made up of his own verses, with little regard for the great mass of poets and prose writers, including the best of these, apart from a few exceptions. He tried to rival Abū Nuwās, whose highly-appreciated wine poetry could not, he affirmed, stand comparison with his own; and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, for example, was nothing but a "blind dog" (see *Shadharāt*, v, 5). The only authors to find grace in his eyes were al-Mutanabbī, above all in regard to his eulogies, Ibn Nubāta for his sermons (*khuṭab*) and al-Ḥarīrī for his *Maḳāmāt*. Moreover, Shumaym al-Ḥillī, "who made out that he had surpassed all other literary works, conceded that, despite various attempts, he could not compose *maḳāmāt* better than those of al-Ḥarīrī, which stimulated him to write a commentary on them" called *K. al-Nukat al-muʿdjamāt fī sharḥ al-maḳāmāt*. Amongst numerous works attributed to him may be mentioned an *Anīs al-djalīs fi 'l-tadjnīs*, *Manāḳib al-ḥikam wa-mathālib al-umam*, *al-Mukhtāra fī sharḥ al-Lumaʿ* (of Ibn Djinnī), *al-Amānī wa 'l-tahānī*, *al-Taʿāzī wa 'l-marāzī* and *al-Manāʾiḥ wa 'l-madāʾiḥ*.

Apart from his boastful self-satisfaction, most of the biographers agree upon stressing his extravagant character. Yāḳūt went to see him in 594/1198 at Āmid [*q.v.*], the main city of Diyār Bakr; in the course of this meeting, he asked him to recite some of his own verses, which triggered off great praise on the part of Yāḳūt. But the latter was then scolded by Shumaym, who said to him, "Shame on you! Do you not know anything better than praise?". "What more then should I do?", replied Yāḳūt, which brought forth the reply, "Well, you should do this" (and he began to dance and clap his hands until he was exhausted).

Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, v, 129-39, ed. Cairo 1928, xiii, 50-72) gives in his section on the poet a somewhat unsavoury explanation of the poet's *laḳab* or nickname deriving it from *shamma* "to smell [something]".

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(A. Ben Abdesselem)

SHUMAYṬIYYA or Sumayṭiyya (also Shumaṭiyya or Sumaṭiyya), a Shīʿī sect whose name is derived from that of one of its heads, a certain Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-Shumayṭ. The sect recognised as *imām* and successor of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] his youngest son Muḥammad, who not only bore the name of the Prophet but also is said to have resembled him physically. After the failure in 200/815 of the Shīʿī rebellion of Abu 'l-Sarāyā [*q.v.*] in Kūfa against the caliph al-Maʾmūn (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 976 ff.), Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, who then lived in Mecca as an old man, was urged by his followers to proclaim himself imām and caliph and was rendered homage in front of the Kaʿba on 6 Rabīʿ I 201/2 October 816. But when he was defeated by ʿAbbāsid troops near Mecca and again near Medina, he surrendered and ceremonially abdicated in Mecca, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 201/July 817; he was then deported to al-Maʾmūn's court at Marw (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 989-95). The Shumayṭiyya sect seems to have owed its existence to these events; it recognised the descendants of Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar as imāms. The sect soon disappeared, however, according to the Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), who confirms that in his time it had ceased to exist.

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SHUMAYYIL, SHIBLĪ b. Ibrāhīm (1850-1917), controversial Lebanese physician and social reformer. He began his studies of medicine in the Syrian Protestant College, completing them in Paris and Istanbul; he was to practise in Ṭanṭā and Cairo. He published *al-Shifāʾ* magazine (1886-91) to spread the new medical ideas, and, with Salāma Mūsā [*q.v.*], *al-Mustaḳbal* (1914), in order to build a society based upon modern scientific reasoning. His articles in the Arab press were published in *Madjmūʿat Maḳālāt al-Duktūr Shiblī Shumayyil* (Cairo 1910). The foremost populariser of Darwin's theory of evolution in the Arab world, his commentary and translation of the German Ludwig Büchner's lectures on Darwin, *Taʿrīb li-sharḥ Bukhnir ʿalā madhhab Dārawīn* (Alexandria 1884), caused an uproar. He published *al-Ḥaḳīḳa* (Cairo 1885), refuting Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī's criticisms of Darwin's theory, and further set forth Darwin's ideas in the second edition of his two books, *Falsafat al-nushūʾ wa 'l-irtiḳāʾ* (Cairo 1910). He was also one of the first proponents of socialist and secularist thought in Arabic.

Amongst his other works, he translated Hippocrates, wrote a commentary on Ibn Sīnā and published several medical works. His *Shakwā wa-āmāl marfūʿa ilā Djalālat al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān* (Cairo 1895) and his *Les Méfaits de la domination turque et la responsabilité de l'Europe* (Cairo 1913) reveal what he felt was wrong with the Ottoman Empire, whilst his *Sūriyā wa-mustaḳbaluhā* (Cairo 1915) suggests how Syria should

respond to Ottoman tyranny. His literary works include a novel *al-Ḥubb ʿalā ʾl-fatra, aw ḳiṣṣat Wanīs wa-Ḥalwā* (Cairo 1914), a play on the First World War *al-Maʾsāt al-kubrā* (Cairo 1915), a translation of Racine's *Iphigénie* and a philosophical poem, *al-Ruḏjhān* (Cairo n.d.).

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SHUMEN [see shumnu].

SHUMNU, the most frequently-found Ottoman form (see below), Bulgarian Shumen, a town in northeastern Bulgaria, at the foot of the steep slopes of the Shumen plateau, a situation which makes Shumen as beautiful from an artistic point of view as it is from a military one (Moltke). It is a crossroads for ways towards the Stara Planina passes, the Danube and the Black Sea. The small but turbulent river of Bokludža (Porojna), a major factor in the shaping of the town, originates from the karst springs. In the past, the spring water was conducted by pipes to mosques and by *waḳf* and *maḥalle* pipes to the numerous fountains and baths in the city. The climate is moderate, even mild.

The classical name was Myssionys, Myssiunus. The first occurence of the name of Shumen is in the so-called Šišman inscription of the 14th century, written in Bulgarian. In the Ottoman period we find Shumî, Shumnu, Shumna, Shumena, Shumlar, Shumla and Shumni; after 1878, Shumen; and 1950-65, Kolarovgrad.

There have been settlements on the site for five thousand years, since Thracian times; there are numerous and considerable remnants of fortresses, settlements, churches, and monasteries in the region. Shumen came into being up on the plateau (today Hisarlăka), where five fortresses have existed successively: a Roman one (4th century A.D.), a Byzantine (5th-6th centuries), two Bulgarian (9th-10th and 12th-14th centuries) and an Ottoman (15th century). During the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, a town outside the fortress walls emerged.

The fortress was conquered by the Ottomans in 1388, during the campaigns of Čandarlî ʿAlī Pasha, Sultan Murād I's Grand Vizier, against Tsar Ivan Šišman. The fortified mediaeval town of Shumen was destroyed by the Crusaders during the Varna campaign of 1444 and was later abandoned. It was probably in the 15th-16th centuries that part of the population first settled down below the plateau, in the plain, founding a new settlement. This settlement (*ḳaṣaba*), with a predominantly Turkish Muslim population, became Shumen in the second half of the 15th century.

The town acquired strategic importance during the Russian Turkish wars of 1768-74, 1806-12, 1828-9 and 1877-8, when it was part of the fortified quadrangle of Ruse-Varna-Silistra-Shumen. The Russians never succeeded in seizing it, while the Turks considered it impregnable. After the Congress of Berlin (1878), Shumen became part of the Bulgarian Principality.

Beginning from the 9th/15th century, Shumen was administratively dependent, as a *nāḥiye* and a *ḳaḍāʾ*, on the Nikopolis (sometimes the Silistra) *sanḏjaḳ*, and from the 11th/17th century—on the *eyālet* of Özi; it was a *khāṣṣ* of the Sultan, part of the *waḳf* of Yîldîrîm Bāyezīd I (791-805/1389-1403). According to Ewliyāʾ Čelebi and Ottoman records from the 11th/17th century, there resided in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Shumen two *ḳāḍīs* (with daily salaries of 300 *akčes*) a *nāʾib*, a *naḳīb ül-eshrāf*, a *subashî*, a *ketkhüdā*, a *sipāhī ketkhüdāsî*, a *serdār* of the Janissaries, a *muḥtesib*, and a *bāḏjdār*.

According to the Ottoman chronicler Wāṣîl Efendi, at the time of the Ottoman conquest the population of Shumen amounted to 700-800 houses. Colonisation from Asia Minor and the Islamisation of the local population turned northeastern Bulgaria into a region with numerous Turkish population. The first Turkish colonisation comprised soldiers, Islamic religious functionaries and dervishes from Anatolia. *Yürüks* from the Tañrîda (Karagöz), Naldöken, and Ḳodjadjîḳ groups were settled in the *nāḥiye* of Shumen. In 1483-5 *Yürüks* were registered in Shumen proper; there are also data related to colonisation from the Arab territories of the Empire. In 1856 and 1864 Tatar colonists were settled in the town; by 1878 they numbered up to 150-200 houses, and had their own mosque with a religious school attached to it, a donation by Rifʿat Pasha. There were also Gypsies in the town.

The Orthodox Christian Bulgarians lived in the eastern part of Shumen, in the *maḥalle* of Kilise, and beginning in the 17th century, in the *warosh* around the small church of the Holy Ascension (in the mid-17th century, Petăr Bogdan spoke of a wooden church) and the large church of St. Elias built in the 19th century. During the Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-74 and 1806-12, and the Kărdžali conflict at the end of the 18th century, many villages around Shumen were ruined and new Bulgarian *maḥalles* emerged. Shumen has been from the 19th century till now an important cultural and educational centre. After the liberation of Bulgaria, its Orthodox Christian population increased, while the Turkish one stagnated or declined through emigration (see below). One of the important Armenian colonies in Bulgaria, with its own church, was established in the town in the 17th century. The Armenian community in the town expanded following the settlement of immigrants from Turkey in 1896 and after World War I. In the 16th-17th centuries there were permanently living in the town Ragusans (according to Petăr Bogdan, 20 people). In the 19th century, a Jewish community and a synagogue were established. In 1849, for a short while, there settled in Shumen a group of Hungarian ex-revolutionaries led by L. Kossuth. Many Turks left Shumen immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria and the period up to the Balkan War in 1912, in 1928-9; in 1949-51 and in 1989. After World War II, the majority of the local Jews moved to Israel, and some Armenians to the Soviet Union.

The population registrations and censuses from 888-90/1483-5 onwards show an increase, fairly regular, in all the communities. In 1963, the town had 60,758 inhabitants (50,616 Bulgars, 4,545 Turks, 648 Armenians, 277 Gypsies). By 1972 the population had reached 79,134.

The centre of the town evolved around the religious complex of the Eski Djāmiʿ (constructed in 1480-90 by the *ḳāḍī* Sinān Čelebi and incorporated by Yaḥyā Pasha in his foundation in Skopje of 1506; at the same time, a *medrese* was attached to it and repaired on the orders of Maḥmūd II in 1837-8, according to an inscription written by the court poet Seyyid Muṣṭafā Ṭālib Efendi) and the Eski Ḥammām in the Eski

Maḥalle. Gradually, the town evolved as a trading centre towards the east. Its shopping centre consisted of a Bitpazārî situated around the Čarshî Djāmiʿ and Sāḥat Djāmiʿ (built 1580) and the Eski Čarshî, Sheyṭān Čarshî and Yuḳarî Pazār, around the mosque preceding the Tombul Djāmiʿ, where the two main lines of communication in the town crossed. Nearby is the *bezistān*, dating from the 16th century, which changed its functions many times and has been preserved until today. Shumen's importance as an urban centre increased, especially in the 18th century, when it grew north- and eastwards.

The growth of a large number of non-producing Muslims considerably contributed to the economic prosperity of the town. The *waḳîfs*, some 50 to 60 of them, owning not only agricultural estates but shops and workshops as well, also had a clear rôle here. The *waḳîf* of Ḥādjdjī Redjeb founded in 1671 to support the Ṣolaḳ Djāmiʿ, drew its income from 41 shops. In the 18th century the town turned into a "distribution centre", supplying the whole region with goods; leather production was widely spread there; the town was famous for its coppersmiths, too. During the Crimean War, the main Turkish forces and a large English and French contingent resided in the fortress of Shumen. This fact, together with the growth of the town population, brought about the development of the network of markets. Shumen has preserved its position as an industrial, trading and railway centre until today.

The town had been systematically fortified in the 18th century by the Grand Viziers Muḥsin-zāde Pasha and Djezāʾirli Ḥasan Pasha. During the Crimean War (1854-6) and the War of 1877-8, Shumen evolved into an Ottoman fortress of the first rank, with a large garrison, well-kept fortifications, barracks, military depots, sanitary premises, etc.

Shumen was recognised as a leading Islamic city in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, with significant monuments religious and military construction. The former are enumerated in detail by Ewliyāʾ Čelebi and in the registers of various periods. With a peak of 63 up to 1872, there were in 1884, 47 Muslim religious centres (Jireček) and in 1965, some fifteen.

The most significant monument of Ottoman architecture in Shumen is the Yeñi Djāmiʿ or Tombul Djāmiʿ, the largest Ottoman religious building in Bulgaria and a unique example of a well-preserved Ottoman *külliyye* (a *medrese*, a library, a *mekteb*, a *sebīl*, and a fountain) dating from 1744-5 and belonging to Sherīf Khalīl Pasha's foundation. It was built by an unknown architect of limestone and marble, and was inspired by the art of the Tulip Period [see LĀLE DEWRI] in the capital, notwithstanding the fact that it was built a decade after the period. The exterior is still very Ottoman-looking, but on the interior, the decoration shows Baroque influence. It is included in a complex with a rectangular court on the west and a two-storeyed building on the north serving as a library. The minaret is 40 m/130 feet high. The inscription was composed by the poet Niʿmet, himself born at Shumen in 1186/1772. During the campaign of destruction of Turkish buildings 1984-5, this complex was the sole one to be spared, and it still functions as a mosque.

Sherīf Khalīl Pasha (d. 1752) was born either in the village of Madara or in Shumen proper. He had a brilliant career as a statesman: a *ketkhüdā* of the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [see DĀMĀD], to whom he dedicated several *ḳaṣīdes*; *wālī* in Aydîn, Trebizond, Inebakhtî, Belgrade, Ağriboz, and Bosnia; and an educated person who wrote poetry and translated from Arabic and Persian. One of the outstanding representatives of the Ottoman ruling élite during the *Lāle Dewri*, he was also a member of the so-called learned society organised around Sultan Aḥmed III's (1703-30) court, which translated and compiled commentaries on Arabic, Persian, Latin, ancient Greek, and other works.

Khalīl Pasha's *waḳîf-nāme* (preserved in Shumen) deals *inter alia* with the library at the *medrese*. Part of this book collection, together with other books from the town and the surroundings, and from other places in Bulgaria, has been preserved and is in the History Museum at Shumen; it contains 650 manuscripts and 1,400 old printed books.

The desire to modernise Shumen has led to the destruction of the architecture from the pre-industrial period, both Islamic and non-Islamic. Not a single place in the old town of Shumen was spared, apart from a few examples of Ottoman culture. The town Museum houses a collection of monumental and funerary inscriptions.

The Khalwetī Seyyid ʿOthmān Atpazārî, author of works on religion and dogmatics (second half of the 11th/17th century; Fenalî Muṣṭafā, a Bektāshī and a poet (end of 17th-early 18th century); Meḥmed b. ʿOthmān, author of a mathematics treatise (second half of the 12th/18th century); Yūsuf Naḳshibendī (19th century); the calligraphers Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Hüseyn Waṣṣāf, Seyyid Aḥmed Nāzifī, and the calligraphers of the Izārī family (18th-19th centuries) were all born in Shumen.

Towards the end of the 19th and in the 20th century, Shumen became one of the centres of Turkish education and of the Turkish intelligentsia in Bulgaria. K. Jireček noted in his *Pătuvanija po Bălgarija* that "one is impressed by the vitality of the Turkish population, a rare phenomenon in Bulgaria; the Turks in this town have built a new school and private houses". The famous *Nüwwāb* (under its statute of 1922, within the jurisdiction of the Grand *Müftülük* and of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) began to function as a private school, where teachers for the primary Turkish schools were trained; a higher department was attached to it, where a three-year course for religious functionaries and teachers for Turkish junior secondary schools was taught; in 1948 it was transformed into a Turkish comprehensive school. Both before and after the World War II, a considerable part of the Turkish teachers were its graduates. It was closed down in mid-1950s. Today it is a secondary Islamic religious school, again called *Nuvvab*. After World War I and until the late 1950s, the specialised educational institutions in Shumen trained teachers for Turkish language education. After World War II, a Turkish National Theatre and a Turkish public library called after the Turkish Communist poet Nazım Hikmet [*q.v.*] functioned in the town. There were twelve Turkish newspapers, three with an Islamic trend, published there before the end of World War II, and four afterwards. Before World War II, the Turkish Publishing House *Teraki* had its seat in Shumen. At present, there are three mosques functioning in the town, and the regional *Müftülük* is also there.

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SHUNGWAYA, the name of a harbour up a creek, Mcho [Mto] wa Hori, in Somalia, in 1° 15' S. and 41° 50' E., 260 miles north of Mombasa. The anonymous *Kitāb al-Zunūdj*, a 19th-century compilation from other local works, claims it as the epicentre for the dispersal of ten Bantu tribes in Kenya and Tanzania. Whereas a tradition of kingship and of Islam is alleged for Shungwaya, one would expect these to be reflected among those tribes. Only the Shambaa among them formed a kingdom 200 years after the alleged 16th-century dispersal and adopted Islam under Zanzibari influence in the 19th century.

Apart from the modern village known as Bur Gao, there are three ancient settlements. The central site is surrounded by a masonry wall, enclosing about seven ha. It contains a pillar tomb [see manāra] and a rectangular building with no *miḥrāb*. The local people allege that it is where a Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn used to pray. It is domed, the northern wall being on the side of Mecca, which suggests an Ibāḍī origin. The northern site has a number of tombs, and a large building, so encumbered with overgrowth that H.N. Chittick was unable to determine whether it was a mosque or a house. The third site, down the creek, is on a hill (Somali *bur*) with a defensive wall round the summit; presumably it is this to which the modern name refers.

In 1912 Captain C.W. Hayward "caused his native servants to dig over the topsoil in places". In 1931 only he reported his finds to H. Mattingly as comprising coins of the Ptolemies: 1; Rome 1st to 2nd century: 5; uncertain: 1; Byzantium, 4th century: 79; Mamlūks of Egypt: 6; Egypt under the Turks: 7. The ensemble has been regarded with some scepticism, but, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler remarked, there is no reason why there should not have been a series of deposits over so long a period. Nevertheless, others, including Wheeler and Gervase Mathew (1955), Grotanelli (1955), and Chittick (1969), have reported no further coins. If genuine, the finds of so haphazard a nature can hardly be regarded as a hoard, but possibly as evidence of trade connections at different times. Hayward did not specify the find sites, nor has there been any excavation.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

SHUNKUB (a.) (and variants *shukkub, shinkāb*) pl. *shanākib*, masc. substantive denoting the common snipe (*Capella gallinago gallinago*). In the Maghrib and Egypt, it is known as *kannis, dadjādjat al-mā'* and *bikāsīn* (< Fr. *bécassine*), while in 'Irāḳ it is called *djuhlūl*, the same term as for the sandpiper (*Tringa*). In addition to the common snipe, the great or solitary snipe, *shunkub kabīr* (*Capella major* or *media*), the Jack snipe, *shunkub ṣaghīr* (*Limnocryptes minimus*) and the painted snipe, *shunkub muzawwak* (*khawlī* in Egypt) (*Rostratula benghalensis*) are also found. Arabic naturalists do not make any mention of this bird and only al-Damīrī mentions it in passing.

Along with this very aloof, nocturnal marsh wader, *shunkub* is, with *shunkub al-baḥr*, also used for the trumpet fish (*Centriscus*).

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SHŪRĀ (a.), together with *mashwara, mashūra*, a nominal form connected with the form IV verb *ashāra* "to point out, indicate; advise, counsel" (see Lane, *s.v.*), with the meaning "consultation".

1. In early Islamic history.

Here, *shūrā* is especially used of the small consultative and advisory body of prominent Ḳurashīs which eventually chose 'Uthmān b. 'Affān as the third caliph over the Muslim community after the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 23/November 644. The practice of consultation by the *sayyid* or *shaykh* of a tribe with his leading men was known in pre-Islamic Arabia, as is set forth in mashwara; the *shūrā* on 'Umar's death was thus no innovation but in many ways a continuation of tribal practice.

The main accounts of the *shūrā* are in such sources as Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/1, 245, 247-50, etc., al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, 15-25, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 2722-6, 2776-88; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, v, 79-110. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, preserves excerpts from a *Kitāb al-Shūrā wa-maktal Ḥusayn* by al-Sha'bī [*q.v.*] and from a *K. al-Shūrā* by al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*], see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 277, 297. The traditional account of the sources is that 'Umar on his death-bed wished in the first place to designate as his successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān b 'Awf (the original intended successor, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*], having died in 18/639), but 'Abd al-Raḥmān refused the burden of office, as did 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, so that 'Umar then nominated a *shūrā* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awāmm, Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.vv.*], and the absent Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh [*q.v.*] if he returned to Medina within three days. All these were of course Meccans, and no Anṣār were included. They were, moreover, all prominent persons



Tombul Djāmiʿ, built by Sherīf Khalīl Pasha in 1157/1744, the largest Ottoman religious building in modern Bulgaria and a unique example of a well-preserved Ottoman *külliye*, still functioning as a place of worship. Photograph taken in 1934.

in their respective clans; all were early converts to Islam, hence could claim *sābiḳa*, with all except ʿUt̲h̲mān having fought at Badr; all were either connected by kinship (*ḳarāba*) and/or marriage (*ṣihr*) with the Prophet and/or each other; and, together with the first caliph Abū Bakr and ʿUmar's brother-in-law Saʿīd b. Zayd [*q.v.*], were counted amongst the ten to whom Paradise was assured (*al-ʿas̲h̲ara al-mubas̲h̲s̲h̲ara* [*q.v.*]).

G. Rotter has discussed at length the difficulties and inconsistencies of the traditional accounts, noting at the outset the anti-Umayyad prejudice and pro-ʿAlid tendentiousness put into the mouth of ʿUmar in the accounts of the nomination of the *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲ūrā* (very clearly seen in the papyrus fragment of Ibn Isḥāḳ published by Nabia Abbott, as pointed out by M.J. Kister, *Notes on an account of the Shura appointed by ʿUmar b. al-Khattab*, in *JSS*, ix [1964], 320-6). The number of *Muhād̲j̲irūn* who had the requisite *sābiḳa* as participants at Badr and who were of potential caliphal status was by the year 23/644 quite restricted. Exactly when ʿUmar nominated the members of the *s̲h̲ūrā*, before or after receiving his death-blow, is uncertain. It is also unclear who precisely were the *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲ūrā*; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 75-6, includes Saʿīd b. Zayd amongst them, whilst al-Wāḳidī and al-Zuhrī (in *Ansab al-as̲h̲rāf*, v, 21) state that Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ did not take part in the *s̲h̲ūrā*. Rotter therefore surmised that the story of ʿUmar's setting-up of the *s̲h̲ūrā* could be a fabrication and could in fact have been shaped by partisans of various interest groups in later struggles over the caliphate; the *s̲h̲ūrā* seems to him more like a continuation of the pre-Islamic *malaʾ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of the Meccan clan chiefs (*Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 7-16).

The final choice seems to have fallen on ʿUt̲h̲mān because of his status of being twice the son-in-law of the Prophet, his age and experience, and his *s̲h̲araf* or nobility of lineage from ʿAbd S̲h̲ams b. ʿAbd Manāf. ʿAlī shared this *s̲h̲araf* as a Manāfī also, and had both *ṣihr* as Fāṭima's husband and *ḳarāba* as Muḥammad's paternal cousin, but was (with the exception of Saʿd, whose membership of the *s̲h̲ūrā* is not altogether certain, see above) the youngest of the potential candidates amongst the *aṣḥāb al-s̲h̲ūrā*, being in his mid-forties. It seems to have been ʿUt̲h̲mān's superiority on the grounds of his early closeness to the Prophet, his *sinn* and his *s̲h̲araf*, rather than any choice of him as a safe, conservative, compromise candidate who would continue the heritage of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, that led to his being offered the caliphate (*pace* the view of e.g. M.A. Shaban in his *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971, 61-3).

The idea of *s̲h̲ūrā* as a means of selecting caliphs and other great men in the state, i.e. the principle of election, seems to have been especially attractive during the Umayyad period for zealots, rebels and dissidents. Hence ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz may have contemplated its use for his own successor; the rebel in the East al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Surayd̲j̲ [*q.v.*] issued a manifesto urging that the governor of K̲h̲urāsān should be chosen by a *s̲h̲ūrā*; and the ephemeral Umayyad caliph Yazīd III b. al-Walīd in 126/744 endeavoured to rally support for his claim to the throne by appealing to the Book of God, the *sunna* of the Prophet and succession to rule by a *s̲h̲ūrā* (see P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's caliph, religious authority in the first centuries of Islam*, Cambridge 1986, 63, 65, 68, 76, 127-8). Also, the concept must obviously have appealed to a sectarian group with egalitarian ideas such as the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites (see E.A. Salem, *Political theory and institutions of the K̲h̲awārij*, Johns Hopkins Studies on History and Political Science, Ser. LXXIV, no. 2, Baltimore 1956, 58-9).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In al-Andalus.

Practised in other Islamic lands, the *s̲h̲ūrā* of the *ḳāḍī* especially flourished in al-Andalus, where it was exercised by *mus̲h̲āwarūn* from the first half of the 3rd/9th century. The first "advisers" of judges were celebrated *fuḳahāʾ*, like Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 234/848), Saʿīd b. Ḥassān (d. 235/849) or ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852), who had travelled to the East and studied with the great jurists of the age. At first the number of these *mus̲h̲āwarūn* was very limited, but from the first half of the 4th/10th century they grew considerably and it became one of the career stages for *ʿulamāʾ*, who exercised this function before becoming judges. This reflects the change within the *s̲h̲ūrā*, which was not considered, at the outset, as a *k̲h̲uṭṭa*, as the terminology for designating the first *mus̲h̲āwarūn* shows: biographical sources uses such expressions as *kāna mus̲h̲āwar^an^*, *s̲h̲ūwira fi ʾl-aḥkām*, etc., or more rarely, *wulliya ʾl-s̲h̲ūrā*, *taḳallada ʾl-s̲h̲ūrā*. Only in the Almoravid period does one find the phrase *k̲h̲uṭṭat al-s̲h̲ūrā*.

In the first stage of the *s̲h̲ūrā*'s evolution, the *ḳāḍī* consulted the *mus̲h̲āwarūn* in his own *mad̲j̲lis*, which often provoked lively discussions when opinions differed amongst the counsellors. But it seems that, in the course of time, the *mus̲h̲āwarūn* assumed the habit of giving their responses to judges from their own homes, which Ibn ʿAbdūn, in his *ḥisba* treatise written at the end of the 5th/11th century or the opening of the next one, considered as an abuse which ought to be suppressed. The opinions of the *mus̲h̲āwarūn* could be given in writing; Ibn Sahl's (d. 486/1093) *Aḥkām* give numerous examples. The topics about which they were consulted covered all the possibilities of the law and dogma of Islam, from questions of legal procedure to accusations of heresy. Regarding this last point, there is a good example in the legal proceedings against Abū ʿUmar al-Ṭalamankī (d. 428 or 429/1036-7) in Saragossa. The town's *ḳāḍī* asked for an opinion on the case from six *mus̲h̲āwarūn*, who rejected the accusation against Abū ʿUmar. The functions of the *mus̲h̲āwar* clearly approximated closely to those of the *muftī*, but were exercised exclusively for the *ḳāḍī*, who had to follow the opinions of his advisers. In this wise, one can say that the *ḳāḍī*'s sphere of responsibility was diminished by the existence of these counsellors, especially as it was the *amīr* (later, the caliph) who nominated the *mus̲h̲āwarūn*. But the judge also had the possibility of dismissing certain of his counsellors if he found himself strongly at variance with them (thus the caliph al-Nāṣir dismissed from office Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Lubāba (d. 330/941) at the request of the *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, forbidding him moreover to give out *fatwās*) or of seeking the inclusion in the *s̲h̲ūrā* of a celebrated *faḳīh* whom he wanted. After the end of the Umayyad caliphate, the nomination of *mus̲h̲āwarūn* remained a prerogative of the holder of political power, but in periods when this was enfeebled, judges appointed their own counsellors. At Labla

(Niebla) the people nominated Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Djadd (d. 515/1121) for the town's *khuṭṭat al-shūrā*, whilst at Murcia, the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khushanī Ibn Abī Djaʿfar, who assumed power in 539/1145, nominated the very young Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Abī Djamra (d. 599/1202); Ibn al-Abbār has preserved, in his *Takmila*, the nomination decree of Ibn Abī Djamra, who belonged to one of the leading families of Murcia and who went on to become, a year later, *ḳāḍī* of Valencia.

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3. In the modern Arab world.

The idea and practice of consultation in government had an intermittent history in Islam prior to the 19th century [see above, 1 and 2, and mashwara]. In that century, as the Ottoman empire's encounter with Europe accelerated, the old principle was revived in a series of institutions established in the empire's centre and its Arab provinces, as part of the effort to modernise the political order (for the Ottoman practice of consultation prior to and during the *Tanẓīmāt*, see madjlis al-shūrā). Bodies with deliberative and advisory authority bearing the name *shūrā* (or *mashwara*, its interchangeable derivative) were set up by Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt, in the 1820s; by his son Ibrāhīm in Egyptian-occupied Syria and Palestine, in the 1830s; and by his grandson, the Khedive Ismāʿīl, in Egypt again. The latter assembled a "Consultative Council of Delegates" (*Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*) in 1866, featuring the novel quality of being elective, though indirectly, which operated until the 1882 British occupation. These councils represented a dual phenomenon: an embodiment of the Islamic ideal of consultation in government, and an attempted emulation of European-type parliaments.

The use of the term *shūrā* reflected this dual import. From the early 19th century, the word was applied to every type of Western governmental body, including elective and representative parliaments. Thus Muḥammad ʿAlī's official bulletin, *al-Waḳāʾi al-Miṣriyya*, applied the name in the 1830s to the British Parliament and the French *Chambre des députés*. The Egyptian *shaykh* Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], well acquainted with European politics, likewise used it for institutions such as the Swiss Federal Assembly and the United States Congress, as did other Arabic-speaking observers of Western politics throughout the century. At the same time, applied in a local context, *shūrā* connoted the newly-revived traditional idea of a ruler consulting with his chosen group of advisers. Such a twofold application of the word was a source of ambiguity, typical of the rapidly changing political concepts at the time. It made it possible, and convenient, for thinkers such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā [*q.vv.*] to justify the borrowing of parliaments—an alien idea—by associating them with the Islamic notion of consultation. This and similar attempts, during the formative phase of political modernisation, to equate modern and traditional ideas facilitated the introduction of new concepts into the region but undoubtedly also contributed to their modification.

In the 20th century, parliamentary institutions were formed in the Arabic-speaking lands under different titles, often in response to public demand inspired by foreign example [see madjlis. 4. A.]. The political roles which they played differed with time and place, but on the whole they were more limited than those of their Western counterparts. Among these, bodies entitled *madjlis shūrā* (or *madjlis istishārī*) were particularly traditional in nature and had a markedly limited say in decision making. Such bodies appeared mostly in the Arabian Peninsula, where European influence was small and the tribal custom of consultation remained a vivid attribute of local government. In the Saudi state, an Organic Law establishing a *Madjlis shūrā* was announced in 1926, but the institution remained on paper for many decades despite repeated royal pledges to set it up. A Consultative Council Statute was promulgated by Saudi Arabia's King Fahd in 1992, again providing for establishment of an appointed *Madjlis shūrā* with advisory authority. In Ḳaṭar, the Amīr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Āl Thānī in 1970 enacted a constitution under whose provisions a *Madjlis shūrā* was established two years later, partly elected and partly nominated by him (but in practice consisting of the Amīr's disciples). In Yemen, a *Madjlis shūrā* was founded in 1971, as prescribed by the constitution of the previous year. Unlike other peninsular states, Yemen was at that point not a monarchy but a republic, and the *shūrā* was to offer advice to a three-man Presidential Council which actually ruled the country; both bodies were abolished following the 1974 coup. In ʿUmān, a State Consultative Council (*al-Madjlis al-istishārī li ʾl-dawla*) was established in 1981 by Sultan Ḳābūs as a first experiment in limited public participation. It was replaced in 1991 by a *Madjlis al-shūrā*, whose formation and political prerogatives were similarly limited.

Elsewhere, the term *shūrā* and its derivatives appeared occasionally in titles of governmental institutions, reflecting the essentially restricted role prescribed for them. Such, e.g., was Morocco's Consultative National Assembly (*al-Madjlis al-waṭanī al-istishārī*), appointed by King Muḥammad V in 1956 as an advisory forum to the monarch. A somewhat different role was assigned to the Consultative Council which President Anwar al-Sādāt set up in 1980 in republican Egypt to supplement the People's Assembly (*Madjlis al-shaʿb*), the popularly-elected legislature. The Council, partly elected and partly nominated by the president, was to debate and express views on public matters as part of the country's pluralistic political order. Its definition as a *shūrā*, then, properly mirrored its merely deliberative and advisory power.

Bibliography: For the 19th century: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1982, 257 ff., 516 ff.; idem, *ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl*, Cairo 1982, ii, 89 ff.; A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, New York 1987, esp. 119-22; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age*, Oxford 1970, 144-5, 234; N. Safran, *Egypt in search of political community*, Harvard 1961, 47, 80-3. For the 20th century: J.E. Peterson, *The Arab Gulf states, steps toward political participation*, New York 1988; D.E. Ashford, *Political change in Morocco*, Princeton 1961, 347-55; *Middle East contemporary survey*, xv (1991), 600-1, 625-6; *ibid.*, xvi (1992), 668-72. See also the bibls. to madjlis; madjlis al-shūra; mashwara.

(A. Ayalon)

SHURAFĀʾ (A.), in Moroccan dialect, SHORFĀ, pl. of *sharīf* [*q.v.*] "noble".

This term denoted the persons belonging to the "house of the Prophet", *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*] and then became essentially reserved for the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad by his daughter Fāṭima [*q.v.*], the wife of his cousin ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. Several children were born of the couple, of whom al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were the ancestors of all the so-called Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid *shurafāʾ*, both in the Middle East and in the Maghrib. These persons have always enjoyed great consideration as well as certain privileges granted by the rulers and the peoples of the lands where they lived. But one should note that, at the side of the authentic line of the Prophet, certain descendants of famous *murābiṭūn* have, improperly, claimed the title of *sharīf*.

1. History.

ʿAlī had numerous sons by other wives than Fāṭima, forming an important line of descendants, these being the ʿAlids [*q.v.*] in general, of whom the Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids are part, but only these last can claim Sharīfian descent. Whether from one or other of the two branches, they exist in several of the Islamic lands.

I. All the Ḥasanid *shurafāʾ* of the Middle East stem from the second son of al-Ḥasan, Ḥasan II: (a) From the latter's son ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil there descend through Mūsā al-Djawn the Banū ʾl-Ukhayḍir of Mecca and Yemen (251-350/865-961), the Mūsawīs and the Hawāshim, then the Banū Ḳatāda, *amīrs* of Mecca (these last from 598/1201-2 onwards), the Banū Fulayta, and finally the Banū Ṣāliḥ of Ghāna, as well as the so-called Sulaymānid *shurafāʾ*. (b) From Dāwūd, another son of Ḥasan II's, stem the Sulaymānids of Yemen and Mecca. (c) From Ibrāhīm, another of Ḥasan II's sons, stem the Rassid Imāms [*q.v.*] of Yemen, through al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī.

II. The Ḥusaynid *shurafāʾ* of the Middle East have as their ancestor Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] b. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, al-Ḥusayn's grandson by ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. From these, the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*] or ʿUbaydids of Ifrīḳiya and Egypt claimed descent, as also the Banū Muhannā [*q.v.*], *amīrs* of Medina before 601/1204, and above all, the series of the Twelver Shīʿī Imāms which stops with the twelfth, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, son of Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874).

The descendants of a brother of Ḥasan II, Zayd, from whom stemmed the Zaydids of Ṭabaristān (247-87/861-900), may be considered as *shurafāʾ*.

III. The Shurafāʾ (Shorfā) of the Maghrib. It is in the farthest extremity of North Africa, the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, that the Shurafāʾ are most numerous. A century or so after the appearance of Islam in Morocco, this group had an extremely important political and religious role, since it was an ʿAlid, the great-grandson of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, hence a *sharīf*, sc. Idrīs I [*q.v.*], son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil and brother of the Mūsā al-Djawn mentioned above, who founded the first Sharīfian dynasty in Morocco.

The vast majority of the Shurafāʾ of the Maghrib are of Ḥasanid descent, since they descend from the above-mentioned Idrīs I and his son Idrīs II. This last had seven sons, five of whom had issue: (a) ʿUmar, whose descendants reigned in the Djabal al-ʿAlam and then in the region of Tlemcen; these are the Ḥammūdid [*q.v.*] Shurafāʾ, whom one finds again in Spain, where for a few years (407-14/1016-23) they occupied the caliphate in Cordova, and were subsequently rulers in Malaga. (b) al-Ḳāsim, whose son Yaḥyā installed himself at Djūṭa, in the Gharb of Morocco, on the Wādī Sabū (Sebou) and was the progenitor of all the Djūṭid Shurafāʾ (the Djūṭiyyūn) at Fās (see genealogical table). One should especially mention the ʿImrānids (ʿImrāniyyūn) who functioned as *naḳībs* and were the opponents of the Marīnids (second half of the 9th/15th century). (c) ʿĪsā, founder of the Dabbāghiyyūn Shurafāʾ who emigrated in the 4th/10th century near to Cordova with Ḥasan b. Gannūn, and then returned to Salé and Fās after the Christian reconquest. (d) ʿAbd Allāh, from whom stemmed the Amghāriyyūn established in the north of Morocco, then to the south of Azemmour. (e) Muḥammad, who had two sons, Yaḥyā, ancestor of the Kattāniyyūn Shurafāʾ in Meknès and then in Fās (second half of the 10th/16th century) and ʿAlī, from whom several Sharīfian branches descend (see WAZZĀN and the genealogical table).

ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil, Idrīs I's father, had had two other sons whose progeny came to Morocco later: (a) Djaʿfar, ancestor of the Shurafāʾ of Sūs. (b) Mūsā al-Djawn, from whom stem the Ḳādirid Shurafāʾ (Ḳādiriyyūn) through ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], founder of the Ḳādirī Ṣūfī order; these Shurafāʾ settled at Fās at the end of the 9th/15th century. Finally, Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*], ancestor of the two Sharīfian dynasties which took power in Morocco after the fall of the last Berber dynasty, the Banū Waṭṭās [*q.v.*] (10th/16th century), sc. the Saʿdid Shurafāʾ [*q.v.*]—whose Sharīfian descent was controversial—and their replacements in the following century, the ʿAlawī Shurafāʾ from Sidjilmāsa in the Tafilalt [see ʿALAWĪS].

Certain members of the mystical *silsila* of the Shādhiliyya mystical order [*q.v.*] are Shurafāʾ: ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh al-Ḥasanī (d. 625/1228), an Idrīsid *sharīf* of the Banū Muḥammad b. Idrīs, was their head towards the end of the Almohad dynasty. His successor, who gave his name to the order, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*], was likewise said to be an Idrīsī *sharīf*, like the majority of the Shurafāʾ of the Djabal ʿAlam.

IV. At the side of all these Ḥasanid Shurafāʾ, there existed equally in Morocco, especially at Fās, two groups of Ḥusaynid Shurafāʾ, through Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, son of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, grandson of al-Ḥusayn. These are the Ṣiḳilliyyūn Shurafāʾ, the offspring of ʿAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā, and the ʿIrāḳiyyūn Shurafāʾ, descendants of a brother of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, Ibrāhīm al-Murtaḍā.

2. Literature of the Shurafāʾ.

Given the special importance of the Shurafāʾ in the Maghrib, it is not surprising that this has resulted in the florescence of a special literature dealing with genealogy and biography. The first notable works on these subjects were undertaken by a Ḳādirid Sharīf of Fās, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, born in 1058/1648 and died in 1110/1698 (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, 276-399). In addition to three monographs on hagiology, he wrote several works dealing with the Sharīfī groups of Morocco: first a general study of Sharīfism in the Moroccan capital, *al-Durr al-sanī fī baʿḍ man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-ḥasanī*, which, in spite of its title, also includes the Ḥusaynid branches; on account of the period in which he was writing, he deliberately left out the Saʿdians, who in any case were to disappear very quickly for lack of descendants. This work was lithographed at Fās in 1303 and 1308 A.H. Al-Ḳādirī's other treatises deal with (a) the Ḳādirī Shurafāʾ (*al-ʿUrf al-ʿāṭir fī man bi-Fās min abnāʾ al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir*), and (b) the Shurafāʾ ʿIrāḳiyyūn (*Maṭlaʿ al-ishrāḳ fī ʾl-ashrāf al-wāridīn min al-ʿIrāḳ*).

At the end of the 11th/17th century and beginning of the 12th/18th century, two other treatises on Sharīfī genealogy were compiled in Morocco; one devoted to the 'Alawid Shurafā' of Sidjilmāsa was written by Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Sharīf al-Sidjilmāsī, and entitled *al-Anwār al-saniyya fī nisbat man bi-Sidjilmāsa min al-sharāf al-muḥammadiyya*; the other, entitled *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī khayr nasab*, was the work of a *sharīf* of the Djabal al-'Alam, al-Tihāmī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Raḥmūn, who composed it in 1105/1603-4.

In 1127/1715 a descendant of the marabout family of the *zāwiya* of Dilā' [see AL-DILĀ' in Suppl.], Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Aḥmad al-Dilā'ī (d. 1136/1721), composed a new treatise on the Sharīfism of the Ḳādirids, *Natīdjat al-taḥḳīḳ fī ba'ḍ ahl al-sharaf al-wathīḳ* (publ. Tunis 1296 and Fās 1309, partially tr. T.H. Weir, *The first part of the Natījatu 'l-Taḥqiq*, Edinburgh 1903).

A monograph was a little later devoted to the Shurafā' Ṣiḳilliyyūn of Fās by a Ḳādirid, grandson of the author of *al-Durr al-sanī*, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, d. 1187/1773: this is the *Lamḥat al-bahdjat al-'āliya fī ba'ḍ furū' al-sha'ba al-ḥusayniyya al-ṣiḳilliyya*. The Shurafā' of Wāzzān had also several historians in the 12th/18th century; we may mention the *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān bi-ba'ḍ manāḳib shurafā' Wāzzān*, by Ḥamdūn al-Ṭāhirī al-Djūṭī (d. 1191/1777), lithographed at Fās in 1324 A.H.

The composition of the *Kitāb al-Taḥḳīḳ fī 'l-nasab al-wathīḳ*, which the genealogists of Fās consider apocryphal and attribute to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Ashmāwī al-Makkī, also dates from the end of the 12th/18th century: this work, which deals only with the Sharīfī branches that settled in Algeria, was translated in 1906 by Père Giacobetti.

A specialist in Sharīfī genealogy was Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Shafshāwanī al-Ḥawwāt, born 1160/1747, d. at Fās 1231/1816. He left among other works a monograph on the Shurafā' Dabbāghiyyūn, called also from their quarter in Fās Shurafā' al-'Uyūn: *Ḳurrat al-'uyūn fī 'l-shurafā' al-ḳāṭinīn bi 'l-'Uyūn*, and a monograph on the Ḳādirid Shurafā', *al-Sirr al-ẓāhir*.

The Shurafā' 'Irāḳiyyūn had their historiographer, 'Abd Allāh al-Walīd b. al-'Arabī al-'Irāḳī, d. 1263/1849; this work, published in Fās, is called *al-Durr al-nafīs fī man bi-Fās min banī Muḥammad b. Nafīs*.

Finally, one may mention amongst more recent works, in addition to the information collected in the valuable *Salwat al-anfās* of Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Kattānī [see AL-KATTĀNĪ], two works relating to the Sharīfī branches of Morocco. The first is the work of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj al-Madanī Gannūn, d. 1302/1885, *al-Durar al-maknūna fī 'l-nisba al-sharīfa al-maṣūna*; the other, more important, is entitled *al-Durar al-bahiyya wa 'l-djawāhir al-nabawiyya fī 'l-furū' al-ḥasaniyya wa 'l-ḥusayniyya*, lithographed at Fās in 1314. This book, by Abu 'l-'Alā' Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Fuḍaylī, d. 1316/1898-9, is an excellent repertory with much unpublished information, clearly presented.

Bibliography: Besides the Arabic works mentioned in the article, see G. Salmon, *Les Chorfa Idrisites de Fès*, in *Archives marocaines*, i, 1904, 424-59; idem, *Les Chorfa Filâla et Djilâla de Fès*, in *ibid.*, iii, 1905, 97-118; idem, *Ibn Rahmoûn*, in *ibid.*, 159-265; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1907, *passim*; A. Cour, *L'Etablissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, 17 ff.; R.P. Giacobetti, *Kitab en-Nasab, Généalogie des Chorfa*, in *R. Afr.* (1906); E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La maison d'Ouezzan*, in *RMM*, iv (1908), 23-89; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1923, repr. 1991; idem, *Le Maroc en face de l'étranger á l'époque moderne*, Paris 1925; K. Öhrnberg, *The offspring of Fāṭima, dispersal and ramification*, Studia Orientalia Societatis Fennicae, 54, Helsinki 1983; H. Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II, ses descendants de Fas et la politique sharifienne des Sultans Marinides*, Leiden 1984.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[CH. DE LA VÉRONNE])

SHURAḤBĪL B. **ḤASANA**, Abū 'Abd Allāh, early Meccan convert to Islam, prominent Companion of the Prophet and leading commander in the Arab invasions of Syria, d. 18/639.

Apparently of Kindī origin, he was known by his mother's name Ḥasana, but his patrilineal *nasab* was ... b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muṭāḥ b. 'Amr. He is described as a *ḥalīf* or confederate [see ḤILF] of the Meccan clan of Zuhra but as also being connected, through another marriage of his mother, with Djumaḥ. As an early convert, he took part in the second *hidjra* or migration to Ethiopia (see Ibn Sa'd, iv/1, 94, vii, 118; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 390-1). He became prominent in the Prophet's *ghazawāt* or raids, and in Abū Bakr's caliphate fought in the Ridda Wars under Khālid b. al-Walīd. After the Muslim victory at 'Aḳrabā' or Yamāma, he was sent as one of the four commanders heading armies into Syria, in his case, into Jordan or Palestinia Secunda, according to al-Madā'inī in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2107-8, with 7,000 warriors. He was probably at such places as Djarash, al-Faḥl, Ḳadar, the Golan region, etc. (late 12-early 13/late 634-early 635), and also in northern Palestine, although firm information is lacking for most of these campaigns. He died, as did his fellow-commander Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, in the Plague of 'Amwās (Emmaus) in 18/639, aged 67 (Ibn al-Athīr) or 69 (al-Balādhurī).

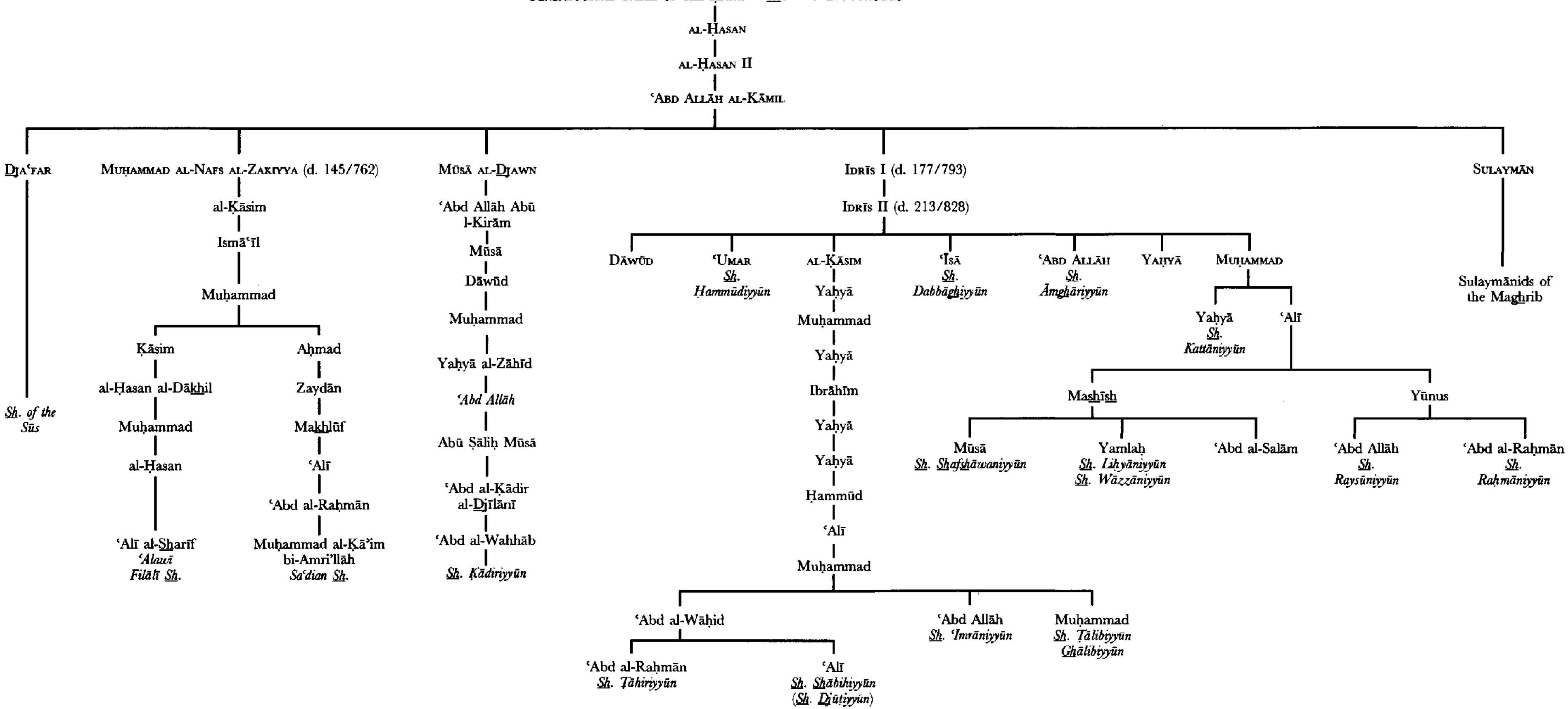
Bibliography: The primary sources for Shuraḥbīl's military career (Ibn A'tham, Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, etc.) are well exploited in F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 114-16, 118-19, 129 ff., 152-3, 359, 361-2. See also M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leiden 1900, 70 ff.; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, 33-4, 41, 44, 74. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SHURĀT [see KHĀRIDJITES].

SHURAYḤ B. AL-ḤĀRITH (or B. SHURAḤBĪL) B. ḲAYS, Abū Umayya al-Kindī, an early *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa. He was reportedly born in the Yemen to a family belonging to the Persian *abnā'* [*q.v.*]; his *nisba* is said to refer to his status as a *mawlā* of Kinda. There is disagreement as to whether he met the Prophet. According to a number of accounts (rejected by al-Shāfi'ī and others), he was first appointed judge of Kūfa by 'Umar (in 18/639 or 22/643); his appointment was allegedly confirmed by 'Uthmān, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. 'Alī called him "the best judge among the Arabs" (*aḳḍā 'l-'arab*) and provided him with a monthly stipend of 100 (or 500) dirhams. Their relationship appears, however, to have been uneasy: 'Alī upbraided him for handing down a wrong decision and even dismissed him, though he reinstated him a few months later.

Shurayḥ is said to have served as *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa for between 53 and 75 years, with two significant interruptions. The first occurred during the governorship of Ziyād b. Abīhi, who sent him as a judge to Baṣra, where he spent one year (or seven years); during that time Masrūḳ b. al-Adjda' (d. 63/682-3) replaced him in Kūfa (or acted as his deputy there). The other largely coincided with the period during which Kūfa

Genealogical Table of the Ḥasanid Shurafāʾ in Morocco



was successively in the hands of al-Mukhtār and Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr (66-72/685-91) [*q.vv.*], when Shurayḥ reportedly withdrew in order to avoid involvement in the *fitna*; others have it that he was forced to resign. He was reinstated by ʿAbd al-Malik, who gave him 10,000 dirhams and some property in al-Fallūdja [*q.v.*]. According to a report in al-Ṭabarī, al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] in 79/698-9 acceded to the *ḳāḍī*'s request to be relieved of his duties and accepted his recommendation that Abū Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] be appointed as his successor. The most usual dates given for Shurayḥ's death are between 76/695-6 (a date which does not tally with al-Ṭabarī's report) and 80/699-700, though dates as early as 72/691-2 and as late as 99/717-8 are also recorded. Reports of his age at death range between 100 and 127 years; the statement that he was 180 years old is probably the result of a corruption of the number 108. These reports may reflect a wish to show that Shurayḥ was born sufficiently early to have met the Prophet (cf. Lammens, 79).

There are conflicting accounts of Shurayḥ's relations with the Umayyads. On the one hand he is portrayed as doing their bidding, as in the case of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa [*q.v.*], when he obeyed ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād by telling Hāniʾ's supporters that their leader was still alive; and he was an adviser and confidant of Ziyād b. Abīhi. Yet he is also alleged to have privately made extremely unflattering remarks about some of his Umayyad superiors, and to have only followed their orders for fear of his own safety. The Kūfan Shīʿīs accused him of having been among the signatories of a document charging Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] with agitation against the authorities; yet Shurayḥ denied this, claiming that he had in fact testified to Ḥudjr's piety.

Shurayḥ is often described as the ideal judge. He held court in the mosque beside the *minbar*; on rainy days he would sit in judgment at home. His probity was such that he even found against his own son (or brother), who was then imprisoned. He is said to have followed earlier authorities in his legal pronouncements and to have refrained from issuing independent legal opinions (*fatwās*); others, however, claim that he applied *idjtihād* when no answers to a particular problem were available. The pronouncements ascribed to him generally conform to the position of the old schools. They were transmitted mostly by Kūfan scholars, including al-Shaʿbī, al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī, and some are cited by the Ḥanafīs as precedents. Shurayḥ is also remembered as a traditionist and a poet.

The inconsistencies and implausible details in Shurayḥ's biography and the contradictory pronouncements attributed to him (e.g. on the exercise of pre-emption by non-Muslims; see Ibn Māza, 467) have led some scholars (notably Lammens, Tyan, Schacht and Pellat) to regard elements of his biography as legendary. Schacht in particular maintained that Shurayḥ was "merely a *ḥakam* of the old style" and that opinions and traditions ascribed to him were "spurious throughout" and "the outcome of the general tendency to project the opinions current in the schools of law back to early authorities". This view has since been challenged (see Sezgin, i, 402, Motzki, 152-3).

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SHŪRĪDA, MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ, Persian poet, b. Shīrāz, according to most accounts, in 1274/1858, d. 6 Rabīʿ II 1345/14 October 1926.

His father ʿAbbās was an artisan by trade. Shūrīda's ancestry, from what is known, reached back to the poet Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 942/1535-6), author of the *mathnawī Siḥr-i ḥalāl* "Legal magic". When he was seven years old he was struck blind by small-pox. Some two years later his father died, after which he came under the care of his maternal uncle. In 1288/1871-2 he accompanied his uncle in the pilgrimage to Mecca. On returning, he resumed his earlier studies, achieving a high standard in literary studies and Arabic. In 1311/1893-4 he travelled to Tehran, where he came into contact with Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Amīn al-Sulṭān (d. 1907), prime minister of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. He was introduced to the monarch, who was impressed by his poetry, gave him his favour and eventually bestowed upon him the title of Faṣīḥ al-Mulk. He stayed in the capital till the accession of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh (1313/1896) after which he moved to Shīrāz permanently. He was treated as an important figure in official circles, and granted the revenues of a village. Towards the later part of his life, he held the custodianship of Saʿdī's resting place

in S̲h̲īrāz. He died at the age of sixty-eight, and was buried by the side of Saʿdī's tomb.

S̲h̲ūrīda is credited with an astonishing memory which enabled him to know by heart many lengthy *ḳaṣīdas* of the old masters. He has left a number of works, most of them unfinished. His *dīwān*, which comprises an estimated total of some 15,000 couplets, was published at Tehran in 1325/1946 by his son, Ḥasan Iḥsān Faṣīḥī. It contains poems in conventional verse forms such as *ḳaṣīda, ghazal, musammaṭ* and *ḳiṭʿa*. In his style of writing, S̲h̲ūrīda was essentially a poet in the classical mould following the trends initiated by early masters from K̲h̲urāsān and Fārs. He wrote many panegyrics, the most notable being those in praise of the Ḳād̲j̲ār rulers. His themes, taken as a whole, are largely traditional.

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S̲H̲URṬA (a.), a military-administrative term most conveniently translated as police. The basic meaning of the root *s̲h̲-r-ṭ* is "to separate or to distinguish something out of a larger entity", thus an élite force within an army or, according to some sources, criminals who separate themselves from the social order, and thence those whose function it is to bring them to book. An individual in such a unit is a *s̲h̲urṭī*, plural *s̲h̲uraṭ* or more popularly *s̲h̲urṭiyya*.

1. In the central lands of the caliphate.

The term *s̲h̲urṭa* is among the earliest of the Arabic sources of the Muslim state applied to the élite units of the armed forces whose function was to impose law and order and to uphold the authority of the newly-established state. Its establishment is variously attributed to the caliphs ʿUmar, ʿUt̲h̲mān and Muʿāwiya, and there are several reports of units being involved in putting down revolts in the early Umayyad period. Into the early ʿAbbāsid period, the *s̲h̲urṭa* and its commander, *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa*, are reported as having played a significant role, firstly in enforcing the authority of the caliphs, and later in the course of the series of armed palace revolts which took advantage of a weakened caliphate.

The *s̲h̲urṭa* remained primarily a pragmatic institution with no authority in the developing theoretical systems of the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, and with only a limited foundation in documents of appointment, such as those recorded by al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, and in the writings of al-Māwardī and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn. The institution combined the preventive and repressive functions of a police and security force with the judicial functions of a magistracy and summary court. In accounts of government processes, it is often associated with the implementation of *siyāsa* [*q.v.*]. The historical records show that the *s̲h̲urṭa* was in fact empowered with a wide and varying jurisdiction in different times and places. In Spain and during the later ʿAbbāsid period, its powers in the cities were not only territorially defined but also often specific to different classes of society. When the *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa* was powerful he could trespass extensively on to the jurisdiction of both *ḥisba* and that of the *ḳāḍī*, taking charge of enforcing proper conduct in public places, dispensing criminal justice and supervising the implementation of retaliation or *ḳiṣāṣ* [*q.v.*]. Among the duties often attributed to the *s̲h̲urṭa* were riot control in the cities, protection of villages against brigandage, checking the quality of the work of artisans and support for tax enforcement. The *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa* appears often in the early centuries as the head of the ruler's personal bodyguard, a function whose title and role is confused with that of the *ḥaras*. Among the earliest functions of the institution was also that of night watch (*al-ṭawāf bi 'l-layl*, and this was the one which it retained most consistently and for the longest time; in the Muslim West, its commander was often entitled *ṣāḥib al-layl* in later centuries.

In the early centuries, the *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa* was among the highest officials in both central and provincial government, but an indication of his gradually sinking rank is the change from his fourth placing under the ʿAbbāsids to the twenty-fifth one under the Mamlūks (according to al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, Cairo 1913-19, iv, 23, v, 450. This decline in rank is associated with the decline of the authority of central governments and the gradual redistribution of power between, on the one hand, foreign military castes (Mamlūks) which had control of repressive powers, and, on the other, with local urban quarters developing their local forms of collective defence and social discipline. By the late Mamlūk period, the term *s̲h̲urṭa* is increasingly rare in the sources, as the *mamlūk* military units took over the functions of repression and imposition of public order. Many of the more local functions became vested in the local quarters, and the officials sank in status to become among the lowest in the community. The roles of night watch and rubbish collection tended to overlap, while officials responsible for crime prevention developed an ambiguous relationship with the petty criminal element.

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2. In Muslim Spain.

The *s̲h̲urṭa* in al-Andalus has always posed the problem of identification of its three categories: *ʿulyā, wusṭā* and *ṣug̲h̲rā*. In his history of Muslim Spain, E. Lévi-Provençal followed the interpretation of E. Tyan, who relied for his part on a text of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn. The *s̲h̲urṭa ʿulyā* would be, according to the great North African historian, that concerned with misdemeanours committed by people belonging to the *k̲h̲āṣṣa*, while the jurisdiction of the *s̲h̲urṭa ṣug̲h̲rā* was applied to the *ʿāmma* (*Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1981, 312). However, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn does not mention the *s̲h̲urṭa wusṭā*, established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir in 317/929-30. For their part, the historical sources are not clear regarding the competence of this "medium" *s̲h̲urṭa*, just as they are not entirely clear about the two others,

and the subject remains shrouded in a degree of obscurity.

The earliest information regarding the *shurṭa* in al-Andalus dates from the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (d. 172/788), who awarded this responsibility to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Dadjn al-ʿUkaylī, commander of his cavalry at the battle of Muṣāra (this connection between the *shurṭa* and military activity is not always evident, but it becomes a stronger element under the Umayyad caliphate). During this early period, the function of the *shurṭa* could be exercised simultaneously with the *wilāyat al-sūḳ*, the *ḳaḍāʾ* or the prayer. It was al-Ḥakam I (180-206/796-827) who inaugurated the *shurṭa ṣughrā*, also ordering the construction of an enclosure in the gallery of the Great Mosque of Cordova, beside the position occupied by the *ḳāḍī*, for the submission of affairs subject to the jurisdiction of the *shurṭa*. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Saʿd, son of a slave affranchised by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, was the first to perform this function, initially under al-Ḥakam and then during the reign of his successor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52) who, after the death of al-Ḥārith, appointed his son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith to take his place. It is interesting to note that under this last-named *amīr*, another descendent of slaves affranchised by the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muḥammad b. Khālid Ibn Martanīl, was also appointed to the *shurṭa* (and to the inspection of markets). It could be said that, while retaining functionaries of Arab origin for this post, the *amīrs* were at pains to consolidate links of personal dependence (a cousin of Ibn Martanīl was responsible for the *shurṭa* under the *amīr* Muḥammad (238-73/852-86). As for the competence of the *shurṭa*, the intervention of al-Ḥakam I could be considered a deliberate effort to mark the existence of a jurisdiction separate from that of the judges, an effort which should perhaps be seen in the context of the *amīr*'s troubled relationship with the *ʿulamāʾ* of Cordova, which was to lead ultimately to the revolt of the *Rabaḍ*. A new development in this evolution came about under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who decreed the separation of the *wilāyat al-sūḳ* from the *aḥkām al-shurṭa*, known as *wilāyat al-madīna*. The text of Ibn Ḥazm (quoted by Ibn Saʿīd in *Mughrib*, i, 46) on this question seems to associate the jurisdiction of the *shurṭa* with the *wilāyat al-madīna*. In his description of administrative systems in al-Andalus, Ibn Khaldūn (and Ibn Saʿīd quoted by al-Makkarī) confirms this possibility and, in fact, during the Umayyad caliphate references are found to the *shurṭat al-madīna*. But in other instances, it is clear that it was a case of two different functions, responsibility for which was incumbent on separate functionaries. The separation between *shurṭa* and *aḥkām al-sūḳ*, introduced by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, poses similar problems, since it was not always respected, and under the *amīr* Muḥammad, successor to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, examples are already found of combination of the two functions, examples which are repeated throughout the Umayyad caliphate and the period of the Taifas. Cases are also known where appointment to the *shurṭa* was combined with that to the judgment of appeals (*radd*), this beginning under the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (275-300/888-912). The *aṣḥāb al-shurṭa wa ʾl-radd* are classed, in the ceremonial of the Umayyad caliphate, with the senior judge of Cordova, judges of provinces and families of noble origin. They are considered equivalent to the *ḥukkām*, and they do not belong to the world of high-ranking officials (*ahl al-khidma*).

The first *aṣḥāb al-shurṭa al-ʿulyā* are recorded under the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh. One of them, Ḳāsim b. Walīd al-Kalbī, was confirmed in his function by al-Nāṣir, and played an important military role in the pacification of the rebellions of Seville and of Carmona. In the early years of his reign (well documented in vol. v of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis*), al-Nāṣir appointed to this post members of families such as the Banū Abī ʿAbda, the Banū Ḥudayr (who also fulfilled the role of the *shurṭa wusṭā*) and the Banū Shuhayd, as well as one of his maternal uncles and his *mawālī*, including Durrī. At the same time, the caliph entrusted to him the command of numerous military expeditions. This link between the *shurṭa ʿulyā* and military responsibilities was maintained in the case of ʿUbayd b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿlā (appointed *ḳāʾid al-aʿinna* in 343/954) and later, the admiral of the fleet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rumāḥis. Descriptions of Umayyad ceremonial under al-Ḥakam II contained in vol. vii of the *Muḳtabis* show the privileged status of the *aṣḥāb al-shurṭa al-ʿulyā wa ʾl-wusṭā*, among the highest-ranking functionaries. This is not a question of a responsibility entrusted to a single person, and it is offered to people in conjunction with their appointment to the command of an army unit or the governance of a province. This evolution seems to indicate that the *shurṭa ʿulyā* (and the other categories) has become a kind of official rank or grade in the hierarchy of the caliphal administration, in close association with the army. Special missions are entrusted to holders of this title, such as the preparation of expeditions against Christian kingdoms and the reception of North African princes who are vassals of the caliph of Cordova. For their part, the biographical sources show us the continuity of the *ḥukkām* entrusted with the *shurṭa* (and frequently also with the *sūḳ*). Among these, the activity of Aḥmad b. Naṣr under al-Ḥakam II is well described by the historical sources: he was concerned with the market as well as with the public distribution of the caliph's alms and with complaints against the governors (*ʿummāl*) of provinces, Aḥmad b. Naṣr is ranked, in palace ceremonies, among the *aʿyān al-khāṣṣa*, not among the senior functionaries.

With al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿAmr (who had himself been *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa al-wusṭā* before exerting total control of caliphal power) references to the *aṣḥāb al-shurṭa al-ʿulyā wa ʾl-wusṭā* disappear from the sources (mention of the role of the *shurṭa ʿulyā* is not found until later, under the Zīrids of Granada, and then only once), while the *ḥukkām* continue to fulfil their functions, in this period as after the fall of the caliphate and in Cordova as in other cities. Al-Manṣūr had in addition a personal *shurṭa*, under the supervision of a *wālī*, and established in the palatine city which he had founded, al-Madīna al-Zāhira [*q.v.*]. In the period of disorder which saw the disappearance of the Umayyad caliphate, Ibn Wadaʿa, who was responsible for the *shurṭat al-madīna*, played an important political role, addressing the power vacuum which came into being. If Ibn Ḥayyān (quoted by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*) is to be believed, the *aṣḥāb al-shurṭa* exercised despotic power during these years, and it was not until the seizure of power by the Banū Djahwar that justice and order were to be established once more in Cordova.

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(Manuela Marín)

SHUSHTAR, Shūshtar, Arabic form Tustar, a town of southwestern Persia in the mediaeval Islamic province of Ahwāz [*q.v.*] and the modern one (*ustān*) of Khūzistān (lat. 32° 03' N., long. 48° 51' E.). It stands on a cliff to the west of which runs the river Kārūn [*q.v.*], the middle course of which begins a few miles north of the town. This position gives the town considerable commercial and strategic importance and has made possible the construction of various waterworks for which the town has long been famous. The main features of these constructions are: (1) the canal called Āb-i Gargar (in the Middle Ages, Masrūḳān) which is led from the left bank of the river about 600 yards north of the town; it runs southwards along the east side of the cliffs of Shushtar and rejoins the Kārūn at Band-i Ḳīr, the site of the ancient ʿAskar Mukram; (2) the great barrage called Band-i Ḳayṣar, which is thrown across the principal arm of the river (here called Shuṭayṭ or Nahr-i Shushtar) east of the town and is about 440 yards long; this barrage supports a bridge intended to connect the town with the west bank, but now a considerable gap is broken in it; (3) the canal called Mīnāw (from Miyānāb) which begins above the barrage in the form of a tunnel cut out of the rock on the western side of the town; the citadel is above this part; the Mīnāw turns southwards and is intended to irrigate the land south of the town.

Shushtar, along with these canals, was already in existence in pre-Islamic times. Pliny knows a town called Sostra (xii, 78) and it appears as Shōshtar in the *Liste géographique des villes d'Iran*, publ. by Blochet (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptienne et assyriennes*, xvii [1895], no. 46); it is found in Syriac literature as a Nestorian bishopric (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 27). Persian tradition also regards Shushtar as a very old town (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, 315). This tradition is found in the Arab historians and geographers and most fully in the *Ta'rīkh-i Shūshtar* of ʿAbd Allāh Shūshtarī (see *Bibl.*). The story goes that the town was founded by the mythical king Hūshang after the foundation of Shūsh (Susa). Shushtar is said to be a comparative from Shūsh meaning "more beautiful", in reference to the site of the town (Marquart, *loc. cit.* also regards it as a derivative from Shūsh with the suffix-*tar* indicating direction). The Arabic form Tustar is generally explained as an Arabicisation of Shūshtar (e.g. by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Yāḳūt, i, 848). Several sources record that the town was built in the form of a horse. Tradition also says that the Mīnāw canal, formerly called Nahr-i Dāriyān, was built by Darius the Great and that it was the Sāsānid Ardashīr I who began to construct the barrage in the river below the mouth of the canal, after the latter had dried up because the bed of the river had sunk through erosion by the force of the current. The work was only completed, however, under Shāpūr II by his Roman prisoners under Valerian II (cf. also Ṭabarī, i, 827 and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 184 = § 606). The Āb-i Gargar was first dug simply to divert the volume of water. The Band-i Ḳayṣar was next constructed and called after the emperor, and the bed of the river above the barrage was paved with huge slabs of stone bound with iron so as to prevent any further erosion. This paving was called Shādirwān, a term which was also applied to the barrage itself. Ultimately, a new barrage is said to have been built across the Gargar. From the 8th/14th century, the Āb-i Gargar was called Dū-Dānig and the Nahr-i Shushtar Čahār-Dānig, because they contained respectively two- and four-sixths of the quantity of water in the Kārūn. Muslim authors number these great hydraulic constructions among the wonders of the world (e.g. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Although the authenticity of the tradition quoted could be for the most part disputed, it is not improbable that Roman prisoners of war took part in the construction of the barrage (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 37); local tradition further attributes to Roman colonists thc introduction of a number of industries, e.g. the manufacture of brocade (*dībādj*) and certain popular customs.

In the caliphate of ʿUmar, the town was conquered by al-Barā' b. Mālik, whose tomb used to be pointed out in the centuries following. Tradition also says that the coffin of the prophet Dāniyāl was found there, which later on was brought to Shūsh. In the Umayyad period, the town became one of the strongholds of the Khāridjīs; the Khāridjī Shabīb made it his capital, but after his death al-Ḥadjdjādj seized it; it was then that the great bridge over the barrage was destroyed. Under the caliphs, Shushtar was the capital of one of the seven provinces (sometimes a larger number is given, see al-Muḳaddasī, 404), into which Khūzistān was divided. When Baghdād became the centre of the empire, Shushtar gradually became influenced by its proximity to the capital. One quarter of Baghdād, for example, in the 4th/10th century was called Maḥallat al-Tustariyyīn; it was the residence of the merchants and notables from Khūzistān. The oldest mosque was built under the ʿAbbāsids; begun in the reign of al-Muʿtazz (252-5/866-9), it was only finished under the caliph al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35). There was, however, a fire-altar at Shushtar in the time of al-Ḥallādj (Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallāj*, i, 92).

Shushtar, along with Ahwāz, has always been the chief town in Khūzistān; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī calls it the capital of this province. It was conquered by Tīmūr, and remained in the hands of the Tīmūrids till the year 820/1514, when it fell to a Shīʿī dynasty of Sayyids under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawids and became a centre of Shīʿa propaganda. Several governors have founded little dynasties there. The town enjoyed most prosperity in the reign of Wākhishtū Khān (1041-78/1632-67), whose descendants kept the governorship till the end of the Ṣafawids. At the beginning of the 19th century it was among the provinces governed by Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, who restored, for example, the barrage and the bridge. At this period, it is said to have had a population of 45,000, but the number has certainly diminished a great deal since, for Rawlinson in 1836 puts it at 15,000 and Curzon in 1890 at 8,000. The area covered by the town is out of all proportion to the population. Sykes also calls Shushtar the most ruined town in Persia; this description applies also to the irrigation works. The houses are built of stone and brick; they contain cellars [see sardāb], here called *shewādān*, in which the inhabitants shelter in the excessive heat of summer (Shushtar has the dubious distinction of having the highest mean maximum temperature for July in the whole country, 47.3° C.).

As to the inhabitants themselves, they are a mixture of Arab and Iranian or proto-Iranian elements. In the middle of the 19th century there were still a considerable number of Mandaeans here; Layard counted 300-400 families of them in 1840 (cf. also the description of them given by ʿAbd Allāh al-

Shushtarī, 24). They have probably now disappeared. Travellers at the end of the 19th century (Curzon and Sykes) described the character of the present inhabitants as disagreeable and fanatical. Among the Persians, the devoutness of the inhabitants has earned the town the honorific title of *Dār al-Muʾminīn*. On the other hand, we find Shushtar included among the Persian towns celebrated for the stupidity of its inhabitants (Christensen, in *AO*, iii, 31).

In the early 20th century, the town was rent by feuding between the two factions of the Niʿmatīs, supporters of the Bakhtiyārīs and Constitutionalists, and the Ḥaydarīs, pro-Arab and pro-monarchy. From the later 19th century, Shushtar had benefited commercially from being the farthest point on the Kārūn reached by the steamship service inaugurated in 1887 by Messrs Lynch [see KĀRŪN], for goods had to be landed there and sent forward by caravan. It grew to be the major retail centre of southwestern Persia, with a population reaching 28,000 in 1938 before the completion of the Trans-Persian Railway then. But since that line crossed the Kārūn at Ahwāz, on its way from Bandar Shāpūr on the Gulf to the interior plateau, Shushtar was bypassed; Ahwāz [*q.v.*] became a major city, eclipsing Shushtar, so that the latter's population began to decline. In 1971 it was still only 27,532, but has recently increased to 70,294 (1991 census figure).

Bibliography: A local history is the *Taʾrīkh/Tadhkira-yi Shushtariyya* of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Shushtarī "Faḳīr" (d. 1173/1759-60, see Storey, i, 365, 1298), Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1914-24. The information of the classical Islamic geographers is in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 234-6; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 313, 315-8; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 88-90. See also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1840, ix, 178 ff.; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 363 ff.; P.M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, 252 ff.; E. Herzfeld, in *Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen*, liii, Gotha 1907; Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 84-6, 297, 426-8, 431; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, vi, 239-40; L. Lockhart, *Persian cities*, London 1960, 142-51; *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, 232, 553, 558.

(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-SHUSHTARĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Numayrī, Ṣūfī of Muslim Spain and resident of Malaga and Grenada (b. *ca.* 610/1212, d. at Ṭīna 668/1269 and buried at Damietta; his *nisba* derives from Shushtar, here a *ḳarya* or village of the Guadix district).

His masters included Ibn Surāḳa al-Shāṭibī and other disciples of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]), and he was in contact with the Ṣūfī poet al-Nadjm b. Isrāʾīl al-Dimashḳī, whom he met in 650/1252. But most influential for al-Shushtarī was the philosopher and mystic Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*], whom he met at Bidjāya in 646/1248 and five years later in Egypt and at Mecca.

His prose works include *al-Maḳālīd al-wudjūdiyya fī asrār al-ṣūfiyya* (ms. Cairo, Taymūr, *taṣawwuf*, 149, fols. 413-43); *al-Marātib al-īmāniyya wa 'l-islāmiyya wa 'l-iḥsāniyya; al-Risāla al-ʿalamiyya* (résumé by Ibn Luyūn); *al-Risāla al-baghdādiyya* (ea. M.-Th. Urvoy, in *BEtOr*, xxviii [1975], 259-61); *al-Risāla al-ḳudsiyya fī tawḥīd al-ʿāmma wa 'l-khāṣṣa* (mss. Taymūr, *taṣawwuf* 149, see Urvoy, 259 n. 3, and Istanbul, Şehit Ali 1389/6); and *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā fī bayān al-sunan wa-iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*.... But al-Shushtarī was best known for his poetry, with a *dīwān* of odes, *muwashshaḥāt*, etc., commented on by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (author of a *Radd al-muftarī fi 'l-ṭaʿān ʿalā 'l-Shushtarī*), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdjība al-Ḥasanī and Zarrūḳ (mss. of the *dīwān* listed in Massignon, *Investigaciones sobre Šuštarī*, 54). It has been edited by ʿA.S. al-Nashshār, Alexandria 1960, and by F. Corriente, *Poesía estrófica (cejeles y/o muwaššaḥāt) atribuida al místico granadino Aš-Šuštarī (s. XIII d.c.)*, Madrid 1988. In his *muwashshaḥāt* and *azdjāl* in dialectical Arabic, set to melodies, he followed the way traced by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, who had made the *zadjal* a vehicle for mysticism (see Corriente, *La poesía estrófica de Ibn ʿArabī de Murcia*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, iii [1986], 19-24).

Certain charismatic acts were attributed to him, and were gathered together by al-Ghubrīnī and reproduced by later biographers. As a disciple of Ibn Sabʿīn, al-Shushtarī was considered to be of suspect orthodoxy and was allegedly an exponent of the doctrine of *ḥulūl*, although the reserves concerning him are less than those for his master.

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2. Studies. Ziriklī, iv, 305; Kaḥḥāla, vii, 135-6; Brockelmann, I^2, 323, S I, 483-4; Massignon, in EI^1 s.v.; idem, *Investigaciones sobre Šuštarī, poeta andaluz, enterrado en Damieta*, in *Annales Archéol.*, xiv (1949), 29-58 (Fr. version in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Algiers 1950, 251-76, repr. in Massignon's *Opera minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 406-27; but see the reserves of S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, Oxford 1974, 89 n. 11); A.S. El Nashar, *Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, místico andaluz y autor de zéjeles y su influencia en el mundo musulmán*, in *RIEEI*, i, (1953), 122-55. On his poetry, see F. Corriente. *Observaciones sobre la mérica de aš-Šuštarī (Materiales para un estudio diacrónico del zéjel y el* muwaššaḥ), in *Awrāq*, v-vi (1982-3), 39-87; Omaima Mostafa Abou-Bakr, *A study of the poetry of Al-Shushtarī*, diss., Univ. of California 19?, unpubl.

(MARIBEL FIERRO)

AL-SHUSHTARĪ, SAYYID NŪR ALLĀH [see NŪR ALLĀH].

AL-SHUʿŪBIYYA (A.), a movement within the early Muslim society which denied any privileged position of the Arabs. The term Shuʿūbiyya goes back to Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 13, where it is stated: "O Men, We have created you of a male and a female and have made you into peoples (*shuʿūb*) and tribes (*ḳabāʾil*), that ye might know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of God are they that do most fear Him."

The derivation of the term Shuʿūbiyya from the word *shuʿūb* occured before the movement of the same name appeared (Gibb, 66-7). The original Shuʿūbiyya was the concept of extending the equality between the *shuʿūb* and the *ḳabāʾil* to include equality among all Muslims, and was adhered to by the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] in the early period of Islam. This idea countered the Ḳuraysh's [*q.v.*] claim to leadership. The Shuʿūbiyya movement, which appeared in the 2nd/8th century and reached its peak in the 3rd/9th century,

had other, more diverse goals. These ranged from a call for equality between non-Arabs (ʿADJAM [*q.v.*]) and Arabs (ʿARAB [*q.v.*]), whose advocates were also known as *Ahl al-taswiya* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 5), to the claim of non-Arab supremacy which denied any significance, past or present, of the Arabs.

Most of the Shuʿūbīs were Persians, although references to Aramaeans, Copts and Berbers, among others, are also found in the literature. (A unique example of non-Persian Shuʿūbiyya is Ibn Waḥshiyya's [*q.v.*] *Nabataean agriculture*.) It seems that the term Shuʿūbiyya was used by the Shuʿūbīs themselves, and was not a discriminatory term used by their opponents. In contrast to the classical Arabian interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, where *shuʿūb* and *ḳabāʾil* were both based on the principle of genealogy, several Persian interpreters assigned different meanings to *shuʿūb* and *ḳabāʾil*, whereby *shuʿūb* stood for a people whose identity was determined by territory, and *ḳabāʾil* stood for a people whose identity was determined by genealogy (Mottahedeh, 167-70).

I. Goldziher was the first to study the Shuʿūbiyya in depth; he identified two main forces behind the anti-Arab movement. First, he stated that the ʿAbbāsids had been exercising strong discrimination against the Arabs. Second, the Persians, only superficially Islamicised to begin with, re-discovered a national consciousness. This nationalism was further spurred on by autonomy movements taking place in the eastern part of the empire at the time (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 147-55). But Goldziher's supposition that the Shuʿūbiyya was in contact with nationalistic separatist movements was contested by H.A.R. Gibb. He came to the conclusion that the Shuʿūbiyya had not been a threat to the continued existence of the empire but rather to its future direction. "Their aim was not to destroy the Islamic empire, but to remold its political and social institutions and values, which represented in their eyes the highest political wisdom." (Gibb, 66.) In fact, it is difficult to find evidence of any sympathy on the part of the Shuʿūbīs for revolts that took place against the central power. Furthermore, the Shuʿūbīs primarily consisted of the educated, poets, and, above all, secretaries, who could only benefit from a strong and centralised state.

Over the course of their conquests, the Arabs adopted both the Sāsānid administration in place as well as its personnel, a group of highly professional civil servants with a strong sense of their status in society. Although the patron-client-relationship (*walāʾ* [*q.v.*]) bound the secretaries to their Arab conquerors, it also served their unique privileges. The secretaries remained faithful to the Sāsānid tradition; they translated literature such as the biographies of the kings of Persia, wrote epistles in the Sāsānid official style and produced works on practical knowledge about government. There is no evidence of any conflict between the civil servants and the Arabs well into the early ʿAbbāsid era. Even in the writings of a high secretary as Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], expressing his disgust for people of lower origins at the caliph's court, one detects no anti-Arab resentment between the lines (Goitein, 236).

The clash came after the former garrisons of Kūfa and Baṣra developed into urban and prosperous societies made up of Arabs and non-Arabs, merchants and artisans, scholars and educated. The foundations of Arab-Islamic scholarship were laid, and a new Arab style of poetry and prose began to circulate. As the literary production of the secretaries came under serious competitive pressure towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, the initial indifference of the secretaries towards their Arab conquerers changed to hate, and the Shuʿūbiyya movement came about (Gibb, 62-6).

Gibb's description of events is convincing, but it is also incomplete. It was not simply a question of the triumph of one cultural tradition over another; rather, it was a matter of status. At risk was not just the reputation of the Persian court literature but the social privileges of the secretaries who followed its tradition. Meanwhile, the Arab and Islamic literature was not simply a product of isolated philologists and jurists but reflected the world-view of the new citizens.

This development took place in an era of demilitarisation, expansion of trade relations and a general flourishing of the cities, whereby social status differences between Arabs, as well as between Arabs and non-Arabs, began to lose importance. These things added together made up the foundation of a society that offered its members an opportunity to raise their social position above the level assigned at birth.

At the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid era, the position of the secretaries in the state administration remained largely unchallenged, but soon thereafter members of the urban middle class began to appear in the highest positions of government. Two epistles by al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], namely "Reproach of the character of the state secretaries" (*Dhamm akhlāḳ al-kuttāb*) and "Praise of the merchants and reproach of the public offices" (*Fī madḥ al-tudjdjār wa-dhamm ʿamal al-sulṭān*) are perhaps a good illustration of relations at the time, even though they may include anti-Shuʿūbī exaggerations. According to these epistles, the secretary distributed pompous Persian maxims and criticised the Arab-Islamic tradition, while in truth he was completely dependent upon his masters and under an obligation to show utmost loyalty to them. The merchant, on the other hand, shared his knowledge of the Djāhiliyya and of Islam with others willingly and with composure, because his living was not dependent upon his erudition (*Dhamm*, 42-3; *Madḥ*, 157-8).

Some authors interpret the Shuʿūbiyya less under its specific conditions but rather compare it with other movements of the same sort within the larger framework of Muslim history and society. The most recent publication on the topic, for instance, has largely removed the social and ideological context from the study of this movement and has instead portrayed it as a form of regional and ethnic antagonism. There it is seen in a line with its antecedents, the conflict of the Northern and Southern Arabs (Norris, 32).

Not only the meaning but also the importance of the Shuʿūbiyya is open to various interpretations. On the one hand, there are preserved in mediaeval Arabic anthologies, literary works and historiographies a number of remarks by poets such as Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*] which seem to demonstrate that the making of pro-Persian or anti-Arab comments was a harmless literary fashion (Norris, 35). On the other hand, a passage by al-Djāḥiẓ reveals deep concern that the Shuʿūbiyya could grow to become a real threat to Islam. Hate breeds hate, according to his line of thinking, and it is only a short step from hating the Arabs to hating Islam. "The bulk of those who are sceptics in regard to Islam, at the outset, were inspired by the ideas of the Shuʿūbiyya. Protracted argument leads to fighting. If a man hates a thing, then he hates him who possesses it, or is associated with it. If he hates [the Arabic] language then he hates the [Arabian] peninsula, and if he hates that peninsula then he loves those who hate it. Thus matters go from bad to worse with him until he forsakes Islam itself, because it is

the Arabs who brought it; it is they who provided the venerable forebears and the example worthy of imitation" (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 220).

The study of the Shu'ūbiyya is made even more difficult by the fact that not one original tract has survived. One is forced to use the accounts of anti-Shu'ūbī polemics in order to reconstruct the movement's arguments. The most complete examples of such a polemic are found in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, and Ibn Ḳutayba's [*q.v.*] *K. al-'Arab* and a passage in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. They are built upon the pattern of "virtues and vices" (*manāḳib, mathālib* [*q.vv.*] of the respective nations and recount the attacks of the Shu'ūbiyya against the Arabs as well as their refutation. Arab warfare, described by the Shu'ūbīs in detail, was a technical, tactical and strategic disgrace in comparison to the warfare skills of the Sāsānids and Byzantines. The Arabian habit of gesticulating with a stick in hand while speaking, and other linguistic and non-linguistic habits of speech, served only to expose the emptiness of the Arabian claim to eloquence. Their rough language revealed the Arabs for what they really were, a people of camel-drivers. The Persians alone were capable of eloquence, delicacy and good conduct, and the arts and sciences were products of the Greek and Indian cultures, not the Arabian. Furthermore, the Arabs could rightfully claim just four prophets as their own, namely Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ismā'īl and Muḥammad [*q.vv.*], and were said to be descendants of Ismā'īl, the son of Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] by his slave Hagar, and not of Isḥāḳ, the son of Ibrāhīm by his legal wife Sarah.

But this crude form of anti-Arabism was not what made the Shu'ūbiyya dangerous. The danger of the Shu'ūbiyya lay in the scepticism it provoked among the educated. The seeds of the concept of free-thinking (*zandaḳa* [*q.v.*]), sown in the pre-Islamic culture in 'Irāḳ, showed not only Manichaean tendencies but began to manifest itself as an anti-moral, frivolous and cynical attitude (*mudjūn* [*q.v.*]).

The reaction was both Arabian and Islamic. Three developments laid the foundation for a final victory of the Arabian humanities in the period following al-Djāḥiẓ. These developments were the concept of *adab* [*q.v.*], which joined pre-Islamic and Arabian traditions with religious tradition, the rise of the Mu'tazila [*q.v.*] with its strict monotheistic outlook, and the founding of the *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] which produced translations of Greek logic and philosophy that were effective instruments in the fight against dualistic heresies. In this context, Ibn Ḳutayba was able to compose a binding compendium that recognised Sāsānid tradition while at the same time reconciled it with the Arabian and Islamic scholarship (Gibb, 69-72).

About two hundred years after the Shu'ūbiyya died out in the East, a new Shu'ūbiyya appeared in the 5th/11th century in al-Andalus. This time it was not the Persians but the Berbers and the "Slavs" [see AL-ṢAḲĀLIBA. 3], understood to mean Galicians, Franks, Germans, Langobards and Calabrians, who made use of anti-Arab polemic. The epistle by Abū 'Āmir Ibn Gharsiya [*q.v.*], which earned no less than five rebuttals in the century following its writing, is considered to be the masterpiece of the Andalusian Shu'ūbiyya. Ibn Gharsiya was a renowned poet and secretary with Christian and Basque origins, but his epistle does not differ substantially from those of his eastern predecessors. As with the earlier works, the epistle makes references to the pre-Islamic Arabs' low degree of civilisation and praises the Persian and Byzantines, without losing a word over the non-Arabs of al-Andalus. Furthermore, as with the earlier writings of the Shu'ūbiyya, the descent of the Arabs from Ismā'īl is held up as a blemish upon the people. The epistle demonstrates Ibn Gharsiya's excellent command of the Arabic language and his familiarity with Eastern culture, two things that were also characteristic of his predecessors. In contrast to them, however, Ibn Gharsiya was not rooted in an old-established tradition whose preservation was his main task. "He was not a Christian Spaniard attacking the conquerors of his homeland but rather a neo-Muslim attempting to extend the benefits of Islamic civilization to those non-Arab peoples who formed a large segment of the Andalusian community" (Monroe, 12-13).

In the light of the resurgence of a new kind of Shu'ūbiyya in al-Andalus, the question arises whether it should be viewed not only in its specific historical situation but also as a general phenomenon in Arab-Islamic history. Hanna-Gardner pursued this question; and they discovered not two or three, but many Shu'ūbiyyas, beginning with the Shu'ūbiyya of the Middle Ages, through Ottomanism and Westernisation in the 19th century to Internationalism, Regionalism and Socialism in the 20th century. According to the authors, these movements have one thing in common that permits grouping them together under the same heading. They appeared in the name of universalism in order to undermine Arab communal consciousness, and thereby automatically called forth an Arab particularism. In this sense, all of them were true to the original meaning of the term Shu'ūbiyya "belonging to the people", while the Arabs continued to identify themselves with *ḳawmiyya* [*q.v.*] "belonging to a particular people", i.e. the Arabs (337).

The temptation is great to view the regular ebb and flow of Shu'ūbiyya and Arabism in terms of century-to-century swings between universalism and particularism. Yet such a view would overlook two important facts. First, the term Shu'ūbiyya fell out of use in the Middle Ages and did not become popular again until the time of Arab nationalism, where its use became inflated. The term then became a common denunciation of one's political opponents and was even projected back into history. Second, while the universalism-particularism-scheme may be true for the 20th century, it does not fit the Shu'ūbiyya of the Middle Ages. For it was in the name of an Islamic universalism, and not of an Arab particularism, that writers like al-Djāḥiẓ attacked the movement at that time.

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(S. Enderwitz)

SHUWA (etymology of this name obscure), a group of Arabs, of nomadic origin, found by early modern times (the 19th century) in the central Sudan belt of Africa, now coming within the countries bordering on Lake Chad, sc. western Chad, northeastern Nigeria, northern Cameroons and the southeastern tip of Niger.

1. History.

Their origin was in Dārfūr and Wādāy [*q.vv.*], and they migrated westwards at an unknown date, perhaps as early as the 14th century; in the 17th century they were present in Bagirmi [*q.v.*] to the southeast of Lake Chad as that nation took shape. The earliest arrivals adopted the Kanuri language, but in the main they preserved their Arabic dialect, distinct from the Arabic of North Africa and the Western Sudan [see below, 2.]. A further impetus to their westwards migration was when, in the early 19th century, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Kānemī [*q.v.*] used them as aides against the eastwards advance of the Fulani. The Shuwa do not seem to have passed beyond Borno or Bornu [*q.v.*] in northeastern Nigeria, and only small numbers went southwards to the Mardawa and Adamawa regions. Some of the Shuwa remained pure camel nomads (the *abbāla*), but others converted to cattle nomadism (the *baḳḳāra*) and some became agriculturists around the southern shores of Lake Chad, where there arose Shuwa villages, cultivation being done by Negro serfs or clients. They do not, however, seem ever to have formed towns or to have had a permanent home centre. Hence they were often in a dependent relationship with local potentates, such as the Kanembu *Mais* of Kanem. In 19th century Borno, many Shuwa held high court and administrative posts and the Shehu rulers took their womenfolk as wives.

The Shuwa were a significant factor in the Islamisation of the region. Two of the most important and influential nomad groups in Bornu, the Awlād Sāra and the Awlād Muḥārib, claimed Sharīf [*q.v.*] status, and traditions of eastern Hausaland include the chiefs of the Shuwa amongst those allegedly receiving copies of the Ḳurʾān from the Prophet Muḥammad's own hands. According to Trimingham, the Shuwa, unusually for the Muslims in this region, are Ḥanafī in *madhhab*.

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2. Dialect.

The term Shuwa (شوى) refers to the spoken Arabic dialect and its approximately 2 million speakers who currently inhabit the former territories of Bagirmi [*q.v.*] and Kanem [*q.v.*]-Borno, today's Borno State [see BORNŪ], Northeast Nigeria, and parts of Cameroon and Chad. The largest concentration of Shuwa Arabs presently lives in and around Maiduguri. There is no consensus on the etymology of thc word *Shuwa*. The people themselves favour a Kanuri [*q.v.*] (Nilo-Saharan) etymon *šəwa* "beautiful"; however, much more probable is an Arabic source *šiwāh* "sheep" (sing. *šāh*), demonstrating that the Shuwas are part of Baggāra Arab culture.

Shuwa Arabic is but one micro-dialect of a distinct Sudanic macro-dialect spoken between Lake Chad and the Red Sea. A major characteristic of Shuwa Arabic is the preservation of Old Arabic (OA) short vowels, especially *a*, in unaccented open syllables (*kabīr* "big"), which have elided in the Maghrib and the Levant. Another is that it has no diglossia with Modern Standard Arabic.

Some principal features of the Shuwa dialect are:

(1) the OA pharyngeals have become laryngeals or zero (OA *qaʿad* > *gaat* "he stayed"; OA *ʾaḥmar* > *áhamar* "red")

(2) OA *ġ* > *q* (*qanam* "sheep")

(3) OA *m* > *b* in a few lexemes containing nasals (*bakān* "place")

(4) OA *dj* > *d* in a few lexemes containing sibilants (*šadar* "trees")

(5) the development of an inchoative-intransitivising prefix *al-* (*fákkar* "remind", *alfákkar* "remember")

(6) verbal reduplication (*lámma* "gather", *lámlam* "gather a lot")

(7) final stress in *-í* "my", *afʿál* elatives, and singulative *-á* (*bētí* "my house", *akbár* "bigger", *qanamá* "1 sheep")

(8) front and back vowel harmony (*bišīl* "he takes", *bugūl* "he says")

(9) syllable and word-final position devoicing (*tač* "you m.s. come", *makʾat* "place where one stays")

(10) many loanwords (including idioms) from non-Semitic African languages, such as Kanuri, Hausa (*rās alkalām* "topic", lit. "head of the talk", *dugó* "then, afterwards" < Kanuri *dugó* "first, before")

Two major groups of Shuwa dialects can be distinguished, Eastern (E) and Western (W). The major E isoglosses are:

(1) OA *θ* > *s* (E *sōr* "bull", W *tōr*)

(2) 1. plural imperfect subject suffix is *-u* (E *nimšu* "we go", W *nimši*)

(3) active participle with object suffix *-in* (E *kātbínha* "has written it, f.", W *kātíbha*)

(4) imperfect preformative vowel is *i* (E *tiji* "she comes", W *tiji* ~ *tāji*)
(5) Some lexical items (E with *h*, W with *x*; e.g., *hadda* "he put")

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SHUYŪʿIYYA (a.), Communism.

1. In the Arab world.

1. *Terminology*

This substantive and the noun-adjective *Shuyūʿī* were established after the First World War to denote the ideological positions and political organisations associated with the Third International, described as "communist", as distinct from the "socialist" Second International and the positions and organisations associated with it. References to socialism (*Ishtirākiyya*), as a theoretical basis, remain in current usage, although it tends to be qualified by "scientific".

While *Ishtirākiyya* has prevailed over the borrowed form *Sūsyālism* to denote socialism since the 1870s, terminology relating to "communist" tendencies of thought and action was fluctuating until the beginning of the 1920s. Derivations from the borrowed form *Kumūn/Kūmūn* came into existence after the Paris Commune, but in 1883 Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] opted for the following definition of "naturalist" materialist trends in his Arabic translation of the *Risāla* of Djamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī, entitled *al-Radd ʿalā al-dahriyyīn: al-Sūsyālist "al-Idjtimāʿiyyūn" wa ʾl-Nihīlist "al-ʿAdamiyyūn" wa ʾl-Kumūnist "al-Ishtirākiyyūn"*. In 1908, Djirdjī Zaydān [*q.v.*] repeated this distinction, but in the same year Shiblī Shumayyil [*q.v.*] preferred, while noting the equivalence with *Idjtimāʿiyya*, the global term *Ishtirākiyya* to denote European socialism in all its diverse forms; and it is this term which predominates in the more authoritative works of Salāma Mūsā (1913) [*q.v.*] and Muṣṭafā al-Manṣūrī (1915). After the adoption in 1918-19 of the distinctive qualificative "communist" (change in the name of the Bolshevik party, then foundation of the Third International), two pairs of terms are in competition: *Ibāḥiyya/Ibāḥī*, used especially, on account of its multiplicity of senses, by polemicists, although not exclusively so, since it denotes the common, collective appropriation of property, and in Palestine an early Arabic tract on the eve of 1 May 1921 is signed *al-Ḥizb al-Ibāḥī fī Filasṭīn*; the pairing *Shuyūʿiyya/Shuyūʿī*, derived from a root which expresses the same idea, and all the more so in that the Mushāʿ [*q.v.*] pattern is applied to a still-practised form of indivision, was to gain ascendancy. Since 1921, Tunisian communists have used these terms to describe themselves.

2. *The inter-war period: foundation of the first communist parties*

In the immediate post-war period, the Russian Revolution was viewed with particular interest in the Arab Orient, since it appeared to accord with the nationalist aspirations which motivated the revolutions of 1919 in Egypt, of 1920 in ʿIrāḳ, with movements of opposition to mandatory division in the Levant and in Palestine, and with the still embryonic, proto-nationalist, constitutional reformist movements of Tunisia and Algeria. The denunciation, after November 1917, of secret agreements for the sharing of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Sykes-Picot-Sazonov), entailing renunciation of the Russian claim, the echo of the Congress of Baku (September 1920), calling the Muslim peoples to *djihād* and, for the Pan-Islamists at least, support for Kemalist Turkey—all these contributed to this "anti-imperialist" alliance. The link with social aspirations was not absent, but it was interpreted according to different scales of priorities. The objective of the Bolsheviks was to establish a society based on the collective appropriation of social goods. A *fatwā* of the *muftī* of Egypt, in response to a question in *The Times*, having declared this contrary to religion, *al-Manār*, the periodical of Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] (August 1919), taking up an idea of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (*Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād, 1902* [*q.v.*]) asserted that there was, neither in the ideas nor in the actions of Bolshevism, any contradiction with the principles of Islam. But this was a marginal opinion. Nationalist leaders were more aware of the dialectics of power; the weight of popular demonstrations and strikes consolidated the national cause, but needed to be kept under control. On the other hand, intellectuals, versed in socialism and its various forms, as well as trade unionist or pre-trade unionist workers, were more aware of the dialectics of society; to give an anti-capitalist class content to anti-imperialist national conflicts, thus paving the way for the acquisition of power by the workers, on the model of the Soviet "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Between 1920 and 1925, the first parties inspired by the Communist International made their appearance, although the modes of formation were diverse. In two cases, it was a matter of the evolution of European socialist formations which attracted few if any adherents in the countries concerned. In North Africa, under French domination, the decision was the result of the majority decision of the Congress of Tours (December 1920) of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O., *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière*) to accept the conditions of membership of the Communist International, and thereby to become the Communist Party (S.F.I.C., *Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste*). The federation of Tunisia and those of Algeria belonged to this majority. In Palestine, now under British mandate, the socialist movement in the pre-war period was concerned only with Zionist immigration: a slow crystallisation of the extreme left of the Palestinian branch of *Poʿalei Tsion* led to the formation of the *Mifleget Poʿalim Sotsialistim* (October 1919) which in April 1921 declared itself a communist party (P.C.P.). Its membership of the International, conditional upon the abandonment of any reference to proletarian Zionism and the obligation to become a party of the Arab masses, was finalised in March 1924. In two other cases, emergence was more complex. In Egypt, Coptic and Sunnī intellectuals, followers of Salāma Mūsā in Cairo, small socialist groups of foreign or Ottoman origin based in Alexandria under the leadership of a naturalised Egyptian, Joseph Rosenthal, and in particular, a syndicalist revolutionary component constituting a Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T., February 1921), founded *al-Ḥizb al-Ishtirākī al-Miṣrī* in August 1921. The majority decision to join the International was taken in July 1922, this leading to the secession of the Salāma Mūsā group. The party was admitted to membership in January 1923, having undertaken an obligation to convoke a congress which formalised the acceptance of the 21 conditions, purged the party and changed its name. In Lebanon, under French mandate, the process was

more gradual: Fuʾād Shimālī, a communist trade unionist expelled from Egypt in August 1923 for disseminating Bolshevik propaganda, made contact with Yūsuf Ibrāhīm Yazbek and the populist intellectuals who, since the end of 1922, had, in writing, romantically claimed association with the Communist International; priority was given to the creation of a trade union base. The visit of an envoy from the Communist Party of Palestine in October 1924 accelerated the formation of a party, known as the Lebanese People's Party (P.P.L.), the legal frame for a communist cell in liaison with the International. The celebrations of May Day 1925 revealed the existence of an Armenian group (Spartakus) which was rapidly absorbed into the L.P.P., henceforward organised in accordance with communist structures. It was independent of the French Communist Party.

The minimal base of consensus with the conditions of membership of the International was a matter of the link between class struggle and national struggle, the common denominator being opposition to capitalism in its imperialist phase, experienced in the form of colonialism. But this was part of the conception of a worldwide proletarian revolution, of which the International, dominated by the Party State of the Soviet mother country of the worldwide proletariat, determined the strategy and the tactics, these decisions being obligatory for affiliated parties. Leading members were trained at the University of Toilers of the East in the "Marxist-Leninist", in fact "Stalinist", ideological activism [see MĀRK(I)SIYYA]. For the next ten years, it was not so much the requirement for an organic link between Party and trade union which caused problems but rather it was the attitude towards the national bourgeoisie. The contribution of local communist parties to the dynamism of the trade union movement can be traced from this period [see NIḲĀBA]. However, after Egypt's accession to formal independence, the Wafd, given power by the electorate in 1924, suppressed strikes by the workers and dissolved the Communist Party and the C.G.T. which was associated with it. Arrests and a succession of trials forced the surviving militants into hiding, in a process of dispersion tantamount to the annihilation of the party.

In Algeria, the obligation imposed by the eighth condition of membership, requiring support for the actions of every movement of colonial emancipation, was regarded with reservations by communist federations affiliated to the French Communist Party, at least until their combination in a single "region" in 1925. Calls from the Communist International demanding the independence of Algeria (and of Tunisia) met no response in a movement which was still proto-nationalist, other than acquiescence in communal actions aimed at reform. Activity (1924-6) against the war of the Rīf [*q.v.*] was to illustrate the difficulty of generalising the revolution in the Maghribī environment. The constitution of the North African Star (Paris, 1926) was supposed to fill this gap: the independence of the three countries of the Maghrib featured in its programme. But, until its proscription in 1929, it was active only in immigrant circles in France.

In the Near East, the national movement was a reality, although in the Levant it was Syrian rather than Lebanese, excluding the Jewish national nucleus in Palestine. The Syrian revolution (1925-7), beginning in the Djabal al-Durūz, while supported by the P.P.L./P.C.L. and the P.C.P., was relatively widespread only within the confines of Lebanon. From December 1925 onward, the P.P.L. was disbanded, and its leaders interned until 1928. Extended to cover the whole of the Levant, it henceforward dubbed itself the Syrian Communist Party, under the leadership (1933) of Khālid Bakdāsh. But its programme, bearing the imprint of the "class vs. class" policy adopted in 1928 by the sixth Congress of the International, contributed, here as elsewhere, to its isolation from the national movement.

Directives on "arabisation" [see TAʿRĪB] chiefly concerned Palestine, Algeria and Tunisia, being confined to the objective of a gradual homogenisation, to be maintained at the level of leadership when the two federations should accede, in 1936, to the status of autonomous communist parties independent of the P.C.F. Realisation of this requirement was rendered more problematical by the irresolution which characterised the interpretation of the events of August 1929 in Jerusalem: revolutionary movement or pogrom? A central committee with an Arab majority was constituted on the instructions of the International at the end of 1930. The detention of these leaders in 1931 contributed to changing the image of the P.C.P. in Arab circles, but Jewish militants, while supporting the claims of the Palestinian national movement, remained unconvinced in regard to the forms taken by the latter.

The return to a frontist line of action, undertaken at the seventh Congress of the Communist International (July-August 1935), took better account of the diversity of local conditions: to the European anti-fascist front corresponded an anti-colonialist front, the colonised territories of the Maghrib participating in both. In Syria, this approach had already been inaugurated in the form of periodicals aimed at revolutionary intellectuals (*al-Duhūr*, 1934, then *al-Ṭalīʿa*, 1935-9). The coincidence of the national struggles with the accession to power in France of the Popular Front, which in 1936 favoured the conclusion of agreements envisaging, after a period of transition, a form of independence for Syria and Lebanon, contributed to the success of the Communist Party, now divided (theoretically) into two national branches. The same applied in the Maghrib, despite the ambiguity of the co-existence of the two types of front. The demands of the Muslim Congress of Algeria (June 1936), co-signed by the communists, were of democratic and assimilationist direction. The North African Star, reconstituted in 1933 on a nationalist base, renamed the Algerian People's Party after its dissolution (1937), soon dissociated itself from this compromise. The divergence with the P.C.A. was not so much over the objective of independence as over questions of timing and priorities. In Palestine, the great strike of 1936 and the Arab nationalist movement of the ensuing years, led to secession on the part of the "Jewish section". Here too, the P.C.P. participated locally in guerrilla actions, and gained influence in intellectual circles.

A new Communist Party appeared in ʿIrāḳ. It crystallised around groups and circles, in contact but without organic links (1929-34), active in a frontist cadre, within the Waṭanī Party, then the al-Ahālī movement, as well as in the syndicates. It supported the *coup d'état* of Bakr Ṣidḳī (October 1936), which pushed ʿIrāḳ into the fore of popular anti-colonialism. Two ministers belonged to the frontist organisation of the Left which was created at his instigation. But long before the counter-coup of August 1937, the political and trade union dynamism of this left-wing "front" had subjected its members to stern repression.

But these were also the years of the Spanish Civil War, launched from Spanish Morocco (July 1936),

with the active support of the "Fascist" powers (Germany, Italy, Portugal). The Communist International encouraged the formation of the International Brigades, in support of the Republic of the popular front. Some volunteers drawn from Arab communist parties participated. But for the first time, there was the prospect of inciting an insurrectional movement in the Franco-ist rearguard sector, in Morocco. K͟hālid Bakdās͟h, on a mission for this purpose, taking advantage of the Moroccan contacts of a communist Jewish merchant of Oran, was obliged to familiarise himself with Mag͟hribī "specifications".

On the eve of the Second World War, repression by the colonial authorities, direct or indirect, was applied both to radical nationalists and communists, the latter suffering to an even greater extent following the signing of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact (August 1939).

3. *From the expansion of the 1940s to the "Cold War" period*

Besides criticising the hopes reposed in the victory of the Axis Powers by the majority of the nationalist leaders, the Arab communist parties, until the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 1941), declared themselves neutral in a war hitherto defined as inter-imperialist. Being pro-independence, the ʿIrāḳī coup instigated by Ras͟hīd ʿAlī al-Kaylānī (April-May 1941) [*q.v.*], recognised by the U.S.S.R., was supported. From the summer of 1941 (Near East) and the autumn of 1942 (Mag͟hrib), the region passed under Allied control. Communist parties now declared in favour of participation in the war effort, victory of the democratic camp being presented as the guarantee of a concerted emancipation of the Arab peoples; this expectation was corroborated by the war aims announced at this time by the Allies, and by the relative freedom of action already conceded to the labour and trade union movement, as to the national movement. The limitations were illustrated by the Franco-Levantine crisis of November-December 1943, when the newly-elected parliaments in Lebanon and Syria decided to suppress all references to the French mandate, with the unanimous agreement of the political constituents. However, under pressure from the Allies, a compromise favourable to the national movement was implemented. The credibility of the Communist Parties "of Syria and of Lebanon" (separated into two national parties in January 1944) was thereby enhanced. Elsewhere, manifestos or programmes revealed the claims that were supposed to be satisfied in the aftermath of the war. A new Communist Party was constituted in Morocco (1943), composed of pre-war study groups and trade unionists. The question of membership of the International, dissolved the same year, did not arise. A heterogeneous party, it co-ordinated its action, in the same manner as that followed by the Parties of Algeria and Tunisia, with the P.C.F., which participated in General de Gaulle's provisional government in Algiers, seeing liberation of the French mainland as the overriding priority.

But with the end of the war, determination to maintain imperial control, even with the concession of certain reforms, dashed these hopes. In the case of France, this was shown, in May-June 1945, by the suppression of the insurrection in the Algerian region of Constantine, the significance of which escaped the P.C.A., and then the bombardment of Damascus [see AL-S͟HĀM. 2 (b)], the paradoxical effect of which was to be international recognition of the independence of Syria and of Lebanon. In the case of Britain, this was shown by pressure for the re-negotiation of treaties limiting the sovereignty of Egypt and ʿIrāḳ, and by the delays applied to the emancipation of her other possessions in the Near East. To this may be added the conditions in which the question of Palestine was to be resolved.

In Palestine, the Arab communists, bolstered by the recruitment of intellectuals and of workers, had in 1943 constituted their own organisation influential amongst trade unionists (*ʿUṣbat al-Taḥarrur al-Waṭanī*). In common with the Jewish-dominated P.C.P., and not without debate, they accepted, in opposition to other elements of the Palestinian national movement and to the Arab League, the principle of the solution of Partition, agreed by the United Nations in November 1947. But what remained of the territory devolved to Arab Palestine was annexed by Jordan and by Egypt in the aftermath of the disastrous war launched by the Arab League in 1948. The majority of communists henceforward belonged to the Communist Party of Israel, while the minority who remained in Cis-Jordan contributed to the creation (1951) of the Jordanian Communist Party.

In ʿIrāḳ, the Communist Party consolidated its organisation and its links with the national movement. The strikes and nationalist demonstrations of May 1946, then of 1948, directed against the British military presence and the conclusion of a new treaty, provoked a campaign of repression in the course of which the militants were treated with particular severity: three leading figures, including the secretary-general, were hanged in 1949. But martial law, in force until 1954, could not prevent the periodic recurrence of demonstrations and strikes.

In Egypt, Marxist groups professing communism were re-established from 1942 onwards. But this was a result of the dispersion, the rivalry, most of all for the initiative and the control of the trade union movement. The principal poles were the HAMETHO (*al-Ḥaraka al-Miṣriyya li 'l-Taḥarrur al-Waṭanī*) of Henri Curiel and the group called *al-Fad͟jr al-D͟jadīd*. Their unanimity of action, together with the Left of the Wafd, in the context of the National and Student Committee (February 1946) involved opposition to the re-negotiation of treaties with Britain. From the summer of 1946, repression was renewed. The state of emergency imposed by the Palestine war (1948-9) shackled a movement which, though still in existence, showed few signs of united purpose, with the single exception of projects concerning the trade unions. But the Free Officers, in power since July 1952, prohibited the holding of a congress which was supposed to address this issue.

Principally through the influence of students educated in Cairo and in Beirut, new workers' groups or parties appeared in the Near East. Setting aside the case of Saudi Arabia (National Reform Front, 1953, becoming the National Liberation Front in 1958, then the Communist Party in 1975), this involved the British colonial region: Baḥrayn (*D͟jabhat al-Taḥrīr al-Waṭanī*, 1955), Aden (*al-Ittiḥād al-S͟haʿbī al-Dīmuḳrāṭī*, 1961), as well as Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Here there was a direct filiation with the Egyptian HAMETHO, the title of which was borrowed at first (1946), with the qualification of "Sudanese"; it was from the outset in liaison with the nascent trade union movement, and was later to find support among the cotton farmers of the D͟jazīra; soon dubbed the Communist Party, its frontist orientations favoured effective independence (achieved in 1956) over the union of Sudan and Egypt which had once been envisaged. At a later stage, simultaneously with the reconstitution of the

Egyptian Communist Party (1975), an *Ittiḥād al-Shaʿb* appeared in Kuwait.

4. *The test of practical application*

The trajectory of these parties since the 1950s was influenced as much by common traits as by differences caused by the variability of national conditions, themselves related to the variability of regional and international contexts.

Following the dissolution of the Communist International, there was no longer a centre for international co-ordination. The Information Bureau (*Kominform*), created in 1947 in response to the Truman Doctrine, was concerned, until its abolition in 1956, with the European communist parties. In the context of the Cold War, it nevertheless had an indirect influence outside Europe, in that it substituted for the theory of world revolution that of the campaign for peace, inseparable from the right of peoples to claim self-determination, to demand the removal of military bases installed in their territory and to denounce the military pacts binding their governments. While the extension of the "socialist system" in the world enlarged the field of reference, the Soviet Communist Party remained for Arab "communist and labour parties" the arbiter of "orthodoxies", to the point where the Stalinist "deviations", where they were acknowledged, were most often explained by the need to guard against the "intrigues" of the "imperialist camp". It was by this logic that in the "post-Stalinist" period the interventions in Hungary (1956), then in Czechoslovakia (1968) and in Afghānistān (1979) were to be supported and presented as a counter-balance to the interventions, rife at that time, of the other "camp" in the three "developing" continents. Finally, according to a tradition established from 1921 onwards, it was established that the diplomatic relations of the Soviet State, even when maintained with repressive Arab states, did not compromise the "proletarian internationalism" of the Soviet Communist Party, though it was a "Party-State". Among the conferences uniting elements of the "international labour movement" from 1957 onwards, that of 1960 had some significance for the region: it defined the "State of national democracy" as a form of progress towards socialism applicable to some of those countries which professed non-alignment and opted for a programme of economic and social development controlled by the public sector.

Arab communist parties definitely participated in national struggles for liberation, sometimes armed (Algeria, South Arabian Federation), in movements of democratic opposition, sometimes in the form of civil war (Lebanon), paved the way for coups d'état on the part of Free Officers claiming to represent national populism, while appealing to the ideology of Arab unity, or supported them once established. But, with the exception of ʿIrāḳ (1958) and Sudan (1969), the alliance fronts were *de facto*. Trade union affiliations to the C.I.S.L. permitted pro-western régimes of the Near East, as well as nationalist movements and régimes, to control the type of organisation of the masses which, being pluralist, constituted the principal power-base of communist parties. In certain cases of frontist experience (Sudan, 1969-71; ʿIrāḳ, 1958-63 and 1968-78), initial rivalry in the context of various forms of mass-organisation was followed by a seizure of political control by the dominant national party, corresponding to a renewal of repression, latent or violent, of the communist partners. In fact, phases of legality or semi-legality were to be brief. Only the experience of South Yemen (1967-90) avoided this pattern: after a period of co-operation (1970 onwards), Arab nationalists in power, communists and Baʿthists, constituted a unified organisation (1975), preparatory to the creation of an "avant-garde" party (Yemeni Socialist Party, 1978), defined as an instrument of "national democracy with a socialist perspective".

Internal debates mainly concerned questions of the definition of the nature of régimes and the characterisation of the strata of the bourgeoisie which controlled the dominant parties, and thus addressed the tactics of alliance, in partnership or opposition. Disagreements sometimes led to schisms and/or exclusions, according to a conception of "democratic centralism" asserted by old and new communist parties and justified by the imperatives of self-preservation during phases of repression and secrecy. These schisms were of only limited significance, except in Syria. Under the leadership of Kh. Bakdāsh, an Arab prototype of the Stalinist ruler in his methods and his personal cult, the P.C.S., declaring the primacy of Syrian over Lebanese land, considered the P.C.L. a subsidiary force, with the result that the latter decided in 1968 unilaterally to assert its independence. The following year, in the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict, disagreements over tactics and the role of the party emerged within the P.C.S. itself. Despite phases of compromise, the result of this was the existence at the start of the 1980s of five competing organisations, if one includes the faction of Riyāḍ al-Turk, the leaders of which were imprisoned by the Baʿth. Agreement on a programme of reunification, initiated in 1986, between the four other elements, was put into effect the following year by only three of them; the supporters of Bakdāsh dissociated themselves.

Responses to the problem of relations with nationalist parties in power were different. Integration was sometimes envisaged, as a means of contributing towards the formulation and application of national charters. The Algerian Communist Party merged with the F.L.N. in 1964 and was subjected, with the Left of this party, to repression after the *coup d'état* of Hawwārī Būmadyan (1965); it was relaunched in 1966 under the title of P.A.G.S. (*Ḥizb al-Ṭalīʿa al -Ishtirākī*) and in the 1970s its militants were once more associated with the dynamisation of the mass movement, resulting from the more radical evolutions of the F.L.N. The same development took place in Egypt, in 1965; freed from detention camps, the militants of the Communist Party (unified in 1957) merged with the Arab Socialist Union. But in Sudan, the attempt to impose this model on the Communist Party, and its counter-proposal of a democratic front based on parity, led from 1970 onward to a split which was further aggravated when the C.P. supported the coup by Free Officers of July 1971, more sympathetic to its views, but crushed within a few days; the execution of its secretary-general and other leaders forced it to go underground. In Syria, then in ʿIrāḳ, it was the form of a progressive nationalist front under the hegemony of the dominant Baʿth parties which was adopted. While it persisted in Syria, it remained a formal framework, whereas in ʿIrāḳ it was shattered when Baʿthist control of the country was established; the repression which ensued, remarkable for its duration as well as the brutality of its measures, proved effective. Other types of front involved countries classed as pro-Western. In Morocco, the Communist Party, dissolved by judicial decree in 1960, twice changed its title (Party of Progress and Socialism since 1974); it shared, after 1975, in the consensus over the annexation of the formerly Spanish Sahara, opposed, pend-

ing public consultations, by the United Nations; it was included among the frontist structures of the legal democratic opposition. Other forms related to the continuation of the Israeli-Arab conflict of 1967. In Lebanon, a national and progressive front, inspired by the Progressive Socialist Party (P.S.P.) and the P.C.L., constituted as the central Political Council of the National Movement at the height of the civil war, united all parties and organisations opposed to the Christian Phalangists and favouring alliance with the P.L.O. In the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, the communists of the West Bank, independent of the Jordanian C.P. from 1970 onward, then united with those of Gaza to form the P.C.P. (February 1982) and contributed, in partnership with the P.L.O., to the organisation of the internal political resistance which produced the *Intifāḍa*, fighting to promote the preferred solution, that of a Palestinian state alongside that of Israel. But in both cases, this failed to be translated into concrete representation when legislative elections became possible.

Arab unitary ideology has caused fewer problems, other than to prefer, rather than the organic form typified by the Syro-Egyptian union (1958-61), federal models which would preserve the democratic achievements of each participant. Since 1967, inter-Arab fronts, of varying durability, or conferences, have rallied parties and organisations, in power or not, around common Arab causes. Nasserite, Baʿthist, and "Arab nationalist" tendencies have competed all the more with the communists, whether during phases of opposition or of alliance, in that their structures, pyramidal and centralised, and their networks of mass-organisation are modelled on those of the Communist Party, with the difference that the first two of the above-mentioned tendencies constitute most often the party in power. The same applies to debate, populist in tone but borrowing from Marxist dialectic, in varying proportions, much of its vocabulary. Trotskyite elements are marginal, the Maoists ephemeral. "New left" tendencies are represented rather by "Arab nationalist" organisations, open to united action on specific objectives with the communist parties.

Compared with the pre-war period, when membership of Arab communist parties varied between a few hundred and a few thousand, recruitment over the last few decades has changed the position radically. Although figures for the Gulf Emirates are hard to acquire, elsewhere the total ranges from several thousand to several tens of thousands. In pre-war conditions, with the exception of brief texts, such as the *Communist manifesto* of Marx and Engels, translated in 1933 by Kh. Bakdāsh, few "classical" texts of Marxism were available in Arabic. From the 1940s onward, a sustained effort was begun in Egypt, giving precedence to the works of Stalin; this was later transferred to Lebanon and pursued in parallel with translations carried out in Moscow. The press was more regular, in its various forms of periodicity; in phases of illegality, cultural publications or the exploitation of more favourable conditions in neighbouring countries permitted the dissemination of journals, bulletins or reviews. Publishing houses, whether dependent on the communist parties or not, produced a growing number of works composed by Arab Marxists: memoirs of political or trade union leaders, but also works of economy, philosophy, history. It was around the theme of "patrimony" (*turāth*) that questions relating to religion were addressed. While the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] was the object of polemic, the Sudanese Communist Party used references to the values of the past to encourage, against conservative prejudices, a militant and progressive Islam. In the same perspective, and especially after the Iranian Islamic revolution, forms of dialogue have been explored by the communist parties of the Near East with the object of establishing eventual convergences. These efforts have born little fruit. Political Islam, constituted on the basis of humanitarian associationism, encouraged in the 1980s by states as diverse as Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Yemen and even Israel (in the case of Gaza) to compensate for suppressed democratic expectations, has become an implacable foe, not only of the communists, ostensibly those most affected, but of states themselves.

5. *The implosion of the socialist system and since: revisions and redeployments*

During the second half of the 1980s, the evolutions of the socialist system, in particular of its Soviet "centre", were to demand reassessments of former theoretical and practical frameworks. In all parties the debate was vigorous, all the more so in that after a period of relative prosperity, the Arab world was experiencing an accumulation of crises: Egypt had abandoned the cause of confrontation with Israel; a new conflict had erupted between ʿIrāḳ and Iran; the abrupt decline in the price of oil neutralised to some extent the developmental benefits which nationalisations of this asset had been supposed to provide, initiating or exacerbating cycles of debt; and the crisis of democracy made itself felt in all states professing "national democracy" as an ideal or pragmatic solution. The Yemeni Socialist Party was itself torn by fratricidal struggles (January 1986). Soviet *perestroika* and "new political thought" were approached primarily in terms of their consequences for the Arab world. The equation between socialism and humanism was interesting, but disturbing in the extent to which the connection with the "class" perspective seemed to be abandoned, more particularly in terms of international relations. The end of the Cold War, for some, presented the possibility of a resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Others were especially attentive to the setbacks of "real socialism" in central Europe, to the internal problems of the Soviet Union. The inability of the latter to establish a diplomatic solution of the ʿIrāḳ-Kuwait conflict and the scale of the resources mobilised by the military coalition in 1991, prefigured its implosion the same year. The new context, that of a new world order, unipolar and liberal, demanded that consideration of these issues, already embarked upon, should be made more systematical. The responses which emerged from the congresses held at this time, the products of open and contradictory debates, were to be diverse.

In South Yemen, the ruling P.S.Y. had begun its own *perestroika* in 1988. Unification with North Yemen (1990) was thereby facilitated, in the context of progress towards a market economy and a multi-party system, agreed upon by the two single parties. The second political force in the country following the elections of 1993, the P.S.P., in partnership with minor parties, succeeded in enforcing a democratic and decentralised conception of constitutional reform (February 1994). But conflict over the application of these measures, the postponement of the merging of the armies of the two former states, led to confrontations which ultimately resulted in civil war. In this context, even recourse to a secession by the South could not save the P.S.Y. from destruction.

In the majority of cases the "communist" label has been retained, the aspiration towards a society freed

from the exploitation of man by man maintaining, for these parties, the motivating force of a "realist" utopia. The long experience of "real socialism" and its downfall is a laboratory for the consideration of questions of strategy and tactics. These parties have, to varying degrees, democratised their structures and introduced new programmes more consistent with national, regional and international conditions. The principal objective is democracy, the target is "uninhibited liberalism", the instrument is frontist alliance. In the more repressive countries, alliances constituted in former times have been enlarged: within ʿIrāḳ and in conjunction with ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān as regards the P.C.I. and the P.C.K.I. which has derived from it (1993); and in the Sudan, in the context of a national democratic alliance which embraces the southern resistance, as regards the P.C.S.

Others have changed their titles and orientations. The decision of the Palestinian Communist Party to tranform itself into a People's Party (P.P.P.) was rather premature (October 1991); it defined the realisation of a Palestinian state, the objective of an entire people and not of a class, as the central task. In Algeria, the P.A.G.S. became in January 1993 the *al-Taḥaddī* Party (of "challenge": an acronym of *Taḳaddum, Taḥdīth and Dīmuḳrāṭiyya*). In Tunisia, a party "of the Left", *al-Tadjdīd*, replaced the P.C.T. in April 1993. In these two countries, minorities dissociated themselves from these options, described by them as "social democratic".

A further indication of these redeployments and revisions, the significance of which (in 1996) remains to be determined: the *al-Nahdj*, a periodical for the exchange of views among Arab communist parties (1983-91), then sub-titled *Review of Marxism-Leninism in the Arab world*, has appeared since 1994 under the subtitle *Contribution to the clarification and implantation of rationalism*. It is currently activated by an autonomous team of Near Eastern Marxists, some of them members of communist parties, others not.

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2. Persia.

The introduction of communist ideas in Persia was influenced by two events: the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 in Persia and the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. The first political party based on communist ideas was the Justice Party (*Firḳa-yi ʿAdālat*), created in 1917 in Baku by a group of Persian workers. The Justice Party changed to the Communist Party of Iran (*Firḳa-yi Komunist-i Īrān*) in its first Congress in 1920.

Communist activities were subdued during Riḍā Shāh's consolidation of power in the 1920s. The Party held its Second Congress only in 1927. Having moved closer to Moscow, the Congress described the 1921 coup as a British plot, denouncing Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] as their appointee. In confronting the communists, however, Riḍā Shāh passed a law in June 1931 banning all political organisations threatening the constitutional monarchy or advocating collectivist ideas using the Arabic term *ishtirākiyya* "socialism".

The next communist phase was in the 1930s-1940s. Dr. Taḳī Arānī's Marxist group and the Tudeh (Tūda) Party were its most prominent features. The strategies of the first and second communist phases indicated some differences. The latter put greater emphasis on the spread of Marxist and communist ideology among the intellectuals, while the former focused on workers. Similarly, party activists of the second phase were predominantly Persian-speaking intelligentsia of Tehran in contrast to the first phase dominated by Persian immigrants in the Soviet Union. Open political activity came to a halt once again in 1937 with the arrest of the "fifty-three", including Arānī. They were found guilty of forming a clandestine *ishtirākī* organisation outlawed by the 1931 law.

World War II and Riḍā Shāh's abdication in 1941 helped create a more open political atmosphere. On their release in September 1941, a group of younger members of the "fifty-three" launched the *Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān* ("Party of the Iranian Masses"), which became one of the most significant political forces in Iran after its inception. The Party refrained from using "communist" in its title for several reasons, one of which was the 1931 law. Another reason was Soviet war-time interests, which discouraged the Party's open identification with communism. Furthermore, communism as an ideology was unknown to the masses whose support the party aimed for. In its manifesto, the Tudeh accordingly stood for democracy, independence from foreign imperialism and loyalty to the Constitution.

The Party produced its first provisional programme in February 1942. Unlike other secular movements, the Tudeh adopted a broad programme to attract a wider spectrum of supporters and avoid antagonising the clergy (*ʿulamāʾ*). It rapidly established itself as the largest political party, with a structure, policy, and countrywide organisation. In 1943 it succeeded in having nine of its fifteen candidates elected to the fourteenth *Madjlis*. Another Tudeh achievement was organising labour groups in industrial cities, including Ābādān, especially among its oil workers, Iṣfahān, Ahwāz and Rasht. In 1944-5, the party continued to grow, enabling it to gather crowds estimated as large as those of pro-constitution rallies in 1906. With these successes, the Tudeh held its First Party Congress in August 1944 to approve the party programme. The growth of the Party continued, reaching its peak in August 1946 when three of its members were given ministerial posts in the Prime Minister Ḳawām al-Salṭana's cabinet. The Party's successes, at least in the northern regions, was at least in part due to the support of the occupying Red Army.

The Tudeh's fortunes began to change from the autumn of 1946 onwards, when Ḳawām al-Salṭana's government limited party activities. This helped party dissidents to force changes, including a debate on the sensitive issue of relations with the Soviet Union. One of their criticisms was over the party's pro-Moscow policy (the Tudeh had organised a mass meeting in October 1944 against the government's refusal to grant an oil agreement to Moscow). Internal divisions, however, led to the moderate faction, including Khalīl ʿAlikī and other intellectuals, to leave the party in 1947. Although free from dissidents, the Tudeh was soon banned under the 1931 law after the declaration of martial law in 1948. This forced the party underground, only to re-emerge in 1951 at the height of the Prime Minister Mossadeq's campaign for oil nationalisation [see MUṢADDIḲ]. This phase also came to an end with the August 1953 coup against Mossadeq's government (the Tudeh's refusal to intervene has since been blamed as a factor helping the success of the coup).

Between 1953 to 1958, the re-installed Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] began dismantling the Tudeh by arresting and executing party members. By the mid-1960s, the Shāh completed the process of controlling the political arena to such an extent that no independent organisation survived. This, along with the experiences of China, Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria, encouraged the emergence of underground socialist and revolutionary movements. A distinct feature of these movements was their general support for armed struggle. Most prominent among these groups were the Marxist Fidāʾiyyīn, the Islamic Mudjāhidīn, the Kurdish Democratic Party Paykar (separated from Mudjāhidīn and adopting Maoist views), The Workers' Road, and the Kurdish Komoleh guerrillas. These organisations, rather than the traditional leftist or centrist opposition, represented the anti-régime opposition in the 1960s and 1970s.

The most effective organisations in influencing youth in the 1970s and in breaking the back of the state during the 1977-8 revolutionary process were the Marxist Fidāʾiyyīn or the Iranian Peoples' Guerrilla Freedom Fighters, and the Islamic Mudjāhidīn or the Organisation of the Iranian Peoples' Freedom Fighters. The latter presented a revolutionary interpretation of Islam sometimes inaccurately referred to as "Islamic Marxism". The year 1978-9 was a watershed, since for the first time after the 1950s the left, including the Tudeh party, could organise and act openly.

Nonetheless, the era of revolutionary solidarity and political openness, or perhaps anarchy, was short lived. The first test came in March 1979 when the provisional government called a referendum on future political systems, limiting the choice between the monarchy and the "Islamic Republic". Having declared support for the clergy's leadership, the Tudeh participated in the referendum in favour of the Islamic Republic. The Mudjāhidīn also supported the referendum, but the Fidāʾiyyīn boycotted it.

Despite the support from it, the régime targeted Tudeh activists in 1983, putting its leaders on public trial, where they confessed to the party's "betrayal" of the "Iranian masses". The other major revolutionary force, the Mudjāhidīn, went into open confrontation with the Islamic Republic from 1981 onwards, in collusion with the then president Banī Ṣadr. The régime succeeded in overcoming this threat, driving the organisation into exile in Paris. The régime's brutal confrontation and the Mudjāhidīn's decision to move its headquarters to ʿIrāḳ in the midst of the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war in the 1980s have helped discredit the organisation.

The Marxist Fidāʾiyyīn went through a serious internal crisis after the revolution, leading to a split in 1981. One section, known as the Majority, adopted similar policies to the Tudeh and joined it. The other, known as the Minority, rejected dictatorship of the proletariat, insisting on nationalism and supporting coalitions within the framework of bourgeois pluralism.

The last prominent organisation to note is the Kurdish Democratic Party led by Dr. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḳāsimlū. With its socialist orientation and support for Kurdish nationalist rights, the Party remains the most important political organisation among Iranian Kurds. From the late 1980s, the government began discussions with Ḳāsimlū. They were halted in 1989 with Ḳāsimlū's assassination in Geneva during their last round of negotiations.

The 1990s thus witnessed a general decline in the activities of the communist, socialist or Marxist groups. The absence of an open political arena and the diminished contemporary state of international socialism, have both contributed to this decline.

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Riḍā Shāh, Tehran 1370/1991; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Alamūtī, *Fuṣūlī az tārīkh-i mubārazat-i siyāsī wa idjtimāʿī-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1370/1991, 277-80, 343-441; *EIr* art. *Communism. i-iii*, with exhaustive bibls.

(Ziba Moshaver)

3. In Turkey.

Communism has been a far weaker force in Turkey than in several other Muslim countries. This may partly be explained by the Turks' attachment to Islam, but more particularly by their hostility to Russia (especially during the Cold War) and the constant infighting between rival leftist groups. Between 1918 and 1920 no less than three parties of Marxist orientation were set up in the nascent Turkish state. These were linked to an underground Communist Party, allied to Moscow, and led by Dr. Şefik Hüsnü [Değmer]. To add to the confusion, an official Communist Party was set up on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] in October 1920, in which several of the leading members of his government were enrolled. However, all these groups were closed down in 1925, following the suppression of the Kurdish rebellion led by Şeyh Sait. The Communist Party continued an underground existence, mainly abroad, under Değmer's leadership, until 1946, when two legal socialist parties were established, only to be officially dissolved at the end of the year. Leadership of the Turkish Communist Party was then taken over by Zeki Baştimar, who was succeeded by İsmail Bilen. During the Cold War, the party served as the orthodox voice of Soviet communism: it was based in eastern Europe and had virtually no support base in Turkey itself.

Within Turkey, leftist groups came out into the open again after the coup of 27 May 1960. Several more or less Marxist parties were established during the 1960s, of which the most successful was the Turkish Workers' Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*), led by Mehmet Ali Aybar. However, this split apart in 1968, and was suppressed by the military-dominated régime of 1971-3. During the 1970s a plethora of revolutionary Marxist parties and terrorist organisations emerged, but these were all suppressed by the military government of 1980-3. Since then, Turkish communism has effectively withered away, except for sporadic terrorist attacks by small ultra-leftist organisations. With the collapse of the communist régimes of eastern Europe, the Turkish Communist Party has also ceased to exist.

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(W. Hale)

SIAK SRI INDRAPURA [see sumatra].

SIALKOT [see siyālkūt].

SIBĀḲ [see faras].

SĪBAWAYHI, pioneer Arabic grammarian, the author of a single, untitled work, known only as *Kitāb Sībawayhi* and acknowledged as the founding text of Arabic grammatical science. All else, his name, origins, dates and originality, is uncertain, Sībawayhi having died too young and too far away from the cultural centres of ʿIrāḳ to establish himself in the scholarly biographical tradition.

1. Life and teachers.

(a) *Life*. Sībawayhi's name is usually given as Abū Bishr ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Ḳanbar, *mawlā* of Banū Ḥārith b. Kaʿb Sībawayhi. Humbert (1995, 3-8) discusses the many variants and argues persuasively that the full name arose from the need to fill the vacuum in the "onomastic chain". In practice, he is never called anything but Sībawayhi, explained by folk etymology as Persian for "Apple fragrance" or even "30 scents", though actually a nickname, Sēbōe "Little Apple" (Nöldeke, *apud* Brockelmann, I, 100). He is said to have been born in al-Bayḍā', Shīrāz, of Persian parents, and to have died aged between 32 and "40-odd" years old, probably in Fārs. An approximate death date of 180/796 can be inferred: Sībawayhi died before Yūnus (182/798), and al-Khalīl died between 160/776-7 and 175/791, before the *Kitāb* was written down.

At some time, he came to Baṣra to study *āthār*, i.e. the *Ḥadīth*, or more explicitly jurisprudence (*fiḳh*). This is important for the early history of grammar, and supplies the topos in which Sībawayhi is humiliated into studying grammar by his linguistic ineptitude in the presence of Ḥammād b. Salama [*q.v.*]. The other notorious incident in Sībawayhi's career also involves his humiliation, this time by al-Kisā'ī [*q.v.*], in a debate called *al-Mas'alat al-zunbūriyya* after its theme, the syntax of *kuntu aẓunnu anna 'l-ʿaḳraba ashaddu lasʿat^an min al-zunbūri fa-idhā huwa hiya* or *idhā huwa iyyāhā*. Al-Kisā'ī wins by bribing some Bedouin to support his position, and Sībawayhi goes off and dies of grief, consoled, some say, by a payment of 10,000 dirhams solicited for him by al-Kisā'ī.

(b) *Teachers*. Nineteen names are mentioned: (i) seven traditionally identified by the biographers as teachers of Sībawayhi, and (ii) twelve connected with him in other ways. (i) (1) ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*, also Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 36-7], d. 117/735 or 127/745, cited 7 times (see Troupeau, *Lex.-index*). (2) ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, ix, 37-9], d. 149/766, 20 times. (3) Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā', d. 154/771 (*GAS*, ix, 40-2), 57 times. (4) Hārūn al-Ḳāri' (*GAS*, ix, 43-4), d. 170/786, 5 times. (5) Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Akhfash [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, ix, 48-9], d. 157/773-4, 58 times. (6) Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (*GAS*, viii, 57-8; ix, 49-50) d. 183/799-800, 217 times. (7) al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 51-6, ix, 44-8], d. at the latest 175/791-2, cited by name 608 times.

(ii) Other names appearing in the *Kitāb* but not considered as teachers in the biographies (cf. Humbert, 1995, 9-14): (8) Abū Murhib, untraced, cited once. (9) Ibn Masʿūd, the Companion [*q.v.*], d. 32/652-3, 3 times. (10) Mudjāhid [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 22], d. 104/722, once. (11) al-Aʿradj (*GAS*, ix, 34-5), d. 117/735, 3 times. (12) al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, ix, 44], d. 110/728, twice. (13) Abū Rabīʿa (*GAS*, viii, 29), d. *ca.* 170/786, once. (14) Ibn Marwān, cf. Carter, in *REI*, xliv, 75, n. 2 (Troupeau has Ibn Marwān once as a grammarian and a Marwān al-Naḥwī separately as a poet). (15) al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 71-6, ix, 66-7], d. 213/828, twice. (16) al-Akhfash [al-Awsaṭ] [*q.v.* and see below], once. The preface of a *Kitāb* manuscript recopied by Ibn Kharūf (d. 605-10/1206-13) lists twelve masters, the seven traditional names and five more, two already known, Ibn Marwān and al-Aṣmaʿī, and three new names. (17) Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 76-80, ix, 67-8], d. 215/830. (18) Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*, also *GAS*, viii, 67-71, ix, 65-6], d. 207/822 or 213/828. (19) al-Liḥyānī, who may be the one mentioned by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 89-90 (Humbert, 12).

All but three can be eliminated on technical or historical grounds as possible influences on Sībawayhi (cf. Humbert, 10-12, Versteegh, 1993, 161-3). Only ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, Yūnus and al-Khalīl were close enough chronologically and intellectually to play a role in the creation of Sībawayhi's grammatical system. Of two works credited to ʿĪsā, nothing survives but a flat-

tering reference by al-Mubarrad (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*[2], 46; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. Amer, 15, says he has never seen a copy nor heard of anyone who has). ʿĪsā died well before Sībawayhi and is only a shadowy presence in the *Kitāb*, usually quoted indirectly; he may have furnished information in a similar way to Yūnus and al-Khalīl but on a much smaller scale. We return to Yūnus and al-Khalīl below.

2. Grammatical background and origins. The only reliable source of information about primitive grammar or what we might call "proto-grammarians" is the *Kitāb* itself. Versteegh's invaluable survey of early *Tafsīr* (1993) demonstrates that no matter what was said about language in this period (and the subject could hardly fail to arise!), it did not reach the level of a mature theory of language with an appropriate scientific vocabulary and methodology.

(a) *Foreign origins*. There have been attempts to trace the origins of Arabic grammar to external influences, principally Greek, via Syriac [see NAḤW]. The Greek hypothesis achieves a major restatement about every hundred years, beginning with the not very-widely consulted Hasse (1788), after which the baton passes to Merx (1889), then Rundgren (1976) and Versteegh (1977). All these assume that Arabic grammar could not have evolved out of the resources of Arab-Islamic culture and that various systematic and terminological features of Arabic grammar point to Greek models. There are no texts or circumstantial evidence for exchanges between Syriac scholars and early Arab grammarians, and the Greek case is essentially *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. The most important testimony, a logical work attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], bears the taint of inauthenticity (it might be by his son), and contains almost nothing of relevance. The main weakness of the Greek hypothesis, however, is that it explains so little of the grammar in the *Kitāb*. An Indian origin has been proposed for phonological theory, argued confidently by Danecki and equally firmly refuted by Law. Lack of documents and circumstantial evidence again undermine the case, coupled with insufficient symmetry between the systems.

(b) *Indigenous origins*. The traditional narrative ascribing the invention of grammar to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī [*q.v.*], thence through generations of scholars up to and beyond Sībawayhi, has an inner coherence which corresponds well to the likely stages in the growth of linguistic consciousness, responding to the increasing volatility of Arabic and the need for a definitive form of the text upon which the new Islamic civilisation now depended. But this neither caused, nor can it explain, Sībawayhi's grammatical system. Extensive similarities between legal reasoning and the grammar of the *Kitāb* (cf. Carter, in *REI*, xliv, 86-91) encourage the hypothesis that Sībawayhi found his inspiration in law. We are not told how he got his legal training, but after the incident with Ḥammād b. Salama he "went off and attached himself to the *madjlis* of al-Akhfash with Yaʿḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī and al-Khalīl and the rest of the *naḥwiyyūn*" (al-Zadjdjādjī, *Madjālis*, 155): in other words, of the leading authority on Arabic, a major Reader, sundry "grammarians" (if such they were, see below), and the older man who would later preserve his work. He thus remained within the philological tradition implied by the conventional histories: Ḳur'ān, secular language and early systematisation, with the future disciple al-Akhfash having the seniority to act as host for this astonishingly fertile gathering of minds.

(c) *Grammar before Sībawayhi*. The *Kitāb* reflects contemporary grammatical thinking very clearly though not always precisely. Three themes are important here: (i) the *Kitāb* as evidence for early "Schools" of grammar, (ii) the "*naḥwiyyūn*" and (iii) the debt to specific masters named in the *Kitāb*.

(i) Schools. If you believe that grammar only reached its scientific perfection through Sībawayhi, then the existence of "Schools" before him is inconceivable. Darwinism is not found before Darwin. Baalbaki (*Stud. Ar. et Isl.*, 24) detects the roots of the famous "Baṣran" and "Kūfan" dichotomy already in the *Kitāb*, and Talmon (in *BSOAS*, xlviii) identifies a "Medīnan School" on the basis of three references in the *Kitāb* and other later evidence, adding for good measure the names of two Meccan "grammarians" prior to Sībawayhi. Nothing is known about their grammatical opinions, however, except for Ibn Marwān, whose dispute with Abū ʿAmr is reported in the *Kitāb* (Talmon, in *JAOS*, civ), and no significant interpretative benefits arise from reducing the inevitable conflicts of opinion among these early figures to a system of "Schools".

(ii) The *naḥwiyyūn*. This word (always plural) occurs 20 times in the *Kitāb* referring to an anonymous group of participants in the grammatical debate. Their anonymity is disputed by Talmon (in *ZAL*, viii), who also argues that the *naḥwiyyūn* were highly sophisticated thinkers. From the way Sībawayhi cites them, however, one must conclude that he regarded their grammatical reasoning as inferior; in most of the exchanges he either rejects or severely criticises them, e.g. [**aʿṭāhūnī*] is incorrect, not said by the Arabs, but the *naḥwiyyūn* have created it "by analogy (*ḳāsūhu*)" (i, 383/i, 335). It seems unlikely that Sībawayhi saw himself as one of the *naḥwiyyūn*, which raises a delicate question: who, then, were the real "grammarians"? Sībawayhi had no name for "grammar" as such, which was eventually called *naḥw* on the assumption that this was what the *naḥwiyyūn* were doing in the *Kitāb*.

(iii) Specific masters. Sībawayhi drew directly and indirectly upon the knowledge of several informants and scholars, but only Yūnus and al-Khalīl were intimately involved with the creation of the *Kitāb* (see below on al-Akhfash).

Yūnus is mentioned 217 times, and although his exact role is difficult to pin down, Sībawayhi disagrees with him more often and more conspicuously than with al-Khalīl. For example, he is particularly severe on Yūnus's claim that *min ḳuddām*[in] should be vocalised *min ḳuddām*[a]: "that is one way of speaking, although no Arab actually ever says it" *hādhā madhhab*[un] *illā annahu laysa yaḳūluhu aḥad*[un] *min al-ʿArab* (ii, 47/ii, 43). Even though Sībawayhi occasionally sides with Yūnus against al-Khalīl (e.g. on the truncated vocative *yā ḳāḍi* against al-Khalīl's *yā ḳāḍī*, ii, 289/ii, 315), Yūnus tends to hold views which do not fit into Sībawayhi's scheme.

Al-Khalīl is quoted by name or by implication (*sa'altuhu*, etc.) on almost every page of the *Kitāb* and was clearly an inexhaustible source of data and theoretical inspiration for Sībawayhi. Reuschel confines Sībawayhi's role to merely organising what al-Khalīl taught him, a position which it is as difficult to refute as to accept. Fischer is at the other pole; having examined the discarded phonological terminology of al-Khalīl preserved by al-Khwārazmī, he concludes that al-Khalīl was mainly a "morphophonologist" and may well have been unaware of the basic principles of Sībawayhi's grammar. Danecki even argues that al-Khalīl's phonological ideas were primitive in comparison with those of Sībawayhi. All this accords with

the biographical constant that al-Khalīl is usually titled "the Prosodist" (*Ṣāḥib al-ʿarūḍ*) and also recognised as the founder of lexicography, while Sībawayhi's association with the creation of grammar is not seriously challenged. What stands out is al-Khalīl's interest in the following: (i) compound syntactic units functioning as single words (the terms *muntahā 'l-ism* and *tamām al-ism* are associated with al-Khalīl, e.g. i, 350/i, 306), (ii) the principle that a speaker who begins an equational sentence is obliged to finish it with a predicate (e.g. i, 394/i, 346), (iii) the role of the listener's knowledge (i, 453/i, 403), (iv) the relationship between frequency and elision (e.g. i, 143/i, 120). But Sībawayhi does not always agree with al-Khalīl, e.g. i, 181/i, 151, where *hādhā radjul^{un} akhū zayd^{in}* intended to mean "this is a man [like] Zayd's brother" is labelled "incorrect and weak" (*ḳabīḥ wa ḍaʿīf*). A genius is known by the questions he asks, as has been said already of al-Khalīl (Bräunlich, in *Islamica*, ii, 61), and Sībawayhi's questions, no matter how much he depended on his teachers for the answers, were inspired by a concept of language that was at best only latent in al-Khalīl's intuitive and unsystematic perception.

3. The contents of the *Kitāb*.

The following is a summary of the repertoire of ideas which all subsequent grammar exploited and still exploits.

(a) *Arrangement.* Although a large work (printed editions are more than 900 pages), the order of the material and the internal cross-references reveal an unmistakable plan. The *Kitāb* begins with seven introductory chapters (probably the same as a *Risāla* attributed to Sībawayhi which forms the core of al-Zadjdjādjī's *al-Īḍāḥ*), after which Sībawayhi deals with Arabic grammar in the order syntax, morphology, and phonology.

The "*Risāla*" is as close as we come to an orderly statement of Sībawayhi's linguistic presuppositions (or postulates, as Suleiman, in *JSS*, xxxv, 258 would have it). It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that "Sībawayhi never explicitly states the basic theoretical principles on which he works" (Bohas/Guill./Koul., 33), but he is certainly casual about it. Nevertheless it is from these introductory sections that we learn there are three parts of speech, two discrete sets of vowels and inflections, a number of internal hierarchies (see below), a fundamental subject-predicate structure, an assortment of lexical, semantic and phonological accidents such as synonymy, polysemy, elision and substitution, a group of formal and semantic criteria and a range of non-standard phenomena permitted only in poetry.

(b) *Data.* The object of study is *kalām* "speech", i.e. every speech act (including Ḳur'ān and poetry) which fulfils the criteria of structural and semantic adequacy. *Kalām* does not imply any particular length or number of constituents (cf. Talmon, in *ZDMG*, cxxxviii, 80-8), still less anything as specific as "sentence" (only later termed *djumla*), and may also denote "prose" in contrast with "poetry" but not exclusively (Iványi, *Proceedings*, 210-12). Data are of three kinds, the Ḳur'ān, poetry and the usage of the "Arabs", i.e. the Bedouin, and are adduced in one of these three forms or in the familiar symbolic representations of the type *zayd^{un} ḍarabtuhu*. Iványi has tabulated the introductory formulae indicating Sībawayhi's estimate of the data's authenticity. Although the Ḳur'ān is stated to have been sent down "in the speech of the faithful" (*ʿalā kalām al-ʿibād*, i, 167/i, 139) Sībawayhi did not give linguistic priority to Ḳur'ānic usage, nor is there any hint of a doctrine of *iʿdjaz* [*q.v.*] at this stage. He is aware of the various *ḳirā'āt* and not always in favour of certain Readings (Baalbaki, in *ZAL*, xv; Brockett), but avoids embroiling himself in doctrinal implications.

Poetry (1,056 lines, Djumʿa, 116, from 231 poets in 26 tribes, *ibid.*, 14) was originally quoted without attribution. Traditionally, it was al-Djarmī who counted 1,050 verses and added the names except for 50 he could not identify (but see Djumʿa, 214). Only three contemporary poets, Abān al-Lāḥiḳī, Bashshār b. Burd and Khalaf al-Aḥmar are quoted, and all three citations are suspect. As with the Ḳur'ān, poetic data have no priority over the Bedouin Arabic, but Sībawayhi acknowledges that poetic usage may differ from prose, usually dialect features which were not adopted into standard Arabic.

Proverbial expressions (*mathal*) are recognised as non-productive (e.g. i, 24/i, 18). Surprisingly little *Ḥadīth* material is quoted in the *Kitāb*: there are a few fragments identifiable as *Ḥadīths*, and the famous *kullu mawlūd^{in} yūladu ʿalā 'l-fiṭri*, etc. is found in i, 396/i, 348. But the Prophet Muḥammad is nowhere mentioned in the *Kitāb*, and even *Ḥadīths* are introduced as if they were part of ordinary speech, e.g. by *ḳawluhum* (cf. ʿUḍayma, 762; Ḥadīthī 1980, 59).

The ideal language is what Sībawayhi calls "good old Arabic" *al-lugha 'l-ʿarabiyya 'l-ḳadīma 'l-djayyida* (ii, 424/ii, 474), i.e. Ḥidjāzī (*al-ḥidjāziyya hiya 'l-lugha 'l-ūlā 'l-ḳudmā* (ii, 41/ii, 37). Levin (in *JSAI*, xvii) shows that Sībawayhi made his own enquiries of the Bedouin as well as relying on second-hand evidence. It is also significant (*ibid.*, 235) that Sībawayhi contrasts the artificial constructs of the *naḥwiyyūn* with the natural usage of Bedouin informants and urges speakers to follow only the "Arab" way. His dismissal of some Bedouin usages as "incorrect" (*ibid.*, 236) has important theoretical implications, likewise the idea that the reasons for a usage can be lost, e.g. why some proper names have *alif-lām* (i, 268/i, 228, perhaps from al-Khalīl).

These three kinds of data and their representations in model utterances are the evidence for the "way" correct Arabic is spoken (writing is marginal, though the *Kitāb* does mention the formula for beginning letters, *ammā baʿdu*, i, 470/i, 418). Sībawayhi's word for "way" is usually *naḥw*, e.g. *sa-tarā hādhā 'l-naḥwa fī kalāmihim* "you will see this way [of speaking] in their speech" (i, 243/i, 207), but he also uses the synonyms *sabīl, ṭarīḳa, madhhab, wadjh, madjrā*, occasionally even *sunna* and *sharʿ*. He therefore treats *kalām* as a set of acts judged pragmatically by motive, structure and communicative effectiveness, not as a set of logical propositions judged by semantic content and falsifiability. Truth and falsehood are irrelevant: *kalām* is evaluated (i, 7/i, 7) in terms of its structural correctness, as (ethically) "good" *ḥasan* or "bad" *ḳabīḥ*, i.e. well-formed or ill-formed (with synonyms *djamīl, radī'*, etc.), and by its communicative effectiveness, as (ethically) "right" *mustaḳīm* (compare *naḥw* with *ṣirāṭ, sunna*). Incomprehensible speech is "wrong" *muḥāl*, i.e. perverted. Communicative success or failure are absolute, but structural correctness may be graded, *aḥsan, adjwad* etc. Speech may even be *mustaḳīm ḳabīḥ*, i.e. making sense though structurally incorrect (especially in poetry), but is normally only "permissible", *djā'iz*, if it is structurally complete, *yaḥsun al-sukūt ʿalayhi*, and semantically self-sufficient, *mustaghnī*.

(c) *General principles. Kalām* itself is segmented in two ways, into word classes and word positions. There are only three formal categories, *ism, fiʿl* and *ḥarf djā'a li-maʿnā* [*q.vv.*]. Not too much distortion results from equating *ism* with "noun" and *fiʿl* with "verb", although "verb" is far closer to the Greek *rhema* with its implications of "predicate" than the Arabic *fiʿl*, which

means simply "[word denoting] an act". But the definition of *ḥarf djāʾa li-maʿnā* assumes a knowledge of Sībawayhi's concept of word position or *mawḍiʿ*.

Mawḍiʿ "place", more fully *mawḍiʿ fi ʾl-kalām* "place in speech" is Sībawayhi's term for the position in which a speech element is used (cf. the notion of "function" in Western linguistics). In this sense, *mawḍiʿ* is simply taken over from ethical terminology, where it commonly denotes the "place" of an act as determining its goodness or badness (cf. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and the early jurists). Each *mawḍiʿ* represents a specific linguistic act, thus *mawḍiʿ al-nidāʾ* is "the place for calling", realised by the word *yā* expressing the meaning *maʿnā* [*q.v.*] of that act, viz. *maʿnā ʾl-nidāʾ* "the meaning of calling". This brings us back to *ḥarf*, which, unlike the noun or verb, is formally and semantically unclassifiable and can only be defined by what the speaker does with it, hence *yā* is *ḥarf nidāʾ* "a particle of calling", i.e. used to perform an act whose meaning is "calling". The general definition of *ḥarf* is implicitly *ḥarf djāʾa li-maʿnā* "x", where "x" is one of the seventy or so linguistic acts identified by Sībawayhi as a *mawḍiʿ/maʿnā*, all denoted by verbal nouns exactly as in *fiḳh*. Every particle is defined in this way: *lā* = *ḥarf [djāʾa li-maʿnā] ʾl-nafy*, *in* = *ḥarf [djāʾa li-maʿnā] ʾl-sharṭ* and so on. It follows that Sībawayhi has little time for lexical meaning, since merely explaining one word by another leads to infinite regression (ii, 312/ii, 339).

The correlative of *mawḍiʿ* is *manzila*, and just as *mawḍiʿ* connotes function and syntagmatic features, so *manzila* represents status on the paradigmatic axis. Thus two elements from different form classes, if they have the same status, *manzila*, may occur in the same function, *mawḍiʿ*, e.g. the particle *mā* in Ḥidjāzī usage has the status of the verb *laysa* (i, 27/i, 22). A third term in this set, *mawḳiʿ*, denotes simply the occurrence of an element in the string without regard to its function: compare *li-kāna mawḍiʿ ākhar* "*kāna* has another place" (i, 21/i, 16), i.e. "there is another way to use *kāna*", with *lam lā yakaʿu baʿdahā faʿala* "*faʿala* never occurs after *lam*" (i, 457/i, 407, and cf. Versteegh, in *Arabica*, xxv).

Consequent on all this is the principle, often raised by al-Khalīl and fully exploited by Sībawayhi, that compound units may have the status of a simple element and so be substitutable for it. The *Kitāb* identifies a number of units with the *manzila* of a "single noun" (*ism wāḥid*), such as noun + adjective, annexed nouns, demonstrative + noun, categorical *lā* + noun, *anna* + noun, relative clause and antecedent, *ayy* + relative clause, *an* + subordinate verb, *idhan* + verb, verb + agent pronoun suffix, and verb + preposition. Levin's suggestion (*Studies in Isl. hist.*) that *kalima* in the *Kitāb* is (with Levin's own reservations) partially equivalent to "morpheme" is illuminating, but the relationship between *kalima* and *ism wāḥid* needs further exploration.

Manzila also implies a hierarchy, since the range of an element's forms and functions depends on its status. For instance, the verbal status of the "five particles" *inna, anna* etc., allows them to operate on nouns and give them dependent (*naṣb*) form in the same way as *ʿishrūna* has verbal status and effect, but none of them have the paradigmatic freedom (*taṣarruf*) of verbs (i, 279/i, 241). The system accommodates several hierarchies, most of which are set out in the introductory paragraphs of the *Kitāb* and have been collected by Baalbaki (in *ZAL*, ii). They include the priority of nouns over verbs, singular over dual and plural, masculine over feminine, indefinite over definite, simpler word patterns over more complex, "lighter" vowels over "heavier", *mahmūsa* consonants over *madjhūra*. Sībawayhi also regards time as closer to verbs and place to nouns (i, 16/i, 12). None of this violates the linearity of *naḥw*: a speech element can only occur in the "chaîne parlée" (Martinet), and its status determines its place(s) in the chain just as civil rank determines the place(s) of an individual in society.

The symmetry and coherence of Sībawayhi's grammar are assured by *ḳiyās* "analogy" [*q.v.*], which unifies linguistic practice through structural similarities and enables the generation of new utterances. Sībawayhi's use of *ḳiyās* has been compared with early juridical arguments and Baalbaki (*Misc.*) shows how the mechanisms of analogical reasoning are all there, even if the formal terminology is lacking. Gwynne has examined *a fortiori* arguments in the *Kitāb* and concluded that this kind of reasoning passed from law to grammar, then directly to theology. For Sībawayhi, it was the speakers who made analogies: "they sometimes liken one thing to another, even if they are not alike in all respects" (i, 93/i, 77, using *shabbaha*). His readers are told to do the same: *fa-ʿalā hādhā fa-ḳis hādhā ʾl-naḥwa* "so make analogies on this for this way [of speaking]" (ii, 163/ii, 167, note *ḳāsa* in the context of *naḥw*), but he also warns against analogical extension of non-standard forms: *lā yanbaghī laka an taḳīsa ʿalā al-shādhdh* "you should not base analogies on anomalies", i, 398/i, 351.

There is a conspicuous pragmatism in Sībawayhi, no doubt inspired by al-Khalīl. As well as a speaker, *mutakallim*, there is always a listener, *mukhāṭab*, who determines whether an utterance is "right", *mustaḳīm*, or "wrong", *muḥāl*, though not its structural correctness. The listener's knowledge is a decisive factor in elision, and can also affect other choices of the speaker: as well as *marartu bi-rajulayni muslim*^{in} *wa-kāfir*^{in} a speaker may say *muslim*^{un} *wa-kāfir*^{un} "as if answering the question 'who were they?' ... even if the listener does not say anything, for the speaker's words will go according to what you might have asked him" (i, 214/i, 182). Psychological and contextual explanations are frequently offered (cf. Buburuzan) and there is even a hint at the concept of body-language (i, 279/i, 240).

(d) *Syntax*. The primary purpose of speech is the making of statements, and the grammarian's task is to account for "the actions performed by the speaker in order to construct a linguistic sequence appropriate to his specific intended meaning" (Guillaume, in *Hist. Ep. Lang.*, viii, 53). For Sībawayhi, each act is normally realised as a binary unit, with one active element, the *ʿāmil* [*q.v.*] "operator" and one passive, the *maʿmūl fīhi* "operated on", and the effects of that *ʿamal* "operation" appear as an explicit or implicit variation in the word-ending *iʿrāb* [*q.v.*]. Thus the act of *nidāʾ* is realised through an active operator, the *ḥarf nidāʾ* and a passive *munādā*. Ultimately, the speaker is the operator (i, 166/i, 139), which is why in some units, e.g. *iḍāfa, badal* and *ibtidāʾ*), both parts are passive (*muḍāf/muḍāf ilayhi, mubdal/mubdal minhu, mubtadaʾ [bihi]/mabnī ʿalayhi*). *Ibtidāʾ* is a special case, as the speaker's act of predicating has no morphological consequences (subject and predicate remain independent, *marfūʿ*) unless the statement is modalised by verbs such as *kāna, ẓanna* etc. (Guillaume, 60-1).

The division into only three word classes, nouns, verbs and particles, is not the whole story. Several subclasses of nouns and verbs are distinguished (like the *ḥurūf*) by their function, e.g. adjectival qualifier, *ṣifa* or *naʿt*, space/time qualifier, *ẓarf*, circumstantial qualifier, *ḥāl*, personal pronoun, *ḍamīr* or *muḍmar*, demonstrative noun, *ism al-ishāra* or *al-ism al-mubham*,

relative noun, *ism mawṣūl*, verbal noun, *maṣdar*, various verbal complements, *maf'ūl*, nominal verb, *ism al-fi'l* (including interjections), dependent phrase *ṣila* and verb of surprise, *fi'l al-ta'adjdjub*. Transitivity is described in detail, confirming that any similarity between the Arabic *muta'addī* and the Graeco-Latin *transitivus* is coincidence, the nearest term in Sībawayhi to our sense of "transitive" being *waḳa'a/awḳa'a* (Levin, *Stud. or.*). A corollary of the substitution principle mentioned above is the separation principle embodied in the expression *'ishrūna dirhamᵃⁿ*, which stands for all those units whose first element has obligatory *tanwīn* or the equivalent and whose second element is structurally and semantically detachable (Carter, in *BSOAS*, xxxv). Finally, Sībawayhi's treatment of *ḳāla*, *ẓanna*, etc., and their effect on predicative utterances, displays a degree of refinement we are only just beginning to appreciate.

(e) *Morphology*. The morphological section of the *Kitāb* occupies about half the work in sheer bulk. As well as enumerating all the known patterns for nouns, verbs and particles, Sībawayhi categorises them by number of radicals (minimum two, maximum five), carefully distinguishing these from augments. The relation between declinability, gender and word-pattern, and the connection between pattern and function, are investigated, including the unusual behaviour of proper nouns and foreign names. Derivation, *ishtiḳāḳ* [*q.v.*], is discussed in detail (Leemhuis shows that Sībawayhi analyses Stems II and IV much more delicately than later grammarians). Varieties of *tanwīn* are treated, and long chapters are devoted to the diminutive, the dual and sound and broken plurals. Pause, rhyme, exclamation and phonetic reduction (*tarkhīm*) are described, the last two in the syntax section, where they rightly belong as a feature of the vocative. In short, very little is left out, though al-Zubaydī proudly published a list of more than eighty forms Sībawayhi missed (*Kitāb al-Istidrāk*, see below).

(f) *Phonology*. This occupies the seven dense and laconic final chapters of the *Kitāb*. Although Sībawayhi refers to sounds by their graphic form, it is clear that (following al-Khalīl) he knew the difference between the name of a letter, the grapheme and the phoneme. He also knew that the set of Arabic sounds (our "phoneme inventory") was limited and distinctive, and he gives precise descriptions of their place and manner of articulation [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀ']. Dialectal and conditioned variants (allophones) are reviewed, also the Arabisation of foreign sounds, and the role of ease of articulation, proximity and frequency fully acknowledged; this includes vocalic allophones arising from *imāla*, *rawm* and *ishmām*, processes not unlike umlaut. Assimilation is recognised as occurring not only within but between words. Phonological constraints on syllabic structure and the morphological results are treated, as are sound changes arising from metathesis, elision, substitution and conversion. Totally lacking is any mention of *tadjwīd*, though there are frequent references to the way individual Ḳur'ānic sounds or words are "read", i.e. textually rather than liturgically.

Sībawayhi's terminology applies uniformly at all levels; every syntactic, morphological and phonological unit has a *naḥw* or way of use according to its status *manzila* and function *mawḍi'*, by which it is judged to be structurally correct, *ḥasan*, or incorrect, *ḳabīḥ*, with analogy, *ḳiyās*, as the controlling principle. For obvious reasons, there is no call for *muḥāl*, "incomprehensible", outside syntax, but we sometimes find "right", *mustaḳīm*, in a morphological context where the choice of a certain form affects communication (ii, 60/ii, 55). Sībawayhi also understood the nature of metalanguage; with al-Khalīl he often tests the linguistic status of elements by artificially converting them into proper names, and he is alert to the problems of purely theoretical examples (Ayoub).

4. The text and editions of the *Kitāb*.

(a) *Composition*. The *Kitāb* survives because of al-Akhfash, a service for which he has not been given due credit. Sībawayhi died before he could bring his work into publishable form, and it was al-Akhfash who helped him write the first draft, so to speak, and he alone who gathered it up and later used it for his own teaching. Through this epistemological bottleneck passed a work of transcendent genius. After Sībawayhi's death, Yūnus was shown a book of some thousand pages which had emerged from this collaboration, and he certified it as an authentic digest of al-Khalīl's and Sībawayhi's knowledge, thus retrospectively defining the academic pedigree of the *Kitāb* and confirming its large size *ab initio*. There is something rather convincing about a story which so innocently avoids the pitfall of fabricating an *idjāza* when such mechanisms patently did not exist. The lack of precedent accounts better than Sībawayhi's premature death for the *Kitāb*'s unusual form (no title, no preface, no conclusion); if he had time for a thousand pages, the absence of literary formalities can only have been because there were no models. The *Kitāb* shows no trace of the well-established epistolary manner (still less of any dipping into translations from Greek or Syriac), and the originality of the work lies as much in its style as its content; it is one of the earliest "books" in Arabic at all, hence its default title *Kitāb Sībawayhi*.

(b) *Manuscripts*. Humbert 1995 lists 77 extant manuscripts, and a 78th has recently been found (Humbert, *Dévelop.*, 133). The oldest is a fragment from 351/962 (chs. 184-277, 288-312), and the earliest complete copy is dated 588/1192-3. Al-Mubarrad, who studied the *Kitāb* with al-Djarmī and al-Māzinī, two pupils of al-Akhfash, is responsible for the creation of a "vulgate", which included his own glosses, but there were alternative transmissions, notably of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), who showed an outstanding interest in collecting *Kitāb* manuscripts. He represents a stage in the history of the *Kitāb* when scholars eagerly sought and collated manuscripts, culminating in the emergence of two "standard editions", an Eastern version associated with al-Zamakhsharī and an Andalusian version associated with al-Rabāḥī. The Zamakhsharī recension is easily recognised by the addition of *al-ḥā'iṭ* in the very first line and a haplology in the last folio.

Completely outside these two dominant traditions is the Milan fragment, containing chs. 327 to 435, i.e. about one-sixth of the *Kitāb*. This manuscript, tentatively dated by Humbert to the 5th/11th century, exhibits enough textual and marginal divergences from the mainstream versions to point to a totally independent line of transmission. There is evidence, slight and tantalising, to connect this version directly with Tha'lab, the chief "Kūfan" grammarian and bitter rival of al-Mubarrad, and its forthcoming publication will greatly improve our knowledge of the *Kitāb*.

(c) *Editions*. (1) *Le livre de Sibawaihi*, ed. Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris 1881-9, repr. Hildesheim 1970. (2) *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. Kabir-Uddin Ahmed Khan Bahadur, Calcutta 1887. (3) *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, Būlāḳ 1898-1900, repr. Baghdād [1965]. (4) *Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 5 vols., Cairo 1968-77, 2nd ed. 1977. (5) Beirut, 1967. German

translation, Gustav Jahn, *Sîbawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erklärt*, Berlin 1895-1900, repr. Hildesheim 1969. See further Humbert, *Studies*, 179-82, 1995, 27-40.

(d) *Commentaries*. Of more than 80 ancillary titles listed in Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 58-63, 242, only 21 are extant. Five have been published, viz no. 20, Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayhi*, ed. Z.Gh. Zahīd, Beirut 1986; no. 29, al-Zubaydī (*GAS*, ix, 222), no. 37, Ibn al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayhi*, ed. M.ʿA. Sulṭan, n.p. 1979, no. 39, Hārūn b. Mūsā, *Sharḥ ʿuyūn Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ʿA.R.ʿA.L. ʿAbd Rabbih, Cairo 1984; no. 48, al-Djawālīkī (*GAS*, ix, 242). Add al-Zadjdjādjī, *Īḍāḥ* (*GAS*, ix, 94), translated by C.H.M. [Kees] Versteegh, *The explanation of linguistic causes. Az-Zaǧǧāǧī's theory of grammar. Introduction, translation, commentary*, Amsterdam 1995. Partial editions: no. 25, al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1986 (2 vols.), no. 28, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, *al-Taʿlīḳa*, ed. ʿA. b. Ḥ. al-Ḳūzī, Cairo 1990 (1 vol.), no. 31, al-Rummānī (*GAS*, ix, 112). Extracts from al-Sīrāfī in Jahn and Būlāḳ, where also extracts from no. 43, al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī's *Taḥṣīl ʿayn al-dhahab*.

(e) *Reference works*. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 51-63, 241-2, incorporating W. Diem, *Bibliographie/Bibliography, Sekundärliteratur zur einheimischen arabischen Grammatikschreibung*, in C.H.M. Versteegh, K. Koerner, H.-J. Niederehe (eds.), *The history of linguistics in the Middle East*, Amsterdam 1983, 195-250 (= *Historiographia linguistica*, viii (1981), 431-86), with supplements in *ZAL*, x, xi, xii, xiv. Indispensable resources are: G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitab de Sibawayhi*, Paris 1976; ʿA.Kh. ʿUḍayma, *Fahāris Kitāb Sībawayhi wa-dirāsa lahu*, Cairo 1975; A.R. Naffākh, *Fihris shawāhid Sībawayhi*, Beirut 1970; G. ʿAwwād, *Sībawayhi imām al-nuḥāt fī āthār al-dārisīn khilāl ithnay ʿashar ḳarn*[an], Baghdād 1978; Kh. ʿA.R. al-Ḥadīthī, *Abniyat al-ṣarf fī Kitāb Sībawayhi*, Baghdād 1965; the index of Hārūn's *Kitāb* edition, also Schaade and Mosel.

5. Sībawayhi's pupils and the legacy of the *Kitāb*.

(a) *Pupils*. Sībawayhi only had two pupils that we know anything about, al-Akhfash and Ḳuṭrub [*q.vv.*]. Three others are merely names: al-Nāshī, much admired by al-Mubarrad, al-Ziyādī, who apparently read the *Kitāb* with Sībawayhi and al-Māzinī (see Humbert 1995, 15, n. 35 on both) and one ʿUtba al-Naḥwī, described as *min aṣḥāb Sībawayhi*, *Aghānī*[1], xvii, 16, perhaps the same as al-ʿUtbī in al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 44.

Of the two recognised pupils, al-Akhfash is remarkable for his role in the composition and transmission of the *Kitāb*, and Ḳuṭrub is perhaps more remarkable for having had nothing to do with either, as he simply "studied the *Kitāb* with Sībawayhi". This is a problem, of course, since there was strictly speaking no *Kitāb* for him to study. He was about the same age as Sībawayhi and thus more of a fellow-student than a pupil; his reputation as a "dissenting grammarian", in Versteegh's phrase, makes it difficult to imagine him as a student of Sībawayhi and impossible to consider him a disciple. Since none of his works survive (nor any of al-Akhfash) there is no way to know the full technical basis for his unique grammatical position. For al-Akhfaṣ, at least, we can hope to reconstruct his views from his numerous glosses on the *Kitāb*.

(b) *Grammar after Sībawayhi*. In the years after Sībawayhi's death, the *Kitāb* went into occultation. Bernards has explored this phase and shown how the *Kitāb* began to acquire prestige only with al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 [*q.v.*]), which fits nicely with Humbert's independent conclusion that it was al-Mubarrad who laid the foundations for a standard *Kitāb* text. Thus al-Yazīdī (d. 202/818, studied with al-Khalīl but not with Sībawayhi) can praise the "Baṣran" grammarians without even mentioning Sībawayhi. Al-Akhfash taught the *Kitāb* to only three disciples, al-Djarmī, al-Māzinī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Hānī, though it was also known to al-Kisāʾī and al-Farrāʾ who play, however, no part in its transmission. Al-Djarmī and al-Māzinī both energetically promoted the *Kitāb*, and the latter admonished: "anyone who thinks they can do better than the *Kitāb* should show some humility!". When al-Djāḥiẓ presented a copy as a gift to a *wazīr*, the work's fame was assured; by al-Mubarrad's time, the difficulty of the *Kitāb* was compared with riding on water and eventually it was crowned with the title "the Ḳurʾān of grammar". The growing prominence of the *Kitāb* is linked also with the emergent "Baṣran" and "Kūfan" schools, with Thaʿlab declaring that the *Kitāb* was the work of 42 scholars and he could very well do without it! But the *Kitāb* itself (*pace* Baalbaki, *Stud. ar. et isl.*) gives little support to the polemicists; Sībawayhi is so careful to balance systematic regularity *ḳiyās* against observed data, *samāʿ*, that he can hardly be claimed as a representative of either school.

Arabic grammar is not static, and although the *Kitāb* remained the reference point for all subsequent developments, the science itself moved on. Prescriptive needs were fulfilled, methodological theory elaborated, curricular requirements accomodated, and the relatively junior science of rhetoric was established.

Comparison of Sībawayhi's vocabulary with later grammar (Troupeau, *Lex.-index*, 18-25) makes the qualitative and quantitative changes plain. Absent from the *Kitāb* are, amongst others, *madjāz/ḥaḳīḳa, nathr/naẓm, fāʾida/ifāda, djumla, madjhūl, ḥukm, ḍābiṭa, iḳtaḍā, maḥall, rābiṭ, salb, nāsikh, basīṭ/murakkab, shamsī/ḳamarī* and all abstract nouns of the type *ismiyya, fiʿliyya*. Terms were created for many items Sībawayhi left unnamed, e.g. *tamyīz, kāna ʾl-nāḳiṣa/ʾl-tāmma, lā li-nafy al-djins, mā al-nāsikha, mā al-daymūma, afʿāl al-ḳulūb, alfʿāl al-muḳāraba*, etc.

Troupeau's index also exposes the extreme rarity of many terms in the *Kitāb*. Abstractions such as *ʿaraḍ, djawhar, ḥudjdja, ṣūra, djins, ṣinf*, occur in single figures, *nawʿ* only 11 times, with *mādda* and *hayūlā* completely absent, suggesting that Sībawayhi was not greatly interested in categories, or rather that the expression of class membership was already catered for by the indigenous metaphor of *umma* (23 times) and its cognate notions "tribe", *ḳabīl*, "mother", "sister" and "daughter". Two rare terms, *ʿilla* and *taḳdīr*, have been over-interpreted. Sībawayhi associated *ʿilla* principally with phonological "weakness", and on the few occasions when it seems to mean "cause" it also involves weak radicals or similar morphophonological factors; in short, there is not much evidence that Sībawayhi subscribed to any explicit theory of grammatical causality other than *ʿamal*. With *taḳdīr* the position is equally inconclusive; again, the term has primarily morphophonological import and occurs only once in a purely syntactic context. In i, 287/i, 247, *a-laysa hādhā zayd*[un] *munṭaliḳ*[an] is said to be "like *ḍaraba ʿabd Allāhi zayd*[an] *ḳāʾim*[an] in *taḳdīr* but not in meaning", and the suspicion that this may be an interpolation is irresistible. The original sense of *taḳdīr* is seen in an incident where Sībawayhi is challenged to make up words with certain patterns and radicals (al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 72). Sībawayhi *ḳaddara wa-akhṭaʾa* "tried to fit the radicals into the patterns and got it wrong", where *ḳaddara*

still has the same morphological connotation as in the *Kitāb*.

As grammatical science evolved, elements of Sībawayhi's system were dropped or marginalised. Prescriptive grammar was not so concerned with the moral aspect of communication implied by *istaḳāma*, which became less common as the normative verb *dj̲āza/yadj̲ūzu* increased in frequency. The concept of *sabab* [*q.v.*], which accounted for a wide range of syntactic phenomena, was restricted to the *naʿt sababī* construction, e.g. *marartu bi-radj̲ulin ḥasanin abūhu*. The scope of *muḍāraʿa* was drastically reduced. For Sībawayhi, it was part of a general theory of analogical pressure inseparable from *ḳiyās* and related (in ways not yet examined) to the analogies performed by speakers, but all that survives now is the name of the imperfect verb, still called *muḍāriʿ* to this day. Sībawayhi's analysis of appositional and coordinated qualifiers was tidied up; on structural grounds he called them both simply *ʿaṭf*, but his successors in their formalistic way subdivided them into *ʿaṭf bayān* and *ʿaṭf nasaḳ* respectively. Sībawayhi's terms for predication, where *musnad* = first part, *musnad ilayhi* = second part of any predicative structure whether nominal or verbal, were inverted by the 4th/10th century (Levin, in *JAOS*, ci) to *musnad* = predicate, *musnad ilayhi* = subject irrespective of word order.

(c) *The Kitāb in the West*. The interpretation of Sībawayhi's grammar in the West has always been implicitly or explicitly a comparative exercise, and has never resolved the dilemma that literal translations of the *Kitāb* are technically unconvincing and technical translations are historically misleading. Jahn opened up the work to a wider audience (de Saussure *could* have read it, though we will never know), but his vital warning that the German version is only for those who can compare it with the Arabic is mostly ignored. All too often the secondary literature fails to find a compromise between the type of translation represented by Jahn's "Über die Verben, von deren 1. Form das Passivum vorkommt, ohne daß das Aktivum gebraüchlich ist" and what Sībawayhi actually said, *bāb mā dj̲āʾa fuʿila minhu ʿalā g̲h̲ayri faʿaltuhu* (ch. 447). It is only useful to recast Sībawayhi's thought in some modern theoretical framework if the undertaking has real explanatory value. One may regret, now, the speculation that Sībawayhi belonged "somewhere between de Saussure and Bloomfield" (Carter, in *JAOS*, xciii, 157), lending new irony to the word Procrustean which has been applied to Arab linguistics.

Sībawayhi's vocabulary lacks many terms, among them "number", "gender", "tense", "person", "case", "mood", "syllable", "accent", "diphthong", but to focus on these perceived shortcomings diverts attention from the realities of the *Kitāb*. Even more damaging is the inaccurate rendering of the terms that Sībawayhi does use. No-one would be impressed by a writer on *fiḳh* who consistently translated *fatwā* as "death sentence", yet similar distortions are common in works on Arabic grammar. The most unfortunate is the equation of *ʿamal* with "governing", but the imposition of Latin case and mood names runs a close second. We also find "copula" for *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, turning that which keeps apart into that which joins together, *fāʿil* becomes "subject" despite the Arabs' careful terminological distinction between *fāʿil* and *mubtadaʾ*, *mabnī li ʾl-mafʿūl* (in later grammar *madj̲hūl*) are reproduced by "passive", obliterating the Arab theory of this form of verb, phonetic terms are squeezed into Western categories, and so on.

Yet Sībawayhi continues to inspire. Like all works of genius, the *Kitāb* bears infinite re-reading, and all research into Arabic grammar must still begin with Sībawayhi, even if the science which he founded outgrew him and evolved into the scholastic grammar of the *madrasa*. The high intellectual calibre of the late grammarians is undeniable, but it seems less than perfect justice that as grammar sublimated itself into a dialogue with the Ḳurʾān, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn could say without incongruity that Ibn His̲h̲ām (d. 761/1360 [*q.v.*]) was "more of a grammarian than Sībawayhi" *anḥā min Sībawayhi*.

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SĪBĪ (also spelt Sīwī in mediaeval Islamic sources, e.g. the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*) a town and district of northeastern Balūčistān, lying on the plain below the entrance to the Bolān Pass and the route to Quetta [see KWAṬṬA], which is some 140 km/88 miles beyond Sībī town. The town is situated in lat. 29° 31' N. and long. 67° 54' E. Because of its strategic position between the mouths of the Bolān and Harnaī Passes, and on the way down to the Indus valley, it has always played a part in history.

In early Islamic times, Sībī was one of the towns of the district of Bālis(h) or Wālishān, although the residence of the *amīr* was at al-Ḳaṣr/Kūshk near another of the district's towns, Ispindjāy (see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 111, comm. 346). The district is mentioned in the *Bundahishn* as Bālist, presumably meaning in Persian "highland". The Ṣaffārid Ya'ḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] brought Bālis(h) under his control in 253/867 (C.E. Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 99). In Ghaznawid times, it formed part of the sultans' empire, and on their expeditions to India, they frequently marched from Bust and al-Rukhkhadj [*q.vv.*] via Sībī to Multān and the Indus valley (see M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 199; Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, 7-8). The district of Sībī was held *ca.* A.D. 1500 by Arghun from Ḳandahār; then by the Mughals (in Akbar's time, it was a *maḥall* of the Bhakkar *sarkār* in the Multān *sūba*); in 1714 by the Kalhōras of Sind; and later in that century, by the Durrānī Afghāns. In the 19th century, Sībī and Pishīn formed the so-called "assigned districts" (any surplus revenue from which was to be refunded to the *amīrs* of Afghānistān) handed over to Britain by Ya'ḳūb Khān b. Shīr 'Alī under the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879.

In British India, only some two-fifths of Sībī District were directly administered, the rest being the Marī and Bugtī tribal areas and a part of Kalāt state [*q.v.*]. The strategic value of Sībī town was increased when the standard-gauge railway to Pishīn was constructed through it, with its also becoming subsequently the junction for the Quetta line. The ethnic composition of the District included 43% Balūč and 20% Pathāns. Sībī is now in the Balūčistān Province of Pākistān.

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SIBĪR, the designation of Western Siberia first used in sources for the Čingizid era of the 13th and 14th centuries. From this the modern Russ. Сибирь (and thence "Siberia" in European and other languages) derives. The origins of this toponym are unclear. A connection with the Sabirs, a Turkic nomadic grouping which formed part of the Khazar state (cf. the Suwār in Volga Bulgharia) and who may have occupied some parts of this region before moving to the Volga zone in the early 6th century A.D., has been suggested (Patkanov, *Über das Volk der Sabiren*, 258-77). *Sabir* (*Säbir*), in turn, has been derived from the name Hsien-pi (**siem-bi*), a Proto-Mongolian tribal confederation of Inner Asia which overcame the Hsiung-nu for control of Mongolia in the 2nd century A.D. and from which the Jou-jan/Avars, among others, appear to have originated. The later toponym *Ibir-Sibīr* (see below) has been conjectured as stemming from **Abar-Säbir* (Quatremère, *Histoire*, 413 ff., Pritsak, *The origin*, 278-80). The evidence is conjectural at best. The Kimek Ḳaghanate, known to the mediaeval Islamic geographers (cf. *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, ed. Sotoodeh, 85-6, tr. Minorsky, 99-100, and KIMÄK), from which the Ḳipčaḳ confederation developed, was located in much the same territory.

The earliest reference to this name is found in the (*ca.* 1240) *Yüan-chao-pi-shih* (*Secret History of the Mongols*, tr. Cleaves, 173), in the form *Shibir*, where it is listed in a group of peoples extending from Central Siberia to the Urals. A Franciscan letter of 1320 records the form *Sibur* (Pelliot, *Notes sur le 'Turkestan'*, 51-2). This is similar to the forms noted in the Pizzigani brothers' map of 1367 and a Catalan map of 1375: *Sebur*, located to the north of the *Pascherti* (Bashkurts, see

Egorov, *Ist. geograf.*, 130-1; Yule, *Cathay*, i, 307). A number of authors, beginning with Rashīd al-Dīn in the early 8th/14th century (*Djāmi*ʿ, ed. Alizade *et al.*, i/1, 72-3, and ed. Karīmī, i, 513), note a region termed "Ibīr Sibīr". Al-ʿUmarī (ed. Lech, 77), writing *ca.* 741-9/1341-9, in his section on Khʷārazm and Ḳībčaḳ, makes reference to the *bilād Sibir wa-Ibir* which is adjacent to "Bāshḳird" and is a region in which "the ice does not depart from them for a period of six months". A contemporary of his, the anonymous Spanish Franciscan author of the *Libro del conosçimiento* (van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 572), mentions the largely uninhabited "lands of Albizibi" which encompass "Tartaria" from the north. The form "Ibir-Sibir" may also be seen in I-pi-rh Shi-pi-rh of the *Yüan-shih* (and a somewhat later Chinese map, see Bretschneider, *Med. researches*, i, 37; Pelliot, *Notes critiques*, 59). In the early 15th century, Johannes Schiltberger (*Bondage and travels*, ed. Telfer, 34-6, 49) took part in a campaign against *Ibissibur* while the region was still largely under Ostyak control. By that time, the "land of Sibir" appears in Russian sources (cf. *PSRL*, xi, 198; *Ustiužskiy*, 70, recording the death *ca.* 1406 or 1407 of Toḳtamïsh there). Later Islamic sources (e.g. the 10th/16th century *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Ross, 282) continued to call the region "Ibīr-Sibīr". As the name appears to be known only from the Čingizid era, it may derive from Mong. *siber/sibir* "dense forest, thicket" (Lessing, 695), but since the Mongols tended to use the existing ethnonyms and toponyms of the regions they conquered, this seems unlikely.

Sibir, never clearly defined in the sources, formed the north-eastern border zone of the Djočid *ulus*, extending, probably, to the Ïrtïsh and Čulïman rivers, the Baraba and Kulunda steppes and southward toward the Altay and Lake Balkhash (Egorov, *Ist. geograf.*, 45, 54-5). The earliest Čingizid-era polity to emerge in this region (last half of the 8th/14th century?) was that of the Tümen khānate on the middle Tobol and Tura-Tavda mesopotamia with its centre at Čimgi-Tura. It comprised a number of Ḳïpčaḳ-Turkic-speaking Turko-Mongolian tribal groupings, stemming from the same milieu as the Noghay Horde, and was frequently fought over by opposing Djočid factions. It was to here that Toḳtamïsh fled following his defeat by Tīmūr in the late 8th/14th century, after which it was controlled by the Noghay *amīr* Edigü through Čingizid underlings. Although local Tatar traditions (preserved in oral form and in the Russian chronicles) present a welter of confusing accounts, the ruling house appears to have derived from (a probably Noghay chieftain) Taybugha (Miller, i, 189-3; Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 8-10). Sometime before 1481, the Shībānid Ibaḳ Khān, who together with the Noghays inflicted fatal blows on the "Great Horde", took control of the region from the Taybughids. Mamat (Muḥammad), a Taybughid, killed Ibaḳ in 1493 or 1495, regained control of the khānate and moved its capital to Sibir/Isker/Ḳashlïḳ (*PSRL*, xxxvi, 47; Armstrong, 66-7 [Yesipov chronicle]). This now became the Khānate of Sibir, which soon subsumed the remaining Shībānid holdings in Tümen and expanded into Bashkir and Ob Ugrian (Ostyak) lands. The Taybughid princes Yediger and Bekbulat, troubled by internal problems (their father, Kasïy/Kāẓïm, had been assassinated by members of his own entourage) and Moscow's conquest of Kazan [see ḲAZĀN] (1552), submitted to Ivan IV in 1555. This did not prevent their defeat and death at the hands of Küčüm [*q.v.*], a descendant of Ibaḳ (1563). Seydäk (Сеидякъ < Arab. *sayyid*), Bekbulat's son, fled to Bukhārā and from there continued periodic resistance. Although Islam was clearly the religion of the Taybughids (who, in the absence of Čingizid credentials, stressed their Islamic legitimacy, Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 23) and of the ruling strata of the khānate of Sibir, local tradition credits Küčüm with a concerted effort (occasionally forcible) to proselytise the local population. Naḳshbandī *shaykhs* also appear to have played some role in the propagation of Islam on this northern frontier. Küčüm's successes were short-lived. In 1581, the Russians, under the Cossack Ermak Timofeev, began the conquest of Siberia, taking the city of Sibir in October 1582. Ermak perished in a Tatar ambush in 1585 and Küčüm continued to struggle against the Russians, their Tatar allies and Seydäk (who in 1587 was made prisoner by the Russians and taken off to Moscow, *Ist. Sibiri*, ii, 32; Armstrong, *Yermak*, 81-2), but without success. Following a defeat at Russian hands in 1598 (*Ist. Sibiri*, ii, 30-6), old and now blind, Küčüm fled to the Noghay Horde, where he died: *Manghït khalkïnïng ičige bardï. Ḥaḳḳ-ï raḥmanatige kitdi* (according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 177, this occurred in 1003/1594-5; the Yesipov and Remezov Chronicles, Armstrong, *Yermak*, 82, 237-43, report that the Noghays killed him). The Russians established their forts and urban settlements on or near the khānate's earlier towns. Tobol'sk (1587) was built near Tatar Sibir.

Sibir was an important link in trans-Siberian commerce, connecting the Volga-Ural region and Central Asia with the forests of the north so important to the fur trade. Little is known about the internal structure of the khānate. As non-Čingizids, the Taybughids appear, like the Noghays, to have used the titles *biy* (bey, beg) and *sulṭān*. The Tatar tribes were organised into *uluses*, headed by *mīrzās*, as were the subject peoples, often incorporated into one or another *ulus*, who paid the *yasaḳ* (tribute collected in furs).

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(P.B. Golden)

SIBṬ [see ibn al-djawzī, ibn al-taʿāwīdhī, al-mārdīnī. 3.].

al-SĪD, Spanish el-Cid, the Cid, the name by which the most celebrated and the most popular of the heroes of Castilian chivalry is known; he played a preponderating political part in Muslim Spain of the second half of the 11th century, and we can now gain an idea of his real personality by removing all the legendary matter that has grown up around his life and his exploits. It was to the Dutch scholar R. Dozy that the honour was due of having established, as a result of his examination in 1844 of the manuscript of the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām preserved in Gotha, that the story of the *Crónica General* of Alfonso the Wise relating to the Cid, which up till then had been considered a pure invention, was really translated from the Arabic, and probably from a work of the Valencian Muḥammad b. Khalaf Ibn ʿAlḳama (428-509/1037-1116 [*q.v.*]) called *al-Bayān al-wāḍiḥ fi 'l-milamm al-fāḍiḥ* (cf. also F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 176-7, no. 140) and that it is contemporary with the Cid.

This knight, who was called Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, was descended from a noble Castilian family and was born at Burgos during the first half of the 11th century. It is known that in 1064 he distinguished himself, on the side of Sancho II of Castile in a war which this sovereign waged against Sancho of Navarre. He defeated at this time a knight of Navarre in single combat, and the success stood him in good stead in the Castilian army, whose commander-in-chief he became (or the "Standard-bearer of the King") with the title of Campeador (Latin *campeator*, written by the Arabs الكنبيطور *al-kanbiyaṭūr*, the equivalent of the Spanish Arabic *mubāriz* or *barrāz*, "the champion who comes out of the ranks, when two armies are ranged against one another, to challenge an enemy to single combat"). A short time afterwards thanks to the counsels of Rodrigo Díaz, Sancho II made himself master of the Kingdom of León by taking his own brother Alfonso prisoner at Burgos. The latter was able to flee to the Muslim king of Toledo al-Ma'mūn, of the dynasty of the Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn. In Muḥarram 465/7 October 1072, Sancho of Castile was killed before Zamora which he was besieging. The new king of Castile always secretly felt a grudge against Rodrigo Díaz for the humiliation of this oath, but in order to conciliate the knight, then very influential, and to attach him to him, he gave him his cousin Jimena (Chimène) Díaz, the daughter of the Count of Oviedo, in marriage (1074). Some years later, Alfonso VI sent him to the ʿAbbāsid dynast of Seville, al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], in order to collect the tribute, which this Muslim prince paid in return for a nominal alliance with Castile. The Cid himself returned to Castile after successfully attaining the real aim of his mission. Alfonso VI, probably at the instigation of García Ordóñez, then accused the Cid of having appropriated a part of the presents which had been given to him at Seville to bring to the king, and he took advantage of the first opportunity—the expedition against the Muslims of Toledo undertaken without his consent—to disgrace him and to banish him from his dominions (1081).

It is from this time that the life of a "condottiere" led by the Castilian knight dates, and that he began to fight, as occasion arose, the Muslims or his own co-religionists, on behalf of a third person or on his own behalf.

After an unsuccessful attempt to enter the service of the Count of Barcelona, Rodrigo Díaz offered his services to the Hūdid ruler of Saragossa [see saraḳusṭa], Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Muḳtadir. The latter agreed to take him into his army with his mercenaries. He died in the same year and his son Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin succeeded him at Saragossa, while his other son al-Mundhir received Denia, Tortosa and Lérida. The two brothers lost no time in going to war with one another. Rodrigo Díaz continued in the service of al-Mu'tamin, while al-Mundhir made an alliance with the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramírez, and with the Count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer II. The Cid soon won a great victory over the enemies of his master, took rich plunder and made prisoner the Count of Barcelona, whose liberty he restored soon after. He made a triumphal entry into Saragossa, where the Hūdid ruler overwhelmed him with presents and with honours. He had acquired at one stroke prestige and an ascendancy without parallel among his Muslim soldiers who from this time began to call him "my master", *sayyidī*, vulg. Sp. Ar. *sīdī*, which was translated into Spanish in the form of "*mio Cid*" (the famous *Poem of the Cid* was originally called "*El Cantar de mio Cid*"); and soon this name prevailed (with or without the employment of the possessive). Rodrigo Díaz, thanks to his military talents, had become in the eyes of the Muslims of Spain a champion and an irresistible leader in war, el-Cid Campeador.

In 1084, after an ephemeral reconciliation with Alfonso VI, the Cid covered himself with glory once more in Aragon in the service of al-Mu'tamin. When this prince died in the following year, he passed into the services of his son and successor Aḥmad al-Mustaʿīn II.

When the Almoravid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn landed in Spain to fight against the Christians and put them to rout at Zallāḳa (12 Radjab 479/23 October 1086), the Dhu 'l-Nūnid Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḳādir had to appeal for help to the King of Castile and to al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa. The latter saw in this a good opportunity to deprive al-Ḳādir of his kingdom, and secretly entered into an agreement with the Cid to seize the town, all the booty to go to the condottiere. But the latter, mindful of the gifts which al-Ḳādir had bestowed upon him, refused to touch the town and sent a new token of his vassalage to Alfonso. Thereafter, with his army he made incursions into the whole district of Valencia, and in the year 1089, returned to Castile, where he was received with honour by his sovereign. Then he regained the Sharḳ al-Andalus [*q.v.*] with his army numbering 7,000 men.

Profiting by the absence of the Cid, al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa had made an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, who was besieging Valencia. The Count of Barcelona retreated before the Cid, who promised

al-Ḳādir, in return for a payment of 10,000 dīnārs a month, to defend his capital against all enemy attempts. A short time afterwards, Alfonso quarrelled with him once more. Then the Cid, like a regular independent bandit chief, ravaged with fire and sword the whole eastern country from Orihuela to Játiva, marched against Tortosa, defeated the Count of Barcelona, and concluded a treaty with him. At this time, besides the sums which he received from the Count of Barcelona and the Muslim princes of Tortosa and Valencia, the Cid had also amongst his tributaries the Arab lords of Albarracín (al-Sahla), of Alpuente (al-Būnt), of Murviedro (Murbayṭar, today called Sagunto), of Segorba (S̲h̲ubrub), of Jérica (S̲h̲āriḳa) and of Almenara.

The King of Castile, in order to put an end to the growing influence of his too powerful vassal, decided to deprive him of Valencia. Strong in his alliance with the Pisans and the Genoese, he came to besiege the town by land and by sea, while the Cid was engaged in helping the Muslim king of Saragossa against the Christian King of Aragon. Informed of what was taking place, the Cid left Saragossa with his army and laid waste the county of Nájera and of Calahorra, the particular fief of his sworn enemy García Ordóñez. The town of Logroño in the Rioja was completely destroyed by him, and Alfonso VI had to raise the siege of Valencia without attaining any success.

During his absence, the Cid left at Valencia a Muslim lieutenant, Ibn al-Farad̲j̲, at the court of al-Ḳādir. The latter, in S̲h̲awwāl 485/November 1092, was killed after a rising of the population incited by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāf, who placed himself at the head of the city as president of the Valencian republic (*d̲j̲amāʿa*), with a purely nominal representative of the Almoravid government at his side. Some months later, in D̲j̲umādā II 486/July 1093, the Cid marched on the capital with the whole of his army, seized without difficulty the suburbs of Villanueva and of al-Kudya and agreed to make terms with Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāf, while maintaining a strict blockade of the town. The chief of the Valencian republic was forced to surrender the town to the Cid on 28 D̲j̲umādā I 487/15 June 1094. The Campeador did no harm to the population, but did not hesitate to burn alive a short time afterwards the former president, Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāt, as a punishment.

From this time the Cid was absolute master of Valencia. He had turned into a church the great mosque of Valencia and restored the bishopric of the town, which he gave to Jerome of Perigord. In the end, he was quite reconciled to his suzerain Alfonso of Castile, and he was allied to two royal houses of the Peninsula through the marriages of his daughters, María with Ramón Berenguer III, and Christina with the Infante of Navarre Ramiro. He then tried to take Játiva (S̲h̲āṭiba [*q.v.*]) from the Almoravids but his army was routed. The Cid, full of wrath and broken-hearted by this disaster, succumbed not long after in the middle of 1099.

After the death of the Cid, his widow Jimena resisted, for about two years, the incessant attacks of the Almoravids. Valencia was besieged at the beginning of 495/1101 by the Lamtūnī general al-Mazdalī. It sustained the siege for seven months but on the advice of Alfonso VI, who had come to relieve it, Jimena decided to evacuate Valencia, which she ordered to be burned on her departure. When the Almoravid troops entered it, on 15 Rad̲j̲ab 495/5 May 1102, they found nothing but ruins. Jimena transported the body of the Cid to Castile; it was buried near Burgos, in the convent of San Pedro of Cardeña. Jimena was herself buried there when she died five years later in the year 1104.

Bibliography: As noted above, a still valuable work on the life and historical career of the Cid is R. Dozy, *Le Cid d'après de nouveaux documents*, Leiden 1860, repr. in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-Âge*, [3]Paris-Leiden 1881, ii, 1-233. Of Arabic sources, see Ibn Bassām, *D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra*, text and tr. in Dozy, *op. cit.*, 11, 8-28 and pp. iii-xviii; Ibn al-Kardabūs, *K. al-Iktifā'*, in *ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxviii, ed. F. Maíllo, in *Historia de al-Andalus*, Madrid 1986, 121-8; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla al-siyarā'*, in Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. xxvii-xxxi; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Dozy *et alii*, *Analectes*, ii, 754, and in Dozy. *op. cit.*, ii, pp. xxxi-xxxiii; *Fragment anonyme inédit*, in Ibn al-ʿId̲h̲ārī, ii, ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, Appx. I (ch. on Ibn D̲j̲aḥḥāf). Cf. also Dozy, in *Revue hispanique*, xx (1909), 316-428, xxiii (1910), 424-76, and in *Bull. hispanique*, xvi (1914), 80-6. A complete bibl. of European sources to the date of publication is in B. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la historia española*, Madrid 1919. See also A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, 75-7, and BALANSIYA.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

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(R. HITCHCOCK)

AL-ṢIDDĪḲ (A.), a name applied to the first caliph Abū Bakr meaning "the eminently veracious" and "he who always confirms the truth". The lexicographical tradition understands the form of the word to be an intensive adjective (W. Wright, *Grammar*, i, 137-8) indicating the extremes of *ṣidḳ* [*q.v.*], truth.

The word appears in the Ḳur'ān six times and has

a technical sense suggesting an etymology derived from the Aramaic-Hebrew *ṣaddīḳ*, which has the meaning "pious" in Rabbinic literature. Those who believe are *ṣiddīḳūn* in Ḳurʾān IV, 69 and LVII, 19 (both times in conjunction with being *shuhadāʾ*, "witnesses" or "martyrs"), Abraham and Idrīs are called prophets as well as *ṣiddīḳ* in XIX, 41 and 56 respectively, while Mary is called *ṣiddīḳa* in V, 75, and Joseph's prison guard addresses him *ayyuhā 'l-ṣiddīḳu* in XII, 46.

The association of the word with Abū Bakr is explained in a number of anecdotes in classical sources. Abū Bakr, when faced with the sceptics of his community, said of Muḥammad and his night journey, "If he says it is so, then it is true (*ṣadaḳa*)". Abū Bakr then requested that Muḥammad describe Jerusalem to prove the veracity of his account. In order that he could see the city, Abū Bakr was lifted up and he was then able to confirm for everyone the truth of Muḥammad's description. Each time an element was described, he said, "You are telling the truth (*ṣadaḳta*). I testify that you are the messenger of God" and at the conclusion the Prophet said to him "And you, Abū Bakr, are *al-ṣiddīḳ*", and from that time on he was called by this name (Ibn Hishām, 265).

Al-Ṭabarī does not provide the same post-*miʿrādj* narrative, but does follow up on his ascension story with an account of the first male to accept Islam, which according to some reports (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1165-7) was Abū Bakr who, according to the poem of Ḥassān b. Thābit (*Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, London 1971, i, 125) quoted by al-Ṭabarī, was the first to "declare the truth" (*ṣaddaḳa*) of the prophet. Once again, the attempt is made to explain Abū Bakr's name in terms of his devotion to Muḥammad.

The naming of Abū Bakr is also associated with Ḳurʾān, XXXIX, 33, *alladhi djāʾa bi 'l-ṣidḳ wa-ṣaddaḳa bihi, ūlāʾika hum al-muttaḳūna*, "he who comes with the truth and he who confirms it; they are the God-fearing", which is sometimes understood to refer to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr respectively (see e.g. Abū 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī (d. 375/985), *Baḥr al-ʿulūm*, Beirut 1993, iii, 151 and n. 1 for further references). Those claiming descent from Abū Bakr are frequently called al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī or al-Ṣiddīḳī for short.

The Ṣūfī ideal of sincerity (*ṣidḳ*) which can raise individuals to the level of the Prophet is demonstrated most fully by Abū Bakr, about whom Muḥammad is reported to have said: "Abū Bakr and I are like two race horses; if he had run faster than me, I would have believed in him; but I was the faster, so he believed in me." (al-Ḳāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1981, 139).

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(A. Rippin)

ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN AL-ḲANNAWDJĪ [see NAWWĀB SAYYID ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN].

AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ, a *nisba* borne by members of the famed Egyptian family of *shaykh*s of the Bakriyya Ṣūfī order [see AL-BAKRĪ B. ABI 'L-SURŪR and BAKRIYYA]; it related to their claimed descent from the first caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ [*q.v.*].

(Ed.)

SIDHPŪR, a place in the northeastern part of the mediaeval Indian province of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], lying to the east of modern Paṭan. It is mentioned in the history of the Muslim sultans of Gudjarāt as a pilgrimage centre much revered by the local Hindus but sacked in *ca.* 816/1414 by Sultan Aḥmad I b. Tātār Khān, who destroyed the temples there and imposed the *djizya* or poll-tax on the inhabitants.

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(Ed.)

SIDI, the name of a servile African group in India, first reported by Sir Richard Burton. The term is used also for their language, which is related to Swahili. Burton locates them in Sindh, but reports small numbers in all parts of Gudjarāt. Their women are called *sidiyani*. They were originally slaves imported into India "from Muscat and other harbours on the eastern coast of Arabia", where pockets of Swahili speakers still exist. Burton says that their importation "originated under the Ameers" of Sindh: the first such was recognised by the Mughal Emperor in 1738. Whitely found them distributed throughout Kathiawar State.

Burton distinguishes them from Habashī [see HABASH, ḤABASHĪ], slaves imported from Ethiopia, a commerce that certainly existed in the 13th century. For their ethnic origin he lists twenty-two African tribes. Nineteen of these can be identified with tribes in the present Tanzania. The remaining three have not been identified, but have Bantu names which cannot be connected with Ethiopia. He also mentions Lamu [*q.v.*] as a port of origin.

While he says that the Sidi used Sindhi words when they fail to recall words in their own tongue, his word-list of some 200 words, in an orthography that he admits to be faulty, corresponds sufficiently well as to be recognisable in terms of the dialects described by Sacleux in 1909.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

SĪDĪ ʿALĪ REʾĪS (Seydi Ali Reis) (b. Istanbul, beg. 16th century, d. there Djumādā I 970/December-January 1562-3), Ottoman mariner, administrator, author and poet, also known by his *takhalluṣ* Kātibī or Kātib-i Rūm. He participated in Ottoman naval operations that included the conquest of Rhodes (1522), the battle of Preveza (1538), the sailings of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa [*q.v.*], and the conquest of Libyan Tripoli (1551); he also rose to the rank of *ketkhudā* [*q.v.*] of the imperial arsenal (*tersāne-yi ʿāmire*) in Istanbul, following the careers of his father and grandfather.

Sīdī ʿAlī's historical importance, however, rests on his activities and events to the east of Suez. In 1553, while he was in Aleppo with the imperial army during Süleymān II's [*q.v.*] campaign against the Ṣafawids, he received an order to bring the Ottoman ships which Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], the ill-starred commander of the Ottoman "Suez fleet", had left in Baṣra, to Suez. Sailing out on 1 Shaʿbān 961/2 July 1554, he failed to reach the Red Sea because of both Portuguese attacks and also storms; the latter deflected the course of the Turkish ships toward India. Fearing Portuguese warships patrolling the coast, and giving up hope of returning by sea, Sīdī ʿAlī disembarked at the port of Surat on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 961/28 September 1554. He was welcomed by its Muslim governor, and was asked by Aḥmad III, the Sultan of Gudjarāt, to assist him in the siege of Broach [see GUDJARĀT; BHAROČ]. Some 200 men from what had remained of the

Ottoman fleet joined Aḥmad, but Sīdī ʿAlī, with 53 companions, set out on an overland trip to Turkey (beg. Muḥarram 962/end November 1554). They passed through Aḥmadabad, Dihlī, Lahore, Kābul, Samarḳand, Bukhārā, Mashhad, Rayy and Ḳazwīn, before reaching Ottoman-held Baghdād at the end of February 1557. Sīdī ʿAlī then set out for Istanbul, and learning that Süleymān was at Edirne, he hurried there, arriving in May. His possible worries that a fate similar to that of Pīrī Reʾīs was awaiting him proved unfounded, for the sultan received him kindly, and was the first to appreciate the seaman's story; moreover, Sīdī ʿAlī's journey had also been a diplomatic feat, for he brought back 18 letters from various sovereigns addressed to the Ottoman sultan, including messages from the newly-enthroned Mughal Akbar I and from Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.

Sīdī ʿAlī narrated his epic anabasis in an account known as *Mirʾāt al-mamālik*. His other works, also in Turkish, are chiefly translations from Persian or Arabic and deal with mathematics, astronomy and navigation in the Indian Ocean: (1) *Mirʾāt-i kāʾināt* (Istanbul University library, T. 1824), a treatise on astronomical measurements and instruments chiefly applicable to the art of celestial navigation; (2) *Khulāṣat al-hayʾa* (mss. Ayasofya 2951 and Nuruosmaniye 2911), a treatise on geometry and mathematics containing a translation of ʿAlī Ḳushdjī's [*q.v.*] *Fatḥiyya*, enriched with excerpts from Čaghmīnī and Ḳāḍī-zāde-i Rūmī; and (3) *Kitāb ül-muḥīṭ fī ʿilm il-eflāk we-abḥur*, better known as *Muḥīṭ*, still unpublished in its entirety; two mss. exist in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1643—possibly the autograph—and Nuruosmaniye 2948), one in Vienna (Flügel 1277), and one in Naples (Museo Borbonico). It is, after his travelogue, Sīdī ʿAlī's most famous work, and is based on Arabic works dealing with navigation in the Indian Ocean, chiefly those by Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī [*q.vv.*]. The *Muḥīṭ* consists of 10 sections; the fourth includes an account of "Yeñi Dunyā", the New World, and of Portuguese voyages of discovery, including Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe.

Sīdī ʿAlī's account reveals the prestige of the Ottoman sultan among his coreligionists in India and Central Asia, the universality of the Turkic element there (in India, for example, he learned enough Čaghatay to write poetry also in that language), and the effectiveness of Ottoman Turkish soldiers who were in demand at every court. His scientific and navigational works, however, failed to stimulate the Turks toward a more aggressive policy in the Indian Ocean; the sailing of the fleet under his command was the last major Ottoman undertaking east of the Red Sea.

Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs spent his final years mostly in Istanbul (his appointment as *defterdār* of *tīmārs* of Diyārbakir at 80 *aḳčes* per day may have been chiefly a financial arrangement), where his house became a centre of gathering for the intellectual élite. He became a minor legend among his compatriots, and the story of his adventures gave rise to a new Turkish proverb, *bashına Seydī ʿAlī ḥālleri geldi* "You [or "He"] have been beset by adversities like those of Seydī ʿAlī". His poetical talent, recorded only through examples found in the *Mirʾāt al-mamālik*, stood him in good stead on at least two occasions, when he was arrested on suspicion of spying but was released after having sent poems to the local governor at Mashhad and to Shāh Ṭahmāsp at Ḳazwīn.

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The *Mirʾāt al-mamālik* was published in Ottoman Turkish (1313/1895-6) and in a recent modernised version in *yeni yazi* (*Mirʾat ül-memalik*, n.d.), as well as in several trs.: German (H.F. von Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, Berlin 1815, ii, 133-267), English (A. Vambery, *The travels and adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, London 1899), Uzbek (Sh. Zumnunab, *Memleketler küzgüsi*, Tashkent 1963), and Persian. None of his other works has been published, but sections from the *Muḥīṭ* have appeared in English, Italian and German trs. (see Turan's and Adıvar's works). (S. Soucek)

SIDI BEL-ABBÈS [see sīdī bu ʾl-ʿabbās].

SĪDĪ BU ʾL-ʿABBĀS, conventional form Sidi Bel-Abbès, a town of Algeria created in 1849 and deriving its name from the tomb of the saint Sīdī Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās, whose *ḳubba* is on the left bank of the Mekerra river, the town itself being on its right bank (lat. 35° 15' N., long. 0° 39' W.). It lies in the centre of the Tell of Oran equidistant from Mascar and Tlemcen. The plain of the Mekerra (altitude 470 m/1,540 feet) is separated from maritime climatic influence by the Tessala mountain chain, giving Sidi Bel-Abbès a continental climate parallel to that of the High central plateau, semi-arid, sudden rains often causing floods, and with frequently harsh winters. But the climate is healthy and water is available everywhere for irrigation by norias at only 3 or 4 m depth.

Antiquity. The Romans noted the fertility of the Tessala region, from which they dominated the course of the Mekerra (apparently from a Berber root *m-k-r* "great", according to A. Pellegrini), called by them Tasaccura (apparently "river of the partridge", Berber *tasekkurt*, because this bird favoured cereal fields), and the plain of Sīdī Bu ʾl-ʿAbbās.

The Islamic period. The great Ṣufrī Khāridjite Berber revolt of 122-4/740-2 [see ṣufriyya. 2.] freed the region from Arab domination through the battles of the *Ghazwat al-Ashrāf* (122/740) and that of the Wadi Sebu (123/741). At the end of the 4th/10th century, it was dominated by the Berber Azdādja tribe, who exported foodstuffs, especially corn, via Oran (Wahrān, founded in 290/903 by the Andalusians and the Banū Mesgen, a branch of the Azdādja) to Murcia and Granada, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, and then in the next century by the Banū Rāshid, Zanāta Berber nomads of the Maghrāwa confederation. In Almohad times, the ruler of Tlemcen Yaghmurāsan b. Zayyān, founder of the ʿAbd al-Wādids (*r.* 633-81/1236-83), developed irrigation and agriculture in the valley of the Mekerra, the Sīg (this name, < Berber *sik* with the idea of a group of primitive dwellings, having replaced the classical one of Tasaccura). He is also said to have brought in nomadic Arabs of the Banū ʿĀmir, especially those of the Maʿḳil [*q.v.*], to the southern frontier of his realm in order to close access to the Tell. The whole region played a notable role in the struggles between the ʿAbd al-Wādids and the Marīnids; according to Marmol, the Marīnid sultan Abu ʾl-Ḥasan in 732/1331-2 ravaged Tessala.

The Mekerra plain continued to supply grain to Tlemcen and elsewhere *ca.* 1500, and cattle- and camel-raising were also practised there, with the products exported from Oran (cereals, including to Italy; textiles, including the coverings called by the Por-

tuguese "hambels" (< *ḥanbal*). The Crusade which led to the occupation of Oran in 915/1509 neutralised a port useful for aiding the persecuted Muslims of al-Andalus and was also impelled by a desire to gain control of the riches of the region. It was the Banū ʿĀmir who furnished most of the cavalry defending Tlemcen against Spanish attacks, though some groups of them were in a treaty relationship with the Spanish, *Moroz de la Paz*, paying a tribute called *rūmiyya* and furnishing noble hostages. Over the next three centuries, there was an equilibrium of tribes in the region, of whom the more exposed ones to Spanish attacks negotiated at times with the bey of Mascara, at others with the chief of the garrison in Oran.

Economic development in the plain of Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās at this period continued to be an extensive agricultural-pastoral one practised by a largely nomadic population living in tents and dominated by the Maghrāwa. It was connected with towns such as Mustaghānim to the north-east (quarter called al-Maṭmar, "of the grain silos") and Tlemcen to the south-west (also a quarter al-Maṭmar, traversed by a "way of silos", *Ṭrīg al-Maṭmar*).

According to the local legend concerning Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās, he was the grandson of Sīdī Bū Zīdī, who had come from Mecca to Aflu in southern Algeria, probably in the 17th century, and the latter's *ḳubba* is extant in the village of Ḳṣar Sīdī Bū Zīd to the north-east of Aflu. His grandson died *ca.* 1780 and is buried on the hill of Sīdī ʿAmmār, which dominates Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās, in a rectangular *ḳubba* with a cupola of glazed tiles. However, the hypothesis of a saint of Moroccan origin is possible through the spread in the central Maghrib of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī [*q.v.*] and Almohad moves towards unity of the Maghrib, and this may have been favoured in the 17th century by anti-Spanish resistance and the economic and political leadership of the Banū ʿĀmir favouring the substitution of a Moroccan for a local saint.

After the abandonment of Oran by the Spanish in 1206/1792, the port developed its exports of grain, meat and beasts to the British Mediterranean garrisons (Mahon, the Balearics, Gibraltar) and to Spain, and Arzew (al-Marsā) became one of the main markets for supplying British troops in the Peninsular War 1808-14. The Banū ʿĀmir continued to be dominant, and joined ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. al-Sharīf in his revolt of 1220/1805 or 1221/1806 against the Bey of Oran, and after its suppression, the plain of Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās suffered devastating reprisals; although balanced between the Turkish Regency and the Spanish, the population there managed to preserve its independence.

The colonial period. On the French occupation of Oran on 4 January 1831, the Banū ʿĀmir joined other local tribes in recognising as sultan ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Ḥasanī (1808-83 [*q.v.*]). The plain was strenuously attacked and occupied by French forces and reduced to submission, with the sweeping-away of traditional chiefs and considerable depopulation. The encampment of Sidi Bel-Abbès was founded in 1841, with a redoubt on the right bank of the Mekerra facing the *ḳubba* of the saint on the opposite bank. The town was created by decree on 5 January 1849 as centre of the future *arrondissement* of Sidi Bel-Abbès. The cereal and livestock resources of the region were soon exploited, with an all-season carriage road built to Oran for exporting to France and flour mills established along the Mekerra. Orania, less populous than the other two provinces of the north of the Regency, lent itself to colonisation and exploitation at modest expense, and the military occupation forces in Orania rose from 10,000 men in 1840 to 35,000 in 1845. The Muslim population tended to be forced up to the hill slopes, with the farms of colonists in the plain. After the revolt in Orania of 1864-6 by the Ulād Sīdī Shaykh and the Flīta, this process accelerated. Cereals, especially of the soft variety of wheat (*fārīna*), as opposed to the indigenous hard variety (*gemḥ*, triticum durum), and tobacco culture grew. By 1900, the Spanish colonists from Andalusia brought in from 1845 as workmen had become two-thirds of the colonist population of the *arrondissement.* After 1920, viticulture increased, as cereal production dropped owing to soil exhaustion. In 1939, Sidi Bel-Abbès exported 15,000 sheep annually to France plus a tenth of the cereal production of Algeria. This period of agricultural expansion was accompanied by, until *ca.* 1940, sedentarisation of the remaining nomads, with the abandonment of tents for fixed dwellings (often the *gourbi* or shack); pushed into the mountain zones, they exploited the forests for charcoal production, and a rural as well as an urban proletariat grew up. Outside the town of Sidi Bel-Abbès, a week-long regional festival took place annually in honour of the saint, on an area called "the Plateau" (*el-Blāto*), with tents erected there.

During the war of independence in the 1950s, the problems of employment and rural exodus were accentuated by bombardments and the depopulation of rural zones through the policy of regroupment of populations aimed at depriving the nationalist forces of material and moral support from the indigenous population (on the lines of the "cantonment" policy of the 19th century). The problems persisted after 1962, with economic regression of the plain of Sidi Bel-Abbès due above all to the unequal distribution of resources in the colonial period, sc. by a minority of the European population.

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London 1977; A. Azza, *Mestfa ben Brahim, barde de l'Oranais et chantre des Beni ʿAmer*, Algiers 1979. See also AL-SABTĪ.

(H. BENCHENEB, shortened by the Editors)

SIDJDJĪL (A.), one of the mysterious words of the Ḳurʾān, appearing in XI, 84/82; XV, 74; and CV, 4. The derivation in the Arabic sources from Persian *sang* "stone" and *gil* "mud" did not satisfy Horovitz. It seems to designate stones resembling lumps of clay, fired or sun-dried, since this is corroborated by LI, 33-4, "... That we may loose on them stones of clay, marked by your Lord for the prodigal". Some commentators add that these stones had been baked in the fire of Hell, and the expression "marked by your Lord" (XI, 84/82; LI, 34) would mean, so they assert, that the stones were marked with the names of those at whom they were destined.

There exist other interpretations, not unanimously admitted: what has been written or decreed (clearly derived from the term's likeness to *sidjill* [*q.v.*]; Hell or the lowest Heaven (the word being considered in this case as another form of *sidjdjīn* [*q.v.*]). It has also been associated with adjectives derived from the root *s-dj-l.* But a convincing account of the term and its background has now been given by F. Leemhuis in his *Qur'anic* siǧǧīl *and Aramaic* sgyl, in *JSS*, xxvii (1982), 47-56: that it is in origin a non-Semitic, apparently Sumerian word, appearing in Akkadian as *sikillu* or *shigillu*, denoting a smooth kind of stone, now attested in the Aramaic of Hatra [see AL-ḤAḌR] as *sgyl* or *sgl* (probably for **sigil*) with a specialised meaning of "altar stone" > "altar, sacrarium". From Mesopotamia, it must early have entered the Arabic dialects of adjacent parts of the Syrian Desert, becoming known in Central Arabia by the time of the Prophet with the meaning of "hard, flint-like stone".

Bibliography: See also Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1328, xii, 57; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, Cairo 1318, i, 139; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 73; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 11. For the hypothesis according to which the stones mentioned in sūra CV, 4, refer to a smallpox epidemic, see Caetani, *Annali*, i, introd., 147, and Fernandez y Gonzalez, *La aparición de la viruela en Arabia*, in *Revista de ciencias históricas*, v (1887), 201-16. See also A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 164-5; R. Blachère (tr.), *Le Coran*, Paris 1956, 254; R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart, etc. 1971, 240. (V. VACCA-[ED.])

SIDJDJĪN (A.), one of the mysterious words of the Ḳurʾān, appearing in LXXXIII, 7-9: "Nay, but the book of the libertines is in *sidjdjīn*! And what shall teach you what is *sidjdjīn*? [It is] a book inscribed." The majority of commentators take this as a proper name. The word has attracted a dozen interpretations, which are grouped around two central concepts: (1) *Sidjdjīn* is the seventh and lowest earth, or a rock or well in Hell, or even the home of Iblīs; (2) It is the name of the record in which all human acts are set down. Without the definite article, *sidjdjīn* designates Hell Fire, or again, something painful, violent, hard, durable or eternal. These interpretations are influenced by the term's resemblance to *sidjdjīl* [*q.v.*], associated erroneously with the root *s-dj-l.*

Although al-Suyūṭī's *Itḳān* classes it amongst the non-Arabic words, no generally-accepted etymology has been put forward. R. Dvořák, *contra* Jeffery, did not consider it as one of the *Fremdwörter.* The lexicographers, on the other hand, make it a synonym of *sidjn* "prison", which has influenced the most widespread interpretation of the commentators, who see it as the place where the record of the evildoers is kept rather than the record itself. The Ḳurʾān's text admits of both interpretations.

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SIDJILL (A.).

1. Ḳurʾānic and early Arabic usage.

Sidjill is an Arabic word for various types of documents, especially of an official or juridical nature. It has long been recognised (first, it seems, by Fraenkel) that it goes back ultimately to Latin *sigillum*, which in the classical language means "seal" (i.e. both "seal-matrix" and "seal-impression"), but which in Mediaeval Latin is used also for the document to which a seal has been affixed; it was borrowed into Byzantine Greek as σιγίλλ(ι)ον, "seal, treaty, imperial edict", and then, via Aramaic (e.g. Syriac *sygylywn*) into Arabic. It should, however, be noted that in Arabic *sidjill* never means "seal" (*khātam*), but always refers either to a document (*kitāb*) or to a scroll (*ṭūmār*, also a loanword from Greek) on which documents are written. The latter provides the most plausible explanation for the much-debated Ḳurʾānic verse XXI, 104, where God is represented as saying "We shall roll up the sky like the rolling-up of the scroll for the documents" (*ka-ṭayyi 'l-sidjilli li 'l-kutub*); the other explanations offered by the commentators (*sidjill* means "man" in Ethiopian, or it is the name of the Prophet's scribe, etc.) have nothing to recommend themselves. There is also a *ḥadīth* according to which, on the Day of Judgement, God will show the Muslim 99 scrolls (*sidjill*), each one extending as far as the eye can see, on which his sins are registered (see Wensinck's *Concordance*, ii, 431, where *al-ṣabr* is a misprint for *al-baṣar*).

In classical Arabic, *sidjill* is frequently used for a document containing the judgments of a *ḳāḍī*, and in various other technical senses. Al-Khʷārazmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 57) says that it designates a credit-note given to official messengers exempting them from the costs of their journey. From the Fāṭimid empire we have the *sidjillāt Mustanṣiriyya*, the official correspondence of the court of the caliph al-Mustanṣir with the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*], vassal rulers of the Yemen.

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2. In Mamlūk usage.

It is evident from Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḳaddima* that during the Mamlūk period the term *sidjill* (pl. *sidjillāt*) must have been used for the judicial court registers kept by official witnesses (*ʿadala*) "which record the rights, possessions, and debts of people and other (legal) transactions." But the term is infrequently encountered with this general meaning in Mamlūk chancery (*inshāʾ*) and notarial (*shurūṭ*) manuals, which, after all, were designed for the use of professionals.

In his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, for example, al-Ḳalaḳashandī used the term in reference to documents issued by Fāṭimid caliphs, either conferring *iḳṭāʿāt* on their subjects or appointing them to public office (*wilāyāt*). Otherwise, he used *sidjill* once to designate a document issued by a judge to certify (*isdjāl*) the legal integrity (*ʿadāla*) of his son. In *shurūṭ* works, designed to provide models to notaries for drafting legal documents, *sidjill* was also used with technical denotations and was defined in contrast to two other types of documents or records: *nuskha* (pl. *nusakh*) and *maḥḍar* (pl. *maḥāḍir*). According to two authors of Mamlūk notarial manuals—the Syrian Ḥanafī Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 748/1348) and the Egyptian Shāfiʿī Shams al-Dīn al-Asyūṭī (b. 813/1410-11)—a *maḥḍar* was simply an official record of the minutes of a case or transaction conducted before a *ḳāḍī*; a *sidjill* was an official record of the case, based on and including the *maḥḍar*, plus the judge's decision or verdict. This notarial distinction did not originate with the Mamlūks, as J. Wakin's research demonstrates. Presumably, individual *sidjills* were compiled and kept in a *kitāb al-sidjillāt* or *dīwān al-ḥukm* and constituted the offical record of a *ḳāḍī*'s judgements, but no such compilation has been found earlier than the *sidjillāt* of al-Maḥkama al-Ṣāliḥiyya, which date to the second decade after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. The closest approximation to a Mamlūk judicial archive is the Ḥaram collection, which consists of copies of documents associated with the court of a late 8th/14th-century Shāfiʿī judge in Jerusalem. But these documents contain no references to *sidjillāt*. Both al-Ṭarsūsī and al-Suyūṭī also distinguish between a *sidjill* and a *nuskha*. The latter is simply a certified verbatim copy of an original document, while the former contains an enumeration of attestations (*isdjālāt*) to the validity of the document and its contents, along with a copy of the document itself. It should be noted that the term *sidjillāt* was used in perhaps still another sense in the Mamlūk decrees issued to the monks of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai, namely as documents which, along with *marāsīm*, *tawāḳīʿ*, *murabbaʿāt*, *ʿuhdāt*, and *mustanadāt*, attested to the Mamlūks' recognition of the legal status of the monks and their monastery. In two instances, *sidjillāt* is modified by the word *khalīfatiyya*, which indicates that these may have been caliphal edicts. But the precise denotation of *sidjillāt* in this context of various kinds of decrees, contracts, and records is not yet clear; moreover, it should be recalled that *sidjill* was also a general term for "document" [see DIPLOMATIC], especially during the Fāṭimid period.

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3. In Ottoman administrative usage.

The Ottomans used this general term for "register" in a variety of contexts; thus Meḥmed Thüreyyā's biographical encyclopaedia is known as the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī* (Istanbul 1308-11/1890-4). In the late Ottoman Empire, the personnel files of civil servants were known as the *sidjill-i aḥwāl*. By the term *ḳāḍī sidjilleri* or *sherʿiyye sidjilleri* are meant the registers kept in the courts of Ottoman *ḳāḍīs*. Documents were often, but not always, entered in chronological order, and every register normally covered one or two years. The oldest extant records date from the late 9th/15th century. We do not know when the practice of keeping these registers was first instituted, and can only speculate from which Muslim state the practice was copied. For while inheritance inventories have survived for Mamlūk Jerusalem, the bulk of Ottoman registers was not made up of such inventories, even though these latter items are found frequently enough. Pre-Ottoman *ḳāḍī* registers are extremely rare; but cf. R.S. Humphreys, *Islamic history, a framework for inquiry*, London and New York 1995, 219.

While registers dating from the 9th/15th century seem to have only been preserved for Bursa and Kayseri, *ḳāḍī sidjilleri* were instituted in the Arab provinces shortly after the Ottoman conquest. This indicates that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the compilation of such registers already formed part of established routine at least in the larger cities. From the second half of this century onwards, more and more towns and cities preserve at least minor collections of *sidjills*. While older registers are more likely to have been lost than more recent ones, the general lack of *sidjills* for rural settlements which we know to have possessed a *ḳāḍī* before the middle of the 13th/19th century, may indicate that in such places, the compilation and preservation of *ḳāḍī* registers was not the rule in older periods.

The organisation of registers

Ḳāḍī registers of the larger cities consist of two parts; one section begins where books written in the Arabic script normally begin. Here we find records of transactions in the local court, such as sales, loans, agreements concerning divorces or manumissions of slaves. These transactions were not contentious, and the parties in question had them recorded so that proof of the sale, divorce or manumission would be easily available; this aim explains why we normally find the names of three, four or five people under the relevant text (*shhūd ül-ḥāl*). Proof provided by entry into the register was especially important to non-Muslims, who could not legally testify against Muslims; this fact may explain why non-Muslims frequently turned to the court. Some capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] even contained the clause that all contracts involving merchants of the relevant nation had to be registered by the *ḳāḍī*, or else later complaints against the foreign trader would be regarded as irreceivable (Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Venetian presence in the Ottoman Empire*, in Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the world economy*, Cambridge and Paris 1987, 340). Thus while in ordinary transactions recourse to the court was not obligatory, the sultan might legislate such an obligation in specific instances. The *ḳāḍī* registers also document cases of litigation, which might concern the division of an inheritance, but equally a complaint against a neighbour who had added a room to his house overlooking the plaintiff's court, thereby invading the privacy of the latter's family.

More serious matters such as rape, robbery and murder also occur in the *sidjill*, but not very frequently. Since the *sherīʿat* regarded murder without robbery as something which mainly concerned the

family of the victim, while on the other hand, the state demanded a share of the blood money (*ʿö̲s̲h̲r-i diyet*), there was some incentive to settle out of court. Many documents concerning cases which by present-day categories would be regarded as penal simply contain the "facts of the case" as established by the plaintiff's, defendant's and witnesses' depositions. Presumably the matter was then referred to the sultan's Council in Istanbul. But the Council, after having been apprised of such an affair, according to the evidence of the Registers of Important Affairs (*Mühimme Defterleri*) and the Complaint Registers (*S̲h̲ikāyet defterleri*) often merely issued an order to the relevant *ḳāḍī* to judge the matter according to the *s̲h̲erīʿat*. Thus in most cases, neither one nor the other type of register informs us of the judgements issued and the manner of their execution.

A second section of the register begins at what the scribes regarded as the last page of the volume in question. This second half is taken up with orders issued by the sultan's Council; some of these, similar to modern circulars, were issued to all governors and *ḳāḍīs* of a given region. Others are concerned with matters specifically assigned to the particular *ḳāḍī* and/or governor. These may include responses to complaints by local inhabitants, such as creditors unable to recover loans. Occasionally a rescript may occur both in the Registers of Important Affairs and in the local *ḳāḍī* registers. But that is fairly rare, as neither the registers of the *ḳāḍīs* nor those prepared in Istanbul have survived in their totality. In addition, we cannot be sure how great was the percentage of documents which, for one reason or another, escaped registration at either the central or the local end. In large cities such as Aleppo, there were separate registers for the orders emanating from the central administration (*awāmir sulṭāniyya*).

In the largest cities, such as Bursa or Cairo, separate registers for inheritance inventories were instituted. By this term we mean a list of the goods left by the deceased, including both movable property and real estate, but not state-owned agricultural land (*mīrī*). Debts and money owed to the deceased were also included, as well as clauses constituting the testament of the deceased, especially if there were slaves to be liberated. In Edirne and Istanbul, special inheritance registers existed covering the *ʿaskerīs*, that is the servitors of the sultans (and sometimes their spouses) whose inheritances were liable to confiscation. However these registers were not the responsibility of the *ḳāḍī*, but were kept by a special official known as the *ʿaskerī ḳassām* [see ḲASSĀM].

In cases where no children or absent people were involved, the heirs could divide up the inheritance without recourse to the *ḳāḍī* and, consequently, without the compilation of an inheritance inventory. Thus only a relatively small share of all inheritance cases was recorded. Merchants are probably over-represented in the *sid̲j̲ill*, as they often died while away from home, or, if older and sedentary, had sons who were away when their fathers died. Moreover, their goods and chattels were important enough to be worth recording, and given the existence of both creditors and debtors of the deceased, it was often imperative to make an official record of the manner in which the inheritance had been divided. By the same token, the inheritances of women and the poor are under-represented; when the inheritance was small, it was to the advantage of all heirs to avoid reducing it further through the fees charged by the court. The frequency of inheritance disputes shows that manipulations to disinherit minors and women were common. It therefore makes sense to assume that some inheritances were not documented in order to deprive an heir of his/her fair share. Inheritances were also recorded when the temporary absence or non-existence of heirs resulted in the *beyt ül-māl emīni*'s taking possession, temporarily or permanently, of the estate in question. Cases where only a few heirs were involved also were more likely to be included than others, for it was then necessary to demonstrate that the *beyt ül-māl emīni* was not entitled to confiscate. When the inventory does not explicitly state that the inheritance was sold by public auction, the prices assigned to the individual goods in the register should be regarded with a degree of caution.

The *ḳāḍī*'s registers must have been kept in the court building of the district centre; there is no evidence that copies were ever sent to Istanbul. In the Aegean region, however, it is probable that the *ḳāḍī* registers were collected in one of the major towns already in the 13th/19th century, and then were lost when this provincial archive was destroyed, in all likelihood before the 1260s-70s/1850s. For, otherwise, it is hard to explain why to the south of Balıkesir and Edremit and to the north of Antalya, no *ḳāḍī* registers survive except for Manisa, apart from a number of Izmir volumes from the second half of the 13th/19th century.

It was the responsibility of the outgoing *ḳāḍī* to hand these registers over to his successor. Occasionally, we hear of *ḳāḍīs* who did not do this, presumably because of accidents or because they had something to hide. No Ottoman court buildings from before the mid-13th/19th century have survived, but casual references in the documents, as well as the traveller Ewliyā Čelebi's descriptions of 11th/16th century Ottoman towns, prove that they existed at least in the larger cities. Without such a building, it is difficult to imagine how the often substantial series could have survived frequent changes of officiating *ḳāḍīs*. On the other hand, the all but complete absence of *ḳāḍī* registers relevant to the numerous small *ḳāḍī*'s seats of the 10th/16th century can probably be explained by the lack of a building to house these institutions. Presumably the court building resembled the residence of a well-to-do family, with structures surrounding two courtyards. In the first, corresponding to the men's part of a house (*selāmlïk* [*q.v.*]), the business of the court must have been transacted, while the family dwelt in the second courtyard, the *ḥarem* section. Outgoing *ḳāḍīs* must have moved out to make room for their successors.

Not all the cases recorded in the *sid̲j̲ill* were dealt with by the *ḳāḍī* in person. Disputes concerning landholding were often resolved by delegating a (presumably junior) member of the legal establishment to the site in question; where houses needed to be divided up among several heirs, in the 11th/17th century the *ḳāḍīs* of larger towns could rely on the advice of the *mimʿār-bas̲h̲ï*, a local master builder (not to be confused with the sultan's Chief Architect officiating in Istanbul). By contrast, the decisions of the *nāʾibs*, adjunct *ḳāḍīs* who officiated in rural districts, have very rarely found their way into the *sid̲j̲ills*. In the late 12th/18th century, at least in the Bursa area, there also existed *sid̲j̲ills* which were not compiled for the local *ḳāḍī* but for an official in charge of sultanic *waḳfs* answerable to the *dār al-seʿādet ag̲h̲asï*. In terms of content, these *sid̲j̲ills* resemble those compiled for *ḳāḍīs*.

In the more important courts, the *ḳāḍīs* had a num-

ber of scribes at their disposal. Recruitment and training in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries appear to have been less systematic than in later periods, for where these earlier centuries are concerned, we find evidence of scribes who evidently had difficulty handling the mechanics of registration. Thus in late 9th/15th century Bursa, a scribe who had produced a particularly garbled account of a succession explained the reason for the confusion in the margin, asking his readers to pardon him. Spelling errors and clumsy handwriting also are not rare in early registers. By contrast, from the 11th/17th century onward, scribes in the larger courts wrote in a relatively uniform hand. Presumably the senior scribes also put the claims of plaintiff, defendant and witnesses into the appropriate legal formulas. It is tempting to assume that the fragments of everyday speech which are often found among the formulaic language of the documents constitute residual traces of what the participants in the case actually said; but whether this is really true is not at all certain.

Archives containing si<u>dj</u>ills

Registers kept by Ottoman *ḳāḍī*s and preserved in Turkey are now located in the National Library (Milli Kütüphane) in Ankara, having been transferred to this place from the provincial museums in which they were previously housed. Registers prepared by the various courts of the city of Istanbul can be consulted in the office of the Chief Islamic Jurisconsult (Müftülük) in the Süleymaniye quarter of that city. A published guide is available, the newest version of which allows the prospective user to determine the years covered by each register in addition to the call number (Akgündüz *et alii*, 1988). Moreover, this guide contains a broad selection of reproduced documents. *Ḳāḍī* registers in the Ankara National Library deal with localities inside the borders of present-day Turkey. A few extant registers are, however, not covered by this catalogue: thus some museums failed to inform the catalogue compilers of their holdings, and a Çorum register (1004-5/1595-7), located in the Çorum Library, should be added as well.

Outside of modern Turkey, *ḳāḍī* registers, in larger or smaller numbers, are to be found in numerous successor states of the Ottoman Empire. Hungary has only a single *si<u>dj</u>ill*, concerning the district of Karánsebes-Lugos, dating from the late 11th/17th century (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könivtára, Keleti Osztály, Török Kéziratok, Qu. 62). In Bosnia, the Oriental Institute, the <u>Gh</u>āzī <u>Kh</u>osrew Beg Library and the Historical Archive, all located in Sarajevo, have separate collections of registers: in the Historical Archive we find six volumes concerning Livno, Visoko and Teme<u>sh</u>war, while the <u>Gh</u>azī <u>Kh</u>usrew Library holds 68 *si<u>dj</u>ills* of Sarajevo itself, spanning the period from the 10th/16th to the 13th/19th century. In the Oriental Institute, 66 registers existed at least until recently, concerning the region surrounding the city and covering the 11th/16th century. At present, we do not know for certain which of these registers have perished in the war accompanying the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

In Macedonia, the state archive in Skopje houses the *ḳāḍī* registers of Bitola (Monastir); the series consists of 185 volumes, beginning in 1015-16/1607 and ending in 1912. Certain volumes have been made available in print. As to present-day Albania, the oldest surviving *si<u>dj</u>ill* known to date is found in the Vatican Library: it covers Avlonya (974-6/1567-8). No other registers concerning this port seem to exist anywhere else. In Albania, there survive series of registers covering Berat (beginning in 1010-11/1602) and Elbasan (beginning in 988/1580, in copy only). All other Albanian towns, including Tirana, have at most a few *si<u>dj</u>ills* going back to the 13th/19th century.

Ḳāḍī registers located in present-day Bulgaria concern Sofia, Rusčuḳ (Ruse) and Vidin; the oldest known register (Sofia, 949/1542 to 957/1550) was lost during World War II. However, an edition containing the summaries of every individual document had been prepared just before the disappearance of the original, and was published in 1960. The extant *si<u>dj</u>ills* have been deposited in the National Library in Sofia. There is some coverage of the 11th/17th century, but the registers become much fuller and more informative for the 12th/18th one, when expanding commercial opportunities allowed an increasing number of townsmen to prosper. On Greek territory, a similar situation prevails, as the oldest known register in the Macedonian State Archive (Salonica) dates from 1107-8/1696. This institution contains the largest number of *si<u>dj</u>ills* in all of Greece: over 300 volumes covering the city of Salonica and the surrounding countryside, including the judicial districts of ʿAwret-ḥiṣār, Pazārgāh, Volos and Ḳaterin. From the 1240s and 1250s/1830s there survive a number of inheritance inventories covering the Muslim population of Salonica itself. *Ḳāḍī* registers preserved in Veroia begin in 1011/1602; they number about 130, while two volumes consisting of different fragments of Veroia *si<u>dj</u>ills* are owned by the Nahost Institute of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich. In the Municipal Library of Heraclion, Crete, there is a collection of 166 *si<u>dj</u>ills* beginning in the 1070s/1660s; the Ottoman history of this town is documented right from the time of its conquest.

In the Turkish part of Cyprus, the *ḳāḍī* registers of Lefkoşe go back to the late 10th/16th century, they are mostly located in the Evkaf Dairesi in Lefkoşe. Those *ḳāḍī* registers extant in Syria are for the most part concentrated in Damascus, where they can be consulted in the General Directorate of Historical Documents. Registers relating to the Arab provinces are for the most part in Arabic, although documents in Ottoman Turkish are not unknown. Damascus is covered for the period from 991/1583 to 1920 (1,658 volumes), while the extant documents for Aleppo (731 volumes) reach from 962-3/1555 to 1925. This archive also contains about thirty registers of sultans' commands directed at the authorities in Aleppo, in addition to some registers consisting exclusively of inheritance inventories. From the court of Ḥamā, 64 registers have been preserved, which begin in 942-3/1536 and reach to the year 1296-7/1879; some *ḳāḍī* registers also cover Ḥimṣ. In the Sunnī *<u>sh</u>erīʿat* court of Ṣaydā, the existence of eighteen registers, dating from the 13th/19th century, was noted in 1975 by Antoine Abdel Nour; these have probably been destroyed by fire in 1975-6. In the Old City of Jerusalem, the *maḥkama <u>sh</u>arʿiyya* contains the *ḳāḍī* records of both Nablus and Jerusalem; while the former only cover the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, the Jerusalem *si<u>dj</u>ill* go back to 937/1530-1, and thereby constitute one of the oldest series known. By contrast, the Haifa registers begin in 1286-7/1870 reflecting the relatively short history of this town. Some registers from the mid-13th/19th century are also available for Gaza.

A collection of 1851 *maḥkama <u>sh</u>arʿiyya* registers has been preserved in Cairo; these volumes have been for the most part compiled in the numerous courts which existed in the second-largest city of the Ottoman

Empire. Registers are extant from the 11th/17th century onwards. The largest section (559 volumes) concerns the court known as the Bāb al-ʿĀlī, while the sections al-Ḳisma al-ʿarabiyya and al-Ḳisma al-ʿaskariyya encompass probate inventories concerning the property of Ottoman subjects and members of the ruling élite respectively. However, from the later 11th/18th century onwards, Muslim merchants and artisans increasingly joined the military corps, which thus took on the composition of militias. As a result, the al-Ḳisma al-ʿaskariyya section is relatively large (418 al-Ḳisma al-ʿarabiyya registers, versus 157 volumes belonging to al-Ḳisma al-ʿaskariyya).

Waḳf *in the* ḳāḍī sidjilleri

As *waḳf* administrators were subject to supervision by the *ḳāḍī*, the *sidjills* also contain many documents concerning repairs to existing *waḳf* buildings. The rental of *khāns* and shops, and in the case of *waḳfs* lending money at interest, the settling of accounts, are also covered in some detail. Many *waḳfs* turned over major pieces of real estate to a tenant-in-chief, who was in turn responsible for finding occupants for individual shops or workshops; the relevant contracts were at times entered into the *sidjill.* Other records document "double rent" (*idjāreteyn*) agreements; here, a relatively high entry fine was paid, in exchange for which the tenant was allowed a lease which his heirs might inherit. Other documents record the special type of lease by which 12th/18th and 13th/19th century artisans often held their shops (*gedik*); *gediks* could only be passed on to other members of the same craft guild. Foundations without the resources to rebuild after fires or earthquakes received the *ḳāḍī*'s authorisation to turn over the land at a low rent to whoever would build on it. A *waḳf* in need of capital might contract a loan, and then permit the lender long-term occupation of a piece of profitable real estate at low rent until the loan was repaid. There are also cases of *istibdāl* on record, in which the *waḳf* administrator was authorised to divest the foundation of properties which were no longer useful and to acquire others in their stead.

In 12th/18th century Bursa, lists of all foundations lending out money at interest were regularly compiled in separate registers classed among the *sidjill.* These registers also contained the names of the debtors and responsible *waḳf* administrators. Since the amount of the debts and the sum of money remaining in the *waḳf* chest were equally recorded, the financial status of each *waḳf* could be read off at a glance. While this information was not collected as systematically in other cities, money *waḳfs* are still quite frequently documented throughout the Turkish-speaking parts of the Ottoman Empire.

Workshops belonging to *waḳfs* were also in evidence in the *sidjills*. This information is particularly valuable, since we know very little about the functioning of non-*waḳf* shops. Most frequent is information on dye houses, workshops where a large number of individual masters exercised their trade. Particularly well documented, in the *sidjills* of both Istanbul and Bursa, is the dye house associated with the library of Sultan Aḥmed III in Istanbul; numerous disputes which occurred throughout the 12th/18th century provide information on the relationship between masters and administrators, and on intra-guild competition as well. As the *bedestāns* of many towns and cities also produced revenue for major *waḳfs*, the *sidjills* record information on their operation as well; after damages due to fire, detailed protocols were compiled, determining the expenses involved in repairing the *bedestān* in question. Such documents, known as *keshif* (which exist for other *waḳf*-owned buildings as well) are of special value to historians of architecture.

The ḳāḍī *registers as an historical source*

During the last twenty-five years, social and economic historians of the Ottoman lands have examined the *sidjills* with particular attention. Scholars have come to appreciate the capacity of this source to provide a record of historical change, and have therefore tended to prefer the *sidjills* to the tax registers (*ṭāpū taḥrīr*) which in earlier decades had provided the backbone of most socio-economic analyses. Moreover, given the scarcity of private archives in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the *sidjills* often constitute the main (or even the only) source which relates to local as opposed to central government concerns.

As a first step, the functioning of the courts and the *ḳāḍīs*' correspondence with the authorities in the capital have been studied, as well as the complex interplay between *sherīʿat* and *ḳānūn* as applied by the *ḳāḍīs*. Here the source criticism long practiced by historians has been joined to the discourse analysis initiated by students of literature. But principally, the standardised character of many documents contained in the *sidjills* permits statistical analysis, which has been undertaken with respect to probate inventories as well as to sales documents.

When houses were sold in larger Ottoman cities, such as Istanbul, Bursa and Aleppo, but even in Ankara or Kayseri, the record of the relevant agreement included not only the price, but also an enumeration of the neighbouring property-holders and the rooms contained in the dwelling in question. Administratively determined prices (*narkh* [*q.v.*]) are also found frequently enough in the registers of some localities to permit the construction of series. Conversion rates concerning the different coins which circulated in different parts of the empire can be derived from sales records and inheritance inventories. These series show up the degree to which a given town was economically integrated into a larger entity. Given the linkage between monetary inflation and social unrest, accurate indices of currency devaluation are of great importance to the social historian as well.

Qualitative information in the *sidjills* has equally come to interest researchers. With respect to women not part of the Ottoman élite, the *ḳāḍī sidjilleri* constitute almost the only source of information; as women often turned to the courts in order to defend their property rights, historical research has focussed on the relationship of women to property. Ample information is also available on divorce, and occasionally we find texts which show how marriage negotiations were begun or broken off. The probate inventories contained in the *sidjills* also provide some evidence on polygyny and family structure. These data are, however, less usable than one might wish for, as children who predeceased their parents are not recorded, and moreover, the sample of probate inventories included represents only a very specific sector of the urban population. The *sidjills* also contain a fair amount of information on women who founded and administered *waḳf.*

Slaves belonging to private persons also have left few traces anywhere but in the *sidjills*. Records of sales and manumissions can be supplemented by promises of future manumission in exchange for specific services; documents allowing a slave to use capital belonging to a master have also been found, as well as records of the personal and household goods which female owners sometimes gave their slave women when

the latter were manumitted and married off. Since the *sidjills* often mention the slave's place of origin, it has been possible to relate major campaigns to the affluence of slaves from a given region at a large slave market such as Bursa.

Relationships between inhabitants of town quarters are reflected in complaints concerning wilful damage to buildings, nuisances in and around shops, or accusations of drunkenness and loose living. There is some documentation on the life of the poorest townsmen, often immigrants without families, as they died in a *khān* or on the street. Attempts to limit immigration into the towns are also on record, namely when *tīmār*-holders or administrators of crown lands demanded the return of peasants who had migrated to town without the consent of the proper authorities. But the same records document the interest of the townsmen in retaining their solvent neighbours, whether former villagers or not, by appropriate testimony to the court. Reactions on the part of artisans to the special demands made upon them in wartime are documented in the disputes among craftsmen as to which guild was the adjunct (*yamaḳ*) of which other, as *yamaḳs* were obliged to contribute to the taxes demanded from the "superior" guild. No systematic evaluation has as yet been attempted for the numerous protocols concerning accidents and sudden deaths, which were included in the registers in order to safeguard the neighbours against later claims. These protocols provide a vivid reflection of the risks inherent in living in an urban community.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SIDJILMĀSA, a town of pre-modern Islamic Morocco.

The ruined site of the ancient capital of the Tāfīlālt is as poorly known as it is famous. The town, situated on the Wadi Zīz some 300 km/190 miles from Fās, on the southeastern fringes of mediaeval Morocco, occupies a key position as gateway to the desert. Moreover, it has had the good fortune of being the foremost urban centre of the region which provided the land with its present-day dynasty of rulers, the ʿAlawīs. Thus history and legendary prestige have become mingled in order to preserve for this site, very eccentrically situated in regard to the great events of Moroccan history, an unaccustomed fame. Leo Africanus, who did much for the fame of a town where he stayed for some time in the 16th century, contributed to the spread of this legend; he makes Sidjilmāsa a foundation of Alexander the Great "for the sick and wounded of his army". The town was for long to have this image of a base and a refuge on the margins of the main track of history.

The *madīna* was actually founded, as al-Bakrī states, in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, in 141/758. It became the centre of an independent emirate connected with the Miknāsa, founders of Miknās and Tāza, that of the Banū Midrār or Midrārids [*q.v.*] who, following the examples of Tāhart and Tilimsān, rallied to the Khāridjite heresy [see ṢUFRIYYA. 2]. In the 4th/10th century, the land took part in the struggles between the Fāṭimids and the upholders of the Sunna, as protected by both the Aghlabids and the Spanish Umayyads; the town, without much pressure, welcomed the Mahdī. But orthodoxy soon came back; the dynasty was deposed by a Zanāta who had rallied to the Andalusians, Khazrūn al-Maghrāwī (365/976), and the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] thus became masters of the independent amirate until the mid-5th/11th century.

The advance of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] had some links with the region since their religious head, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, had been chosen by his master, who had a school in a settlement on the banks of the Zīz and within the amirate. Above all, the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*], from this point onwards adherents of the Almoravids, had been impeded in both their commerce and their transhumance by the domination of the Zanāta based in Sidjilmāsa. Their richness—a figure of 50,000 camels belonging to the *amīr* passing into the Draa is mentioned—and this local quarrel were caught up in the *djihād* to explain the end of the Banū Khazrūn and, with their line, the amirate of Sidjilmāsa.

It will be seen later how this annexation did not affect at all the region's prosperity. There is little mention of Sidjilmāsa, pillaged at the beginning of the 7th/13th century or adopted as a refuge by the Almohad ruler al-Rashīd towards the end of that dynasty. The Marīnid period gives us more information on the real life of the town and on that long band of territories which, lying between the Sahara and the Mediterranean, were the grazing lands of the Zanāta Banū Marīn, from Figuig towards the south, along the course of the Mulūya, and the region which they reached in summer, towards the north. Possession of the town oscillated between the Almohads and Marīnids, who made themselves masters of the town in 653/1255 and then took definitive possession of it twenty years later. The place was also the locus of a clash between the Marīnids of Fās and the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tilimsān, who had to seek shelter under the walls of Sidjilmāsa. A further danger took shape in the 7th/13th century with the Maʿḳil [*q.v.*] Arabs' seizure of the Moroccan oases. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was probably able to repel them towards Sāḳiyat al-Ḥamrāʾ in the 8th/14th century, but the intrusion of these Bedouin tribesmen was irreversible.

At the same time, the town welcomed rebels and fugitives. Thus a son of Abū Saʿīd, Abū ʿAlī, made Sidjilmāsa the centre of a dissident amirate which he tried to extend towards Tuwāt (Touat) and towards Marrākush. His brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan confirmed him in this power, perhaps with the aim of neutralising him whilst Abu 'l-Ḥasan himself went to campaign against Tilimsān with the help of the Ḥafṣids. Abū ʿAlī nevertheless ended up a prisoner at Fās, where he died. But Abu 'l-Ḥasan himself, on his return from his disastrous Ifrīḳiyan expedition and threatened by his son Abū ʿInān, took refuge at Sidjilmāsa, which welcomed him but very soon preferred to him the future *amīr*. These episodes show that the Marīnids were not really able to control the outer fringes of Morocco from which they had actually themselves come. The end of the mediaeval period marks the end of the role, at times paradoxical, which the town had retained during the period of the Berber empires.

Under the Saʿdians, history seemed to follow a similar model. Al-Maʾmūn, in rebellion against his father al-Manṣūr, set himself up at Sidjilmāsa and in the Draa. The town was in Mawlāy Zīdān's hands in 1012/1603, and it was there that he received an Ottoman embassy from sultan Murād IV, whose ambitions had contributed towards breaking up the regional unity of Mediterranean Africa. But above all, this century saw the rise of the Abū Matalli marabouts who threatened the power of Mawlāy Zīdān (1020-2/1611-13) before another marabout, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, replaced his, to be in turn chased out of the Tāfīlālt in 1070/1660 by the ʿAlawid Mawlāy Rashīd.

The locus for this latest Moroccan dynasty ended up by enclosing if not the town, at least its region in the role of a sanctuary both venerated but also marginal. At the time when Mawlāy Sharīf, at the age of 52, became master of the Tāfīlālt, the district certainly served as a base for the expansion of the Sharīfs. Later, this place of famous name served to distance from the court powerful trouble-makers; in connection with the reign of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, Henri Terrasse wrote that this ruler, richly endowed with numerous children, made it a kind of "dynastic depot" for them. In 1142/1729, it was at Sidjilmāsa that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh was to be found when people wanted to make him his father's successor. In 1206/1792, when Mawlāy Slīmān came to power, he was very familiar with Sidjilmāsa, where he had lived for a long time. In this way, the town and the Tāfīlālt became merged together in people's memories, and despite their decadence, the outer fringes of Morocco, of which the town was an integral part, showed itself nevertheless as the origin of four Moroccan dynasties: the Almoravids, the Marīnids, the Saʿdians and the ʿAlawīs.

However, in regard to Sidjilmāsa, one should tone down the severe judgment of the Saʿdian period historian al-Ifranī, "Sidjilmāsa has no greater merit except that it had the Sharīfs, and but for this fact, its name would have neither the popularity which it enjoys nor

the least prestige." In fact, the town was in mediaeval times in the front rank as an economic centre. The route to the Orient which joined the southern Sahara to Egypt and the East was both uncomfortable—sandstorms are mentioned—and dangerous. An itinerary which described a long curve accordingly led caravans to skirt the Sahara by the west. The caravan staging-point of Si̱djilmāsa could thus serve both Ifrīḳiya (al-Bakrī describes the route here) and Fās, or, by travelling northwards by the Mulūya, the Mediterranean. Numerous foreign merchants were known at Si̱djilmāsa in the High Midde Ages. With the Almoravids, who united under one rule not only the two sides of the Sahara but also those of the Western Mediterranean, the town enjoyed an exceptional situation. The reconquest of the Mediterranean basin by the Europeans impeded this prosperity, whilst the opening-up of the way to the New World, and also the re-opening of the route across the Sudan, finally ruined it.

The texts abound in references to this trade, in which gold from the Sudan figures, as in also African slaves, which appear as items of merchandise in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. Various products of Moroccan agriculture are also cited: Si̱djilmāsa received the pistachios of Tunisia, but above all, it exported dates, henna, spices (carraway and cumin), indigo, cotton and sugar. Alum was valued, but also galls used for the tanning of leather. These rapid indications confirm that Si̱djilmāsa, an entrepôt as well as the centre of a prosperous regional hinterland, was a rich town. One can readily understand how it survived the end of its political independence, so long as the political geography of the lands surrounding the Mediterranean did not separate it from its customers. All this seems to make al-Idrīsī's description plausible: "It is a great and populous town, surrounded by orchards and gardens, fine both within and outside. It has no citadel, but consists of a series of palaces and cultivated fields along the banks of a river; the rise and swelling of this river during the summer resembles that of the Nile, and its waters are used for agriculture in the same fashion as those of the Nile by the Egyptians."

Descriptions exist from al-Bakrī to Leo Africanus and up to the present day. H. Terrasse has described the site, whose surrounding wall of brick on a stone base, attested in the 5th/11th century, no longer exists. But the site can easily be located by aerial photography and detection: a vegetation-less surface is bordered by an enceinte which has a fore-wall, but this strong but also fragile (because of its eroded material) wall appeared after the time of the amirate of Si̱djilmāsa. The position is the same for the remains which it encloses; these may be a sign of a rebuilding of the *madīna* in recent times. For the mediaeval period, only a few Marīnid survivals can be detected in a site badly affected by floodings. But only the track towards the Mag̲h̲rib and Spain has been explored; it would be useful to compare certain remains with those recently uncovered in Ifrīḳiya.

As the cradle of the ʿAlawī dynasty, the Tāfīlālt has readily attracted archaeologists, without Si̱djilmāsa having experienced the extensive scientific project which it deserves and which will, it is hoped, eventually take place. Explorations are in the course of being made, and a mosque has been uncovered, but the texts nevertheless remain today as the most eloquent testimonies to an age when the countryside of Si̱djilmāsa was not far from evoking a dream land. Half a millennium after its fall, Si̱djilmāsa remains present in the memories of our contemporaries; it is the witness of a time when the lands of the south, by their economies as well as by the technologies mastered by their peoples, were in advance of those of Western Europe.

Bibliography: One may consult the excellent art. s.v. in *EI*[1] by G.S. Colin, with his list of the Arabic sources, to which can be added Leo Africanus, tr. Epaulard, Paris 1956. See further H. Terrasse, *Notes sur les ruines de Sijilmasa*, Algiers 1936; idem, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1948-50; D. Jacques-Meunié, *Le Maroc Saharien des origines à 1670*, Paris 1982; and TĀFĪLĀLT. (M. TERRASSE)

AL-SI̱DJILMĀSĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Anṣārī, Arab literary theorist, known for his highly original work *al-Manzaʿ al-badīʿ fī tadjnīs asālīb al-badīʿ* (ed. ʿAllāl al-G̲h̲āzī, Rabat 1401/1980).

In the colophon of the Tetuan ms., the author states that he finished his work on 21 Ṣafar 704/23 November 1304. No other bio-bibliographical details are known. His *nisba* and the provenance of the two extant mss. of his work show him to be a Mag̲h̲ribī scholar. More particularly, as the approach of his book clearly shows, he belongs to the Mag̲h̲ribī "school" of the likes of Ibn ʿAmīra (d. 656/1258 or 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) in his *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalā mā fī ʾl-Tibyān* [of Ibn al-Zamlakānī] *min al-tamwīhāt* (ed. M. Ibn S̲h̲arīfa, Casablanca 1412/1991), Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]) in his *Minhādj al-bulag̲h̲āʾ wa-sirādj al-udabāʾ* (ed. M. al-Ḥ. Ibn al-K̲h̲udja, Tunis 1966), and Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākus̲h̲ī (d. 721/1321 [*q.v.*]), in his *al-Rawḍ al-marīʿ fī ṣināʿat al-badīʿ* (ed. R. Bins̲h̲akrūn, Casablanca 1985), who, each in his own way, made use of the—otherwise spurned—Aristotelian Arabic tradition of poetics and rhetoric.

His book is a sustained effort at a logically strict classification of the various schemes of rhetoric and stylistics. His ten topmost genera are the following (the translations are tentative; "|" indicates unusual terms, "sic" marks unusual meanings): *īdjāz* (brevity), *tak̲h̲yīl* (imagery [sic]), *is̲h̲āra* (allusion), *mubālag̲h̲a* (emphasis), *raṣf* (patterning [!]), *muẓāhara* (doubling [!]), *tawḍīḥ* (clarification), *ittisāʿ* (ambiguity [sic]), *int̲h̲ināʾ* (digression [!]), and *takrīr* (repetition).

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SI̱DJISTĀN [see SĪSTĀN].

AL-SI̱DJISTĀNĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. SULAYMĀN b. al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲, Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd, early Islamic traditionist, born 230/844 in Si̱djistān, died 316/929 in Bag̲h̲dād. He was the author of *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, a work on uncanonical readings of the Ḳurʾān [see ḲIRĀʾA] organised by "codex" and apparently the only book of its type still in existence. Famed as a memoriser of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, he wrote books mainly on Ḳurʾānic topics, including a book of *tafsīr* and work on *nas̲k̲h̲* (perhaps used as a source by Ibn al-Djawzī in his *Nawāsik̲h̲ al-Ḳurʾān*). While he is reputed to have composed several *ḥadīt̲h̲* collections (among which are mentioned a *Musnad* and a *Kitāb al-Sunan*), his reputation as a transmitter varies. He is generally considered trustworthy and it may be that his work on the text of the Ḳurʾān cast him in an unfavourable light for some later generations. His fame primarily rests on

his work on the codices which was, for example, quoted extensively by al-Suyūṭī in his *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*.

Al-Sidjistānī was a contemporary of Muḥammad b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*], and is pictured as his rival in writing a *tafsīr* and the one who lost the competition according to the judgement of history. A dispute arose between the two of them regarding al-Ṭabarī's alleged Shīʿī and Djahmī tendencies, as exposed by al-Sidjistānī with his Ḥanbalī point of view.

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AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM [see ABŪ ḤĀTIM AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ].

AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ, ABŪ YAʿḲŪB [see ABŪ YAʿḲŪB AL-SIDJZĪ].

SIDJN (A.) "prison". In the Ḳurʾān it is mentioned only in connection with the story of Joseph (sūra XII and XXVI, 29). The etymology of the term is controversial, but it seems to be derived from the Latin *signum* via the Greek variant *signon*, which meant prison in Greek colloquial speech in Late Antiquity (see J. Niehoff, *Romanica Graeco-Arabica: lat, signum > gr. signon > arab. sign*, in *Romanica Graeco-Arabica, Festschrift R. Kontzi*, Tübingen 1995). *Ḥabs* in the Ḳurʾān means "detention", but is used in later literature to denote a prison too (*Aghānī*³, iv, 92; al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, ed. ʿA. al-Shāldjī, Beirut 1978, ii, 116; Ibn al-ʿAdjamī (17th century), *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Gotha, Arab 1631, fols. 75a, 82a, 122b, 130a, 157b, 173a, 176a; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270/1853, ii, 187). *Ḥubisa ʿinda fulān* in the sense of being imprisoned in the custody of a person could mean anything, from being kept in someone's house to rotting in a dungeon. *Tarsīm* as described by al-Maḳrīzī (and perhaps as used predominantly in Mamlūk sources, see *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 187) means detaining a person in one place or putting him under guard.

House arrest as a punishment (with the root *m-s-k*) in the case of illicit fornication was imposed on the women in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 15-16), but was later abrogated and replaced by flogging (XXIV, 2). All Ḳurʾānic punishments, the *ḥudūd*, are thus corporal punishments.

The question of prisons and imprisonment in Islam has hardly been dealt with so far. Prisons seem to have been unknown in Bedouin society, but probably existed in cities like Mecca and Medina. Undoubtedly, Islam became acquainted with imprisonment as an institution through its conquests. Information concerning prisons and imprisonment is scarce in the Islamic *fiḳh* literature in the pre-classical and classical time (2nd-6th/8th-13th centuries). The first prison building is attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who is said to have bought a house in Mecca and turned it into a prison. ʿAlī allegedly did the same in Baṣra; however, prisoners could easily escape from ʿAlī's prison because it was not solid enough. So ʿAlī is said to have built another one like a fortress. Besides imprisonment in special prison buildings, house arrest existed, which allowed the detainees a great deal of freedom compared to normal prisoners. Bakkār b. Ḳutayba (d. 270/883) was, for example, held as a prisoner in his own home. However, this did not prevent him from sitting at his window and lecturing on *ḥadīth* to the people who had gathered in front of his house (al-Kindī, *K. al-Ḳuḍāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden-London 1912, 513). Special prison buildings are known to have existed in different cities, and very often the citadel was used as a prison (see e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 187 ff.).

Although different forms of imprisonment existed, the only form of imprisonment which the jurists dealt with in more detail is imprisonment for debt. It was imposed if the creditor thought that the debtor still had assets. The sole objective of this kind of imprisonment was to compel a debtor to satisfy his creditors. Thus he was released if it became clear that he was impecunious. Imprisonment was, according to the *fiḳh* literature, also used in cases of contempt of court and for apostates. Male apostates could be imprisoned for three days in an effort to revive their faith in Islam. If they were unwilling to reaffirm their faith within this period, they were to be executed. The same is true for female apostates, but according to some jurists, they were only to be imprisoned.

The jurists mention pre-trial detention, i.e. to detain a suspect until his trial commences. This was based on an alleged utterance of the prophet who is said to have had people arrested on suspicion (*fī tuhma*).

In all these cases, the prisons were subject to the control of the judges. According to the Ḥanafī Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the maintenance of prisoners should be financed from state funds so that prisoners would not roam about the streets in shackles begging (*K. al-Kharādj*, ed. ʿU. Bashīr², Cairo 1933, 149). It seems, however, that occasionally prisoners had to pay rent to live in prison if they had assets. In the *adab al-ḳāḍī* literature, the prisoners' rights were strictly defined and it was emphasised that under no circumstances should anyone be kept in prison wrongfully. If there was no plaintiff, the judge had to release the prisoner. If he was sick, the prisoner could be looked after by his servant or he could be discharged from prison. Furthermore, he could receive guests in prison, especially members of his family and sometimes he was even allowed to have sex in prison if an appropriate place for it was available. A prisoner should not be beaten, chained, paraded through the streets or forced to work. Nevertheless, prisoners were prohibited from attending gatherings, festivals, the pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*) and funerals (al-Khaṣṣāf, *K. Adab al-ḳāḍī*, ed. F. Ziyadeh, Cairo 1978, 264-5; al-Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Beirut 1986, xx, 90.) However, evidence from historical and biographical sources suggests that in practice not all the requirements of the *fuḳahāʾ* were met.

Imprisonment not as a means of compulsion (like imprisonment for debt) or in the sense of pre-trial detention, but as a punishment, is only rarely mentioned in the *fiḳh* literature, and if so, mostly in addition to the *ḥudūd*, i.e. in addition to corporal punishment. For example, according to the Mālikīs, in the case of murder, if the *walī ʾl-dam* (the next of kin who has the right to demand retaliation) waives his right of retaliation, the murderer is imprisoned for a year. The imprisonment takes place only after he has been whipped a hundred times (Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *riwāya* Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, ed. S.M. al-Laḥḥām and M. Ḳaṣṣāṣ, Beirut 1988, 671, *k. al-ʿuḳūl, bāb al-ʿafw fī ḳatl al-ʿamd*, 627).

In the field of *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*], imprisonment is generally accepted as a punishment and is listed next to admonishment, flogging and banishment. It could

be for one day or for an indefinite period.

Taʿzīr is left to the discretion of the jurists, and the *fiḳh* literature does not lay down special punishments for particular offences. Al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1189) divides society into four classes and mentions imprisonment as a punishment for the two lower classes, in addition to admonishments and beatings. It is possible that such prisoners were kept in the so-called "robbers' prison" (*sidjn al-luṣūṣ*) which is only rarely mentioned in the legal literature. The question in which cases and how often imprisonment was imposed in legal practice as a punishment, and whether it was used as often as corporal punishment, can only be answered by the study of historical or biographical literature. Here also, not much research has been done. It seems, however, that in practice imprisonment was used mainly as a compulsory measure for debtors and in cases of pre-trial detention, and only in very rare cases as a punishment, e.g. for a breach of official duty by an unreliable court secretary (al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik*, ed. A.B. Maḥmūd, Beirut 1967-8, iii-iv, 217), or in the case of refusal to pray (al-Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1947-50, iii, 260). However, imprisonment seems not to have been a main punishment (cf. Schneider, *Imprisonment*, 166). This situation prevailed through the Ottoman era (U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 301 ff.).

In modern Islamic states, punitive detention is now one of the officially recognised and widespread forms of punishment, in addition to fines and—where they still exist—corporal punishment (see e.g. *The Gazette of Pakistan*, 25 October 1994, 796: it comprises imprisonment for life, rigorous imprisonment with hard labour and simple imprisonment). As in classical times, imprisonment is administered through the penal law, e.g. in the case of *ḳatl al-ʿamd* (homicide with deliberate intent), when the *walī 'l-dam* voluntarily waives his right of retaliation, cf. above, Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 671, *k. al-ʿuḳūl*, etc., cited above). In many modern Islamic legal codes, e.g. those of Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt and the UAE, imprisonment because of debt still exists (see *al-ʿAdāla, Madjalla Ḳānūniyya*, Abū Ẓaby, lxxii [Rabīʿ II 1412/October 1992], 8 ff.).

Historically, the legal aspects of imprisonment have to be distinguished from the political ones. As the ruler had the right to exercise judicial power in most cases concerning public order and safety, he also had the right to imprison people at will. Thus the government could send to prison proven or alleged heretics, religious fanatics, charlatans and all those guilty of violating public order. Officials who failed to carry out their order were imprisoned. Judges who were not willing to serve could be put in jail.

The same is true for political enemies, who were considered to be hostile to the ruler, and also for prisoners of war (for the 17th century, see e.g. Herberer von Bretten, *Aegyptiaca servitus. Warhafte Beschreibung einer Dreyjährigen Dienstbarkeit*, Heidelberg 1610, new ed. Graz 1967, 125 ff.). The living conditions for prisoners of the ruler are often described in historical sources as appalling. In what al-Maḳrīzī calls "prisons of the governors" (*sudjūn al-wulāt*), prisoners in chains were forced to do hard labour. Their cries of "hunger" were heard in the streets while the warders took the alms originally meant for them (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 187).

The sources, especially historical works, attest many cases of political imprisonment, often from the ruler's arbitrariness and without any trial; thus scholars like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Ibn Taymiyya [*q.vv.*] and many others, were put behind bars.

Bibliography: O. Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Isl.*, ix (1919) 1 ff., see 65 ff.; M.M. Ziyāda, *al-Sudjūn fī Miṣr fī 'l-ḳurūn al-wusṭā*, in *al-Thaḳāfa*, cclxii (1944), 15 ff., 20 ff., cclxxix (1944), 16 ff.; F. Rosenthal, *The Muslim concept of freedom prior to the nineteenth century*, Leiden 1960; F. Ziyadeh, Adab al-Qāḍī *and the protection of rights at court*, in *Studies in Islamic and Judaic traditions*, ed. W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks, Atlanta 1987, 143 ff., A. al-Wāʾilī, *Aḥkām al-sudjūn bayn al-sharīʿa wa 'l-ḳānūn* (Persian tr. with comm. M.Ḥ. Bukāʾī, *Aḥkām-i zindān dar Islām*), [3]Tehran 1367/1988; I. Schneider, *Imprisonment in pre-classical and classical Islamic law*, in *Islamic law and society*, ii (1995), 157 ff.

(Irene Schneider)

ṢIDḲ (a.), a term in mysticism.

Here, the importance of *ṣidḳ* ("truthfulness, sincerity") and its derivatives, *ṣādiḳ* and *ṣiddīḳ* ("true, truthful, sincere") is determined by their frequent use in the Ḳurʾān, e.g., iv, 69, v, 119, vi, 115, ix, 119, x, 2, xix, 41, 54, 56, xxvi, 84, xxxiii, 8, xlvi, 16, liv, 55, etc. (see also H. Kassis, *A concordance of the Qurʾān*, Berkeley 1983, 1174-7) and in *ḥadīth* (Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, 277-84). *Ṣidḳ* was treated as a cornerstone of mystical self-discipline by early Ṣūfī masters such as al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, al-Djunayd, al-Ḥallādj and the anonymous author of the *Adab al-mulūk* (late 4th/10th century). The purity of *ṣidḳ* was routinely contrasted with the foulness of lying (*kidhb*), this "menstruation of the souls" (*ḥayḍ al-nufūs*), as it was called by some Ṣūfī authorities. Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899 [*q.v.*]) wrote a special tract, the *K. al-Ṣidḳ*, in which *ṣidḳ* was discussed in the context of other Ṣūfī notions, notably *ikhlāṣ* and *ṣabr* [*q.vv.*]. It received further elaboration in the works of the systematisers of the classical Ṣūfī tradition al-Sarrādj, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ḳushayrī and al-Hudjwīrī. Later, it figured prominently in the theoretical writings of al-Ghazālī, al-Suhrawardī, Ibn ʿArabī and other later Ṣūfīs.

From the outset, *ṣidḳ*, defined as the complete agreement of one's inner convictions and outward acts, was held to be an indispensable condition of the true worship of God and a hallmark of the genuine Ṣūfī. Mystics emphasised that any good work is futile unless it springs from a sincere and disinterested desire to please God. The same goes for all the "stations" of the mystical path, *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*], which cannot be mastered without *ṣidḳ*. The early Ṣūfī master Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) named *ṣidḳ* among the five pillars of Ṣūfism alongside generosity, resoluteness, fearing God, modesty and scrupulousness in food. In Ṣūfī manuals, *ṣidḳ* was often paired with *ikhlāṣ*, the two words sometimes being treated as synonyms. The elevated rank accorded to these notions by the Ṣūfīs is attested by al-Sarrādj, who considered them to be part of the *uṣūl al-dīn* together with *tawḥīd, maʿrifa, īmān* and *yaḳīn*. In a similar vein, the author of the *Adab al-mulūk* counted *ṣidḳ* and *ikhlāṣ* among the five principal ways of achieving the mystical goal, the other being *zuhd* [*q.v.*], the desire to obtain God's pleasure, and the taming of one's lower self (*mudjāhadat al-nufūs*). Likewise, Ibn ʿArabī included *ṣidḳ* in his list of the nine principal conditions of the mystical path together with hunger, vigil, silence, retreat, trust in God, patience, determination and certainty, which he called "the Mothers of Virtue". *Ṣidḳ* was often also associated with sturdiness (*shidda*) and firmness (*ṣalāba*), the qualities which, according to Ṣūfī writers, rendered it both an effective offensive weapon in attaining self-perfection and a reliable shield against devil's temp-

tations. As time went on, Ṣūfī psychology provided increasingly detailed descriptions of it. A typical example is al-Ghazālī's treatment of this concept in a special chapter of his *Iḥyā'*, in which six different types of truthfulness are distinguished, i.e. in word, in intention and volition, in determination, in faithfulness to one's determination, in deed, and finally, in fulfilling the requirements of the mystical path (*ṭarīḳ*).

Despite its importance, adherence to *ṣidḳ* was not considered absolute. According to al-Ghazālī and Ibn 'Arabī, it is always contingent on concrete circumstances. Thus telling the truth about someone in his/her absence can amount to backbiting and will be judged accordingly in the hereafter. The same goes for those who speak publicly of their sexual life, although their accounts may be true. On the other hand, a pious lie that helps to save the life of a Muslim or to protect a state secret may, in God's eyes, be a meritorious deed.

Basing themselves on Ḳur'ān v, 108-20, and iii, 81, some Ṣūfī exegetes elaborated on the "question of sincerity" (*su'āl al-ṣidḳ*) which God posed to 'Īsā on the eve of the Judgment Day. In response, 'Īsā squarely disowned his misguided worshippers who took him and his mother for deities and thereby successfully passed the test, showing both a "pure sincerity" and "saintly humility".

Although man shares the attribute of *ṣidḳ* with God, who is sometimes described as "the Sincere One" (*al-ṣādiḳ*), human sincerity is of an imperfect, inferior nature, unless, in accordance with the famous *ḥadīth ḳudsī* [*q.v.*], he has reached the exalted spiritual state in which God "becomes his hearing ..., his sight ... his hand ... and his foot", i.e. his sole *raison d'être* and mover. This is, in the view of Ibn 'Arabī and some other Ṣūfīs, the utmost degree of *ṣidḳ*, which signifies the attainment of perfect servanthood (*al-'ubūdiyya*) and thus the consummation of the mystical path.

Bibliography: Muḥāsibī, *K. al-Ri'āya*, ed. Margaret Smith, London 1949, 172, 184 et passim; *The Book of Truthfulness (Kitāb al-ṣidq) by Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz*, ed. and tr. A.J. Arberry, London 1937; Sarrādj, *K. al-Luma'*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914, 48, 49, 216-17, 357; *Adab al-mulūk. Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik aus 4-/10- Jahrhundert*, ed. B. Radtke, Stuttgart-Beirut 1991, 12, 22, 35, 43-4 etc.; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, Leiden 1911, 101; *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, ed. and tr. L. Massignon, Paris 1957, nos. 5, 47, 53; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1937, v, pt. 14, 195-206; Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, Cairo 1972-, i, 155, 206-7, 326, ii, 390, iv, 104, 253-4, 383, v, 391, 396, ix, 68, 189, xiv, 333-43; Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj*, tr. H. Mason, Princeton 1982, iii, 161-3.

(A. Knysh)

SIDR (A.), n. of unity, Sidra, a shrub or tree of the various Rhamnaceae belonging to the genus *Ziziphus* which has a number of representatives in N. Africa and the Middle East. Various species were, and are, cultivated for their fruits, timber, and as hedging plants. *Ziziphus* are trees or shrubs of varied heights with tangled branches that usually grow in arid regions. The tallest is *Z. spina-christi*; heights given in modern floras vary between 5 and 12 m. Most species are spiky, although some varieties are thornless. They bear jujube-like fruits (*dūm*) highly valued for food, especially the cherry-sized bright yellow fruit of *Z. spina-christi* and the smaller, pea-sized, dark orange of *Z. leucodermis*. The fruit have a single dark pip, which was ground up and eaten with the flesh. Fruits were gathered and stored; they were crushed between stones and eaten raw or cooked to a paste in water, milk or buttermilk (Miller-Morris, 1988, 240-2).

Z. spina-christi derives its name from its being a possible candidate for the tree from which Christ's crown of thorns was made; since it does not grow in the region of Jerusalem, however, it has been suggested that *Sarcopoterium spinosum* (Rosaceae) is a more likely option (Miller-Morris, 1988, 242). There are a large number of synonyms for *sidr* in classical and modern Arabic. The current Latin name of the genus is also attested in mediaeval Arabic sources; the Syriac name for the *'unnāb*, the jujube tree (*Z. jujuba*), is *zīzūfī*, according to al-Bīrūnī, 1991, 438; cf. Greek σιζυφα.

For medical usage, the soothing and purifying qualities of *sidr* are applied in various ways. Ibn al-Bayṭār (Cairo 1291/1874, ii, 5), states that it is good for the stomach; beneficient if eaten before meals; laxative (but in some cases the fruit (*nabḳ*) is constipating); it frees the stomach and bowels from yellow bile; and it suppresses heat. Current uses in Dhofar (Miller-Morris, 1988, 240, 242, 329) include: a paste of crushed leaves (preferably of *leucodermis*), used for cleansing the scalp, hair or body in general; it is applied to swellings, sores or inflammations, or against headaches; water boiled with its crushed leaves is given to women in prolonged labour or with a retained placenta. The hard wood is used for making utensils (ladles, spoons, fire-tongs) (Miller-Morris, 1988, 242), also for carpentry in former days (cf. a *ḥadīth* in 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣan'ānī's *Muṣannaf*, no. 19756).

In magic, popular modern treatises advise the use of *sidr* leaves as a means against sorcery. *Sidr* leaves are considered just as lawful in this respect as *kitāba*, the use of written Ḳur'ānic or other religious formulae. See e.g. al-Ḥanbalī 1409/1989, 41; al-Bālī, 1412/1992, 122; al-Ḳaḥṭānī, 1412/1992, ch. 88.

The *sidr* occurs several times in the Ḳur'ān: XXXIV, 16 (description of a poor area); LIII, 14, 16 (the "*sidra* of the ultimate boundary"); LVI, 28 (thornless *sidra* in Paradise). All the evidence suggests that the *sidr* was a tree of considerable importance in pre-Islamic Arabia. This is confirmed by a *ḥadīth* which describes a *sidra* to which the pagan Arabs used to withdraw and on which they used to hang their weapons. The tree was called *dhāt al-anwāṭ* "that of the suspended things". Upon passing a green *sidra*, the Muslims asked the Prophet to give them also a *dhāt al-anwāṭ*, and were rebuked with a reference to the Israelites asking Moses for "a god such as those people have" (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 218).

The *sidr* is mentioned in various *ḥadīth*s, e.g. for washing the hair, corpses or clothes stained with menstrual blood. Cutting down *sidr* trees, especially those that offered shadow to man and beast, was forbidden by the Prophet, often in very strong terms (Abū Dāwūd, *Adab* 109, *bāb fī ḳaṭ' al-sidr*, nos. 5239, 5241; 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣan'ānī, *Muṣannaf*, nos. 19756-8). References in the *ḥadīth* and elsewhere indicate that *sidr* trees were popular landmarks; the Ḳur'ānic *sidrat al-muntahā* fits in with this.

The most likely species of *Ziziphus* to be associated with the Ḳur'ānic and *ḥadīth* references to *sidr* is probably *Z. spina-christi*, because its characteristics, size and height make its connotation as a fruit-bearing (see al-Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, on sūra XXXIV, 16), shade-offering and landscape-marking tree plausible, as opposed to *Z. lotus* which is a shrub less than two metres high. The Ḳur'ānic ref. to the "thornless *sidr* trees" in Paradise (LVI, 28) also points in this direction

(there exists a thornless variety of *spina-christi*).

The Ḳurʾānic *sidrat al-muntahā*, where Muḥammad saw Gabriel for the second time "when the tree became covered by what covered it", figures conspicuously in the story of the Prophet's celestial ascent [see MIʿRĀDJ]. See further on this, SIDRAT AL-MUNTAHĀ.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, ed. Muhammad Hamidullah, *Le dictionnaire botanique d'Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (Kitāb an-Nabāt, de sīn à yāʾ). Reconstitué d'après les citations des ouvrages posterieurs*, Cairo 1973; idem, ed. B. Lewin, *The Book of Plants: Part of the Monograph section by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī*, Wiesbaden 1974; Waḥīd ʿAbd as-Salām al-Bālī, *al-Ṣārim al-battār fī taṣaddī li ʾl-saḥara al-ashrār*, Djudda 1412/1992; al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Ṣaydana fi ʾl-ṭibb*, ed. ʿAbbās Ziryāb, Tehran 1991; Abū Bakr al-Ḥanbalī, *ʿIlādj al-ʿumūr al-siḥriyya*, Cairo 1409/1989; J.P. Mandeville, *Flora of eastern Saudi Arabia*, London-New York-Riyadh 1990; A.G. Miller and M. Morris, *Plants of Dhofar, the Southern Region of Oman. Traditional, economic and medicinal uses*, Govt. of Oman 1988; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḳaḥṭānī, *Ṭarīḳ al-hidāya fī darʿ makhāṭīr al-djinn wa ʾl-shayāṭīn. ʿIlādj al-siḥr wa ʾl-ʿaḳm wa ʾl-ṣarʿ wa ʾl-saraṭān*, Hawālī, Kuwayt 1412/1992; Ḳushayrī, *K. al-Miʿrādj*, Cairo 1384/1964.

(REMKE KRUK)

SIDRAT AL-MUNTAHĀ (A.), "the lote tree on the boundary" as described in Ḳurʾān, LIII, 14: "Indeed, he [Muḥammad] saw him [Djibrīl] another time [other than that referred to in Ḳurʾān, LIII, 1-12] by the lote tree of the boundary nigh which is the garden of the refuge ... Indeed, he saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord." The full exegesis of this passage arises in a prominent *ḥadīth* report (repeated, for example, in al-Bukhārī, *K. manāḳib al-anṣār* and *K. badʾ al-khalḳ*; Muslim, *K. al-īmān*; also see al-Ṭabarī, i, 1158-9) which speaks at length of the *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]. After Muḥammad (who was accompanied by Djibrīl) met with Ibrāhīm in the seventh heaven, he went on as far as *sidrat al-muntahā* (also *al-sidra ʾl-muntahā* in *ḥadīth*) beyond which no one can pass, and there he gazed upon God (this being "one of the greatest signs of his Lord"). This lote tree is described as having fruits the size of earthenware jars, leaves as big as the ears of elephants and composed of many indescribable and unknown colours. The four rivers of Paradise flow from under it. The idea of a tree being at the apex of the pyramid-shaped mountain of created worlds goes back to ancient Sumerian mythology, and the motifs of receiving food (as in the drinks from which Muḥammad may choose in some versions of the story) and having a vision of the divine are all integral parts of the same mythic structure.

In the Ṣūfī description of the quest for the experience of the divine as patterned on the story of the *miʿrādj*, the "lote tree on the boundary" symbolises the point to which knowledge can take the mystic (and up to which point one needs a guide) but beyond which the true experience lies. Other speculations about the tree include the idea that Adam saw Muḥammad's name written on the tree and that the tree is actually composed of the "light of Muḥammad" (*nūr Muḥammadī* [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1977, *ad loc.* and references; G. Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God and his Ascension* (*King and Saviour* V), in *Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift* (1955), no. 1, 103-4, 208-9, 212-13, and references; G. Vitestam, As-sidra(-t?) al-muntahā. *Quelques commentaires linguistiques sur des textes existants*, in A. Caquot and D. Cohen (eds.), *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris, 16-19 juillet 1969*, The Hague and Paris 1974, 305-8, on the grammar of the expression. For Ṣūfī use, see for example, W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of love. The spiritual teachings of Rumi*, Albany 1983, 220-3.

(A. RIPPIN)

SIERRA LEONE, a country of coastal West Africa, in 1961 an independent republic, is in the forest belt of West Africa, separated geographically by inland mountain ranges from the West African Islamic heartland and so protected in the past from Muslim invasion. But individual Muslims, traders and holy men, visited it regularly from at least the 15th century, and settled there increasingly after the *djihād* of the early 18th century in Fūta Djallon [*q.v.*]. The indigenous peoples were not attracted to Islam and retained their own religions, which suited their own ways of life.

A British settlement was founded on the coast in 1787. In 1807 it became a British colony where slaves who had been captured by the British navy from slave-ships crossing the Atlantic were liberated and settled. Muslim traders, chiefly Fula and Mandingo, were attracted to Freetown, the capital, and by at least 1830 they had built a small mosque. Also, some of the liberated people, chiefly Yoruba (from modern Nigeria), known locally as "Aku", were Muslims, and formed their own Muslim community in East Freetown. Eventually the Aku split into two factions, worshipping in rival mosques, a division that has survived into the 1990s.

Though individual governors were occasionally hostile to Islam, official British policy tolerated Muslims, and they became recognised as part of the Freetown community. Some left Freetown and settled in neighbouring villages. Fearful of sending their children to Christian schools, they organised their own Ḳurʾānic schools, and a few went to study in the notable West African Islamic centres. From 1890 the government gave a small grant for Muslim education.

In 1896 a British Protectorate was established over the area of the present Sierra Leone (measuring 73,326 km^2), with an artificial frontier separating it from the neighbouring French Guinea and Liberia. When railways and roads were built the population became more mobile. People who left their villages were often ready to adopt a new religion, and, as a result, Islam spread, particularly in the northern part of the country where Christian missionary influence was weak. Many Muslims, however, remained (and many today still remain) members of the ancient and deeply-rooted secret societies, like the male *poro* and female *sande* societies.

From 1911 the government made explicit provision for educating Muslims. Government secondary schools were open to them, thus letting them into the higher ranges of employment. Though politics in the pre-independence years were dominated by non-Muslims, a leading Freetown Muslim, M.S. Mustapha, played a prominent part and became a cabinet minister after independence. Subsequently, though no Muslim has been head of state, Muslims have held senior cabinet posts in successive governments. The main Muslim festivals are recognised as public holidays and there is normally no open animosity between the members of the different religious faiths.

When, from the 1950s onwards, illegal diamond mining suddenly spread wealth through the country, much of it was diverted into mosque-building. Sub-

stantial new mosques were built in Freetown by members of the Temne, Limba and other ethnic communities who tend to worship apart from one another. Except for a small Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] presence, and a few Shīʿī Muslims in the Lebanese commercial community, the Muslims belong to Sunnī Islam. There are no influential religious fraternities. In 1990 Muslims were estimated to constitute 30% of a total population of about four million.

Bibliography: J.S. Trimmingham and C. Fyfe, *The early expansion of Islam in Sierra Leone*, in *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, ii/2 (1960), 33-40; Fyfe, *A history of Sierra Leone*, London 1962; Muctarr J.A. Lewally-Taylor, *The Aku Muslim communities of East Freetown in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, M.Litt. thesis Univ. of Edinburgh 1976. (C. Fyfe)

ṢIFA (A), lit "description".

1. In grammar. Here, the meaning is "attribute", syn. *naʿt*. Its syntactic sense overshadows that of a quasi-part of speech "adjective" (cf. *al-ṣifa al-mushabbaha* for such forms as *faʿīl* and *faʿl*) already in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. The fact that Kūfan grammarians employ the term to denote "locative" (roughly, Baṣran *ẓarf*; see below) may explain why *naʿt* is considered Kūfan although both terms appear in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and in al-Farrāʾ's *Maʿānī*. Their recurring definition as indications of praise or blame may well hark back to Dionysius Thrax's characterisation of "adjective" (επίθετον). Early occurrences of both *ṣifa* and *naʿt* are documented in several 2nd/8th-century exegetical works in which they are non-technical. The earliest modifications in the Graeco-Syriac origin of this grammatical category may be reconstructed according to Ibn Muḳaffaʿ's *K. al-Manṭiḳ*, where the term *ṣifa* signifies *inter alia* both ποιόν ("quality", the third of the ten categories) and the whole group of nine categories (also *naʿt*; "substance" [*ʿayn, djawhar*; Gr. οὐσια] excluded). In his elaborate epitome of *De Interpretatione*, he employs the terminological expression *al-kalām al-wāṣif* and the term *ṣifa* to signify such syntactic entities as the locative (in predicate position), the material modes ("possible, impossible, necessary") and a semi-adverbial qualifier *mudjīd* in *fulān al-ṭawīl kātib mudjīd*. *Naʿt* translates the Syr. *kunnāyā* (Gr. κατηγορία) of early treatises whereas *ṣifa* renders the early *znā* with its two significations mentioned above. The Kūfan grammarians, who were more faithful than Sībawayhi and al-Khalīl to the teaching of the earliest ʿIrāḳī grammarians, maintained a double role for *ṣifa*: the locative and, with *naʿt* as synonym, the adjective/attribute. By extension, the locative came to denote not only nouns expressing time and place and prepositional phrases but prepositions as well. Later works attribute to the earlier al-Kisāʾī and al-Farrāʾ the terms *ṣifa tāmma* and *ṣifa nāḳiṣa* (loc. in predicate position and as adjunct, respectively). On the use of *mawṣūf-ṣifa* as "subject-predicate" in logical and theological writings see, e.g. Versteegh, 1977 (index, s.v.) and in translations of philosophical writings, Zimmermann 1972, 534. Possible vestiges in Sībawayhi's book of a similar conception among grammarians include the contrast *yūṣafu bihi* and *djawhar yuḍāfu ilayhi mā kāna minhu* (i, 235,5; similarly, al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī*, iii, 215: *ṣifa min al-ṣifāt* vs. *ism thābit*). On the basis of the data in *K. al-ʿAyn* (e.g. ii, 43, 52, 246) we may conclude that Baṣran grammarians previous to Sībawayhi had adopted the two denotations of *ṣifa*. However, Sībawayhi neglected the locative denotation. He introduced two significant modifications in a prevalent conception of the adjectival/attributive category which have become part of all the later syntactic formulations in Arab grammatical writings: (a) Such nominals which may qualify pronouns (*kull-, nafs-*) are rejected from this category and become an independent category of *tawkīd*; (b) The copular pronoun is isolated from this category and is identified as *faṣl*.

Bibliography: Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Paris, i; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976; C.H.M. Versteegh, *Greek elements in Arabic linguistic thinking*, Leiden 1977; idem, *Arabic grammar and Qurʾānic exegesis in early Islam*, Leiden 1993; J. Owens, *Early Arabic grammatical theory*, Amsterdam 1991; R. Talmon, *Appositival ʿatf*, in *Arabica*, xxviii (1981), 278-93; idem, *The term Qalb*, in *ZGAIW*, viii (1993), 71-113; F.W. Zimmermann, *Some observations on al-Farabi*, in S.M. Stern *et al.* (eds.), *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition*, Oxford 1972; Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *K. al-Manṭiḳ*, ed. Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1978. (R. Talmon)

2. In theology. This originally grammatical term was subsequently borrowed by the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), who made it one of their key-words. In its "theological" usage, the word is generally translated by "attribute"—the reference being above all to the "divine attributes" (*ṣifāt Allāh*)—although in certain contexts, translation by "quality" seems preferable. As for the precise meaning to be given to this term, the issue is the cause of fundamental disagreement between theologians, essentially between Sunnī and Muʿtazilī theologians.

In grammar, as seen in 1. above, *ṣifa* represents a word of a certain kind, more precisely a certain type of the "noun" (*ism* [*q.v.*]), what we would call a qualifying adjective. Al-Zamakhsharī gives the following definition of it: "The *ṣifa* is a noun which indicates a certain state of an essence (*baʿḍ aḥwāl al-dhāt*), e.g. long, short, intelligent, stupid, standing erect, seated, ill, in a good state of health, poor, rich, noble, of low degree, honoured, despised" (*Mufaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323, repr. Beirut n.d., 114 ll. 4-7).

It would normally be expected that, when a theologian speaks of the *ṣifāt Allāh*, he means by these all the qualificatives capable of application to God, such as *ḳādir, ʿālim, ḥayy, karīm, laṭīf, khāliḳ, rāziḳ*, etc. And such indeed is the interpretation favoured by the Muʿtazilī theologians, in particular al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*]. For the latter, the "attributes" of God—which could also, in most cases, be called His "names"—are nothing other than the words (*aḳwāl*) by which we describe Him, words such as "knowing", "powerful", "living" (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 2nd ed. Ritter, 172, ll. 14-15, and 198, ll. 10-11). These "attributes" are definitely not all of the same sort: there are those which God merits from all eternity, on account of His essence (*ṣifāt al-dhāt* or *al-nafs*), and others which He merits on account of His acts (*ṣifāt al-fiʿl*). But it is always a matter of words. Thus al-Djubbāʾī is concerned to know whether the "word" *karīm*, the "word" *ḥakīm* and the "word" *ṣamad*, constitute part of the "attributes of the essence" or of the "attributes of the act" (cf. *ibid.*, 528, ll. 9-14; cf. also 506, ll. 8-9). It comes as no surprise to find that, henceforward, just like the grammarians, the Muʿtazilīs distinguish no difference between *ṣifa* and *waṣf* (cf. al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, § 367). In numerous instances in the *Maḳālāt*, they are observed to be wondering, still, whether a certain *waṣf* applied to God belongs to the *ṣifāt al-dhāt* or to the *ṣifāt al-fiʿl* (cf. 492, ll. 11-12; 506, l. 10; 507, ll. 10-11; 512, l. 16; 532. ll. 4-5). That *waṣf* and *ṣifa* are synonyms, expressing qualificatives in parallel, was a principle expressly sustained by al-Djubbāʾī (cf. *ibid.*, 529, ll. 14-15). Such would

also be the position of later Djubbāʾīs: thus ʿAbd al-Djabbār, in *al-Mughnī*, vii, 117, ll. 10-12.

Sunnī theologians see things quite differently. For them, on the one hand, the *ṣifāt Allāh* represent not qualificatives—such as *ḳādir, ʿālim, ʿādil*—but the corresponding substantives *ḳudra, ʿilm, ʿadl*; on the other hand, and in the same vein, these *ṣifāt* are not only words, they are real existents. They are "things" which exist in God (attributes of the essence), or are produced by Him (attributes of the act), and by means of which He is worthy to be described by the corresponding qualificatives. Al-Bāḳillānī expresses this in the form of a universal principle (i.e. one which is appropriate to every "qualified thing", whatever it may be): "The quality (*ṣifa*) is that which exists in the qualified (*yūdjadu bi 'l-mawṣūf*), or which belongs to it [in some manner] (*yakūnu lahu*) and which makes it acquire the qualificative (*yuksibuhu 'l-waṣfa*), that is, the epithet (*naʿt*) which derives (*yaṣduru*) from the quality" (*Tamhīd*, § 359). Here, the distinction between *ṣifa* and *waṣf* is clear: that which is a "word", exclusively, is the qualificative. "As for *waṣf*", al-Bāḳillānī continues, "it is a word (*ḳawl*) of one who qualifies God, or someone other than God, saying of Him that he is knowing, living, powerful, beneficent, benevolent. This qualificative (*waṣf*), which is a saying that is heard, or an expression of this saying, is other than the quality (*ṣifa*) residing in God, the existence of which in Him causes Him to be wise, powerful, purposeful. Similarly, when we say "Zayd is living, wise", what we have is a qualificative (*waṣf*) of Zayd ... Whereas the wisdom and the power of Zayd are, for their part, two qualities (*ṣifatān⁽ⁱ⁾*) belonging to him, existing in him, and from which the qualificative and the noun are derived" (*ibid.*, § 362).

This use of *ṣifa* in the sense of a substantive is typical of Sunnī theology: before al-Ashʿarī it is already found, systematically, in the work of Ibn Kullāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳalat*, 169-70, 546. It seems, however, that the first to have practised it was the Imāmī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], cf. *ibid.*, 37, ll. 10-12; 222, ll. 1-5; 494, ll. 1-3. Whatever the case, it has a curious consequence. It is known that one of the major disagreements between Muʿtazilīs and Sunnīs, in their conceptions of God, concerns the status of the attributes of the essence. For the Sunnīs, the principle (accepted furthermore by the Muʿtazilīs), according to which every qualificative has for its cause the corresponding substantive, cannot allow for any exception; since God is powerful, wise, etc., from all eternity, this necessarily implies the existence in Him, from all eternity, of a power, of a knowledge, etc. In the name of *tawḥīd*—such a conception apparently leading to the admission of a plurality of eternals—the Muʿtazilīs, reject this view; for them, God is powerful, wise, etc., by His very essence [see MUʿTAZILA, *Theses*, i, 1]. Now, as a result of their habit of calling the substantives in question *ṣifāt*—substantives the existence of which, in this instance, the Muʿtazilīs deny—and although the latter deal at length with the *ṣifāt Allāh*, the Sunnīs are found accusing their adversaries of "denying the *ṣifāt*" (cf. *Maḳālat*, 583, ll. 3-7; Abu 'l-Yusr al-Bazdawī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, Cairo 1963, 35, ll. 7-8) and presenting themselves by contrast as "those who affirm the *ṣifāt*" and the "adepts of the *ṣifāt*" (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 170, l. 12; 171, ll. 12, 16).

For a more detailed analysis, see ḤĀL in Suppl., also D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī*, Paris 1990, 235-45. On the divine attributes, see ALLĀH, ii, A, 2.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(D. GIMARET)

SĪFAWAYH AL-ḲĀṢṢ, a humorist of the 2nd/8th century. *Ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] "storyteller" is employed here, as was quite common, in the same sense as other less ambiguous terms for jester; he was also described as the prototypical *mughaffal* "irresponsible wit". No decision is possible as to whether his nickname should be vocalised Sīfawayh or Sayfawayh, and the identification with another *ḳāṣṣ* called ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, suggested on the basis of one shared remark by the recent editor of Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ḳuṣṣāṣ*, is probably unwarranted. Sīfawayh was credited with jokes and social comment, including irreverent remarks poking mild fun at Ḳurʾānic verses and the foibles of *ḥadīth* scholars. To our present knowledge, he is first attested in a work by al-Djāḥiẓ. Eventually, he caught the attention of Ibn Khaldūn and found a biographer in Ibn Ḥadjar, but the few data connecting him with supposed contemporaries are confused. His actual existence may well be doubted. The *Fihrist* speaks of an anonymous collection of his remarks. It is not preserved, and we have to be satisfied with comparatively few quotations in *adab* works.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 239; *Fihrist*, 313, see F. Rosenthal, *Humor in early Islam*, Leiden 1956, 11, 116; Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, Beirut 1408/1988, iv, 44, 48-9, 74, ix, 121; idem, *Imtāʿ*, iii, 22; Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, Cairo 1981-91, iv, 273, 276, 279-80, 282, 285-6; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Būlāḳ 1286-87, i, 81, 93; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa 'l-mughaffalīn*, ch. 20; idem, *Ḳuṣṣāṣ*, ed. M. b. Luṭfī al-Ṣabbāgh, Beirut 1403/1983, 322-3; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 18, tr. Rosenthal, i, 27, n. 76; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329-31/1911-13, iii, 132-3.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

ṢIFFĪN, a famous battle (37/657), or rather a series of duels and skirmishes between the ʿIrāḳīs under the caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and the Syrians under the governor of Syria Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*]. The battle was a major factor in shaping the regional and political identity of both the ʿIrāḳī Shīʿīs and the Syrian Umayyads (cf. *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ li-Ibn ʿAsākir*, ed. al-Naḥḥās *et alii*, Damascus 1404/1984 ff., xxiii, 46: *naḥnu ahlu 'l-Shām, naḥnu aṣḥāb Ṣiffīn*; cf. P. Crone, *Slaves on horses. The evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge 1980, 203, n. 30). The political and theological debates about the battle, and about the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in general, form the backdrop to many contradictory claims throughout Islamic historiography, in particular those regarding the biography of some of the Prophet's Companions (or alleged Companions) which have their roots in the dispute about the number of Companions on each side. In addition, Shīʿī apologetics account for some of the reports about Muḥammad's leniency at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*].

The site of the battle, Ṣiffīn, was a ruined Byzantine village not far from al-Raḳḳa, located a few hundred yards from the right bank of the Euphrates (al-Dīnawarī, 178, l. 18). It is now identified with the village Abū Hurayra near al-Raḳḳa (al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām. ʿAhd al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn*, ed. Tadmurī, Beirut 1407/1987, 537n.).

The armies stayed on the battlefield for a long time before the outbreak of hostilities (they are said to have faced each other for 77 days; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Beirut 1974, vii, 275, l. 14; cf. al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1376/1957 ff., xxxii, 434, 572-3). This reflects the troops' aversion to the shedding of the blood of other Muslims. After all, units on both sides belonged to the same tribes. Moreover, there

were cases in which two cousins, or a father and his son, faced each other (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981 [= henceforth: *WṢ*], 334-5, 443; two sons of the famous Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] fought on opposite sides: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nādjī Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 88; cf. Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, ed. al-Yamānī, Ḥaydarābād 1381/1962, i, 36-7). The battle ended in Ṣafar 37/July 657 with an arbitration agreement that led to a split between ʿAlī and the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], who demanded that the fight go on until one side was victorious.

It is extremely difficult to establish the course of the battle and the precise chronology of its stages. The reason is by no means a lack of source material, since a huge literary output exists on Ṣiffīn, much of which is still unexplored. The reports on the battle include the description of short episodes whose arrangement often creates an illusion of successive events; Islamic historiography typically sacrifices the overview for a plethora of atomistic detail (cf. Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, Eng. tr. 80: "The description [of the battle] is a mass of one-sided traditions dealing with episodes, and the attempt of the editor to make a mosaic unity of it is a failure. There is a lack of inward connection; you cannot see the wood for the trees"). The compilers of the 2nd Islamic century were certainly not uninterested in reconstructing the course of events, but they were limited by the nature of the atomistic source material at their disposal.

We stand on relatively firm ground when we deal with evidence about the identity of the tribal units on both sides, the names of the leading warriors (as opposed to the battle order at any given stage of the fighting) and the weapons and military tactics employed. Significantly, although Shīʿī and pro-Shīʿī compilers are responsible for most of the literary output on this battle available to us now, Muʿāwiya's army is described in no less detail than ʿAlī's. The equal attention paid to the formation of both armies can be demonstrated by the following example which takes us back to the earliest days of Islamic historiography. We have a detailed description of the rival armies going back to Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit al-Kūfī who died in *ca.* 120/738 and whose Shīʿī sympathies cannot be doubted (Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, Damascus 1968, i, 221-2; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ed. Maʿrūf, Beirut 1405/1985 ff., v, 358-63; *WṢ*, 324; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, 174, no. 420; cf. A. Noth, *The early Arabic historical tradition. A source-critical study*, 2nd ed., in collaboration with L.I. Conrad, tr. M. Bonner, Princeton 1994, 111-14).

Since the forces were made up of tribal units (M. Hinds, *The banners and battle cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn (657 A.D.)*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv [1971], 3-42), the tribal politics of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya played a crucial role. However, the ideological factor should not be underestimated since the élites on both sides included people motivated by religious considerations.

Some ʿIrāḳīs who doubted the legitimacy of the fighting kept away altogether, preferring to be stationed for the time being in border garrisons (*WṢ*, 97, 115-16). The *ʿUthmāniyya* or pro-ʿUthmān tribesmen from Kūfa and Baṣra shifted to the part of the Djazīra [*q.v.*] which was under Muʿāwiya's control (*WṢ*, 12), as did the Tamīmī Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabīʿ, a Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*, section 2] veteran who at the time of ʿUthmān was the governor's deputy in Kūfa (*kāna ʾl-khalīfata mina ʾl-amīr*; Sayf b. ʿUmar, *K. al-Ridda* ..., ed. al-Samarrai, Leiden 1995, 19).

Kindīs who disliked ʿAlī left Kūfa when he came there, and went to Ruhā in the Djazīra. Reportedly, they could not bear to abide in a place where ʿUthmān was being cursed. At Ṣiffīn, they fought with Muʿāwiya (M. Lecker, *Kinda on the eve of Islam and during the ridda*, in *JRAS* [1994], 333-56, at 345-7; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 295). The people of al-Raḳḳa were then ʿUthmāniyya, including a tribal leader of the Asad, Simāk b. Makhrama, who defected from ʿAlī with one hundred fellow-tribesmen and then convinced six hundred more to join him (*WṢ*, 146). But even among those who chose to remain in Kūfa, there was no unanimous support for ʿAlī's policies. When he left for Ṣiffīn, people in Kūfa who had little respect for him became outspoken (*istakhaffū ʿAliyy^an^ fa-lammā kharadja ẓaharū*). Moreover, the man whom ʿAlī left in charge of Kūfa, Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī, was foolish enough to express indifference regarding the outcome of the battle and was dismissed immediately after ʿAlī's return from the battlefield (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*², ed. al-Salafī, Cairo 1400/1980 ff., xvii, 195).

Some of ʿAlī's troops returned while on the way to the battlefield (*WṢ*, 156). This was the outcome of fierce and at times cynical propaganda tactics in which Muʿāwiya was on the whole more successful than ʿAlī (on how the former won the support of Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī and turned him into a propagandist, see al-Dīnawarī, 169-70; E.L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, Copenhagen 1964, 31-2). Muʿāwiya performed better than his rival with regard to material benefits promised to tribal leaders in return for their loyalty. Muʿāwiya appears to have been less scrupulous, possibly because his standing was more precarious than his rival's (see, for example, *WṢ*, 306; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, Beirut 1406/1986, iii-iv, 50-1; cf. *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, vii, 397). ʿAlī, on the other hand, perhaps due to self-confidence and the better prospects for which he hoped in the conflict, applied strict measures to governors who embezzled state money, and this led to their defection.

Among the tribal leaders alienated by ʿAlī mention should be made of Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, ʿUthmān's governor in Hamadhān, who was dismissed by ʿAlī after the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] (*WṢ*, 15). He moved to Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*] together with men of his tribal group, the Ḳasr of the Badjīla, and later joined Muʿāwiya. As a result, few of the Ḳasr fought at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side (*WṢ*, 60-1). On the whole, Muʿāwiya's *ḥilm* or "well-considered opportunism" (E.L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya. The rise of the Umayyad caliphate, 656-661*, in *AO*, xxiii [1959], 157-96, at 180; also idem, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, 12, 118-19) was more fruitful than ʿAlī's strictness. The latter reacted to the defection of Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī by destroying his court in Kūfa (*WṢ*, 61).

Far more influential than Djarīr was another tribal leader, al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] of Kinda, who, unlike Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, fought at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side (*WṢ*, 140; cf. Lecker, *Kinda*, 355; for Ashʿath's position among his fellow-tribesmen see idem, *Judaism among Kinda and the* ridda *of Kinda*, in *JAOS*, cxv/4 [1995], section 2). ʿUthmān safeguarded al-Ashʿath's loyalty by appointing him governor of Ādharbaydjān [*q.v.*]. He was still its governor for some time under ʿAlī (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 329, l. 7; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 294, l. 2; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 110), but after the Battle of the Camel he was dismissed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3254). ʿAlī also dismissed al-Ashʿath from the *riʾāsa* of Kinda

and Rabīʿa (*WṢ*, 137; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, iii-iv, 64-5, 194; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*², ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378/1959 ff., iv, 74-5). At the most crucial stage in the fighting, al-Ashʿath supported the arbitration which was to cost ʿAlī both his title, that of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, and then his life. With regard to the defection of these leaders of the Yemen, it should be borne in mind that most of Muʿāwiya's troops at Ṣiffīn belonged to Yemen while most of ʿAlī's troops were of the Nizār b. Maʿadd [*q.v.*], i.e. Rabīʿa and Muḍar [*q.v.*] (Ch. Pellat, *Une risāla inédite de Ǧāḥiẓ sur l'arbitrage entre ʿAlī et Muʿāwiya* (*Risāla fī ʾl-ḥakamayni* ...), in *al-Mashriq*, lii [1958], 417-91, at 426-7).

In addition to these tribal leaders ʿAlī lost the support of ʿUbayd Allāh, son of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who fled to Muʿāwiya for fear that ʿAlī might execute him for having avenged his father's assassination by murdering innocent Persians. ʿUbayd Allāh was killed at Ṣiffīn, where he commanded Muʿāwiya's cavalry (*Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, xv, 345, 346-51).

While with regard to the formation of the two camps we stand on relatively firm ground, this is not the case with regard to the figures given for warriors and casualties. For example, the two armies were supposed to have been of about the same size, each including 150,000 warriors (*WṢ*, 156). Another report mentions that in ʿAlī's camp there were 100,000 men or more, while on Muʿāwiya's side there were 130,000 (*WṢ*, 157; but cf. *WṢ*, 226; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 218-19). However, far more important for the study of early Islamic historiography are the conflicting statistics and contradictory claims made by the two camps about the Islamic credentials of their respective supporters.

No sooner was the battle over than polemics began. The terrible bloodshed during ʿAlī's rule, at Ṣiffīn and elsewhere, had to be accounted for and justified and the positions of both sides had to be fortified. Eschatology was employed, the most widespread theme being the claim made by ʿAlī's camp that the Prophet foretold the killing of ʿAlī's aged supporter, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*], by "the rebel band" (*al-fiʾa al-bāghiya*). Interestingly, Muʿāwiya's alleged response to this is recorded: "The one who killed him was the one who sent him out (to the battlefield)"; with these words, our pro-Shīʿī informant continues, Muʿāwiya was deceiving the fools among the people of Syria (*WṢ*, 343; cf. E. Kohlberg, *The development of the Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine of jihād*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi [1976], 64-86, at 69-70, 73-6). Kaʿb al-Aḥbār foretold the battle of Ṣiffīn; the Banū Isrāʾīl fought nine times at that very place until they destroyed one another. The Arabs, Kaʿb added, would fight there the tenth battle until they slaughtered one another and hurled at each other the same stones hurled by the Banū Isrāʾīl (Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *K. al-Fitan*, ed. Zakkār, Beirut 1414/1993, 31). This is an attempt to explain the disastrous event which was hard to account for. The scale of the slaughter was unimaginable in terms of traditional Arab warfare. Also, a report putting the total number of dead from both camps at 70,000 has its origin in an eschatological tradition of Kaʿb (Ibn Abi ʾl-Dunyā, *al-Ishrāf fī manāzil al-ashrāf*, ed. Khalaf, Riyāḍ 1411/1990, 271). Beside establishing that ʿAlī's supporters were in the right, eschatology was to teach the Muslims that Ṣiffīn was part of a scheme of world history, the understanding of which was beyond human grasp.

Some of the polemics surrounding Ṣiffīn are associated with ʿAlī's conduct during the negotiations which led to the arbitration agreement. The truce itself, the arbitration and ʿAlī's relinquishing in the agreement of the title *amīr al-muʾminīn* all belong to the crucial theological debate which accompanied the emergence of the Khāridjites. The Shīʿī apologists justified ʿAlī's conduct by referring to the Prophet's agreement with the Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] at al-Ḥudaybiya, which was met with opposition from many of the Prophet's Companions who were reportedly willing to fight the Ḳuraysh. Moreover, the Prophet relinquished his title *rasūl allāh* (see esp. al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. Ḳalʿadjī, Beirut 1405/1985, iv, 147, where the scribe of the Ḥudaybiya agreement is ʿAlī himself; the Prophet informs him that he will live through the same experience; *WṢ*, 508). The analogy with al-Ḥudaybiya is even more explicit in a version of this report, according to which it was Muʿāwiya's father, Abū Sufyān, who demanded that the Prophet remove from the agreement his prophetic title (Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, iii-iv, 197). It seems that the apologetic need to justify ʿAlī's attitude at Ṣiffīn influenced the shape, if not the contents, of the Ḥudaybiya story (cf. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, from ʿUbāda b. Awfā to ʿAbd Allāh b. Thuwab, 396; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, Wiesbaden 1398/1978, 44).

But there was more to the link between the story of Ṣiffīn and the Prophet's biography. Shīʿī historical tradition sought to establish that the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, ʿAlī, continued the former's fight against the infidels who were now led by the son of the Prophet's arch-enemy, Muʿāwiya son of Abū Sufyān (for the presentation of ʿAlī's *djihād* as an extension of Muḥammad's *djihād* see Kohlberg, *The development*, 70-1). ʿAlī rode on the Prophet's mare and she-mule and wore the Prophet's black turban (*WṢ*, 403; H. Eisenstein, *Die Maultiere und Esel des Propheten*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1985], 98-107, at 106). ʿAmmār b. Yāsir allegedly said that he had fought Muʿāwiya's chief counsellor, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] three times (i.e. at the time of the Prophet), and that the battle of Ṣiffīn was the fourth (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 171). The Umayyad army is referred to as the *aḥzāb* or combined forces, with reference to the battle of the moat (*khandaḳ*) between the Prophet and Ḳuraysh led by Abū Sufyān. Finally, Muʿāwiya's brother, ʿUtba, is supposed to have mentioned at Ṣiffīn the Umayyads killed by ʿAlī in the battle of Badr [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/a, ed. M. Schloessinger, rev. M.J. Kister, 99).

The other party answered with reference to the Islamic prestige of its own men which similarly went back to the Prophet. A black piece of garment raised by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ on the tip of a spear was a banner (*liwāʾ*) tied for him by the Prophet (i.e. giving him command over an expedition force; *WṢ*, 215). Another case in point was that of Ziml b. ʿAmr of the ʿUdhra [*q.v.*], who fought on Muʿāwiya's side. One of the two reports included in the section of Ibn Saʿd (i/2, 66-7) which deals with ʿUdhra's delegation to Muḥammad (*wafd ʿUdhra*) is in fact the story of Ziml's conversion to Islam. The Prophet reportedly tied for him a banner which was carried by Ziml at Ṣiffīn (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 567-8). Al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, ms. Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi 597, fol. 188a) significantly includes a report on Ziml's visit to the Prophet and the banner given to him in the section of the *Ansāb* dealing with Ṣiffīn. Al-Balādhurī adduces the report from Ibn al-Kalbī (< his father) and he probably took it from Ibn al-Kalbī's monograph on Ṣiffīn. The report on Ziml's banner, which seeks to establish that the Prophet gave his blessing to Ziml's support of Muʿāwiya, is precisely the kind of report one expects Umayyad propaganda to have used.

The competition over Islamic prestige is also reflected in various statistics. In ʿAlī's camp there were 2,800 Companions, 25 of whom were killed (al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nudjūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, ii, 454). Those killed in ʿAlī's camp included 25 Badr veterans (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v. *Ṣiffīn*). One scholar claimed that 70 Badr veterans fought at Ṣiffīn (i.e. on ʿAlī's side). However, this was rejected by others: in ʿAlī's camp there was only one Badr veteran, Khuzayma b. Thābit (Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-ridjāl*, Beirut 1404/1984, i, 239). One claim puts the number of Badr veterans in ʿAlī's camp at 130, and Saʿīd b. Djubayr reportedly stated that among ʿAlī's troops there were 900 Anṣār and 800 Muhādjirūn (*Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxii, 572). It is recorded that 800 of the Companions who pledged their allegiance to the Prophet at al-Ḥudaybiya fought with ʿAlī and 63 of them were killed, including ʿAmmār b. Yāsir (al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām. ʿAhd al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn*, 545; R. Veselý, *Die Anṣār im ersten Bürgerkriege (36-40 d. H.)*, in *ArO*, xxvi [1958], 36-58, at 51-2, is not fully aware of the polemical value attached to these statistics). Beside confirming that ʿAlī was in the right, the Prophet's Companions, and in particular the Badr veterans among them, testify to the truthfulness of the Prophet's statements on which ʿAlī based his bid for power (*Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 147-51 = *Kitāb Sulaym b. Ḳays al-Kūfī*, Nadjaf n.d., 149 ff.). Unlike ʿAlī's companions, the two Anṣār who fought with Muʿāwiya could not boast of having participated in the ʿAḳaba meeting, or the battle of Badr, or the battle of Uḥud (*WṢ*, 445, 448-9; for a list of the Companions who fought with ʿAlī in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 289-93; it is followed by a list of the Companions who fought with Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffīn, 293-6; cf. al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, 547).

The effect of the ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya conflict on early Islamic historiography can be illustrated by the conflicting biographical details given for a central figure in Muʿāwiya's camp, the Ḳurashī Busr b. Abī Arṭaʾa al-ʿĀmirī. Busr's Companion status was disputed; the Syrians claimed that he heard the Prophet when he was a small boy (i.e. that he could transmit *ḥadīth* on the Prophet's authority). The counterclaim was that Busr was born two years before the Prophet's death and did not transmit any *ḥadīth* from him (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 289-90; *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 182-3).

The battle of Ṣiffīn was a popular topic among compilers of historical monographs. We find among them Shīʿīs, scholars of Shīʿī sympathies and Sunnīs. The same compilers often compiled monographs about related topics such as *maḳātil* (cf. S. Günther, *Maqâtil literature in medieval Islam*, in *JAL*, xxv [1994], 192-212, at 200-1; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umaiyadischen Zeit*, Leiden 1971, 103 n. 15; note that in the reports on Ṣiffīn some of the episodes are entitled "*maḳtal* so-and-so"; al-Dīnawarī, 188, 190, 191, 195, 198). The following list (which does not claim to be exhaustive) contains scholars known to have compiled monographs dealing with Ṣiffīn during the first three and a half centuries of the Islamic era. Obviously, their monographs overlap, probably considerably so; some of those listed were not compilers in the real sense of the word but merely transmitters of monographs compiled by others. It is the differences between the monographs, not their similarities, which define the particular features of each of them. For example, the name and tribal affiliation of the Syrian warrior who killed ʿAmmār b. Yāsir were disputed. Al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, ms., fols. 188a-9a) cites various claims made by al-Wāḳidī, Abū Mikhnaf, Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Madāʾinī and which are probably taken from these authors' monographs on Ṣiffīn.

1. Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djuʿfī (d. 128/746; [see DJĀBIR AL-DJUʿFĪ in Suppl.]; *GAS*, i, 307; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 103 n. 15, 133-4; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin and New York 1991 ff., i, 294-8).
2. Yaḥyā al-Djuʿfī's *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* is known through a quotation (al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, 539).
3. Abān b. Taghlib al-Bakrī (d. 141/758-9; al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1355/1936 ff., xv, 52, no. 333; E. Kohlberg, *al-Uṣūl al-arbaʿumiʾa*, in *JSAI*, x [1987], 128-66, at 143; al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. al-Nāʾīnī, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 76).
4. Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (d. 157/774; his *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* = ms. Ankara, Saib 5418; *GAS*, i, 309, no. 4; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 103-6, 123-45; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, v, 2253; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 192). His great-grandfather, Mikhnaf b. Sulaym, was at one time ʿAlī's governor in Iṣfahān and was killed at Ṣiffīn (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 482; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, vi, 55; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 219, 225; it is noteworthy that one of his monographs was entitled *Kitāb Akhbār āl Mikhnaf b. Sulaym*; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 192; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3266).
5. ʿUmar b. Saʿd al-Asadī (d. perhaps *ca.* 180/796; *GAS*, i, 311; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 104 n., 137-45, Hinds, *The banners*, 5).
6. Hishām b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Kalbī [see AL-KALBĪ, section 2] (d. 204/819; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, i, 301; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 53, no. 345; *GAS*, i, 271; it is probably quoted in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 261, l. 11). Both Hishām's great-grandfather and his grandfather reportedly fought at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd*, ii, 628).
7. Abū Hudhayfa Isḥāḳ b. Bishr (d. 206/821; *GAS*, i, 294; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], ii, 623, l. 5; al-Nadjāshī, i, 194-5).
8. Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 232/847; *GAS*, i, 294; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 103 n.).
9. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823; *GAS*, i, 297, no. 7; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], vi, 2598, l. 12). A passage from this book (see *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], ii, 267-8; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 340) indicates that al-Wāḳidī's book went beyond the battle of Ṣiffīn to include ʿAlī's war against the Khāridjites (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3384, l. 2).
10. Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. *ca.* 210/825) compiled *Kitāb al-Djamal wa-Ṣiffīn* (*Fihrist*, 54, l. 5; it is probably quoted in al-Dāraḳuṭnī, *al-Muʾtalif wa ʾl-mukhtalif*, ed. Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh, Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 561).
11. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 212/827) compiled the famous *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], vi, 2750; *GAS*, i, 313).
12. Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shayba/Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān [see IBN ABĪ SHAYBA] (d. 235/849; *Fihrist*, 229, l. 11; *GAS*, i, 108; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, xvi, 34-42). His monograph probably corresponds, at least partially, to the chapter entitled *Bāb mā dhukira fī Ṣiffīn* (and possibly also *Mā dhukira fi ʾl-Khawāridj* which immediately follows it), in Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* (ed. al-Afghānī,

Bombay 1399/1979 ff., xv, 288-333; cf. Noth-Conrad, *The early Arabic historical tradition*, 34).

13. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 235/850; *GAS*, i, 315, no. 16; cf. G. Rotter, *Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madāʾinīs in Ṭabarīs Annalen*, in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv [1974], 103-33, at 115-19; *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], xxi, 264; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 298). The book (which is probably quoted in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms., fols. 183b-184a, 188a) goes beyond the battle of Ṣiffīn to include ʿAlī's war against the Khāridjites (cf. *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], vi, 134-5; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 340).
14. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Kisāʾī al-Hamdānī, better known as Ibn Dīzīl (d. 281/894; *GAS*, i, 321; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 52, no. 335; Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, 159; *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], xxi, 264; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxii, 491; xxxiii, 300-2, 303). The overlapping of Ṣiffīn monographs can here be demonstrated by reference to several quotations from this monograph (the fragment from Ibn Dīzīl < ... Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 255, l. 5, is found—with differences—in *WṢ*, 147-8; see also *Bidāya*, 259-60, = *WṢ*, 188-91; *Bidāya*, 269, l. 18 = *WṢ*, 324; other passages from Ibn Dīzīl in *Bidāya*, vii, 261, ll. 9,-4, 264, l. 14, go back to Djābir al-Djuʿfī). Ibn Dīzīl's book goes on to describe ʿAlī's fighting against the Khāridjites (*Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], ii, 269-71, 276, 310-11; *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxiii, 345-7).
15. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Thaḳafī, one of whose ancestors was ʿAlī's governor in Madāʾin (d. 283/896; *GAS*, i, 321; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], i, 105, l. 8; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 52, no. 334).
16. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā b. Dīnār al-Baṣrī, a *mawlā* of the Banū Ghalāb, compiled a monograph entitled *Ṣiffīn al-kabīr* (d. 291/904; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 104 n.; *Dharīʿa*, xv, 52, no. 340; *Fihrist*, 108, l. 14; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 240-1), and another entitled:
17. *Ṣiffīn al-ṣaghīr* or *al-mukhtaṣar*. Note, however, that he also transmitted some of Djābir al-Djuʿfī's monographs, including *Kitāb Ṣiffīn* (Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1356/1938 ff., xv, 200). In addition, he transmitted at least some of Abū Mikhnaf's monographs which were transmitted, several decades earlier, by Ibn al-Kalbī (al-Nadjāshī, ii, 192-3).
18. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Kalbī (*GAS*, i, 314; Hinds, *The banners*, 6-7). Instead of "al-Kalbī", read perhaps: "al-ʿAbsī": Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shayba al-ʿAbsī (d. 297/910; *GAS*, i, 164) was the nephew of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shayba mentioned above at no. 12 (cf. S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī (st. 207/822). Herkunft, Überlieferung, Gestalt früher Texte der Aḫbār Literatur*, Frankfurt a. M. 1991, 258-9).
19. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Thaḳafī, nicknamed *ḥimār al-ʿuzayr* (d. 314/926; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], i, 364, 367, l. -2).
20. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī compiled *Ibtidāʾ khabar waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (presumably d. in 314/926; *GAS*, i, 329).
21. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad al-Ḳābūsī (d. at the beginning of the 4th century; *GAS*, i, 323; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 104 n.).
22. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā al-Djalūdī al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (d. 332/944; E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden 1992, 333, no. 547; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 104 n.; al-Nadjāshī, ii, 54).

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AL-ṢIFR (A.), a term which appears in Arabic dictionaries with the meaning of "void" and, by extension, of "zero". But it should be borne in mind that its doublet *s-f-r* signifies the opposite (Kazimirski, i, 1098b). Carra de Vaux (in *JA* [1917], ii, 459-460, and *Penseurs de l'Islam*, ii, Paris 1921, 102-10) drew attention to the conceptual opposition between the two roots "empty place" as against "written place". In the latter sense, the Hebrew *sefer* and Persian *sifr*, etc. "book", are encountered. Hence derive the mediaeval Latin *tzifra*, *ziffrae*, the Castilian *cifra* (1495), the French *chiffre*, the German *Ziffer*, all of which denote forms of numbers, unlike the English *cipher* which signifies "zero".

The sense of "empty place" was applied to a space left empty in the writing of numbers, for lack of a graphical and conceptual element facilitating the preservation of the order of units, tens, hundreds, etc. in a system of numeration by position such as the decimal system. The two meanings were known in the High Mediaeval period: primes have an absolute value, as also applies to *rūmī* figures and the *abūdjād* system generally employed in astronomical tables. In one case (based on the numerical values of Arabic letters), the written signs used are more than ten in number (Irani, *Arabic numeral forms*, in *Centaurus*, iv [1955], 1-12, repr. in *St. Isl. exact sciences*, by E.S. Kennedy, Beirut 1983, 710-20); in the other, the number of signs (figures) used can only be nine, if the zero is not acknowledged, or ten, if it is introduced. The latter system is that known as *guarismos* or *algorismos*.

The importance of the usage of the figures which are now called Arabic does not reside in the form of the numbers, which can be multiple, but in the fact that one individual, or a determined social group, uses them in a *positional system*, as is currently the case with motor vehicle registrations. In so far as these use only numbers, they are understood, as ideographical notations, throughout the world, although each language uses, in speech, very different words. In countries where motor vehicles exist in abundance, it is often the practice to introduce an alphabetic element which is less comprehensible to readers of all languages. This element could be "identified" with *rūmī*, Coptic figures, etc. (see Sánchez Pérez, in *al-Andalus*, iii [1935], 97-125; Ritter, in *RSO*, xvi [1936], 212-13; Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, xiv [1933], 281-3, and xvi (1936), 213-14; Bartina, in *Studia papyrologica*, vii [1968], 99-110). It differs from the former.

The only grounds for confusion in Arabic numeration (just as was the case 4,000 years ago in the Sumero-Babylonian sexagesimal positional system) may be found in the absence of the 0 (*zero*) to mark the lack of units in a determined order. When, during the 2nd or 3rd century B.C., Greek astrologers adopted the Babylonian system of numeration (with *zero* included) for sexagesimal fractions (minutes ['], seconds ["] ...) they filled the temporary void of which Carra de Vaux was conscious. The latter, to account for the connection between Babylonia and Greece on the one hand, representing Antiquity, and the Arab Middle Ages on the other, propounded the hypothesis that numeration by position must have been confined to marginal groups, neo-Platonists and neo-Pythagorians who, taking refuge in Persia from the religious persecutions of the Byzantines, could have re-introduced to Mesopotamia the knowledge forgotten there. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by a reference by Severos Sabojt, Bishop of Ḳinnasrīn (*ca.* 662) to the arithmetic of the Indians with its nine symbols (F. Nau, *La plus ancienne mention orientale des chiffres indiens*, in *JA* [1910], ii, 225-7). Numeric notation with nine symbols may be ambiguous, and recalls the uncertainty (Neugebauer, *Ancient mathematics and astronomy*, in *HT*, i (Oxford 1965) which must have afflicted the Babylonians. In the decimal system, 2 4 could signify 24, 204, 2040, etc., until the introduction of the zero made it possible to establish the exact reading. The difficulty could be similar to that faced today by a person of limited expertise confronted by the screen of a computer which moves automatically, to show large or small numbers, from ordinary to technical or scientific notation. In the mid-9th century, the zero was known in the Orient and the decimal system well-established. On the other hand, in the West, Leonardo Pisano still spoke, in his *Liber abbaci* of the "nine Indian figures".

However, the figures, fairly similar to those of today, which appear in the *ovetense* manuscript of the Escorial (R. ii. 18), are not decimal, as is the case in most of folio 55. These are *rūmī* figures, as has been proved by Ana Labarta and Carmen Barceló (*Numeros y cifras en los documentos arábigohispanos*, Cordova 1988). It may be concluded from their study that, while the decimal system was known in scientific and mercantile circles through the medium of Latin translations or adaptations of the *Kitāb al-Djamʿ wa-'l-tafrīḳ* of al-Khwārazmī, the same did not apply among Spanish Christians before the 15th century.

Attempts have been made to explain the form of the figures which are used today in terms of a linear evolution or a polygenesis. Woepcke considered that the primitive form corresponded to the first letter of the Sanskrit word denoting the number. Carra de Vaux, seeing that the numeric value of the letter depends upon its position within the corresponding alphabet, stated that the primitive figures were formed by interlinked rods as far as 6, and that the others were obtained by the rotation of the former from left to right (7, 8) (cf. G. Beaujouan, *Etude paléographique sur la "rotation" des chiffres* ..., in *RHS*, i [1948] = *Par raison des nombres*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, CS 344 [1991] no. IX; A. Allard, *L'époque d'Adélard et les chiffres arabes dans les manuscrits latins d'arithmétique*, in the series of articles concerning Adélard edited by Ch. Burnett, London 1987, 37-43; G. Menéndez-Pidal, *Los llamados numerales árabes en Occidente*, in *BRAH*, cxliv [1959], 179-208). See also art. AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ, above, vol. IV, 1070b, and J. Vernet, *Ce que la culture doit aux Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris 1985, 70-77, to be amended in accordance with the content of this article.

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(J. VERNET)

SIGETWĀR, the Ottoman orthography for SZIGETVÁR, a town and centre of a *sandjaḳ*, temporarily of a *beglerbegilik*, in Transdanubian Hungary. The originally not very important town and castle, situated in the morasses of the rivulet Almás, became a significant military centre of Habsburg Hungary after the fall of Székesfehérvár and Pécs, the main royal and episcopal towns in Transdanubia. An unsuccessful Ottoman attack was directed against it in 963/1556. Ten years later, Süleymān the Magnificent [*q.v.*] led his last campaign against Szigetvár, which put up a strong resistance. The sultan died two days before the final assault on 8 September 1566, during which Count Miklós Zrínyi ran out of the castle with his retinue and died after an heroic fight. Süleymān's internal organs were buried in the vicinity of the town, and a *türbe* was later erected above his tomb.

Szigetvár immediately became the centre of a *sandjaḳ*, first governed by the former *alaybegi* of Pécs, Iskender (Pečewī, *Tārīkh*, i, 420, confirmed by archival evidence: Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kepeci 74, p. 102, and Maliye defteri 563, p. 54). The territory of the *liwā* consisted of ten *nāḥiyes*, including former districts of the *sandjaḳ* of Pécs-Mohács and new acquisitions, side-by-side with places which, it was hoped, would be controlled in the future. In Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 1002/June 1594, Tiryākī Ḥasan, who had been governor here on five occasions, was nominated *beglerbegi* of Szigetvár, and the *sandjaḳs* of Pozsega (Pozhegha) and Pécs (Pečūy) were subordinated to his province (*BOA*, Mühime defteri 73, p. 104, no. 236; Kepeci 344, pp. 362-3). Two years later, the *pashalïḳ* was abolished and the *sandjaḳ* of Szigetvár became part of the *wilāyet* of Kanizsa (Ḳanizhe) in 1600.

The town had been abandoned by its Hungarian inhabitants by 1579, from which year the only *mufaṣṣal defteri* of the *liwā* survives (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Turc. 138). The registered civil population consisted of 5 converted gipsy households. The castle gave shelter to a modest, and in the 16th century decreasing, number of Ottoman soldiers.

Szigetvár surrendered to the Habsburg forces on 13 February 1689. Today, the *djāmiʿ*s of Sultan Süleymān and ʿAlī Pasha, together with a building of unknown purpose, keep in remembrance the Ottoman period.

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(G. DÁVID)

SIGHNĀḲ, SUGHNĀḲ (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 119, Sūnākh), a mediaeval Islamic town on the middle Sïr Daryā, in the district known as Fārāb, between Isfīdjāb and Djand [*q.vv.* in Suppl.]. It seems to have been, together with the "new settlement" Yengikent, Sawrān and others, one of the settlements there of the Turks, explicitly defined by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī as "a town of the Oghuz" (Tkish. tr. Atalay, i, 471; Eng. tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 352). Al-Muḳaddasī, 323 n. *k*, links it with Utrār [*q.v.*], 24 *farsakhs* further up the Sïr Daryā. In Turkish, *sïghnak* means "place of refuge" (see Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 813b), and the same name is found for several other places in Transcaucasia.

In the 4th/10th century, Sighnāḳ was probably a frontier town where semi-sedentarised or sedentarised Oghuz exchanged products with the Islamic lands to the south; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam, loc. cit.* and cf. comm., 358, mentions the manufacture there of bows for export. The region long remained *dār al-kufr*. In the 6th/12th century it was the centre of a khānate of the pagan Ḳipčaḳ [*q.v.*], and *ghazawāt* against them by the Khwārazm Shāhs are mentioned for 547/1152, and specifically against Sighnāḳ and its then ruler Ḳayir Toḳu Khān in 591/1195, until in the early 7th/13th century ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad incorporated it within his empire (see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 328, 342-3, 369; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 91). The Shāh's control of it was, however, brief, for in 617/1220 a Mongol army besieged Sighnāḳ and eventually captured it, massacring its population. (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 86-7; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 414-15).

Sighnāḳ continues to be mentioned sporadically in the next three centuries or so. In the 9th/15th century it was a centre of the Čingizid Shībānī clan, and was held towards the end of that century by Muḥammad Shībānī Khān before he began his career of expansion in Central Asia [see SHĪBĀNĪ KHĀN]. Thereafter, Sighnāḳ fades from mention. Its ruins now lie at Sunak kurgan, a few miles north-west of the post-station Tiumen Arik on the Orenburg-Tashkent road and railway (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 358).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṢIḤĀFA or ṢAḤĀFA (A.), the written press, journalism, the profession of the journalist (*ṣaḥāfī*).

The nineteen-fifties witnessed the attainment of national independencies and major political upheavals, such as the Egyptian revolution of 23 July 1952. The Arabic press which, paradoxically, enjoyed great success during the colonial period [see DJARĪDA. i], despite the somewhat repressive nature of judicial regulation of the press (since what was seen was the proliferation of a press of information, of ideas and even of warfare), developed in conjunction with the emergence of national independences. It needed to confront three major problems: the repressive nature of the new ruling powers, reflected in legislation designed to control the press; the spread of illiteracy, resulting from rapid population growth, in spite of the untiring efforts invested in education; competition from radio, and especially from television, and the indifference of most of the public regarding the written press. The fact remains, however, that the press, despite the inclination of governments to tame it, has constituted an important factor in the struggle for public liberties and democracy. The creation of national news agencies and schools for the training of journalists bear witness, moreover, to the interest taken by government departments in this vital sector.

1. The Arab Middle East

(i) *Egypt*

After the *coup d'état* of 23 July 1952, the Free Officers' Movement decreed the dissolution of parties (16 January 1953), established a provisional constitution and created its own weekly review, *al-Taḥrīr* (17 September 1952) and its first daily, the mouthpiece of the revolution, *al-Djumhūriyya* (7 December 1953). From 1952 onwards, most party journals ceased publication. The major titles of the Cairo press continued to appear, however: *al-Ahrām, Rūz al-Yūsuf, Akhbār al-Yawm* and *al-Hilāl al-Miṣrī*. But the new government was not slow to engage in conflict with the press. Two days after the unleashing of the revolution, the brothers Muṣṭafā and ʿAlī Amīn, founders of *Akhbār al-Yawm*, were arrested on the basis of mere suspicion; but the authorities relented and released them a few days later.

The crisis of March 1954

Two years after the *coup d'état*, the Free Officers' Movement split into two factions: the liberal faction, which advocated return to the barracks, and which was led by General Nagīb [see MUḤAMMAD NADJĪB] and Khālid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, and the militant faction under the leadership of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The latter emerged victorious and imposed his own point of view: on 15 April 1954 the professional Union of Journalists (founded in March 1941) was dissolved. Leading journalists were imprisoned, including Maḥmūd Abu 'l-Fatḥ, proprietor of *al-Miṣrī*, and Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, editor-in-chief of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. Censorship was rapidly restored, and even strengthened.

Some new titles appeared: in 1954, a literary and artistic review, *al-Risāla al-Djadīda*, with Yūsuf al-Sibāʿī as its editor-in-chief, joined by a second review, *al-Thawra*, and a magazine for women, *Ḥawwāʾ al-Djadīda* in 1956. The first news agency (M.E.N.A.) was founded in February 1956.

The Nasserite era (1956-70)

In July 1956 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was proclaimed President of the Republic. The provisional constitution had been promulgated a few months previously, in January 1956. The Revolutionary Council was dissolved. Censorship, abolished in July 1956, was soon restored, at the time of the tripartite aggression in October 1956. Private ownership of journals still being the norm, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir organised the production of the following titles: *al-Shaʿb*, an important daily (June 1956); *al-Masāʾ*, editor-in-chief Khālid Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, of the Revolutionary Council; and *Madjallat Bināʾ al-Waṭan*, a propaganda monthly (1958).

The year 1959 was marked by the detention of numerous journalists suspected of opposition to the régime, including in particular Luwīs ʿAwaḍ, Luṭfī al-Khūlī, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Anīs and Maḥmūd al-Saʿdāwī.

The year 1960 marked a turning point in the life of the Egyptian press. The law imposing the organisation (*tanẓīm*) of the press came into being on 24 May 1960. This *tanẓīm*, a disguised form of *taʾmīm* (nationalisation), effectively confiscated the leading publishing houses involved in the production of journals (i.e. those belonging to private persons), to the advantage of the National Unity Party, *al-Ittiḥād al-Ḳawmī*, created in January 1956 and renamed *al-Ittiḥād al-Ishtirākī al-ʿArabī*. This law was the first in a series of nationalisation laws applying to banks, factories, etc. Henceforward, it was the National Unity Party which would issue the authorisation necessary for the publication of any journal, would nominate boards of directors and would appoint editors-in-chief.

Thereafter, and until ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's death, the world of the press was destabilised, with arbitrary changes, dismissals and imprisonments. Fikrī Abāẓa, President and Director General of the Dār al-Hilāl, was barred from publication and dismissed. Muṣṭafā Amīn, of *Akhbār al-Yawm*, was sentenced in 1966 to hard labour for life, and did not obtain a conditional release until 1973.

It should, however, be acknowledged that the Dār al-Ahrām, moving into its new premises in 1968 and equipped with all the latest technology, became, through the leadership of the distinguished journalist Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, a respected press institution. The weekly editorial of Haykal, who had

bi-ṣarāḥa the ear of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, was reprinted in all the world's major newspapers.

The defeat of June 1967

This was preceded by a campaign orchestrated by the régime and tending to extol the Egyptian armed forces, capable of annihilating the Israeli enemy within a few hours. It was not until 9 June 1967 that ʿAbd al-Nāṣir announced the *naksa* and his own withdrawal from office. Large public demonstrations persuaded him to stay.

The next development to affect the press was the publication on 30 March 1968 of the Manifesto (*bayān*), proclaiming the establishment of a permanent constitution; the régime, by taking certain liberal measures, seemed to be relaxing its grip. Cultural reviews of superior quality came into being, all edited by the Ministry of Culture: *al-Madjalla*, monthly; *Turāth al-Insāniyya*, quarterly; *al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir*, monthly; *al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī*, quarterly; *al-Kitāb*, monthly; *al-Funūn al-Shaʿbiyya; al-Masraḥ*; and *al-Sīnimā*.

On 17 September 1970, a few days before his death, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir issued a new decree regulating the Union of Egyptian Journalists. The decree stipulated that no member of the Union could be arrested or detained, nor interrogated except in the presence of a member of the board of the Union, and then after judicial enquiry.

The Sādāt era (1970-81)

This was marked by a series of measures of "de-Nasserisation", generally known as measures of openness (*infitāḥ*): elimination of the "pressure centres" (*marākiz al-ḳuwā*) which had been all-powerful in ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's time; promulgation in 1971 of the permanent constitution; military success in the war of October 1973; in 1974, laws relating to *infitāḥ al-iḳtiṣādī* (economic openness); creation in 1975 of tribunes within the Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.); expulsion of Soviet advisers in 1976, and the creation of three parties independent of the A.S.U.; visit to Jerusalem on 19 November 1977; and permission given to the Wafd Party to resume its activities under the name al-Wafd al-Djadīd.

On the other hand, Sādāt was also responsible for anti-democratic measures: a law of 1978 aimed at the protection of the social fabric and social peace (dismissal of all persons who had held public office before 1952); a law of 1979 modifying the law on parties; a law of 15 November 1980 on the protection of values against dishonour (*ḳānūn al-ʿayb*), consisting in depriving the offender of his political and union rights; a law of 20 May 1980 instituting tribunals of state security (*maḥākim amn al-dawla*) on a continual and permanent basis, whereas previously they had been constituted only in times of emergency; a law of 20 November 1980 creating the Consultative Assembly (*al-Shūrā*) alongside the National Assembly.

In matters specifically affecting the press, Sādāt used dilatory manœuvres. Although at the end of 1971 his Minister of Culture, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Ḥātim, suppressed with the stroke of a pen all the reviews edited by this ministry, Sādāt took measures to the benefit of journalists: re-assignment and regularisation of the situation of journalists arbitrarily silenced in the time of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir; abolition of censorship after the war of October 1973; liberation of the brothers ʿAlī and Muṣṭafā Amīn; dismissal of Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal; creation on 11 March 1975 of the first Higher Press Council (*al-Madjlis al-Aʿlā li 'l-Ṣaḥāfa*). Presiding over this council was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the A.S.U., and it comprised notably the following persons: the Minister of Information; the President of the Journalists' Union; the President-Director General of the M.N.E.A.; the Dean of the Faculty of Journalism; and three editors-in-chief of newspapers. Its functions were the promulgation of codes of conduct, and the issuing of authorisations for the publication of newspapers.

Sādāt's institution of a multi-party system led to the appearance of partisan journals (*ḥizbiyya*) alongside national titles (*ḳawmiyya*): *Miṣr*, weekly paper of the *Ḥizb Miṣr al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī*, which in 1978 became the party of Sādāt, *al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Dīmūḳrāṭī*, which appeared on 2 March 1981; *Māyū*; *Uktūbir*, October 1976, editor-in-chief Anīs Manṣūr; *al-Aḥrār*, weekly of the *Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Ishtirākiyyīn* (liberals of the right), appearing 14 November 1977; *al-Ahālī*, weekly of the *Ḥizb al-Tadjammuʿ al-Waṭanī al-Taḳaddumī al-Waḥdawī*, appearing on 1 November 1978; and *al-Shaʿb*, weekly of the *Ḥizb al-ʿAmal al-Ishtirākī*, appearing 1 May 1979.

The opposition press showed great hostility towards the dictatorial laws of Sādāt, in particular, the law of 1978 regarding the protection of the social fabric, the law of 1980 concerning the protection of values against dishonour, and the law of 1980 on the authority of the press (*ḳānūn sulṭat al-ṣaḥāfa*), which made no changes in relation to the law of *tanẓīm* of 1970, since the ownership of national papers (*ḳawmiyya*) reverted to the Consultative Assembly (art. 22) and the president of this assembly was the President of the Higher Press Council (art. 32).

The opposition parties, the Journalists' Union, the Lawyers' Union, as well as independents, joined to form a united front against the dictatorship of Sādāt. Under the pretext of combatting *fitna ṭāʾifiyya* (sectarian sedition), the latter responded with the following draconian measures, brought into effect in September 1981: confiscations and imprisonments, the blacklisting of 1500 journalists and intellectuals, the arbitrary transfer of 60 university academics to non-university institutions, and restrictions imposed on correspondents of *Le Monde* newspaper and of the American television station ABC.

A month later, 6 October 1981, Sādāt was assassinated by an Islamic fundamentalist.

The Mubārak era (1981-)

During the fifteen years following his accession to the highest office, President Mubārak has practised and is still practising a liberal policy. Beginning in 1982, he attempted to lower the temperature by allowing the reinstatement of formerly blacklisted journalists. Between 1982 and 1984 he permitted certain titles, which had been prohibited in the latter years of the Sādāt régime, to re-appear: *al-Shaʿb*, of the *Ḥizb al-ʿAmal al-Ishtirākī; al-Ṭalīʿa*, progressive, editor-in-chief Luṭfī al-Khūlī; *al-Iʿtiṣām*, Islamist; *Waṭanī*, weekly; and *al-Ahālī*, of the *Ḥizb al-Tadjammuʿ*. Also, during the same period (1982-4), new titles appeared: *al-Liwāʾ al-Islāmī*, Islamist weekly; *Shabāb Bilādī*, of the *Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Dīmūḳrāṭī; al-Wafd*, of the *Wafd al-Djadīd; al-Umma*, of the *Ḥizb al-Umma; and al-Ahrām al-Duwalī* (London).

The legislative elections of May 1984 established the hegemony of the *Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Dīmūḳrāṭī* (390 seats) and the success of the Wafd (58 seats). Between 1984 and 1986, there appeared for the first time: *Wādī al-Nīl*, cultural monthly, editor-in-chief Anīs Manṣūr; *al-Ḳāhira*, monthly; and *Awrāḳ ʿArabiyya*, monthly, editor-in-chief Maḥmūd al-Marāghī.

Journalists barred from publication have resumed their writing, including Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal. Administrative bodies such as the Higher Council of

Information have maintained stable and amicable relations with the Journalists' Union. Ibrāhīm Nāfiʿ, president of the Union since 1985, still leads this influential institution. New titles appeared in 1990: *Akhbār al-Riyāḍa*, a weekly supplement to *Akhbar al-Yawm; al-Ahrām al-Riyāḍī*, a journal edited by the Dār al-Ahrām; *Niṣf al-Dunya*, a women's magazine edited by the Dār al-Ahrām; *al-Yasār* (The Left), edited by the *Ḥizb al-Tadjammuʿ al-Waṭanī al-Taḳaddumi al-Waḥdawī*.

On 12 January 1990, President Mubārak dismissed his Minister of the Interior, Zakī Badr, following a press campaign objecting to the minister's hostile attitude towards journalists. There is only one blot on the landscape, Law no. 93 of 1995, which provides for the imprisonment of a journalist as a preventive measure: a hundred journalists risk falling foul of this "unjust law". The Journalists' Union is poised for further conflict in the future.

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(ii) *Sudan*

This country enjoys a long-standing journalistic tradition on account of its proximity to Egypt. It has known a daily press since 1935, when *al-Nīl* was published for the first time. October 1940 saw the appearance of *Ṣawt al-Sūdān* and *al-Sūdān al-djadīd*. In 1945 the bi-weekly *Kordofān* appeared. But with independence in 1955, the press was soon to find itself muzzled, especially after the military *coup d'état* of 1958.

The dictatorship of General Ibrāhīm ʿAbbūd (1958-64) was marked by the taming of the press. Only the daily *al-Thawra*, official organ of the military junta, was able to survive until 1964, alongside the two dailies *al-Ayyām* and *al-Ṣaḥāfa*, which laboured under severe restrictions.

After the fall of ʿAbbūd's régime and the revolution of October 1964, the press enjoyed a period of relative prosperity, especially following the introduction of multi-party politics: eleven dailies and seven weeklies came into being. But on 29 May 1969, the army regained power under the leadership of General Djaʿfar al-Numayrī. The dictatorship of the latter lasted fifteen years (1969-85). It was characterised by outright nationalisation of the press in the interests of the Single Socialist Unity, *al-Ittiḥād al-Ishtirākī*, the Nasserite model having proved its worth in the régime's eyes. The two dailies *al-Ayyām* and *al-Ṣaḥāfa* continued to appear, although nationalised. One new title came into being: *al-Ḳuwwāt al-Musallaḥa* (The Armed Forces).

The fall of Numayrī took place on 6 April 1985, and General Siwār al-Dhahab took power. Unlike his predecessors, he allowed a resurgence of the press and political pluralism. It was thus that the following titles, belonging to parties, came into existence: *al-Ittiḥādī*, *al-Nidā*, *Ṣawt al-Umma*, *al-Maydān* (parties of the Left); *Ṣawt al-Djamāhīr* (Islamist front); *al-Munāḍil* (the Syrian Baʿth); and *al-Badīl* (pro-Nasserite). All these papers opted for the tabloid format and were obliged to restrict their circulation, on account of the high cost of newspaper production.

On 30 June 1990, a fourth *coup d'état* took place, that of General ʿUmar al-Bashīr, with the support of Islamists led by Ḥasan al-Turābī. Once again, political parties were abolished and the press was muzzled.

It is interesting to note that five English titles have come into being in recent years, produced by southern Sudanese: *Forward; Guiding Star; Heritage; Nile Mirror*; and *Sudan Times*.

Sudan experienced the first legislation on the press in 1930; a second law in 1973 nationalising the industry in the interests of the Socialist Union; and a third in 1985 placing the Press and Printing Council under the authority of the Council of Ministers. This last-mentioned law abolished the Socialist Union's ownership of newspapers, but maintained the previous system of authorisation.

(iii) *Lebanon*

In the opinion of observers and of the public at large, Lebanon is a paradise for the press, both in terms of freedom and of superior technology. However, despite the liberal régime and the influx of foreign finance, economic precariousness remains the Achilles' heel of the Lebanese press.

After the end of the French mandate in 1946, and during the presidency of Bishāra al-Khūrī, then that of Camille Shamʿūn, the press was subject to the promulgation of two codes, both of a liberal nature. Two trends divided public opinion: pro-American and anti-American. The presence of numerous Palestinian refugees on Lebanese territory after 1948 had traumatic repercussions on public life. One phenomenon which appeared at this time was as unforeseen as it was alarming: terrorism (abductions and assassinations), of which journalists were the victims.

As early as the inter-World War period, daily newspapers existed in profusion: *al-Sharḳ*, from the al-Kaʿkī dynasty of Lebanese journalists, since 1926; *al-Nahār*, of Djubran Ṭuwaynī, since 1933; *al-ʿAmal*, of the Phalangist party, since 1939; *al-Diyār*, since 1945; *al-Ḥayāt*, of Kāmil Muruwwa, since 1946; *Bayrūt al-Masāʾ*, since 1946; *al-Safīr*, of Ilyās al-Huwayk, since 1951; and *al-Anwār*, since 1950. In the 1950s, a further fifty dailies were circulating in Beirut. Others were added: the *Ḥizb al-Ḳawmī al-Sūrī* launched a daily paper in Beirut in 1955, *al-Bināʾ*. *Al-Ḥawādith*, a political weekly, became the property of Salīm al-Lūzī and appeared in Beirut from 1955, having previously been published in Tripoli.

The period of General Fuʾād Shihāb (1958-64) saw the appearance of some important newspapers: *al-Usbūʿ al-ʿArabī*, a weekly, and likewise *al-Ḥurriyya*, but did not escape the wave of attacks and abductions which has since then characterised the life of the press in Lebanon. The period of the President Charles Ḥalū (1964-70), himself a journalist, was marked by the granting of increased freedom to the sector and the promulgation of a "code of conduct for journalists", which unfortunately was never put into effect. The defeat of June 1967 had the most calamitous effects on the Lebanese press, especially in terms of finance, the collapse in advertising revenue forcing certain papers to cease publication.

The time of the President Sulaymān Farandjiyya (1970-7) saw the birth in 1970 of the daily *L'Orient-Le Jour*, in French, following the fusion of two titles which had appeared separately. The foreign financing of Lebanese journals assumed tragic dimensions: in 1974, the Council of Ministers imposed control of advertising expenditure in the press sector.

The presidency of Ilyās Sarkīs (1976-83) saw the intensification of the civil war between nationalists (Phalangists) and Palestinians and Islamist progressives.

Two courses of action were then open to the Lebanese press: emigration or extinction. President Sarkīs promulgated a new law on the press (1977), instituting censorship and curbing the excessive freedom which the press had previously enjoyed. Despite instability, the dailies continue to appear: *al-Anwār, al-Nahār, al-ʿAmal, al-Safīr, al-Barḳ* and *L'Orient-Le Jour.*

The presidency of Ilyās al-Harāwī has experienced some easing of tension, especially since Michel ʿAwn has applied for political asylum in France.

(iv) *Syria*

After the French mandate and the evacuation of British and French troops, the first daily newspaper of the Syrian Baʿth Party, *al-Baʿth*, was established in 1947.

The first military *coup* led by Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm took place on 30 March 1949, followed a few months later by that of Sāmī al-Ḥinnāwī, on 14 August 1949. The latter was deposed the same year by Adīb al-Shīshaklī, who maintained his grip on power until 1954.

During this "black series" of *coups d'état*, the press was muzzled; with the accession of Shukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī to the leadership of the Republic in 1954, a much more tolerant atmosphere prevailed in the land. In 1958, union between Egypt and Syria was proclaimed (the United Arab Republic) and in 1959 the model of the Egyptian press was applied to Syria: the press was confiscated by the Nationalist Union, *al-Ittiḥād al-Ḳawmī*, single party of the Province (*iḳlīm*) of the North (i.e. Syria). A law dating from 1958 allowed proprietors of newspapers to waive their rights in exchange for compensation; 47 titles waived their rights, and 19 continued to appear.

The U.A.R. was dissolved on 28 September 1961. In 1969 Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad came to power, and on 12 March 1971 he was proclaimed President of the Republic. In 1974 the General Union of Syrian Journalists was founded, followed in 1975 by the Syrian Arab Foundation for the Distribution of Printed Matter. In 1973 a new daily paper was launched, *Tashrīn*, published by the eponymous press institution.

Currently, the following dailies appear in Syria: *al-Baʿth*, founded 1946 in Damascus; *al-Thawra*, founded 1963 in Damascus; *Tashrīn*, founded 1973 in Damascus; *al-Djamāhīr*, founded 1973 in Aleppo; *al-Fidā'*, founded 1973 in Hama; *al-ʿUrūba*, founded 1973 in Ḥimṣ; and the *Syria Times*, in English, founded 1973 in Damascus. In addition, there are literary reviews of high quality, such as *al-Masīra*, founded 1974, and *al-Maʿrifa*, founded 1963.

(v) *Palestine*

The situation of the Palestinian press is complex in that it is possible to speak of an internal press (Israel and the territories occupied since 1967) and an external press published in Arab and western capitals.

After the defeat (*naksa*) of 1967 and the annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan, one group of Palestinian journalists established itself in Jordan, while the other emigrated to other Arab states, Lebanon in particular. The Arabs of Palestine were unable to express themselves except in the press of the Communist Party, *Rakaḥ*. With the inception of the armed struggle and the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (P.L.O.), the Union of Palestinian Journalists came into existence in 1972. It held its first congress in Beirut, its second in Tunis (1977), its third in Beirut (1981) and its fourth in Algiers (1987). The press of Palestinian resistance became active after 1959: *Filasṭīnunā*, a monthly, appeared in Beirut in 1959, and *al-ʿĀṣifa*, also a monthly, in Beirut in 1965. In 1964, Ghassān Kanafānī began to include in *al-Muḥarrir* (Beirut) a supplement entitled *Filasṭīn*.

After the defeat of 1967, organs of Palestinian resistance proliferated: *al-Hadaf* (1967) of the P.F.L.P., editor-in-chief Ghassān Kanafānī, then Bassām Abū Sharīf; *al-Ḥurriyya* (1967) of the D.F.L.P.; and *al-Fatḥ* (1967) of the P.L.O. Currently, several daily newspapers are published in Jerusalem: *al-Ittiḥād, al-Shaʿb, al-Ṭalīʿa, al-Fadjr, al-Nahār* and *al-Ayyām*. Weeklies and monthlies are published either in Damascus or Beirut, or in Nicosia.

(vi) *Jordan*

The declaration of the State of Israel in 1948 and the Arab defeat of 1967 had a considerable impact on the Jordanian Press. Four dailies were already appearing: *al-Difāʿ* (suspended in 1971), *al-Dustūr, al-Urdunn*, and *al-Ra'y*.

In 1973 a Press Code was promulgated, imposing draconian conditions on the publication of newspapers (caution-money, the need to subscribe to foreign agencies of information, etc.). In 1975 the English language daily newspaper *Jordan Times* appeared; in 1976, a new daily *Ṣawt al-Shaʿb*; in 1982, the English language weekly *Jerusalem Star*; and in 1989, another daily from the publishers of *Ṣawt al-Shaʿb*.

It is important to note that in 1966 a law was promulgated replacing private ownership of newspapers with publicly-quoted companies in which private proprietors could hold shares amounting to a maximum of 30% of the overall capital. It is also worth noting the emergence of a juvenile press: since 1980, *Rīmā wa-Mamdūḥ* (becoming *Sāmir* in 1983) and *Fāris*.

(vii) *ʿIrāḳ*

After the abolition of the monarchy and the success of the conspiracy of the military junta on 14 July 1958, several newspapers continued to appear, including the daily *al-Bilād*. The new régime launched a number of titles: *al-Djumhūriyya* in Baghdād, from 17 July 1958; *al-Bashīr* in Kirkūk; and *al-Aḥrār* in Baghdād. After the assassination of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim in 1968, the new ruler of Baghdād, ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif, inaugurated the following dailies: *al-Djamāhīr, al-Thawra, al-Ṭalīʿa* and *al-Ta'ākhī* (pro-Kurdish). In 1967, the régime issued a law nationalising the press and placing it under the direct authority of the Presidency of the Republic. On 17 July 1968, the military wing of the Baʿth seized power and installed Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr as head of state. In 1976, *al-Ta'ākhī* changed its title and became *al-ʿIrāḳ*. In 1979, Ṣaddām Ḥusayn seized power and displaced Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr; he embarked on two wars, commonly known as the "Gulf Wars", the first against Iran (1980-8), the second against Kuwait (1990). Two other dailies appeared: *al-Ḳādisiyya* from 1981 and *al-Riyāḍī* from 1984. Two titles belonging to the category of juvenile press came into existence during the 1980s: *Madjallatī* and *al-Mizmār*. After the crippling defeat of Ṣaddām's régime in the Gulf, ʿIrāḳ was subjected to an economic blockade. The grip of the dictatorship of Ṣaddām becomes ever tighter; the press has been the first victim of this dictatorial régime.

(viii) *Saudi Arabia*

Early times

The Ḥidjāz, within the Ottoman sphere of influence, was the first region of Arabia to adopt printing in 1902, with the publication of the first official paper, *al-Ḥidjāz*. In 1916, during the First World War, Sharīf Ḥusayn published *al-Ḳibla*, the mouthpiece of the Arab movement, which ceased to appear in 1924. In 1916, the Ottomans published *al-Ḥidjāz* in Medina; this ceased publication in 1918. In September 1920 *al-Falāḥ* was launched in Mecca, to

be followed in December 1924 by the bi-weekly *al-Barīd al-Ḥidjāzī*, printed under the auspices of the *Ḥizb al-Waṭanī al-Ḥidjāzī.*

The Saudi dynasty

In December 1924 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd launched *Umm al-Ḳurā* in Mecca; a literary weekly, *Ṣawt al-Ḥidjāz*, appeared in 1932. With the development of the oil industry, titles proliferated, and in 1953 the monthly *al-Yamāma* appeared. In 1962 a Ministry of Information was created, and a code of press institutions promulgated. The al-Yamāma house published several titles, including the daily *al-Riyāḍ*. The Saudi Press Agency (W.A.S.) came into existence in 1971. In 1973, two faculties of journalism were created, in King Suʿūd University of Riyāḍ, and in King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz University of Djudda. In 1976, a third faculty was established at the Imām Muḥammad b. Suʿūd University.

Currently, the landscape of the written press is composed as follows:

(a) Dailies: *al-Bilād* (since 1932 in Djudda); *al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (since 1937 in Medina); *al-Nadwa* (since 1958 in Mecca); *al-Riyāḍ* (since 1959 in Riyāḍ); *ʿUkāẓ* (since 1960 in Djudda); *al-Yawm* (since 1963 in Dammām); *al-Djazīra* (since 1964 in Riyāḍ); *al-Shark al-Awsaṭ* (since 1978 in London, then distributed in Dahrān, Riyāḍ and Djudda); *Saudi Review* (since 1966 in Djudda); *Saudi Gazette* (since 1976 in Djudda); and *Arab News* (since 1976 in Djudda)—a total of eight Arabic language dailies and three in English.

(b) The principal weeklies are: *Akhbār al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī* (Mecca); *al-Tawʿiya al-Islāmiyya* (Mecca); *al-Muslimūn* (Djudda); *al-Daʿwa* (Riyāḍ); *Madjallat al-Madjallāt* (London and Djudda); *al-Ṭifl* (Djudda); *Ḥasan* (Djudda); *Saudi Business* (since 1977), besides major monthlies and numerous scientific and academic journals.

(ix) *Kuwait*

Under the rule of the prince Shaykh Aḥmad al-Djābir Āl Ṣabāḥ (1921-50), the press made a hesitant debut in 1928 with the appearance of the first literary review, *Madjallat al-Kuwayt*, printed in Cairo and founded by Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rashīd, a disciple of Rashīd Riḍā and the true pioneer of the press in Kuwait. He was later to publish *Madjallat al-Kuwayt wa ʾl-ʿIrāḳ*. The monthly review *al-Biʿtha*, printed in Cairo, and widely distributed in Kuwait, came into existence in 1946. It was created by a group of Kuwaiti students pursuing their higher education in Cairo, and the editor-in-chief was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ḥusayn. It continued until 1954. The monthly *Kaẓīma* was the first review printed in Kuwait; it was founded in 1948 by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṣāniʿ and Aḥmad al-Sakkāf (1948-9).

It was during the reign of the prince Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Sālim Āl Ṣabāḥ (1950-65) and with the arrival of oil revenues that the press burgeoned in Kuwait. In 1954, the first official newspaper of Kuwait came into being, *al-Kuwayt al-Yawm*. In 1958, the Ministry of Guidance published the first major literary magazine of the Arab world, *al-ʿArabī*. This prestigious review has had three editors-in-chief: the Egyptian Aḥmad Zakī (1958-76); the Egyptian Aḥmad Bahāʾ al-Dīn (1976-82); and the Kuwaiti Muḥammad Rumayḥī (1982-).

In 1961, the year of the declaration of independence and promulgation of the constitution, the daily and periodical press acquired its own street in Kuwait City, and the Shāriʿ al-Ṣaḥāfa currently accommodates the major dailies and weeklies of Kuwait (more than 130 titles). The leading Kuwaiti daily is *al-Raʾy al-ʿĀmm*, founded in 1961 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Masāʿid. Publication was suspended, briefly, in 1995; it was sold and published by a new proprietor. To this may be added *al-Siyāsa* (1963, proprietor and editor-in-chief Aḥmad Djār Allāh); *Kuwayt Times* (proprietor and editor-in-chief Yūsuf al-ʿĀliyān); *al-Ḳabas* (1972, proprietor and editor-in-chief Muḥammad Djāsim al-Ṣaḳr); *al-Waṭan* (weekly from 1962 and daily since 1974, editor-in-chief Djāsim al-Mutawwaʿ); *al-Anbāʾ* (1976, proprietor and editor-in-chief Bībī Khālid al-Marzūḳ); and *Arab Times* (1977, proprietor and editor-in-chief Aḥmad Djār Allāh).

Besides these dailies, scores of weeklies and monthlies have come into being. The Ministry of Information edits the bi-monthlies *al-ʿArabī*, *ʿĀlam al-Fikr*, *Thaḳāfa ʿĀlamiyya*, and the monthly *Madjallat al-Kuwayt*. For its part, the University of Kuwait publishes more than ten reviews of a high academic standard. Ministries, faculties and government departments all have their own review or liaison bulletin.

The major political and cultural weeklies are: *al-Ṭalīʿa* (1967, editor-in-chief Sāmī al-Munayyis); *al-Mudjtamaʿ* (1970, editor-in-chief Ismāʿīl Shaṭṭī); *al-Madjālis* (1970, proprietor and editor-in-chief Hidāya Sulṭān); *al-Mukhtalif* (editor-in-chief Nāṣir al-Sabīʿī); and *Samra* (1993, women's magazine, editor-in-chief Fāṭima Ḥusayn).

Newspapers belong to individuals or to mercantile families. The circulation of dailies varies between 70,000 and 100,000.

The Kuwaiti Association of Journalists, created in 1964, comprises both Kuwaiti journalists and residents belonging to various expatriate communities (Arab and Indian). Laws and decrees concerning the press, promulgated since 1961, revolve around the problem of the suspension of newspapers (duration and legal competence) (articles 35 and 35A). The state subsidises the press: 45,000 K.D. (= U.S. $135,000) are contributed annually to the dailies, 30,000 K.D. (= U.S. $90,000) to periodicals. At the time of the ʿIrāḳī aggression of 2 August 1990, the daily press had to choose between internal, or external resistance. During the seven months of occupation, a press of resistance continued to circulate and was successfully disseminated: *Nashrat al-Ṣumūd al-Shaʿbī; al-Ṣabāḥ; Ṣawt al-Ḥaḳḳ; Mūs* (a thorn in the flesh of the ʿIrāḳī enemy); and *Abnāʾ Djābir*. Externally, there was *Ṣawt al-Kuwayt al-Duwalī*, a daily launched in London (12 August 1990-31 December 1992), editor-in-chief M. Rumayḥī. Immediately after liberation, a new daily paper appeared in Kuwait, *al-Fadjr al-Djadīd* (21 April 1991-31 December 1991), editor-in-chief Yāsīn Ṭāhā Āl Yāsīn. On 12 December 1992, censorship of newspapers was abolished.

(x) *United Arab Emirates*

The union of these seven principalities (Abū Ẓabī, Dubayy, al-Shāriḳa, Raʾs al-Khayma, Umm al-Ḳaywayn, ʿAdjmān and al-Fudjayra) was declared on 2 December 1971. Before this date and since 1966 *Akhbār Dubayy* had been in circulation, as well as the official journal of the government of Dubayy. Abū Ẓabī also had its own press: a government official journal, and *Abu Ẓabi News*. After unification, a major daily came into existence, *al-Ittiḥād*, followed by an English language daily, *Emirate News*.

It is interesting to note that the proliferation of titles in the U.A.E. is due to the concern of governmental organisations and private institutions to issue their own journals or liaison bulletins, such as the following titles: *al-Djundī* (since 1974); *al-ʿAdāla* (since 1974); *al-Amn* (since 1976); and *al-Diblūmāsī* (since 1971).

Currently appearing are five dailies in Arabic, and three in English: *al-Ittiḥād; al-Khalīdj; al-Bayān; al-Fadjr; al-Waḥda; Gulf News; Khalidj Times*; and *Emirate Times*.

Circulation varies between 45,000 and 50,000 for each daily. A press code was published in 1971.

(xi) *Ḳaṭar*

In 1969, the Ministry of Information launched the monthly *al-Dawḥa*. The same year, the Dār al-ʿUrūba of ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn Niʿma created a weekly, *al-ʿUrūba*, also announcing the intention to launch a daily entitled *al-ʿArab*. In 1976 the review *Akhbār al-Khalīdj* appeared. Currently, four dailies appear regularly: *al-Rāya, al-ʿArab, al-Shark* and *Daily Gulf Times*, as well as five weeklies: *al-Dawrī* (sports), *al-ʿUrūba, al-ʿAhd, al-Fadjr* and *Weekly Gulf Times*, in addition to the official journal of Ḳaṭar, a monthly.

(xii) *Baḥrayn*

In 1939, ʿAbd Allāh Zāyid created the first newspaper for Baḥrayn, *al-Baḥrayn; Ṣawt al-Baḥrayn* came into existence ten years later. From 1957 the government's official journal appeared on a weekly basis, and from 1970 *Ḥumr al-Baḥrayn*, edited by the Ministry of Information. In 1976 a major daily, *Akhbār al-Khalīdj*, appeared, with an English version following in 1978, and 1989 saw the creation of a new daily, *al-Ayyām*, the editor-in-chief being Nabīl al-Ḥumr, formerly Director-General of the National Information Agency.

Sport and cultural weeklies, in Arabic as well as in English, enjoy wide circulation.

(xiii) *Sultanate of ʿUmān*

Before the accession of Sultan Ḳābūs on 25 July 1970, the majority of ʿUmānī periodicals were printed outside the sultanate. The first official journal, *Akhbār ʿUmān*, came into being in 1970, changing its title to *Djarīda Rasmiyya* in 1971. The first weekly, *al-Waṭan* (a tabloid), appeared at Masḳaṭ on 28 January 1971. It became a daily in 1974. The first government-controlled daily, published initially as weekly from 1972, as a bi-weekly from 1975, appeared in 1980. In 1975 and 1981 appeared respectively the *Observer* and the *Times of Oman*. As is the case in all the Gulf States, the periodical press emanating from both public and private sectors has flourished.

Currently, there are two dailies in Arabic, *al-Waṭan* and *ʿUmān*, and one in English, *Oman Daily Observer*, alongside a very active weekly and monthly press. The weeklies are *al-Nahḍa* (since 1973), *al-Adwāʾ* (since 1974), *al-Usra* (since 1974); and the monthlies *Djund ʿUmān* (1974), *al-ʿUmāniyya* (women's magazine, 1980), *al-Tidjārī* (1980), *al-Shurṭa* (1976), *al-Ghurfa* (Chamber of Commerce, 1980) and *Risālat al-Masdjid* (1980).

(xiv) *Yemen*

On 29 May 1990 the Republic of Yemen was declared, following the fusion of the two formerly separate states.

In 1877, during the period of Ottoman occupation, the first Yemeni weekly appeared, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, in Arabic and in Turkish. In 1926, with the independence of Yemen, a monthly appeared, *al-Īmām*. The revolution of 26 September 1962 swept away the rule of the Imāms. Three days later a new daily appeared, *al-Thawra*, published in 1963 at Taʿizz and then at Sanʿāʾ, followed by a second in 1968, *al-Djumhuriyya*. These two dailies continued to appear in North Yemen until unification.

In South Yemen, the Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen (P.D.R.S.Y.) came into existence in 1968, with a single daily; *14 Uktūbir*, alongside numerous weeklies and monthlies. Before reunification in 1990, the P.D.R.S.Y. was considerably more liberal, in terms of press legislation, than the Yemenite Arab Republic (i.e. of the North). In anticipation of fusion, it had tolerated the presence of the foreign press since 1959.

(xv) *Somalia*

The Republic of Democratic Somalia came into being in 1960 after a long struggle against the British, the Italians and the French. Djibouti gained its independence in 1977; its press is Francophone.

The Somali government inaugurated two dailies, one in Arabic, *Ṣawt al-Sūmāl*, and the other in English, *Somalia News*. The opposition parties published weeklies and monthlies.

After the revolution (1969-89), the revolutionary government launched three dailies. *Nadjmat Uktūbir* (in Arabic), *Stella di Octobre* (in Italian) and *October Star* (in English). From 1973 onward there appeared an edition in the Somali language of the daily *Nadjmat Uktūbir* with the Somali name *Xiddigta Oktober*.

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2. North Africa

(i) *Algeria*

At the time of the revolution (1954-61), *al-Mudjāhid*, a clandestine weekly in the French language, printed in Tunis, was in circulation. In 1962, the new régime brought to power by the revolution created two dailies, Arabic and French editions of the same title (*al-Shaʿb*). In 1963, a new daily newspaper in Arabic, *al-Djumhūriyya*, appeared in Oran, and the same year in Constantine *al-Naṣr*, a French language daily. The first evening daily newspaper, *Alger-Soir*, came into existence in Algiers in 1967. The same year, the three veteran daily newspapers of the colonial period were nationalised, these being *La Dépêche d'Algérie, L'Echo d'Oran* and *La Dépêche de Constantine*. *Al-Mudjāhid* resumed publication in 1965, as a French language daily.

The riots of 1988 constituted a turning-point in Algerian political life. A new press code was promulgated in 1990; it abolished censorship and introduced the private ownership of newspapers. The Ministry of Information was abolished, and the Higher Council of Information created, this consisting of twelve members: three appointed by the President of the Republic, three by the President of the National Assembly, and six elected from among professional journalists.

It is interesting to note that, despite tireless efforts aimed at literacy and arabisation, the circulation of newspapers in the Arabic language remains very meagre: 80,000 for each of the two Arabic dailies, compared with 350,000 for each of the French language dailies.

(ii) *Morocco*

After gaining its independence in 1956, Morocco, under the leadership of Muḥammad V and of his son Ḥasan II, instituted a multi-party system, promulgated a law covering civil liberties in 1958, established a centre for the training and exchange of journalists in collaboration with the German-based Friedrich Naumann Foundation, and in 1959 created the press agency Maghreb Arab Press (M.A.P.). In 1963, the Union of Moroccan Journalists came into being. In 1987, Ḥasan II instituted an annual subsidy to the press of the order of 20 million dirhams (10 million to cover the costs of paper and of telephones, 10 million

to compensate for the cost of subscriptions to the M.A.P.); free transport on Moroccan railways, 50% discount on airline tickets and on accomodation in the kingdom's hotels.

Five periods may be distinguished in the evolution of the Moroccan press:

(a) *From independence (1956) to the proclamation of the state of emergency (1965).*

First to be noted is the maintenance on a temporary basis of titles inherited from the colonial press. Censorship and the payment of caution-money were suppressed. Newspapers such as *al-ʿAlam*, of the Istiḳlāl, *al-Raʾy al-ʿĀmm*, of the Ḥizb al-S̲h̲ūrā, and *Ḥayāt al-S̲h̲aʿb*, of the Moroccan Communist Party, resumed publication. The government launched a new daily newspaper, *al-ʿAhd al-Ḏj̲adīd* (1957-60). The Istiḳlāl Party inaugurated a French language daily, *L'Opinion*, in 1965.

(b) *From 1965 to 1970.*

Following incidents in Casablanca in 1965, a state of emergency was decreed, but did not affect the freedom of the press; the parties continued to publish their newspapers. Furthermore, two new parties came into being in 1967: the party of Dr. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Ḥizb al-Ḥaraka al-S̲h̲aʿbiyya al-Dīmūḳrāṭiyya*, and the party of ʿAlī Yāṭa, *Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr wa 'l-Is̲h̲tirākiyya*. Thirteen or more titles appeared during this period, besides those already in place. Only four were subjected to enforced suspension: *Maroc Information, Libération, al-Ahdāf* and *al-Kifāḥ al-Waṭanī*.

(c) *From 1970 to the "Green March" (1975).*

This period saw the creation of three new parties: *al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Taḳaddumī, Ḥizb al-ʿAmal* and *Ḥizb al-Ittiḥād al-Is̲h̲tirākī li 'l-Ḳuwā al-S̲h̲aʿbiyya* and two major independent dailies, *Le Matin* and *Maroc Soir*, both in French.

(d) *From 1975 to 1983.*

Five new parties emerged, each with its own newspaper.

(e) *From 1983 to 1992.*

This period saw the creation of the Consultative Council for Human Rights (April 1990), press clubs after 1988 and the granting of the royal subsidy to the press. The same year, fifty new titles appeared to enrich the already burgeoning repertoire of the Moroccan press.

(iii) *Mauritania*

Mauritania obtained its independence in 1960. Four parties united to form the single ruling party headed by Muk̲h̲tar Wuld Daddāh and known as *Ḥizb al-S̲h̲aʿb al-Mūrītānī*.

Initially a weekly, *al-S̲h̲aʿb* became Mauritania's first daily newspaper in 1975. It was edited by the Ministry of Information and published in two versions, Arabic and French. The French edition, *Le Peuple*, changed its title to *Horizons* in 1991.

This change of title corresponds to the change experienced by the press in Mauritania since 1991, the date of the promulgation of the first constitution and the inauguration of the multi-party era. Besides this daily newspaper, there exist an independent press and an underground press, with very limited resources.

(iv) *Libya*

On the independence of Libya in 1951, the Sanūsī kingdom was divided into three departments, each having its own daily newspaper: in Tripoli, *Ṣaḥīfat Tarābulus al-G̲h̲arb*; in Beng̲h̲āzī, *Ṣaḥīfat Barḳa al-Ḏj̲adīda*; and in Sebha, *Ṣaḥīfat Fezzān*. A year before the abolition of the monarchy, the Ministry of Information changed the titles of the three dailies. Independent dailies also existed, in Tripoli, *al-Rāʾid* and *al-Ḥurriyya*, and in Beng̲h̲āzī, *al-Ḥaḳīḳa*, in addition to two foreign language dailies, the *Giornale di Tripoli* and the *Libyan Times*.

With the accession to power of Colonel Ḳad̲h̲d̲h̲āfī in September 1969, a new daily came into being, *al-T̲h̲awra* (1969).

Two periods may henceforth be distinguished in the evolution of the Libyan press.

(a) *Between 1969 and 1977*, promulgation of the law of the press (1972), and creation of the General Foundation of the Press, which published from 1 September 1972 a second daily in Tripoli, *al-Fad̲j̲r al-d̲j̲adīd*, a third, *al-Ḏj̲ihād* in Beng̲h̲āzī, and in Tripoli in 1977, an evening daily paper, *al-Raʾy*.

(b) *After 1977.* On 2 March 1977, Ḳad̲h̲d̲h̲āfī proclaimed the institution of popular congresses and committees, and the implementation of the theories of the *Green book* (*al-Kitāb al-ak̲h̲ḍar*). According to the "Brother-Colonel, Supreme Guide of the Revolution", the press is at the service of society and cannot be subject to private ownership. Daily newspapers ceased to appear, and since 1977 a specialist press has been created, covering particular sectors. Among these are *al-Ẓaḥf al-ak̲h̲ḍar*, a weekly since 1980, edited by the office of revolutionary committees; *al-Ḏj̲amāhīriyya*, bi-annual, edited by the same Bureau; and *al-Fuṣūl al-arbaʿa*, edited by the League of Libyan Writers.

(v) *Tunisia*

With Tunisia's accession to independence in 1956, the Neo-Destour Party led by Ḥabīb Būrgība seized power and proclaimed the Republic in July 1957. From 1956 to 1964, titles from the colonial period co-existed with those of the new era. Alongside the independent daily newspaper *al-Ṣabāḥ*, founded in 1952, there appeared from 1956 onward *al-Amal*, an Arabic language daily, and *L'Action*, a French language daily; *Presse de Tunisie, Dépêche tunisienne* and *Petit matin* continued to appear until 1968. *La Presse de Tunisie*, nationalised, resumed publication and continues to appear today, as a governmental daily managed by the Ministry of Information.

In 1961, at the time of the war over evacuation of the military base of Bizerta, and especially from 1964 onward, the single ruling party, which had become the Parti Socialiste Destourien (P.S.D.), imposed severe curbs on the press, both the independent and oppositional sectors. The newspapers of the Tunisian Communist Party, *al-Ṭalīʿa* and *Tribune du progrès* disappeared, as did *al-Irāda*, mouthpiece of the Old Destour.

Bas̲h̲īr Ben Yaḥmed, first Secretary of State for Information in the first post-independence government, opted for exile and founded the weekly *Jeune Afrique* in Paris. The student movement, suppressed in 1967, founded a review which was produced in Paris and widely distributed, surreptitiously, in Tunisia, *Perspectives Tunisiennes*.

With the failure of the collectivisation of agricultural land and the collapse of the co-operative movement, Būrgība decided on a change of course and opted for a degree of openness. Supporting the government were two weeklies, *Dialogue* (1974) and *Bilādī* (1974). In 1974, the independent newspaper *al-Ṣabāḥ* launched a new French language daily, *Le Temps*. In 1975 a new press code was promulgated, amending that of 1956. The League for Human Rights was created in 1977, and three weeklies came into existence: *al-Raʾy* (in Arabic), *Démocratie* (in French) and *al-S̲h̲aʿb*, organ of the General Union of Tunisian Workers. The former two belonged to the Movement of Democratic Socialists (M.D.S.) and the third to the

U.G.T.T. of Ḥabīb ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, which had never collaborated with the régime.

Two crises occurred in rapid succession, in January 1978 with the conflict between the ruling party and the U.G.T.T., and in January 1980 with the invasion of Gaisa, a city of southern Tunisia.

In 1980, Būrgība appointed a new Prime Minister, thereby inaugurating a change of policy. Multi-partyism was to be tolerated, as well as relative freedom of the press. Three opposition parties were recognised, and the Islamist Party barely tolerated. At the same time, the media landscape changed, and new weekly titles came into existence: *al-Mustaḳbal-L'Avenir*, of the Movement of Democratic Socialists (M.D.S.), *al-Waḥda*, of the Popular Unity Movement (M.U.P.), *al-Ṭarīḳ al-d̲j̲adīd*, of the Tunisian Communist Party (P.C.T.) and *al-Maʿrifa*, of the Islamic Tendency Movement (M.T.I.).

Independent journalists have also launched weekly titles: *Mag̲h̲reb Arabe*, bilingual, of ʿUmar S̲h̲abū, and *Réalités*, also bilingual, of Munṣif Ben Mrād. Another independent, Ṣalāḥ al- Dīn ʿAmrī, produced *al-Anwār* (1981) and *al-S̲h̲urūḳ* (1984). *Al-Ṣabāḥ*, an independent newspaper, has launched three new weeklies: *al-Ṣadā* (in Arabic), *al-Ṣabāḥ al-Usbūʿī* (in Arabic) and *Le Temps-Hebdo* (in French).

The "bread revolution", following the decision to increase the price of bread, put an end to this liberal euphoria. The régime returned to its repressive ways, and in 1987, it was on the point of extinguishing the Islamist movement when the constitutional change of 7 November 1987, inaugurated by Prime Minister Zayn al-ʿAbīdīn Ben ʿAlī, came into effect. The latter, according to the terms of the constitution and in view of Būrgība's inability for health reasons to continue in office, became President of the Republic. On 2 August 1988 he instituted a new press code, requiring economic transparency of press institutions, and reckoned fairly liberal by the profession.

Since then, the Tunisian press has regained a limited degree of its former prosperity.

Bibliography: *al-Mawsūʿa*, *op. cit.*, iv (Tunisia, Algeria, D̲j̲amāhīriyya, Morocco, Mauritania), Tunis 1995, *passim*; K̲h̲alīl Sābāt, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Dalīl al-ṣaḥāfa*, *op. cit.* See also D̲J̲ARĪDA. i. B.

3. The Arab Diaspora

Three factors account for the emigration of the Arab press to foreign capitals (London, Paris and Nicosia): the Lebanese civil war, the expulsion of the Palestinians from Lebanon in 1982, and the suppression of freedom in the majority of Arab states. The financial resources of this press remain difficult to elucidate; it may be wondered to what extent it is dependent upon various régimes and their financial support. On the other hand, despite the popularity of this press, it does seem to ignore its primary, most directly accessible public, i.e. the Arabo-Muslim communities of Europe (France and Britain in particular).

(i) *Paris*

Jeune Afrique, weekly, founded by the Tunisian Bas̲h̲īr Ben Yaḥmed, is considered the doyen of the expatriate Arab press in France, having first appeared in 1962.

Al-Mustaḳbal, weekly, edited by Nabīl K̲h̲ūrī, appeared in 1977 and ceased publication in 1989 (pro-Gulf States).

Al-Waṭan al-ʿArabī, founded by Walid Abū Zahr in 1977, ceased publication after the Gulf War; it was pro-ʿIrāḳī.

Al-Nahār al-ʿArabī al-Duwalī, founded in 1977 by G̲h̲assān Ṭuwaynī.

Kull al-ʿArab, weekly, managed by Yāsir Harāwī (pro-ʿIrāḳī), ceased publication in 1991.

Al-Ṭalīʿa al-ʿArabiyya (pro-ʿIrāḳī), managed by Nāṣīf ʿAwwād.

Al-Yawm al-Sābiʿ, founded in 1984 by Bilāl al-Ḥasan, mouthpiece of the P.L.O.

Only one newspaper, the monthly *Arabies*, in French, seems to have risen to the challenge: founded in 1985 by Yāsir Harāwī, it has succeeded in serving both publics, that of the Arab community in France, and that of the Arab world.

(ii) *London*

(a) Dailies.

A major daily newspaper was launched in 1978, based in London, this being the pro-Saudi *al-S̲h̲arḳ al-Awsaṭ*. Also appearing in London since 1989 is the daily *al-Ḥayāt*, editor-in-chief D̲j̲ihād al-K̲h̲azīn, very close to the Arab states of the Gulf.

In 1989, *al-Ḳuds*, Palestinian.

In 1990, *Ṣawt al-Kuwayt al-Duwalī*, daily of the Kuwaiti resistance. After the liberation of Kuwait, it returned there, and ceased publication in November 1992.

In 1995, the Kuwaiti daily *al-Waṭan* launched a London-based international edition, *al-Waṭan al-Duwalī*.

(b) Weeklies.

Al-Dustūr (1977); *al-Ḥawādit̲h̲* (founded by Salīm al-Lūzī in 1978, purchased in 1980 by Milhim Karam); *al-Taḳaddum*, founded by Fu'ād Maḥār; and *al-Ṣayyād* (since 1984).

(iii) *Nicosia*

Given its proximity, the island of Cyprus has become a haven for press agencies and journalists having difficulty operating in Beirut: *al-D̲j̲īl* (1980); *Ufuḳ* (1981); *S̲h̲u'ūn Filasṭīniyya* (1983); *al-Karmal*, mouthpiece of the Union of Palestinian Writers, since 1987; and *al-Bilād* (1984).

Bibliography: *Mawsūʿa* ..., *op. cit.*, iii (*al-Ṣaḥāfa al-ʿarabiyya fī buldān al-Mahd̲j̲ar*), Tunis 1991, *passim*; Elias Hanna Elias, *La presse arabe*, *Orient*, Paris 1993, *passim*. See also D̲J̲ARĪDA. i. C.

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4. Persia [see Suppl.].

5. Turkey [see Suppl.].

SIḤĀḲ, like *musāḥaḳa*, verbal noun of stem III of a verb meaning "to rub" (compare the Greek τρίβειν, Eng. "tribadism"), commonly used to indicate lesbianism. Other derivatives of this root indicating the same are the stem I verbal nouns *saḥḳ* and *siḥāḳa*. Occasionally, stem VI *tasāḥaḳa* is found. Women engaging in lesbian love-making are referred to as *sāḥiḳāt*, *saḥḥāḳāt* or *musāḥiḳāt*. The *Lisān al-ʿarab* calls the term *musāḥaḳat al-nisā'* a *lafẓ muwallad*, an expression of post-classical origin. The earliest recorded, probably legendary, instance of lesbian love among the Arabs is a report of the *awā'il* genre [*q.v.*], cf. Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī, *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], ii, 132, in which it is alleged that, forty years before the emergence of male homosexuality (= *liwāṭ* [*q.v.*]), the first woman who loved another woman was Hind, the daughter of the last Lak̲h̲mid king of Ḥīra, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mund̲h̲ir [*q.v.*], who fell in love with Zarḳā' bt. al-Ḥasan from Yamāma. The story is told in some detail in ch. 9 of *Rus̲h̲d al-labīb ilā muʿās̲h̲arat al-ḥabīb* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Falīta (d. 764/1363), ed. Mohamed Zouher Djabri, diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1968, 1-2 (see also *Bibl.*).

On the whole, *siḥāḳ* is frowned upon in Islam. There are no unambiguous references to it in the Ḳur'ān, but there is one remark traced to Mud̲j̲āhid b. D̲j̲abr (d. 100-4/718-22 [*q.v.*]) who, according to the Muʿtazilī exegete Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Iṣfahānī (d. 322/934, cf. *GAS*, i, 42-3), is

reported to have identified the word *fāḥis̲h̲a*, "abomination", from Ḳur'ān, IV, 15, with *musāḥaḳa* and not with *zinā* "fornication", "adultery", as all the other exegetes did, cf. his *Multaḳaṭ d̲j̲āmiʿ al-ta'wīl li-muḥkam al-tanzīl*, ed. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, Calcutta 1340, 44, and also Abū Ḥayyān, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1328, iii, 194-5. The punishment for *saḥḳ* laid down in this verse is house arrest until death. In al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, Mud̲j̲āhid's interpretation cannot be traced, but in those of al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī and al-Bayḍāwī there is a vague reference (without indication of the source) that *saḥḥāḳāt* may have been meant in IV, 15, and fornicators in v. 16 (cf. also M.R. Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-manār*, Cairo 1346-54, iv, 435-40). While describing the powers or faculties that determine a person's body, the exegete Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-g̲h̲ayb*, cf. ed. Cairo 1278/1862, ii, 383, ll. 23-5, also mentions the power of sensuality (*ḳuwwa s̲h̲ahwāniyya*) and the corrupting influences that emanate from it: *zinā*, *liwāṭ* and *saḥḳ*.

The S̲h̲īʿa trace *siḥāḳ* indirectly to the Ḳur'ān too. While dealing with it in his *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faḳīh*, 5th impr., Tehran 1390, iv, 31, the Shīʿī jurist Ibn Bābawayhi (d. 381/991 [*q.v.*]) records a statement ascribed to the *imām* D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] that the *aṣḥāb al-rass* [*q.v.*] were responsible for the spread of this perversion. These were a community of pre-Islamic unbelievers, cf. Ḳur'ān, XXV, 38 and L, 12. Their story and the spread of lesbianism among them on the instigation of a daughter of Iblīs, al-Dalhān, is recorded in al-T̲h̲aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. Cairo 1297, 144, 1 ff. Cf. also al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-G̲h̲ifārī, Tehran 1954-61, v, 551-2, where we find a euphemism for *siḥāḳ*: *hunna allawātī bi-* (or *maʿa*) *allawātī*, who will be tormented in Hell in a spectacular manner. Another daughter of Iblīs, Lāḳīs, is mentioned here as having had a hand in its spread.

As for *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature, there are a few pre-canonical traditions, probably hailing from the time of the great 1st/7th-century *fuḳahā'*, which explicitly forbid lesbian love, the active as well as the passive party, and which prescribe a punishment as that for fornication, cf. Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, *Muṣannaf*, Ḥaydarābād 1966-83, x, 146, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Muṣannaf*, Beirut 1983, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, vii, 334-5. The term *saḥḳ* emerges here occasionally indicating masturbation, cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, vii, 391-2 (read *al-saḥḳ* for *al-s.ḳ*), as indeed do some forms of stem III in several *adab* works. The best-known pre-canonical tradition is *siḥāḳ al-nisā' zinan baynahunna* with slight variants; it may conceivably be ascribed to the *mawlā* Makḥūl, a well-known Syrian *faḳīh* who died sometime between 112 and 118/730-6. The punishment for *liwaṭ* being the same as for *zinā* appeared eventually not to be a suitable one, for Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī, Mālik b. Anas and Ibn Ḥanbal, as recorded in al-Rāzī, iv, 619, rejected this punishment in favour of judicial discretion (= *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]); thus we find, beside *liwāṭ*, also *siḥāḳ*, *ityān al-mayta* (= necrophilia) and *istimnā'* (= masturbation) punishable by *taʿzīr*. The arguments adduced for reducing the punishment from flogging/stoning to judicial discretion was women's fear of pregnancy in the case of *siḥāḳ* = tribadism and their fear of the temptation to fornicate in the case of *siḥāḳ* = masturbation. See Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. Muḥammad Munīr al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, Cairo 1352, xi, 390 ff.; Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-S̲h̲īrāzī, *al-Tanbīh fi 'l-fiḳh ʿalā 'l-mad̲h̲hab al-imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, 301, 17-18, and, furthermore, J.P.M. Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen in het Ḥanbalietische recht*, Leiden 1936, 21.

There are two canonical *ḥadīt̲h̲*s in which contact among women when they are naked or scantily dressed (= *muʿākama*) is discouraged. The one amounts to saying that a woman is not to touch another woman or describe the body of the other to her husband, for which the Kūfan *mawlā* al-Aʿmash (d. 147/764 [*q.v.*]) may be held responsible, cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad S̲h̲araf al-Dīn, Bombay 1965-82, vii, no. 9252, and the other forbids women to look at each other when naked or to enter in the presence of one another when dressed only in a shift; the *isnād* strands of this tradition seem to centre in al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿUt̲h̲mān (d. 153/770), cf. idem, iii, no. 4115. For the texts of these traditions, see al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. A.M. S̲h̲ākir *et alii*, Cairo 1937-65, v, 109, al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, ed. ʿA.S. al-Bundārī and S.K. Ḥasan, Beirut 1991, v, 390, and for a commentary, see Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1959, xi, 252-3. The term *muʿākama* has the variant *mukāʿama*, cf. Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, *Muṣannaf*, iv, 398, which is also interpreted as the pressing of one's lips on the lips of a person of the same sex, a meaning which makes good sense in the present context. Both traditions are reflected in a passage from a text by a North African jurist published in M.J. Viguera Molins, *La censura de costumbres en el* Tanbīh al-ḥukkām *de Ibn al-Munāṣif* (1168-1223), in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islámica*, Madrid 1985, 591-611, which says on 602, 6 ff., that women should be discouraged from showing one another their finery and their naked bodies during gatherings in places of rejoicing as well as bath houses.

One other canonical tradition does not allude to lesbianism as such, but commentators think it does. The Prophet is supposed to have cursed certain women, the so-called *mutarad̲j̲d̲j̲ilāt*, who tried to resemble men in clothing habits and ornaments. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Fatḥ*, xii, 452, elaborates on this. He mentions those persons who have an innate tendency towards opposite gender behaviour and quotes the otherwise unidentifiable Ibn al-Tīn, who is said to have specified to what women the Prophet's curse was ultimately especially applicable: those who go so far as to practice lesbian love. The Baṣran traditionist S̲h̲uʿba b. al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. 160/777 [*q.v.*]) is probably the originator of the wording, if not also of the gist, of this tradition, cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf*, v, no. 6188.

In Shīʿī tradition there is the story of a woman who, just after her husband has left the marital bed, rubs her husband's sperm into her slave girl by means of a lesbian love act, which results in the slave girl becoming pregnant, cf. al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vii, 203. In *ibid.*, v, 552, the *mutarad̲j̲d̲j̲ilāt* are thought to tend to lesbianism, too.

In Arabic literature, *siḥāḳ* is mentioned not infrequently, but much less often than *liwāṭ*, and mostly in a denigrating context, only occasionally in glowing terms, the term indicating at times masturbation rather than lesbian love. For a case of two slave girls caught in the act of lovemaking at the ʿAbbāsid court and quickly put to death, see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 590. In several *adab* works, some of which are of a decidedly scientific nature, more or less elaborate chapters are devoted to it, sometimes interlarded with verse. Perhaps the longest and most extensive treatment of *siḥāḳ* with a graphic description of its techniques is found in ch. XI of Aḥmad al-Tīfās̲h̲ī (d. 651/1253), *Les délices des cœurs ou ce que l'on ne trouve en aucun livre*, tr. by René R. Khawam, Paris (Phébus) 1981. There are, furthermore, special sections devoted to it in al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), *Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo

1323-5, vii, 29, 7; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī (d. 482/1089), *al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabā' wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā'*, ed. M.Sh. Shamsī, Ḥaydarābād 1983, 107 ff., 142; al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī (d. 502/1108), *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Cairo 1287, ii, 163-4; ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghuzūlī (d. 815/1412), *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, Cairo 1299-1300, i, 272-5, containing an ode to the practice. A medical work, al-Samaw'al b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbās (d. 576/1180), *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī muʿāsharat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Taher Haddad, diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1976, 13-17, attempts to give an explanation for the emergence of lesbianism. In a modern novel by Ḥanān al-Shaykh (b. 1945), *Women of sand and myrrh*, tr. Catherine Cobham, London-New York 1989, ch. I deals with a lesbian relationship in present-day Saudi Arabia.

Bibliography: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-djinsiyya ʿinda 'l-ʿArab min al-Djāhiliyya ilā awākhir al-karn al-rābiʿ al-hidjrī*, ²Beirut 1975, 20, 60, 89 ff., 92, enumerating various techniques. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, n.p., n.d., 169, 376, lists two books entitled *K. al-Saḥḥākāt* and one book (116) by al-Madā'inī [*q.v.*] entitled *K. man tashabbaha bi 'l-ridjāl min al-nisā'*, all three of which do not seem to be extant. In the following sources *siḥāk* or *saḥk*, etc., is on the whole only briefly referred to: *Aghānī*³, xvii, 79-80, xxi, 72; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *K. al-Baṣā'ir wa 'l-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Ibr. al-Kaylānī, Damascus 1964, i, 380 (4-6), ii, 245 (5-7), iv, 156 (penult); Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, ed. M.ʿA. Ḳurna, Cairo 1985, iv, 257, 260; Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *K. Unmūdhadj al-zamān*, ed. M. al-ʿArūsī and Bashīr al-Bakkūs, Tunis-Algiers 1986, 98; Ibn al-Nafīs, *al-Risāla al-kāmiliyya fi 'l-sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Schacht-Meyerhof, Oxford 1968, 34, 52; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-anām fī taʿbīr al-manām*, Beirut 1991, 582; Ṣafadī, *al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿadjam*, Beirut 1975, ii, 405; Tīfāshī, *K. Rudjūʿ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāh fī ḳuwwa ʿalā 'l-bāh*, n.p., n.d., 57; Ibn Falīta, *Rushd al-labīb, al-bāb al-rābiʿ*, ed. Adnan Husni-Pascha, diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1975, 13; Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, *K. al-Bidaʿ*, Madrid CSIC 1988, ed. M. Fierro, 116 (introd.), 213 (text), 340 (tr.): *siḥāk* mentioned as an anomaly unique of the community which the author described in his book. In the *Thousand and one nights*, allusions to lesbianism are relatively rare and are either wholly non-committal (ed. MacNaghten, Calcutta 1839-42, i, 885, night 211, and ii, 256-7, night 329) or denigrating (i, 501, night 93, and iv, 133, night 824). Additional references to one or a few verses are the following: *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iv, 233, s.v. *k-s-s*; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 822, 2; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, Wiesbaden 1958-, ii, 75 (1), 88-9 (2 ff.); Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Wiesbaden 1931-, xix, 190 (19); Diʿbil, *Dīwān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ṣāḥib ʿImrān al-Dudjaylī, ²Beirut 1972, 94; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *K. al-Awrāḳ, kism akhbār al-shuʿarā'*, ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, Cairo 1934, 55-6; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1342-, ii, 219-20, iv, 23; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ādjurrī, *Dhamm al-liwāṭ*, ed. Madjdī al-Sayyid, Cairo 1990, 54-5; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, ix, 30; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafā' al-ridjāl*, ³Beirut 1988, v, 174; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, ii, nos. 101, 107; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī*, ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902, 75 (2); Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *al-Adjwiba al-muskita*, ed. May A. Yousef, Berlin 1988, nos. 1026-7 (in which the two connotations of *siḥāk* are juxtaposed) and 1034; Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Ṣanʿā'*, ed. Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, ²Ṣanʿā' 1981, 291; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Dhamm al-hawā*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Salām ʿAṭā, Beirut 1987, 161; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, i, 410, 20; R. Burton's tr. of *The perfumed garden* by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Nafzāwī (fl. 15th century), ed. A.H. Walton, London 1963, 104, 3; idem, *The perfumed garden; the missing flowers*, tr. by H.E.J.(?), London 1975, ch. I, which is, apart from a few additions, identical to the chapter of Ibn Falīta mentioned in the article; Ibn Taymiyya, *Ikhtiyārāt*, in the arrangement of ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbbās al-Baʿlī (= vol. v of his *Fatāwā*, Cairo 1329), 124; idem, *Tafsīr sūrat al-nūr*, ed. Muḥammad Munīr ʿAbduh al-Dimashḳī, Cairo 1343/1924, *ad* V, 3, 29 (penult); Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 217; A. Querry, *Droit musulman. Recueil de lois concernant les Musulmans Schyites*, Paris 1872, 499 ff.; G.-H. Bousquet, *L'éthique sexuelle de l'Islam*, Paris 1966, 69; Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *Islam et sexualité*, Lille 1973, ch. IV, 95-9; Basim Musallam, *Sex and society in Islam. Birth control before the nineteenth century*, Cambridge 1983, 154; U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, Frankfurt am Main, ii, 174, no. 737; E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās. Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1965, 39, 108, 179-80, 397; R. Kruk, *Warrior women in Arabic popular romance. Qannāsa bint Muzāḥim and other valiant ladies*, I, in *JAL*, xxiv (1993), 222-6; eadem, *Clipped wings: medieval Arabic adaptations of the Amazon myth*, in *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, i (1994), 142 ff.; E. Heller and H. Mosbahi, *Hinter den Schleiern des Islam*, Munich 1993, 142, 165, 208; Maribel Fierro, *The treatises against innovations*, in *Isl.*, lxix (1992), 236; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Lesbianism in Arabic literature*, forthcoming.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

SIḤR (a.), magic.

This term is applied (1) to that which entrances the eye and acts on the psyche of the individual, making him believe that what he sees is real when it is not so. This is called *al-ukhdha*, "charm, incantation" [see RUḲYA], "artifice, stratagem" [see NĪRANDJ, SĪMIYĀ]; in short, everything that is known as "white" or "natural magic".

It also refers (2) to things, the apprehension (*ma'khadh*) of which is fine and subtle; this applies, for example, to certain poetry and certain eloquence, that of the Ḳur'ān in particular. The Prophet was allegedly told, *inna min al-bayānⁱ la-siḥrᵃⁿ* "there is a form of eloquent expression which has the effect of magic". The false prophet al-Aswad, who sought to restore the tribes of the Madhḥidj [*q.v.*] to paganism, "made them see wondrous things and enchanted the hearts of those who heard him speak" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1796).

Thus *siḥr* consists essentially in a falsification of the reality of things and of actions. As such it is reprehensible, being allied to falsehood (*ufk*), to trickery (*khidāʿ*) and to astrology (*ʿilm al-nudjūm*; see NUDJŪM [AḤKĀM AL-]).

Finally, (3) it is applied to any action effected through recourse to a demon [see SHAYṬĀN] and with his assistance [see ISTINZĀL]. This is what is known as "black magic".

This definition, drawn from the entry *siḥr* in *LA*, does not cover all the aspects embraced by the term in Islamic literature, as detailed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf*, i, 35). In fact, this last group, under the vocable *siḥr*, includes a number of concepts and techniques, totalling 14, which confer on this term a considerably broader sense.

In fact, for the aforementioned author, *siḥr* is included among the physical sciences and covers, thereby, divination [see KIHĀNA], natural magic [see NĪRANDJ], properties φυσικα [see KHAWĀṢṢ] of the Most Beautiful Names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* [*q.v.*]), of numbers [see DJAFR, ḤURŪF] and of certain invocations [see ISTINZĀL], sympathetic magic [see RUḲYA], demoniacal conjuration, incantations (*ʿazāʾim*), the evocation of spirits of corporeal beings (*istiḥḍār*), the invocation of the spirits of planets (*daʿwat al-kawākib al-sayyāra*), phylacteries (amulets, talismans, philtres), the faculty of instantaneous disappearance from sight (*khafāʾ*), artifices and fraud (*al-ḥiyal al-sāsāniyya*), the art of disclosing frauds (*kashf al-dakk*), spells (*taʿalluḳ al-ḳalb*) and recourse to the properties of medicinal plants (*al-istiʿāna bi-khawāṣṣ al-adwiya*).

This classification of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa is presented as a development of that given by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. and tr. De Slane, iii, 124 ff., tr. 171 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 156 ff.). For the latter, "the souls of magicians possess the ability to exert influences in the universe and to tap into the spirituality (*rūḥāniyya*) of the planets, in order to use it in the exercise of their influence, by means of a psychic or satanic force" (126). These souls are classified in three categories:

(1) Those which act exclusively through the force of the will (*himma*), without instrument or aid. This is what the philosophers denote by the term *siḥr*.

(2) Those which act through the intermediary of the temperament (*mizādj*) of the celestial spheres and of the elements, or with the aid of the occult properties of numbers. It is this which is known as theurgy [see ṬILASM]. It is of inferior rank in relation to magic.

(3) Those which act on the imaginative faculties [of spectators], using them, in a certain sense, and introducing various kinds of phantoms, images and forms, in connection with that which they mean to realise. Subsequently, they cause these elements to descend to the level of the sensory perception of spectators, this by means of the specific force which characterises them and which puts them into a position of exerting influence on the senses of the latter. Spectators imagine that they see these forms outside themselves, whereas in reality there is nothing there. The philosophers call these practices prestidigitation or phantasmagoria (*shaʿbadha* or *shaʿwadha* [*q.v.*]).

Such a diversification in the definition of the concept is encountered, considerably earlier, in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, who devotes to this question the second section or *fann* (308-13) of the eighth *maḳāla* of his work, a section intitled "Exorcists, jugglers, magicians, practitioners of white magic, conjurors and makers of talismans" (ed. Flügel, 304 ff.; Eng. tr. B. Dodge, New York 1970, ii, 725-33; section summarised by R. Lemay in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, in *BEO*, xliv [1992], 24-5).

Similarly, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ deal with magic (*siḥr*), incantations (*ʿazāʾim*), the evil eye (*ʿayn*) in their fifty-second and last *risāla*, where all the aspects of magic, as later classified by Ibn Khaldūn and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa are already involved. They go even further in basing the existence of magic, in its multiple and diversified forms, on the writings of the philosophers (Plato, Ptolemy, Abū Maʿshar), on astrology, on the sacred books (Bible and Ḳurʾān), with particular reference to the stories of Nimrod, Moses and Aaron, Jacob, Esau, Saul and Goliath, Solomon, on texts from India and the customs of the Sabians (ed. Beirut, iv, 283 ff.).

As for the proofs to be applied to each of the topics addressed, "the writings of the ancients and of the philosophers are full of them; it is impossible to exhaust the subject in a single book or in a single *risāla*" (306). The definition given by these authors to *siḥr* illustrates this difficulty. "*Siḥr*", they write, "denotes, in Arabic, clear expression (*bayān*), elucidation (*kashf*) of the true meaning of things and the exploitation of this, rapidly and with precision. It also signifies the announcement of an event before it takes place, induction on the basis of astrological data, divination, *zadjr* and *faʾl* [*q.vv.*]. All of this is obtained by means of astrology ..." Also involved here are transmutations of substances (*ḳalb al-ʿayn*), miracles, prestidigitation, vile smells, etc. (312-13). On "Magic among the Ikhwān al-Safāʾ", see Pierre Lory, in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, 147-59.

Having shown the vast extent occupied by magic in the occult sciences, the Ikhwān al-Safāʾ give the following definition of it. "It is everything which entrances the intellect and everything which bewitches the soul, word or action, in the sense of amazement, attachment, inclination, submission, appreciation, obedience, acceptance" (314). The example which they give is quite illustrative of their manner of conceiving *siḥr*: "The people of the Djāhiliyya said of those who followed the Messenger of God and adhered to Islam: Such a person has been converted to the religion of Muḥammad; the magic (*siḥr*) of the latter has had this effect on him (*ibid.*; cf. al-Tirmidhī on sūra LIV; Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 57, 82; Abū Dāwūd, *Adab*, 87). This is licit *siḥr*, whereas that exercised by enemies of the prophets and sages, with the aim of abusing the credulity of simple people, is illicit *siḥr*" (314/15).

On the basis of these classifications and these generalising definitions, it is possible to tabulate the numerous manifestations of *siḥr* under three headings: black magic, theurgy and white or natural magic. Theurgy will be addressed under ṬILASM, while white magic has been dealt with under NĪRANDJ, RUḲYA, SĪMIYĀ. This article will focus on black magic.

The essence of this magic, as stated by the author of *Lisān al-ʿArab*, quoted above, is the recourse to demoniacal forces and the solicitation of their aid in the performance of the magical act. These forces are actually represented by the gods of paganism. In fact, *siḥr* is the equivalent, in the Ḳurʾān, of *kufr*, infidelity (VI, 7; XI, 7; XXIV, 43; etc.). The message of Muḥammad is described as *siḥr* by his Meccan adversaries, as had previously happened to the message of Moses (VII, 132; V, 110; X, 67; XXVII, 13; XXVIII, 36; XX, 57; etc.). *Siḥr* itself is of demoniacal origin: Hārūt and Mārūt, two fallen angels, taught *siḥr* to men: "They instructed nobody in their art without saying to him, 'We are a temptation! Beware lest you become an infidel!' People learned from them the means of sowing discord between man and woman—but they could not injure anyone without God's permission. Thus men learned that which was harmful to them and not that which could be advantageous to them; they knew that any person who had acquired this art was disinherited from any share in the future life. Such people had sold their souls cheaply!" (II, 102).

ʿIlm al-siḥr is often seen as equivalent to *ʿilm al-nudjūm*. This results from the notion that the planets exert beneficial and baneful influences over the three domains of the created being. The author of *Ghāyat al-ḥākim*, Abū Maslama Muḥammad (*not* Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad) al-Madjrīṭī, who wrote between 443/1052 and 448/1056 (Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 294-8), taking inspiration from the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ which Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Madjrīṭī (d. *ca.* 398/1007) had made known in

Andalusia, and from the *Nabataean agriculture*, apparently the work of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (d. *ca.* 400/1009), author of a *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Filāḥa* (ms. Paris, 5774, fols. 152-86; Algiers, 1550, 2, fols. 154-80), writes: "Magic essentially comprises two parts, one theoretical and the other practical. The first consists in knowledge of the positions of the immobile heavenly bodies (which is where, in fact, the forms are located), the modalities of their radiation on the planets and, finally, aspects of conjunctions of the celestial spheres at the precise moment that the successful outcome of a project is desired. Under this heading, the ancients placed everything having to do with discernment of the beneficial and of the baneful [see IKHTIYĀRĀT] and with theurgy [see ṬILASM]. As for practical magic, it consists in the knowledge of the three domains of the created being (*al-muwalladāt al-thalāth*) and of the qualities of the planets which would be disseminated there. This is what is expressed by the term *khawāṣṣ*" [*q.v.*].

Ibn Khaldūn, who knew well the *Ghāya* and the *Nabataean agriculture*, underlines the astral connections of magic and its claims to inflect "the celestial spheres, the planets, the worlds above and the demons, by various types of veneration, adoration, submission and self-abasement" (iii, 127, tr. de Slane, iii, 176, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 159). On the concept of *siḥr* in *Ghāyat al-ḥākim*, see Fahd, in vol. i of *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en Al-Andalus*, Granada 1990, 11-21, entitled *Sciences naturelles et magie dans Ghāyat al-ḥākim du Psuedo-Maǧrīṭī*.

Considering the hostility of the Ḳur'ān and of *Ḥadīth* with regard to *siḥr*, one can only be astonished at the development experienced by the Hellenistic conception of magic in the lands of Islam.

While *siḥr* (mentioned 23 times in the Ḳur'ān) is not explicitly denounced there, being seen rather as an enchantment exerted over spirits, as a falsehood, as possession by a djinni, it is clearly abjured in *Ḥadīth*, where it is mentioned more than 29 times (see *Concordance*). The following *ḥadīths* may serve as examples: "Kill every *sāḥir* ... and *sāḥira*" (Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 190, 191); "The punishment (*ḥadd*) of the *sāḥir* [is decapitation] by the sword" (al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, 27); "Among the seven sins which merit death" (*al-mūbiḳāt*) are "the attribution of a partner to God (*shirk*) and *siḥr*" (Muslim, *Īmān*, 144; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣiyya*, 23, *Ṭibb*, 48, *Ḥudūd*, 44).

The attitude of the Ḳur'ān is explained by its angelology and its demonology: the angels, charged with guiding men towards God, make use of physical beings belonging to the three domains, capable of acting on the spirit of men. Such is the case with the staff of Moses which becomes a serpent before Pharaoh (Ḳur'ān, XX, 18-24); it is also the case with the demons in the service of King Solomon (II, 96). Having refused to bow down before Adam (XXV, 26-34) Iblīs was expelled from Paradise with those who had followed him. Then the angels divided into two groups, the loyal and the rebellious. The former guide men towards God; the latter, opponents of men, seek to estrange them from Him by means of seduction (*siḥr*). The procedures of this seduction constitute the bulk of magical practices (on this subject, see Fahd, in vol. viii of *Sources orientales*, entitled *Anges, démons et djinns en Islam*, Paris 1971, 155-214, Ital. tr. Rome 1994, 131-78).

It follows from this principle that magic represents the débris of a celestial knowledge, transmitted to mankind by fallen angels such as Hārūt and Mārūt in Babylon (Ḳur'ān, II, 96). The djinn, inferior spirits, acquire their knowledge by eavesdropping at the portals of Heaven, whence the custodians of these portals chase them away, pelting them with shooting stars (XXXVII, 6-10). The fallen angels married the daughters of men and begat children with them; they taught them "sorcery, enchantments and the properties of roots and of trees" (cf. *Book of Enoch*, VII, 1 ff., inspired by Gen. vi. 4). Others taught men "the art of resolving spells", "signs" (*āyāt*), "the art of observing the stars" and "the movements of the Moon" (Ḳur'ān, VIII, 3-8). Against men and their informants, "the Lord has decided in his justice that all the inhabitants of the earth shall perish [in the Flood], because they have in their hands the hostile power of the demons, the power of magic" (LXVI, 6) and furthermore: "They have discovered secrets which they had no right to know; this is why they shall be judged" (LXIV, 10). See Fahd, in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, 37-8, whence this summary is taken.

It is on this angelological and demonological conception that the approach to *siḥr* in Islam is based. On the one hand, there are the miracles (*āyāt*) performed by the prophets and associated by the unbelievers and the feeble-minded with magic (the staff of Moses, mentioned above, the four birds cut into pieces and placed on the mountains by Abraham and returning to him (Ḳur'ān, II, 262), the wind and the demons obeying the orders of Solomon (XXI, 81-2: XXXIV, 11-13), the birth of Yaḥyā (John the Baptist) to a very old father and a sterile woman (III, 33-6), and the bird which 'Īsā (Jesus) formed out of mud, breathing life into it (V, 109-110).

On the other hand, there is sorcery (*siḥr*) which, in the eyes of the Prophet, is one of the greatest sins of mankind (al-Bukhārī, lv, 23, lxxvi, 47). He himself had been bewitched by a Jew (idem, *Ṭibb*, 47, *Bad' al-khalḳ*, 11, *Djizya*, 14; al-Nasā'ī, *Taḥrīm*, 20). This took place at the end of the year 6/628 and lasted forty days. He learned of what had happened from two beings in human form who were conversing by his bed. He went to the well where a lock of his hair, taken from a comb, had been deposited, retrieved it and was cured (Muslim, ii, 275).

Thus *Ḥadīth*, supplementing the Ḳur'ān, condemns the *sāḥir* to death, whereas what emanates from Ḳur'ānic verses is rather a denunciation of those who allow themselves to be bewitched by the *saḥara*, agents of fallen angels, who are reckoned to put men to the test, as in the case of Satan with Job (see in this connection the term *fitna* in the Ḳur'ān, in particular XXII, 52-3).

Reflection on the part of the *fuḳahā'* resulted in the separation of permitted from prohibited magic. What is permitted is natural magic, known as "white", including, among other elements, charms [see RUḲYA; NĪRANDJ; SĪMIYĀ]; imaginary phenomena produced by natural means, on the basis of properties [see KHAWĀṢṢ], having no connection with religion; psychic phenomena materialised by the use of philtres and amulets (*tamā'im*), activated by means of absorption or fumigation of heteroclitic powders and fats; etc. (see the classifications set out above).

The practice of this magic is tolerated insofar as it causes no harm to others. But when the magician influences nature with the object of doing harm, he is exercising prohibited magic. This, as was stated at the outset, implies recourse to demoniacal inspiration (black magic) and to the invocation of the planets (theurgy).

It is by awareness of the causal mechanism which rules nature and by penetrating the affinities which bind mankind and the cosmos closely together that

the magician attempts to influence the course of natural events, harnessing the forces emanating from the causality and relativity which he establishes between beings. This is why the magician's art is no business for amateurs; an innate predisposition, rich and multifarious knowledge, and consummate skill in handling composition, conjunction, mixture and combinations, are indispensable.

To attain his objective, the magician sets in motion two procedures aimed at constraining higher forces to place their efficacy at his disposal:

1. *Demoniacal conjuration*, known as *ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim*, "the science of the formulas of conjuration", which is, according to Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 2057, an imperative, stern and insistent language, by which djinn and demons are commanded to put a scheme into effect. Each time that the magician pronounces the formula "I adjure you" (*ʿazamtu ʿalaykum*) he claims "to oblige them to obey, to respond to the summons without delay, to submit and to humble themselves before him". And the author adds, "This is possible and permissible, according to reason and to the Law ..., since subjugating the spirits, humbling them before God and rendering them subordinate to men, is one of the marvels of Creation". This conjuration becomes illicit when it consists in directing the spirit towards an object which is not God, and consequently, in being disloyal to Him. Such an attitude is aggravated by the depraved conduct of the magician and the harm caused by it to other beings. Hence the question which was the object of controversy between jurists, "Is the death penalty, inflicted on a magician, the consequence of the disloyalty which precedes the act, or is it rather the consequence of the depraved conduct in which he has indulged and the harm caused by it to other beings?" (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 127 tr. de Slane, iii, 176, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 159).

The opinion which has prevailed in Islam, after centuries of theological and judicial cogitation, is that of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who gave Islamic theology its definitive formulation. For him, magic is based on the combined knowledge of the properties of certain terrestrial elements and of propitious astral dispositions. This knowledge is not culpable in itself, but its only practical application is to harm others and make mischief (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* i, 49-50).

Another question demanded clarification. What is the difference between magic and miracle, meaning those *karāmāt* attributed to the Ṣūfīs which border on black magic, such as, e.g., making the words of the dead heard, walking on water, transforming substances, practising ubiquity, making inanimate objects talk, altering the passage of time, having prayers answered, binding and releasing tongues, winning support in a hostile assembly, communicating certain secret knowledge and unwrapping mysteries, disposing of things which one does not possess, distant vision, intimidating people by looks alone, being spared an evil contrived by another and turning it into something good, immunity from poison, epidemics, fire, etc. (cf. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1224/1906, i, 2, 59-77; I. Goldziher, *Le culte des saints chez les musulmans*, in *RHR*, ii [1880], 336-7)?

Ibn Khaldūn replies to this question as follows: "The difference between miracle and magic resides in the fact that the miracle is [the effect of] a divine force which confers upon the soul [the power to exert] influence [over beings]. Thus [the thaumaturge] is supported, in his action, by the Spirit of God, while the magician realises his project through his own resources, through his own psychic force and sometimes with the assistance of demons. Therefore, the difference which separates them is simultaneously an issue of concept, reality and essence" (iii, 133-4, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 166-7).

2. *The evocation of spirits*, whether those of the dead (necromancy), those of less demons or those of planets.

(a) Necromancy belongs rather to the realm of divination (cf. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 174 ff.) but in terms of technique, it is allied to black magic, to the same degree as are the other two types of evocation. It consists of two phases. The first, of a material nature, comprises the preparation of a mixture of various products drawn from a special pharmacopoeia, and all kinds of fumigations; the second, of an intellectual nature, consists of the composition, in the form of an invocation, of a prayer mentioning all the qualities and all the attributes of the spirit invoked, and formulating all the pleas with which compliance is requested.

(b) The evocation of demons is accomplished with the aid of incantations (cf. above, no. 1). Three terms denote three procedures of spiritism: *istikhdām* (making a spirit do a certain thing), *istinzāl* (making a spirit descend in the form of a phantom) and *istiḥḍār* (making a spirit descend into a body).

(c) The invocation of the spirits of planets is described at length by al-Madjrīṭī (*Ghāya*, 182-6). It consists in drawing to oneself the spirituality (*rūḥāniyya*) of the planets. For this to be done, the nature of each one of them must be known: its colour, its taste, its odour; then it is necessary to observe the moment when this planet reaches the point corresponding to it in the zodiacal sphere, in a straight line which does not cross a line from another planet of different nature. If this is so, the line starting from this planet and terminating on the earth will be straight and unbroken. Subsequently, a cross is made from the same mineral as that associated with the planet invoked, and placed on an image representing the request that is to made of the spirit invoked (see the detailed description of the manner in which this image is used, according to the result which is sought, in Fahd, in *Sources orientales*, vii, 170-1).

Al-Madjrīṭī concludes (*ibid.*, 85) that it is a perfect nature which fulfils in man the condition of his accession to the world of the spirits; his progressive assimilation to the forces which he conjures, evokes or invokes, contributes to the efficacity of his action and to the success of his enterprise. Spiritual beings (*al-rūḥāniyya*) appear to him then as personalities, speak to him and give him all kinds of information.

From the simple bewitchment of the Prophet, using a lock of his hair, to the invocation of the spirits of planets, a long road has been travelled. Along the way Islam, the heir to the ancient civilisations, whether they be Semitic, Iranian or Hellenistic, has incorporated in its rich patrimony ideas, customs and practices which developed and intermingled throughout the vast area of the Near and the Middle East.

From pre-Islamic Arabia, the inheritance is scanty: incantations against "the evil (arising) from those who breathe on the knots" (*al-naffāthāt fī ʾl-ʿuḳad*), a practice analogous to that known as "tying the aglet", designed to keep husbands and wives apart (Ḳurʾān, CXIII, 4). According to the commentators, this usage was the inspiration for the revelation of the three earliest sūras of the Ḳurʾān (CXII, CXIII, CXIV), the last two being called *al-muʿawwidhatān*[i] [*q.v.*].

In writings intitled *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* and *al-Ṭibb fī ʾl-Ḳurʾān*, numerous examples illustrate the use of incantations and charms by the Prophet and his

contemporaries (see *Sources orientales*, iv, 195-6, notes 63 ff.). Al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 53, devotes a *bāb* entitled *al-dawā' bi 'l-ʿadjwa li 'l-siḥr* to the use of date-pulp as a remedy against enchantment (see H. Reinfried, *Braüche bei Zauber und Wunder bei Bukhārī*, diss. Freiburg i. Br., Karlsruhe 1915; cf. also Goldziher, *Chatm al-Bukhārī*, in *Isl.*, vi [1916], 214).

Originating in this popular witchcraft, which serves, furthermore, as a motif in the poetry of the court, magic takes a new turn with the translation of Greek magical works. Michael of Syria, ed. Chabot, 478b, 30, relates that the Byzantine emperor Leo (IV, the Khazar, 775-80) sent as a gift to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) the book by Ianis and Iambris dealing with the secrets of Egyptian magic. From this period onward there is a proliferation of magical works attributed to Indians, Copts, Nabataeans, Sabians, etc. A work of Hellenistic magic produced a synthesis of the concepts linking magic with astrology, namely *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* by al-Madjrīṭī, utilised previously and translated into Latin under the title of *Picatrix*. It played an important role in the development of magic in the West (ed. H. Ritter, in *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 13*, Leipzig 1933; Ger. tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, in *Studies of the Warburg Institute 27*, London 1962; see also Ritter, *Picatrix, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie*, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921-22*).

From the *K. al-Sirr al-Maktūm fī ʿilm al-ṭalāsim wa 'l-siḥr wa 'l-nīrandjāt wa 'l-nudjūm* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209-10) to *Shams al-maʿārif* by al-Būnī (d. 622/1225) and to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), magic in Islam has experienced prodigious development. A very substantial magical library has been constituted, to which a competent scholar has yet to devote the study which it deserves.

Bibliography: See the numerous references in the text. It may be noted that, in this article, use has been made of two of the present writer's previous works devoted to this subject: *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, vii, Paris 1966, 157-204 (numerous refs. in the notes and bibl.), and *La connaissance de l'inconnaissable et l'obtention de l'impossible dans la pensée mantique et magique de l'Islam*, in *Sciences occultes et Islam*, in *BEO*, xliv (1992), 33-44; see also idem, *Magic (Islam)* in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, repr. in *Hidden truths. Magic, alchemy and the occult*, ed. L.E. Sullivan, New York-London 1989, 122-30, and *Sciences naturelles et magie dans Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm (d'Abū Maslama l-Madjrīṭī)*, in *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en Al-Andalus*, ed. E. Garcia Sanchez, i, Granada 1990, 11-21. For Ibn al-Nadīm, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and al-Madjrīṭī, see refs. in the text. Particular attention should be given to *Shams al-maʿārif* by al-Būnī, a synthesis of magical lore in Islam, which has appeared in three editions: lengthy, medium and short. The first was edited in Cairo in 4 vols. in 1905; many lithographs and a vast number of manuscripts exist. It may be noted that Pierre Lory has taken an interest in this; see his *La magie des lettres dans le Shams al-Maʿārif d'al-Būnī*, in *BEO*, xxxix-xl (1987-8). Another equally important text for this subject is the *K. al-Sirr al-Maktūm fī ʿilm al-ṭalāsim wa 'l-siḥr wa 'l-nīrandjāt wa 'l-nudjūm*, also known by the title *al-Sirr al-Maktūm fī mukhāṭabat al-nudjūm* and lithographed in Cairo; numerous mss. of it exist, the one consulted here being Nuruosmaniye 2792 (220 fols., 28 × 19 cm, fine *naskhī*, where the illustrations are lacking, their place having been left blank); the ms. Köprülü 925 (100 fols., *naskhī*, 25 × 17 cm) specifies that the work is by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and not by Fakhr al-Dīn.

Among the studies, worthy of mention are E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; E. Mauchamp, *La sorcellerie au Maroc*, posthumously published work preceded by a documentary study of the author and the work by J. Bois, Paris n.d.; M. Gray, *Magie et sorcellerie en Afrique du Nord*, in *Bull. de l'Enseignement public marocain*, ccxxx (January-March 1954), 45-72; G. Bousquet, *Fiqh et sorcellerie*, in *AIEO Alger*, viii (1949-50), 230-4; A. Guillaume, *Prophétie et divination*, French tr. Paris 1941 (cf. ch. vi, "Magic and sorcery", 280-344, and note C: *Magie et religion*, 454-59); R. Kriss, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, ii. *Amulette und Beschworungen*, Wiesbaden 1961 (with 104 plates); A. Kovalenko, *Magie et Islam. Les concepts de magie (siḥr) et de sciences occultes (ʿilm al-ghayb) en Islam*, diss. Univ. of Strasbourg 1979, publ. Geneva 1991, 721 pp. (see 424-37, where the sources for *ʿilm al-siḥr* in Islam are to be found listed, and 566-619, where there is a general bibliography on the occult sciences).

On the Hellenistic legacy in Islam, see M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, H der O, i. Abt., Erganz, vi, 2. Absch., Leiden-Cologne 1972, 359-426. For magic in the mediaeval West and its oriental sources, see L. Thorndike, *History of magic and experimental science*, i, New York 1947, 641-71, and R.H. Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, New York 1959.

(T. Fahd)

ṢIHYAWN, the Arabic name of Biblical *Ṣiyyôn*. The etymology of the Hebrew word צִיּוֹן (*Ṣiyyôn*) is uncertain. It may be related to a Semitic root "to be dry", "to suffer from thirst". But it is not entirely impossible that the root may be related to the Arabic root *ṣ-w-n*, also appearing in Geʿez, meaning "to guard", "to preserve". In the works of the Arab lexicographers, the word has the nominal pattern of *Ṣihyawn* meaning Jerusalem or Byzantium. The word possibly appears in this sense already in a verse of al-Aʿshā Maymūn (d. after 625). This form, *ṣihyawn*, is most probably derived from an Aramaic dialect which pronounced the word as in Syriac *ṣehyūn*.

Ṣiyyôn, David's Citadel and his traditional burial place, extended over southeastern Jerusalem, below the Temple Mount. By Josephus' time it was identified with the upper city, the southwestern hill of Jerusalem, including the sites presently identified with Mount Zion. The early Christians located the Biblical Mount Zion in the southwestern hill of Jerusalem not only following Josephus's mistaken identification, but also because early scenes and events of the Christian church sanctified this hill.

1. The Church of Zion.

The existence of a modest church on Mount Zion is first noted by Cyril of Jerusalem, around the year A.D. 348. In the days of Bishop John II (386-417), the Zion church was rebuilt becoming one of the largest and important churches in Jerusalem. Also, the tradition of Zion as the site of the Last Supper, the place where Mary fell asleep and where the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples on the Pentecost, became established from the end of the 4th to the middle of the 5th century. During the Persian conquest (A.D. 614), the church was burned down, probably leaving its interior looted and despoiled. Modestus, Acting Patriarch of Jerusalem, rebuilt the church from its ruins.

Mount Zion and the Zion church are noted in

early Arabic texts from the beginning of the Arab conquest and onward. Prior to the 10th century, the word Ṣihyawn (Ṣahyūn?) is rare and refers to Jerusalem as a whole or an area in Jerusalem. Noteworthy is a rare tradition identifying Ṣihyawn as Mecca, possibly an attempt of an early tendency to enhance the holiness of Mecca by attributing to it holy merits of Biblical places and persons (*al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, i, 296; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Wafā'*, i, 69).

The Muslim conquest of Jerusalem (638) did not result in the immediate destruction of churches and monasteries, but many fell into abandonment and ruin. The wave of destruction against the churches in Palestine at the beginning of the 10th century bypassed Jerusalem. However, in 966 the Church of Zion was burned and pillaged with the direct encouragement of the Ikhshīdid governor of Jerusalem, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣanādjī. At the beginning of the 11th century, Mount Zion and the Church of Zion were evidently outside the city walls. In the framework of the wall-building activity, by order of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāhir in 424/1033, the workers used stones of the many churches outside the city, including those of the Church of Zion, which was apparently destroyed.

2. The Crusader and Ayyūbid period.

On the Frankish capture of Jerusalem, the church and most of the sites on Mount Zion were handed over to the Latin Church. Presumably it was reconstructed a short time after the conquest on the site where the Holy Church of Zion previously stood. It was already noted by Christian pilgrims in the first decade of the 12th century; the building was evidently completed in 1141. The church was built in the cellular vaulted Latin fashion; it included the Cenacle, in the southwestern corner of the central hall, and under it, the room in which David's Tomb was identified.

David died in the City of David, which extended southeastward to the Temple Mount. Despite this, the ancient Christians located David's Tomb in Bethlehem or its close vicinity, an identification that prevailed for the entire Byzantine period, up to the 7th century. An early Muslim tradition locates David and Solomon's tombs in the Church of Gethsemane (*Kanīsat al-Djismāniyya*; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1985, i, 492, 523; Mudjīr al-Dīn, ed. Nadjaf, i, 116, from Wahb b. al-Munabbih; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 111).

The first Christian source that mentions explicitly David's Tomb on Mount Zion is dated slightly before the 11th century. The source of this tradition is apparently in memorial services for David and James, Jesus's brother, found in the liturgies conducted in this church on the 25th of December and later, on the 26th, already in the Byzantine period, and not in the later Muslim tradition that was influenced by Jewish sources. The ancient structure that has been identified as David's Tomb from the Crusader period to the present day was not a part of the Byzantine Church of Zion. Muslim writers and geographers of the 10th century, indeed, connect David with Mount Zion; however, they do not locate his grave on the mountain and certainly not in the church on it. The testimony of al-Muḳaddasī, 46 (most probably from the mid-10th century), that "people of the book say that David's Tomb is in Ṣihyawn" is not unequivocal evidence that the tomb is located on Mount Zion and certainly not in its church; this may possibly refer to the Biblical identification of Zion.

Nonetheless, it is apparent that the tradition claiming that David's Tomb is in the Church of Zion was already established at the beginning of the 11th century (Ibn al-Muradjdjā, 247, no. 368; but cf. al-Tha'labī, Būlāḳ 1320, i, 240, who locates it on Mount Zion, and not in the Church). In spite of its dubious origin, it was accepted by all three religions. The tradition claiming that David's tomb is in the Church of Zion also appears from the beginning of Crusader rule, and was noted often by the Christian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem in later centuries. Al-Harawī (1174) notes the tradition of David's tomb on Mount Zion, but is also familiar with other traditions regarding the site of the tomb.

When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn approached Jerusalem (1187), the Christian churches outside Jerusalem, including the church of St. Maria of Mount Sion, were destroyed or seized. During the time of his stay in Jerusalem, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil, lived in the Zion church, while his soldiers set up their tents in front of the church. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built up and renovated the walls of Jerusalem (1192), which were extended to include Mount Zion and the church on it. Al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā began restoration in Jerusalem and on its walls in 1202-3, yet in 1219 he ordered the walls to be destroyed. The targeted area also included Mount Zion and apparently also the church on it. It does not seem that, prior to leaving Jerusalem in 1229, Frederick II took on the task of building and fortifying the walls of the city and its bastions. Mount Zion was never walled again. On Crusader maps of the 12th to 14th centuries, it appears outside the wall.

The church suffered destruction by the Khwārazmian troops that reached Jerusalem in 1244, and at the end of the 13th century it was described as desolate and in ruins.

3. The Mamlūk period.

In 1333 King Robert of Naples and his wife bought the place and gave it to the Franciscans, who restored the Cenacle and built a small monastery around the room to the south of it.

In decrees and documents from the Mamlūk period, the church is termed Kanīsat Ṣahyūn, Kanīsat 'Ulliyyat Ṣahyūn or Kanīsat Dayr Ṣahyūn, and the monastery: Dayr Kanīsat Ṣahyūn or Dayr Ṣahyūn. At the beginning of the reign of each new sultan, the Franciscan monks requested a royal decree confirming their rights on Mount Zion to the church, the monastery and its other sacred constructions. The last decree in hand is Ḳā'itbāy's, from 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 876/17 April 1472, in which he renews the decrees of the preceding rulers. Among the 28 documents from the Mamlūk period that Risciani published, eight are royal decrees, extending from the rule of al-Ashraf Sha'bān up to the 14th year of Ḳā'itbāy's rule. Often these decrees respond to letters of complaint from Jerusalem Christians in general, and from monks from Mount Zion, on the violation of rights and requests to repair parts of the holy constructions that were ruinous.

In the 15th century several attempts were made by the Muslim rulers to take control of David's tomb and to expropriate it from the Franciscans. The Jewish community in Jerusalem took an active part in these efforts. In 1428 the Muslims took control of the place and took it out of the hands of the Christians. In 1430 the Franciscans were allowed to enter the place, but the arrangements for prayer services depended on the good will of the régime and of the guards at the place. In 1448 David's Tomb and the Upper Room were evidently returned to the Christians; but in 1452 the place was taken out of their hands permanently, a *ḳibla* was built in it and a supervisor was appointed

to oversee the hall of David's Tomb. From this time on, Christians were forbidden to enter the premises. In 1436 the upper room was renovated and renewed by Duke Phillip the Good of Burgundy, but, as learned from one of the documents (11 Djumādā II 841/10 November 1437, Barsbāy's reign), ten years later the Upper Room, which is called ʿUlliyyat Ṣahyūn, is found on the roof of the monastery, most of whose vaulted roof and walls was destroyed. The chapel remained desolate until 1452, when it was completely destroyed by the Muslims. The Ottomans returned David's Tomb and the church of the Cenacle to the monks in 1519. In 1523 an order was given to banish the monks from the monastery and the Cenacle church and to turn the place into a mosque. In 1524 the hall was destroyed, the Cenacle church became a mosque and a *miḥrāb* was erected in it. The inscription on the eastern wall of the Cenacle commemorates this transformation to a mosque, which since then, together with David's Tomb, is known as Masdjid Nabī Dawūd.

4. The Ottoman period.

In the course of 25 years, step by step the Franciscans were pushed out of the buildings they held on Mount Zion, all the while suffering confiscation of property, fines and imprisonment from the hard hand of the Ottoman régime. Already in 1549 the sultan endowed the Zion monastery and adjacent gardens to the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dadjdjānī, his offspring and his dervish followers. They were permanently removed from the monastery between 1551 and 1552. From that time, the monks were not permitted to enter the Cenacle or the place identified as David's Tomb.

The Franciscans were first allowed to pray again in the Cenacle during the period of Egyptian rule (1831-40), but only twice a year. At the end of the 19th century, the guards permitted the Christians to enter against payment. During the British Mandate, the Jews were allowed to pray at David's tomb once a year.

At the end of World War I, within the framework of its endeavours to gain a sphere of influence in Palestine, the Italian government attempted to lay claim to the Cenacle on Mount Zion and to transfer it to its authority, on the basis that the Italian king was the heir of the Neapolitan kings who purchased it. These efforts, accompanied by the intervention of the Vatican, continued until 1933, but came to naught. In 1936 the Franciscans returned to Mount Zion and settled in a small monastery north of David's tomb.

Today the Cenacle is identified in the second floor of the ancient structure that was part of the Crusader church. It is a long room built in the Gothic style of the 12th century. A cenotaph in honour of David is found on the ground floor of the structure, part of which is very ancient, from the end of the Roman or the Byzantine period.

5. The Church of the Dormition.

The Church of the Dormition was built between 1900 and 1910 on part of the grounds over which the ancient Church of Zion extended. The grounds were given to Kaiser Wilhelm II by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The Benedictine monks were given charge of the sanctuary of the Dormition in 1906. In 1926 the Benedictine priory was elevated to the status of an abbey by the Apostolic See, and in March 1951, the abbey was placed directly under the Pope.

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SIʿIRD, Siʿirt, Isʿird, the orthography in medieval Arabic texts for a town of southeastern Anatolia, 150 km/95 miles to the east of modern Diyarbakir and 65 km/44 miles to the south-west of Lake Van (lat. 37° 56' N., long. 41° 56' E.). It lies on the Bohtan tributary of the upper Tigris in the foothills of the eastern end of the Taurus Mts. It is the modern

Turkish town of Siirt, now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name.

1. History.

(a) The pre-Ottoman period. Siʿird is mentioned very little in early Islamic sources; the absence of fortifications apparently made it of little strategic or military value. Some authorities accounted it as administratively within Armenia, others as within al-Djazīra. Siʿird (Syriac, Seʿerd) was, however, a notable centre for Eastern Christianity, and al-Shābushtī (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]) mentions there the monastery of Aḥwīshā (Syr. "anchorite" = Ar. *ḥabīs*) which had 400 monks in their cells (*K. al-Diyārāt*, ed. ʿAwwād, 198). At some point after 1036, an unknown Nestorian author composed in Arabic the so-called *Chronicle of Seʿert*, a universal history based on Syriac sources (see Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 195-6).

In mediaeval times, Siʿird tended to share in the history of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Diyār Bakr. Thus in the 5th/11th century it came within the dominions of the Marwānids [*q.v.*], and in the next one, of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*] of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. In 538/1143-4 it was taken by Zangī b. Aḳ Sunḳur. It was sacked by the Mongols after the defeat of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, but seems to have revived, since Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 105, tr. 104, describes it as a rich town, famed for the manufacture of brass utensils. Under the suzerainty of the Il Khānids and their successors the Djalāyirids, Siʿird was ruled by the local Ayyūbid line of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Āmid until in *ca.* 866/1462 the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] ended this petty dynasty.

There do not seem to have been any *ʿulamāʾ* of note from Siʿird, but it did produce a poet in Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Isʿirdī (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.* in Suppl.], author of poems in praise of hashish-eating and wine-drinking (see F. Rosenthal, *The herb, hashish versus medieval Muslim society*, Leiden 1971, 6, 163-6 and index).

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 114; Marquart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen*, Vienna 1930, 341; Canard, *H'amdanides*, 85-6; *EI*[1] art. *Seʿerd* (J.H. Kramers). (C.E. Bosworth)

(b) The Ottoman and modern periods. For a short time, the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I held Siirt; but after the latter's defeat at Čāldirān, a surviving descendant of the Ayyūbid lords, by the name of Malik Khalīl, submitted to the Ottomans. Under the overlordship of the Diyārbekir *beglerbegi* Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], Malik Khalīl governed the town along with nearby Ḥiṣn Kayfā. In a *taḥrīr* dated 932/1526, Siirt is recorded as a *ḳaḍā* forming part of the *beglerbeglik* of Diyārbekir. At this time, Siirt consisted of 406 Muslim families along with 58 unmarried men, while the Christian communities numbered 448 households and 152 unmarried men. With the addition of a castle garrison and a small Jewish colony, the town should have held between 4,500 and 5,000 inhabitants. Among the notable buildings of the town, the *taḥrīr* records the Ulu Djāmiʿ and the Djemāliyye *medrese*, while Malik Khalīl had built a number of shoemakers' shops to provide income for one of his pious foundations. According to the same source, the rural area forming the district of Siirt was inhabited by 654 families and 151 unmarried men, all Muslims. A document dated 967/1560 describes Siirt as merely a *nāḥiye* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥiṣn Kayfā; but we cannot be sure that this really represented an administrative downgrading, as in this period, *taḥrīr*s often use the terms *ḳaḍā* and *nāḥiye* interchangeably.

In the 11th/17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi enumerated Siirt as an "Ottoman" *sandjaḳ* of Diyārbekir; by this term he meant that the *sandjaḳ* was not governed by a local Kurdish family of hereditary governors but formed part of the regular administrative structure. The *khāṣṣ* of the governor of Siirt supposedly produced 223,772 *aḳčes* a year. In 1080-1/1670-1, the accounts of the Diyārbekir governor Wezīr Silāḥdār Ḥādjdjī ʿÖmer Pasha showed Siirt once again as a *ḳaḍā*. The *pasha* collected a small sum as *ordu pazār aḳčesi*, dues presumably in connection with the obligation of the local craftsmen to furnish services to the army. Probably the campaign referred to here was directed against Bedouins; for a few lines later in the text, the *mütesellim* of Siirt was excused from participation in just this campaign. Moreover, the *ḳaḍā* of Siirt owed 350 *ghurush* as dues from vineyards, fabrics and firewood. These dues make it appear likely that Siirt, famous for its vineyards in the early 13th/19th century, and to some extent, down to the present day, already possessed them in the later 11th/17th century. As to the fabrics, they may correspond to the cotton, both white and striped, which Macdonald Kinneir observed in the area in the early 19th century, or to the calico from Bitlis which the Christians of early 19th century Siirt used to dye. This same traveller estimated the population of Siirt as numbering about 3,000; in addition to the Muslims, there were some Armenian, Chaldaean and Nestorian Christians. At that time, Siirt was ruled by a personage which the traveller describes as a "chief", but does not name; he controlled the harvested crops of the area, which he then passed out to his followers.

Many houses in the town, built of a locally manufactured gypsum, known as *djaṣṣ*, possessed some arrangements for defence. Houses of this type, with domes and vaults to minimise the need for wood, are still to be found in the older quarters of the 20th-century town; however, due to the fragility of the material, the buildings must be reconstructed about once in twenty-five years. At the time of Macdonald Kinneir's visit, there were three mosques and a *medrese*. This total should have included the Ulu Djāmiʿ, probably a Saldjūḳ structure whose wooden *minbar* has been preserved in the Ankara Museum of Ethnography, and the Čarshï Djāmiʿi, going back to Artuḳid times.

In the summer of 1838, von Moltke reported that three years before his visit, Siirt had been conquered by Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*]. At that time, the authorities counted 600 Muslim and 200 Christian households; but due to excessive and constantly renewed demands for recruits, the Muslim population had subsequently been reduced to 400 households. When von Moltke visited Siirt, only boys and old men were visible on the streets.

When Cuinet collected his information in *ca.* 1890, Siirt had been transferred from the *wilāyet* of Diyārbekir to that of Bitlis. He thought that the town contained about 3,000 houses inhabited by 15,000 people. Among these, almost two-thirds were Muslims, while apart from the Christian churches which had been present in the town at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, there were now Protestant Armenians and Catholic Chaldaeans, whose schools were run by American missionaries and French Dominicans respectively. The number of mosques had now increased to five, one of which possessed two minarets which Cuinet considered to be of great antiquity. He also refers to an ancient fortress, complete with towers, crenellations and moat, where in the past Kurdish *aghas* had resided. These must have been the personages whom

Macdonald Kinneir had compared to mediaeval Scottish earls, but who had probably disappeared as a result of the repressive campaigns of Sultan Mahmud II.

Under the Republic, Siirt remained a remote little town, although the railway did by 1932 reach Kurtalan, 32 km/20 miles away, and Siirt was promoted to be a regional centre. According to the 1927 census, it had 14,380 inhabitants; increase was slow up to the 1970s, but in 1980 there were over 42,000 people. The building of local roads in the 1950s added the cultivation of pistachio nuts to the traditional vineyards, and oil was found in the Kurtalan region, with a refinery at nearby Batman, the only major industrial enterprise in the province. Further progress may be possible with the completion of new dams on the upper Tigris, but in the rural areas, poverty and isolation are the norm; the level of literacy in the province is one of the lowest in Turkey, electrification is sparse and medical facilities few.

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2. Arabic dialect.

The Arabic dialect of Siʿird and the closely-related dialects of six neighbouring villages constitute a subgroup of the Anatolian branch of the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects [see ʿIRĀḲ. iv. Languages (a) Arabic dialects]; they form a linguistic island in the Kurdish language area.

A unique feature of the Siʿird subgroup is the regular shift of the interdental fricatives *ṯ*, *ḏ* and *ḏ̣* (the latter resulting from the merger of O[ld] A[rabic] *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ*) to the labio-dental fricatives *f*, *v* and *ṿ* (*baʿaf* "he sent", *əven* "ear", *ṿarab* "he beat", *ṿəhor* "noon"). OA *q* has been preserved as a voiceless uvular stop but alternates under undefined conditions with a glottal stop ʾ or even zero, thus *qāl* ~ *ʾāl* ~ *āl* "he said"; in a few lexical items OA ʾ can appear as *q* (*qarṿ* "earth"). The voiced pharyngal fricative ʿ is devoiced to *ḥ* word finally (*ytalloḥ* < *ytalloʿ* "he looks", cf. *ytalʿū* "they look"); word final *ḥ* in turn is pronounced rather weak and can be dropped altogether (*ytallo* "he looks", *yrō* "he goes" but *yrōḥū* "they go"). Initial *h* has been elided in the demonstratives: *āva* "this (m.)", *āvi* "this (f.)", *awle* "these". The vowel system comprises five long vowels (*ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*, *ā*), all while preserving OA diphthongs *ay* and *aw*. As in all Anatolian *qəltu* dialects, OA *i* and *u* have been merged into *ə* (*bənt* "daughter", *əxt* "sister"); in unstressed word final *-əC* the vowel has the allophones *e* and *o* depending on front or back consonant environment (*yxallos* "he frees", *yənseğ* "he weaves").

Arabic verb stems II, III, V, VI and X have a single inflectional base for perfect and imperfect showing *ə* (*e*/*o*) in the last syllable (*xallos*/*yxallos* "to free", *ʿallem*/*yʿallem* "to teach", *tʿallem*/*ytʿallem* "to learn", *stanṿor*/*yəstanṿor* "to wait"). The 1. person sing. perfect ends in *-tu*, a hallmark of the *qəltu* dialects (*tʿalləmtu* "I learned", *stanṿərtu* "I waited"). In the imperfect, final *-n* has been dropped in the 2. f. sing. and 2. and 3. pers. pl., but stress has been retained on the final vowel (*yrōḥū* "they go", cf. Mārdīn *yrōḥūn*). The characteristic copula of Anatolian *qəltu* dialects is found also in Siʿird Arabic but precedes the predicate rather than following it (*ūwe malī* "he is good", cf. Mārdīn *maleḥ-we*).

Bibliography: The only treatment so far is to be found in O. Jastrow, *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1978-81, esp. ii, 217-307. (O. Jastrow)

SIKANDAR [see ISKANDAR].

SIKANDAR b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Hindāl, called **BUT-SHIKAN**, sultan of Kashmīr (*r.* 791-813/1389-1410), who derived his name of "idol breaker" from his rigorist Muslim policies and draconian measures against the local Hindus.

As a minor, he had his mother as regent until 795/1393 when, with the support of the Bayhaḳī Sayyids [*q.v.* in Suppl.], refugees who had fled before Tīmūr [*q.v.*], he threw off this tutelage and became the effective ruler, now having the *khuṭba* read in his own name and minting coins. The campaigns of Tīmūr brought a considerable number of immigrants into India, and the most distinguished of these to reach Kashmīr in Sikandar's reign was Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Hamadānī, who remained in Kashmīr for twelve years. The sultan lavished land-grants on him and on others, and built *khānaḳāhs* for Ṣūfīs. He also embarked on a strongly Muslim policy of enforcing the *sharīʿa*, imposing the *djizya* on non-Muslims and destroying Hindu temples. It was only after his death and the succession of his son ʿAlī Shāh that there was a reversion to more pacific and tolerant ways in Kashmīr.

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SIKANDAR LŌDĪ [see LŌDĪS].

SIKANDAR SHĀH, Sultan of Bengal, son of Ilyās Shāh, the founder of the independent Sultanate in Bengal that lasted nearly two centuries. During his long rule (759-92/1358-90), Bengal enjoyed a steady growth and prosperity. Soon after his enthronement, Bengal was invaded by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, the mighty Dihlī Sultan. In order to avoid direct confrontation, Sikandar Shāh retreated to Ekdala fort near his capital Panḍuʾā [*q.v.*] and finally reached a peaceful settlement with Fīrūz Shāh. Except for two years of exile in Sonārgāʾon, the famous Čishtī Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ lived mostly in Panḍuʾā during his reign.

A great patron of architecture, Sikandar Shāh is mostly remembered for Adīna Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Panḍuʾā—a very imposing architectural expression of its time in the Muslim world (see for it, Yolande Crowe, *Reflections on the Adina Mosque at Pandua*, in G. Michell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Paris 1984, 155-64). Epigraphic evidence suggests that his rule once extended up to the present district of Čampanagar (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 107-8). Sikandar Shāh died in a power struggle with his son and heir-apparent Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh.

Bibliography: Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm, *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, tr. Abdus Salam, Calcutta 1904; Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Dirāsāt fī 'l-ḥaḍāra wa 'l-thaḳāfa al-islāmiyya fī bilād al-Bangāl*, Kushtia, Bangladesh 1992.

(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SIKANDARĀBĀD, SECUNDERABAD [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD. a. City].

SIKBĀDJ (A.), a vinegar- and flour-based meat stew or broth cooked with vegetables, fruits, spices and date-juice. It was apparently a popular ʿAbbāsid dish but very likely considered simple folk's food, as borne out by the many anecdotes that make satirical mention of it. Its origins, however, seem to have been royal, namely the Sāsānid court: Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ (d. second half 4th/10th century) mentions, in his *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987, 132, that Khusraw Anūshirwān [*q.v.*] once asked several cooks to prepare the finest dish they knew and all independently cooked *sikbādj*. (This perhaps explains the interest of certain ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the dish.) It merits inclusion here for its interesting appearances in: (1) numerous 3rd/9th- and 4th/10th-century collections (e.g. al-Shābushtī, *al-Diyārāt*, ed. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1386/1966, 92; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. al-Ḥādjirī, Cairo 1971, 24, 122, 288, 335; al-Azdī, *al-Risāla al-Baghdādiyya*, ed. al-Shāldjī, Beirut 1400-1980, 159, 167; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 2905; (2) important *adab* collections of later centuries (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1400/1980, xiii, 102; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Beirut 1988, i, 261); (3) two cookbooks, Ibn Sayyār, *op. cit.*, 132-7, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī (d. 637/1239), *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1964, 13-14; (4) ʿAbbāsid proverbs (al-Ṭālaḳānī, *Risālat al-Amthāl al-Baghdādiyya allatī tadjrī bayn al-ʿāmma (djamaʿahā fī sanat 421)*, ed. Massignon, Cairo n.d.); and (5) poetry—in one of Ibn al-Rūmī's satires, for instance (*Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973, 1062), and also in some verses by al-Ḳisāfī the younger, who, according to an anecdote reported by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], was present one day when a certain Abū Ayyūd presented a pot of *sikbādj* to Ibn Mukarram (Mukram?) (Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *al-Waraḳa*, ed. ʿAzzām and Farrādj, Cairo 1953, 9).

Sikbādj is an Arabicised word deriving from the Persian *sik*, meaning "vinegar", and *bāhā* (or *bādj*) meaning "type", i.e. of meat; *TA* also suggests a derivation from *sirka* (vinegar) and *bāča* (trotters) (Lane, i, 1389). In al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Taṭfīl wa-ḥikāyāt al-ṭufayliyyīn*, Damascus 1346/1927, 86-7, *sikbādj* is described as most delicious with eggplant (*al-badhindjān*). But, in keeping with the sarcasm that often accompanies the mention of *sikbādj*, the gloss to the epithetic proverb *surmat baḳrā*, used to describe an arrogant man, reads "the cow's anus is the best thing in *sikbādj*" (al-Ṭālaḳānī, *op. cit.*, 18, no. 264). It is likely, therefore, that the opening line in a letter from Ibn Mukarram to the wit Abu 'l-ʿAynā [*q.v.*], which reads "I have a *sikbādj* stew that is the envy of its connoisseurs ..." (al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, ed. al-Djundī, Damascus n.d., 352), is tongue-in-cheek.

The preparation of *sikbādj* has generated the verb *sakbadja* and prompted the writing of at least two works, both lost, praising its virtues: the *K. Faḍāʾil al-sikbādj* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] (*Fihrist*, 147) and that of the great wit, Djaḥẓa [*q.v.*] (*Fihrist*, 145, 317).

The proverbs *ilā kam al-sikbādj*! "What! *Sikbādj* again!", and *Yā bārid kam sikbādj*! loosely, "You blockhead! How much more *sikbādj* (al-Ṭālaḳānī, *op. cit.*, 8, no. 123, and 36, no. 597), are explained by al-Ṭālaḳānī as proverbs to be used when one has had enough of something. Indeed, it seems from the anecdotal literature that, satirically or otherwise, people either had enough, or could not get enough, of *sikbādj*.

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(Shawkat M. Toorawa)

SIKHS (< Skr. *shishya* "disciple, learner"), a religious group of northern India whose beliefs and practices combine Islamic and Hindu elements and which was founded in the later 15th century by Nānak, the first Guru or teacher.

1. General.

The authoritative *rahit-nāma* or manual of Sikhism of 1950, the *Sikh Rahit Maryada*, defines a Sikh as one who believes in *Akāl Purakh* ("the Eternal One"); in the ten Gurus ("preceptors", identified with the inner voice of God) and their teachings; in the *Ādi Granth* ("the Ancient Book", the chief Sikh scripture, and the initiation (*amrit*) instituted by the tenth Guru; and in no other religion. In practice, this rigorous definition is widened to include persons who are not *amrit-dhārī*, i.e. those who have received the Khālṣa initiation, but are also recognised as Sikhs, such as the Keshdhārī Sikhs, who do not receive initiation yet keep their hair uncut. An act of the Indian Union legislature has defined a Sikh as "one who believes in the ten Gurus and the *Granth Ṣāḥib* ("Revered Book", sc. the *Ādi Granth*).

The centre of Sikhism has always been the eastern Pandjāb [*q.v.*], where the Sikhs by *ca.* 1980 numbered some ten millions. But there was always a movement of Sikh traders to other parts of India, and after the mid-19th century this movement was enlarged beyond the subcontinent by the substantial numbers of Sikhs who served in the British Indian Army in such outposts as Hong Kong and Singapore, so that a limited migration began to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, mostly of Jat (Djāt) Sikhs (Jats being the dominant caste today in the rural parts of the Pandjāb and Haryana states of the modern Indian Union, and a particularly prominent social element—over 60%—in the Sikh community), initially of unskilled labourers. Others moved to the west coast of North America and to East Africa, engaged, e.g. in railway construction. Early in the 20th century, these doors to emigration were closed, but after the Second World War there was extensive emigration from both India and Pakistan, mainly to Britain but also to North America. By the early 1990s, there were approaching half-a-million Sikhs in Britain plus communities of over 200,000 each in Canada and USA.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. Doctrines.

Sikhism aimed at purifying the religious beliefs of the Hindus. The teachings of its founder were therefore mainly negative. He strongly protested against caste restrictions and superstitious beliefs. He preached absolute equality of mankind; he taught that mechanical worship and pilgrimages do not elevate the human soul; that spirit and not the form of devotion was the real thing. No salvation is possible without a true love

of God and good deeds in this world. Sikhism, like Islam, condemns idolatry and teaches strict monotheism. Its God is the God of all mankind and of all religions, "whose name is true, the Creator, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beneficent" (*Djāpdjī of Guru Nānak*).

Reverence for the Guru is much emphasised, for although "God is with man, but can only be seen by means of the Guru" (Macauliffe, *The Sikh religion*, ii, 347). Sikhism also believes in the doctrine of Karma and metempsychosis.

The theology of Nānak was not formal; his sole object was to bring about a social and moral reform. Sikhism remained a pacific and tolerant cult until the social tyranny of the Hindus and political friction with Muslims transformed it into a militant creed. Govind Singh made Sikh theology more formal and prescribed rules for guidance in private and social affairs. He forbade the use of tobacco and wine, though the latter is now more freely indulged in by the Sikhs.

The sacred book of the Sikhs is the *Granth*, which is held by them in great reverence. The first portion of it, called the *Ādi Granth* was compiled, as mentioned below, section 3, by the fifth Guru Ardjan. It includes the hymns of the first five Gurus together with selections from the compositions of saints and reformers anterior to Nānak, notably Kabīr, Nāmdev, Djay Dev, Rāmānand and Shaykh Farīd. The *Granth* is composed wholly in verse with different metres. The bulk of it is in archaic Hindi written in Gurmukhi characters; other portions are in various other Indian dialects and languages including Sanskrit, together with a few verses and tales in Persian (written in Gurmukhi script).

The cosmopolitan views of Nānak were acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims; moreover, he did not prescribe any particular forms of worship, hence it is not surprising that he gained converts from both religions. But it was undoubtedly Hinduism—the faith of his own parents—whose social system he wanted to reform, therefore naturally his teachings were addressed to the Hindus rather than the Muslims. The majority of his disciples was derived from the Djāt, Arora and Khatri castes; to the last of them belonged all the Gurus, including Nānak himself. To the Brahmans and Rādjputs, whose social status was very high, the democratic tenets of Sikhism were less acceptable.

The sects and sub-sects of the Sikhs are numerous, but the main divisions are two: (1) the *Keshdhārīs*, otherwise called "Singhs", and (2) the *Sahjdhārīs*. The former represent the baptised and therefore more orthodox followers of Guru Govind Singh, while the latter were originally those who refused to accept his baptism and join the militant *Khālṣa*. There are several other sects of Sikhism, including the Akālīs (worshippers of Akāl, the Immortal, Timeless God), a militant organisation founded by Govind Singh, which still retains a characteristic martial ardour. The Sikh shrines are scattered over the greater part of the Pandjāb, but the better known among them are to be found in the Districts of Amritsar, Gurdāspur and Fīrūzpur, the holiest of them being the Golden Temple of Amritsar and Nankāna Ṣāhib (near Lahore) the birthplace of Nānak, where annual fairs, attended by a very large number of Sikhs, are held.

3. History to 1849.

Sikhism was founded, like Buddhism, as a protest against the spiritual despotism of the Brahmans and as a revolt against the restrictions of the caste system and the exaggeration of Hindu ritual. It aimed at teaching social equality and universal brotherhood, abolishing sectarianism and denouncing superstition. Nānak, the founder of the creed, was born of Khatri parentage in 1469 at Talwandī (now called after him Nankāna), a small town not far from Lahore. He did not receive much school education, yet he was from his early youth given to meditation and original thinking, and was, like the Arabian prophet, gifted by nature with strong common sense. He showed an aversion from all sorts of worldly pursuits and it was with some difficulty that he was persuaded by his father to go to Sulṭānpur (at present in the Kapūrthala District to the south-east of Amritsar) to enter the private service of Nawāb Dawlat Khān Lodi, the governor of the province. The Nawāb appointed him storekeeper to his household, and he performed his official duties for several years to the satisfaction of his employer. In his leisure hours he retired to the jungle for meditation, and tradition says that in one of these devotional excursions he was taken in a vision to the Divine Presence and there received his mission to preach to the world that "there is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and bountiful". Nānak now left the service of the Nawāb and became (at the age of 30) a public preacher. He began a series of tours in the course of which he visited all parts of India, particularly the sacred places of the Hindus and shrines of Muslim saints. Wherever he went he held controversies with priests and *shaykhs*, demonstrated the futility of their belief in dogmas and rituals, and taught the necessity of self-denial, morality and truth. He is also said to have travelled through Persia and to have visited Mecca and Baghdād. In Persia and Afghānistān he gained converts and even established dioceses (*mandjīs*), notably at Būshahr and Kābul (Sewaram Singh Thapar, *Life of Guru Nanak*, Rawalpindi 1904, 73). It is not stated, however, whether he knew enough Persian or Arabic to be able to preach to the people of these Islamic countries. The statement of the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* that Nānak studied Persian and Muslim theology with one Sayyid Ḥasan has been rejected by the modern Hindu and Sikh critics. "This", says one of them, "seems to be an effort on the part of a Muslim writer to give the credit of Nānak's subsequent greatness to the teachings of Islām" (G.C. Narang, *The transformation of Sikhism*, Lahore 1912, 9). Macauliffe, however, was inclined to accept that Nānak was "a fair Persian scholar" (*The Sikh Religion*, i, 15), but did not mention the source whence he received his instruction in that language.

For the last ten years of his life, Nānak settled at Kartārpur, a village founded in his honour by a very rich sympathiser on the bank of the Rāwi, where he continued to preach his new religion to the numerous visitors whom his piety attracted from far and wide. He died at the age of 70 in 1539, leaving behind him a fairly large number of disciples (*sikhs*) and two sons, one of whom named Sri Čand founded the Udāsi sect (see above, section 2).

Shortly before his death, Nānak nominated one of his devoted followers named Angad (a Khatri like himself) to succeed him as *guru* (apostle) of the Sikhs. After performing the ceremony of nomination, he declared that Angad was as himself and that his own spirit would dwell in him. Nānak had already preached the doctrine of metempsychosis, but this particular declaration gave rise to the belief among the Sikhs that the spirit of Nānak was transmitted to each succeeding *guru* in turn, and this is why all of them adopted *Nānak* as their *nom-de-plume* in their compositions. Guru Angad occupied the office of apostle for

13 years until his death in 1552. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurmukhi characters in which the sacred writings of the Sikhs have been preserved, but it has been pointed out, notably by Grierson and Rose, that the Gurmukhi script is of a different and earlier origin (*JRAS* [1916], 677; H.A. Rose, *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab*, Lahore 1911-19, i, 677). The tradition may have arisen from the fact that Guru Angad *adopted* the script in recording the life and compositions of Nānak.

Amar Dās, the third *guru* of the Sikhs, was nominated by Angad himself. His ministry lasted 22 years (1552-74), and was marked by his taking the first steps towards a religious and social organisation of the Sikhs. Missionary work was undertaken by him in a systematic manner; over twenty dioceses (*mand̲j̲īs*) were established in various parts of the country, where some of his zealous disciples preached the gospel of Sikhism. In order to promote feelings of equality and brotherhood among the increasing number of Sikhs, he maintained a public refectory (*langar*) where all ate together without distinction of caste or creed. Amar Dās cultivated friendly relations with the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Akbar, who visited him at his own residence in Goindwāl (on the Beās) and granted him a large estate. This very much enhanced his prestige and helped to increase the number of fresh converts. He kept up the spirit of Nānak in his own ethical teachings, denounced the superstitious customs of the Hindus, particularly the practice of widow-burning (*satī*), and enjoined re-marriage of widows.

Amar Dās was succeeded by his favourite disciple and son-in-law Rām Dās, who propagated the tenets of Sikhism with a still larger measure of success. He had the good fortune to find in Akbar a warm admirer who was ever keen to do him favour. The Emperor granted him (in 1577) a large plot of land in which he began the excavation of the sacred tank (meant for the devotional ablutions of the Sikhs) which was afterwards named *amrit sar* "the pool of nectar". Around the tank the Guru founded a small town, which he called after himself Rāmdāspur and which subsequently grew into the now-flourishing city of Amritsar. The construction of the tank was completed by his son Ard̲j̲an the fifth *guru*, who, in the midst of it, founded the *Har Mandar*—the temple dedicated to God—as a common place of worship for the Sikhs. To Europeans it is now known as "the Golden Temple of Amritsar". The Guru declared that "by bathing in the tank of Rām Dās, all the sins that man committeth shall be done away, and he shall become pure by his ablutions" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii, 13). Thus was created a Mecca for the Sikhs, a centre for their national life.

Ard̲j̲an succeeded his father in 1581, and henceforward the office of Guru became hereditary. Ard̲j̲an took further steps to organise the Sikhs as a community. The greatest service that he rendered to the cause of Sikhism was the compilation of the *Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs. Guru Angad had already committed to writing the life and compositions of Nānak; Ard̲j̲an carried the work further and added thereto the hymns of the next three Gurus, which he carefully collected. To these he added his own numerous compositions along with considerable extracts from the writings of several Hindu and Muslim saints anterior to Nānak. "It was one of the Guru's objects to show the world that there was no superstition in the Sikh religion, and that every good man, no matter of what caste or creed, was worthy of honour and reverence" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii, 61). The volume thus compiled by Guru Ard̲j̲an (completed in 1604 after some years of labour) is called the *Ādi Granth* as distinguished from the *Dasam Granth* or the Granth of the tenth Guru (see below).

Ard̲j̲an was an ambitious and enterprising leader. He combined business with spiritual guidance and deputed *Masands* (collectors or agents) to various districts of the country to realise the Guru's dues, which so far were only voluntarily offered by the disciples. This brought him wealth and with it pomp and show. He styled himself *sačā pād̲s̲h̲āh* "the true King", which clearly marks his ambition for political power. He encouraged commercial enterprise among his disciples, and sent them not only to various parts of India but also to Afg̲h̲ānistān and Central Asia for purposes of trade and propagation of the Sikh faith. In 1606, Ard̲j̲an financially helped Prince K̲h̲usraw who had rebelled against his father, the Emperor D̲j̲ahāngīr. After the defeat of the Prince, the Guru was imprisoned, by the Emperor's command, at Lahore, where he shortly afterwards died.

During the Guruship of Ard̲j̲an's son and successor Hargovind (1606-45), Sikhism made a great advance. The first four Gurus were peaceful teachers of quietism and self-denial, but Ard̲j̲an initiated the policy of secular aggrandisement, while Hargovind openly adopted active resistance, which marks the beginning of the military career of the Sikhs. He was by nature a soldier, passionately devoted to the chase and manly games. Systematic collection of tithes and offerings had made him extremely rich, and he was not slow to assume kingly authority. He cherished a hatred of D̲j̲ahāngīr, to whom he ascribed the death of his father; a desire for revenge was certainly one of the causes of his resorting to arms. He enlisted in his service a number of outlaws, malcontents and freebooters, "built the stronghold of Hargovindpur on the Beās and thence harried the plains. He had a stable of 800 horses; three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty matchlock-men secured the safety of his person" (J.D. Cunningham, *A history of the Sikhs*, ed. H.L.O. Garrett, Oxford 1918, 56). The alarming reports of the Guru's military organisation reached the Emperor, who summoned him to his court and ordered his internment in the fort of Gwāliyār. He was released after some time, but the imprisonment gave him a further cause of resentment. Soon after the death of D̲j̲ahāngīr and the accession to the throne of the Emperor S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān, Hargovind assumed a defiant attitude and took up arms against the government. In the course of six years, he thrice defeated the troops sent against him by the governor of Lahore. But he feared vengeance on the part of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān and retired to the hills, where he lived unmolested until his death in 1645.

Under Hargovind, the Sikh faith was greatly transformed. They ceased to be mere recluses, and their Guru was no longer a mere spiritual guide, but a military leader as well. They felt their strength and saw the possibility of future political power.

Hargovind was succeeded by his grandson Har Ray, who was, unlike his grandfather, of a retiring nature. He had intimate friendly relations with Dārā S̲h̲ikōh [*q.v.*], the eldest son of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān, and in 1658, when Dārā wandered in exile pursued by the hostile troops of his younger brother Awrangzīb, Har Ray assisted him in crossing the Beās and reaching a comparatively safe locality. Of course, he incurred the displeasure of Awrangzīb, who summoned him to Dihlī to answer for this affront. He sent on his own behalf his son

Rām Ray who was detained at the imperial court as a hostage to insure the peaceful conduct of his father. Har Ray died in 1661 and his younger son Har Kis̲h̲an (a child of six) succeeded him. His right to the Guruship was disputed by Rām Ray who laid his own case before Awrangzīb. The infant apostle was invited to Dihlī to settle the dispute with his brother. There he was attacked by smallpox and died (1664).

There followed a struggle for succession after the death of Har Kis̲h̲an, and it was after much opposition that Tegh Bahādur, son of Hargovind, was acknowledged as Guru from among a score of candidates for the pontifical throne. His opponents continued to assert their claims, and some of them were even set up as rival Gurus. Tegh Bahādur retired, in some bitterness, to the Siwālik Hills and there founded Anandpur, a town which played a part of some importance in the subsequent annals of the Sikhs. Further, he set out on an extensive tour in India, visiting the Deccan and the Eastern Bengal, where Sikh centres already existed. In the course of his travels, he resided for some time at Patna, the seat of one of the main centres (*tak̲h̲ts*), where his son Govind Ray, the future Guru and the real founder of the political power of the Sikhs, was born (1666). Tegh Bahādur's influence as Guru extended as far as Ceylon in the south and Assam in the east. After a time, he returned to the Pand̲j̲āb, where he "maintained himself and his disciples by plunder". He "gave a ready asylum to all fugitives and his power interfered with the prosperity of the country" (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 64). The imperial troops marched against him, and he was made prisoner and brought to Dihlī, where he was put to death by the order of Awrangzīb (1675). The popular story is related in the Gurmukhi chronicles that, while in the presence of the Emperor, the Guru prophesied the coming of the English and destruction of Mug̲h̲al power at their hands. The words uttered by him on this occasion "became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Dihli in 1857 under General John Nicholson and thus the prophecy of the ninth Guru was gloriously fulfilled" (Macauliffe, iv, 381).

The figure of Tegh Bahādur's son Govind Ray, who was saluted as Guru after the execution of his father in 1675, is perhaps the most prominent in the history of the Sikhs. He succeeded to the apostleship as a mere boy, but ended his career by completely transforming a community of mere devotees into a nation of warriors who were destined to rule the Pand̲j̲āb for nearly a century. The violent death of his father seems to have left a lasting impression on his young mind, and he cherished a bitter hatred towards Awrangzīb. But the power of the latter was too great to allow the possibility of revenge. He was therefore compelled to retire to the hills in order to be left in peace and receive the training necessary to befit him for the task of leadership. For twenty years he lived there, occupying himself in hunting and acquiring a knowledge of the sacred languages of the Muslims and Hindus and their religions. He nurtured his feeling of vengeance and formed his plans for the future with a view to destroying the power of the Mug̲h̲als. He set about the task of uniting the Sikhs into a nation by promoting amongst them feelings of democratic equality. He admitted both high and low into his fold and conducted a vigorous war against the caste system. In order to create uniformity in spirit as well as in form, he instituted the ceremony of initiation or baptism called *pahul*. The suffix "Singh" was to be added to the name of every baptised Sikh, the Guru himself to be called in future Govind Singh. He denominated his initiated disciples the *K̲h̲ālṣa* (the pure, elect, liberated) or *K̲h̲āliṣa* (in the past, considered to stem directly from Arabic *k̲h̲alaṣa* "to be pure", but now thought to come from *k̲h̲āliṣa* "land belonging directly to the ruler").

By his prolonged residence in the hills, Govind Singh wanted, besides carrying on his proselytising activities uninterrupted, to secure the assistance of the numerous hill chiefs against what he called the tyranny of Muslim rule. But in these objects he entirely failed, for the hill Rād̲j̲ās whose dynasties had ruled independently since time immemorial generally resented democratising principles being taught to their subjects and they unanimously resisted the religious propaganda of Govind. Failing to secure their alliance by friendly means, he tried the experiment of force. From his retreat at Anandpur he led marauding expeditions into their territories carrying away all that he could lay his hands on. The Rād̲j̲pūt chiefs of Bilāspur, Katōč, Handūr, D̲j̲asrota and Nālagaṙh united to attack the Guru with an army of 10,000. He opposed them at the head of 2,000 of his followers, including 500 Paṫhāns whom he kept in his service, and won his victory at Bhangāni chiefly through the help of Sayyid Budhū S̲h̲āh, chief of Sādhora. Govind's power now increased; he had a number of retreats in the hills and his depredations in the adjoining territories grew more frequent and violent. The Rād̲j̲ās jointly appealed for help to Awrangzīb, who despatched orders to the governor of Sirhind to effect an alliance with them and attack the Guru. In the battle that ensued, he was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Anandpur (1701). Here he was besieged by the imperial forces and the siege was prolonged. Provisions ran short and his followers deserted him. His family, including his mother, wives and young boys, effected their escape to Sirhind, where they were betrayed and the two children were put to death. Govind himself escaped in disguise, and with a few faithful followers fled to the fortress of Čamkawr (in the present district of Amballa) hotly pursued by the enemy. He was forced to leave Čamkawr and again fly for his life. He wandered in disguise from place to place until he reached the wastes of Bhatinda, halfway between Fīrūzpur and Dihlī. "His disciples again rallied round him and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called 'Muktsar' or the Pool of Salvation", constructed in commemoration of the Sikhs who fell in the action. For some time he settled at a place called Damdama halfway between Hānsī and Fīrūzpur, where he occupied himself in preaching and composing the *Dasam Granth* (see below), which is regarded by the Sikhs as supplement to the *Ādi Granth* compiled by Guru Ard̲j̲an. Meanwhile, Awrangzīb died and was succeeded by his son Bahādur S̲h̲āh I [*q.v.*], who, contrary to the policy of his father, sought to conciliate the Guru. He conferred upon him the military command of the Deccan whither he proceeded to assume his charge. But shortly after his arrival there, he was stabbed by one of his Afg̲h̲ān servants for some private grievance, and he died at Nānder on the banks of the Godāwari (October 1708). On his deathbed, he refused to nominate anyone to succeed him, but enjoined upon his disciples to look upon the *Granth* as their future Guru, and upon God as their sole protector, thus putting an end to the apostolic succession. Govind's end came before his object had been achieved, "but his spirit survived to animate the Sikhs with courage".

Govind Singh was succeeded, not as a Guru but as a military leader of the Sikhs, by Banda, a Rād̲j̲pūt

of Kashmīr belonging to the Bayrāgi order. Meeting Govind in the Deccan, he was converted to Sikhism and styled himself *Banda* or "slave" (of the Guru). Banda was charged by Govind to return to the Pandjāb and urge the Sikhs to avenge the murder of his children and unite to destroy Muslim despotism. The Sikhs "flocked to him, ready to fight and die under his banner". At heart, Banda was ambitious, and under the pretext of carrying out the orders of the Guru he sought to attain to political power. He began his operations in the Pandjāb by committing highway robberies, freely distributing the spoils among his adherents. This attracted many criminals—"scavengers, leather-dressers and such like persons who were very numerous among the Sikhs"—to his person. The Mughal power, after the death of Awrangzīb, was fast declining; constant struggle among his sons and grandsons for the throne left the Sikhs free to increase their power, and the criminal activities of Banda went unchecked. He proceeded, with an army of lawless freebooters, from town to town in the very neighbourhood of Dihlī, plundering and mercilessly slaughtering the Muslims in thousands. Prospects of plunder and the sacred duty of avenging the death of the Guru's children swelled the number of Banda's followers. The accursed town of Sirhind, where the children were done to death, was stormed by them in May 1710 and freely given to plunder. The Sikhs perpetrated horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants of the town, whom they butchered without distinction of age or sex. They extended their destructive activities to the very walls of Dihlī. The Emperor Bahādur Shāh, who was away in the Deccan, was alarmed on hearing the reports of these outrages and forthwith hastened to the Pandjāb to make redress. The imperial troops defeated Banda, but he escaped to the adjoining hills. The death of Bahādur Shāh in 1712 was followed by a war of succession between his sons, from which Djahāndār Shāh came out successful. He was, however, murdered, after a short reign of eleven months, by his nephew Farrukhsiyar [*q.v.*], who now ascended the degraded throne of Dihlī. These commotions were favourable to the Sikhs, who once more began to ravage the country under the notorious Banda. Farrukhsiyar charged ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Khān, governor of the Pandjāb, to put a stop to the atrocities of the Sikhs. With a large army he pursued Banda, who was at last besieged in the fortress of Gurdāspur on the Rāwi. Finally, he was seized, made prisoner and brought to Dihlī where he was tortured to death (1716).

The defeat and death of Banda was followed by a period of reaction and a severe persecution of the Sikhs in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. They were declared outlaws; many of them abandoned their faith, but the more loyal among them were forced to take shelter in the hills and forests. Successive governors of the Pandjāb, notably Muʿīn al-Mulk, better known as Mīr Mannū, carried out the repressive policy of Farrukhsiyar, and for a time it seemed that the Sikh community would become extinct. But the Mughal power was rapidly decaying, and in the Pandjāb it was more notably weakened by the frequent invasions of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī or Durrānī [*q.v.*]. The distracted state of the province was favourable to the Sikhs, who began gradually to reappear and reorganise themselves. They built several fortresses and acquired wealth by freely plundering the defenceless towns. The centre of their national activities was Amritsar, which they greatly enriched and fortified. Prince Tīmūr, who governed the Pandjāb in the name of his father Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, was hostile to the Sikhs. In 1756 he attacked Amritsar, demolished the Har Mandar and filled the sacred tank with the debris. The Sikhs mobilised in large numbers to avenge this outrage, and succeeded in driving the Prince out of Lahore, which they temporarily occupied. Their military leader Djassā Singh Kalāl ("the brewer") struck coins in his own name with a Persian inscription. But the advent of the Marāthās under Raghoba (in 1758) made them retire from Lahore, and brought the ferocious Aḥmad Shāh for the fifth time to the Pandjāb. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marāthās in the memorable battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] (1761). The Sikhs became active as soon as he left the Pandjāb and regained their lost power. He therefore came back with the definite object of breaking their power and recover his territories. In a desperate battle fought near Ludhiāna (1762), he totally defeated them with heavy carnage, but he had soon to leave the Pandjāb in order to suppress a rebellion at Ḳandahār. The Sikhs recovered soon, and in 1763 they defeated Zayn Khān, the Afghān governor of Sirhind, which they sacked and destroyed. Once more they took possession of Lahore, and this time their hold was more permanent. They assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed the regime of the Khālṣa as supreme in the Pandjāb (1764). The sovereign authority was vested in a national council called the *Gurumatta*. The coins of the Sikh commonwealth bore the Persian inscription:

Dīg u tīgh u fatḥ u nuṣrat bī dirang
Yāft az Nānak Gurū Govind Singh
"Guru Govind Singh received from Nānak
The sword, the bowl and victory unfailing"

(Khazan Singh, *The history and philosophy of the Sikh religion*, Lahore 1914, 264).

Now that the common danger which confronted the Sikhs was removed, they became disunited and divided into a number of states or confederacies called *Misals*. These *Misals* were twelve in number, governed independently of each other by their respective chiefs (*Sardār* [*q.v.*]), who were under no supreme authority and had nothing in common with one another except their religion. "They were almost constantly engaged in civil war, grouping and regrouping in the struggle for pre-eminence". They were "loosely organised and varied from time to time in power and even in designation". After thirty years of this variable rule in the Pandjāb, there appeared on the scene a strong man who united these jarring confederacies into a compact sovereignty. This was Randjīt Singh.

Randjīt Singh's father Mahā Singh was the chief of the Sukerchakia *Misal* with its headquarters at Gudjrānwala, 40 miles to the north of Lahore. At the age of 12 (in 1792), he succeeded to his father. He gradually rose to power through his personal character and genius with which he was gifted by nature. In 1799 he acquired possession of Lahore through a royal investiture granted to him by Zamān Shāh (grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī), who was still looked upon as virtual ruler of the Pandjāb. Amritsar was reduced by Randjīt Singh in 1802. The possession of Lahore and Amritsar, the two most important towns of the Pandjāb, made his personality conspicuous and enlarged his prestige. He assumed the title of Mahārādja and continued to extend his possessions until gradually he annexed all the *Misals* to his dominions. With the English, whose territories now extended to the Sutlej, Randjīt Singh had friendly relations. A treaty of alliance was concluded between the two powers in 1809, which Randjīt Singh very faithfully observed. He organised a powerful military force

trained by some of the European generals, notably French ones, who had previously served under Napoleon, and who after Waterloo came to the Pandjāb to enter the service of the Mahārādja. With this force, he was able to reduce the whole of the Pandjāb, annex Kashmīr (in 1819) and Peshāwar (in 1834). He died in 1839, leaving behind him a consolidated kingdom extending from the Sutlej to the Hindu Kush, but no one among his heirs was capable enough to manage it. Three of his sons ascended the throne in rapid succession; conspiracies were rife and led to assassinations, civil war and enormous bloodshed. The army had become uncontrollable and spread terror throughout the country. The court at last found an outlet for its activities by inciting the army leaders to cross the Sutlej and invade the British territory. This led to the first Sikh War (December 1845), in the course of which the Sikhs were defeated by the British general Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough in four successive battles fought at Fīrūzshāh and Mudkī (in the present district of Fīrūzpur) and ʿAliwāl and Sobrāon near Ludhiāna (January-February 1846). "The victory opened the way to Lahore, which was promptly occupied by the Governor-General" (sc. Sir Henry Hardinge). The Sikh Durbār accepted the British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) to act as President of the Council of Regency to the minor Mahārādja Dalīp Singh, son of Randjīt Singh. The revolt of Diwān Mūbrādj, governor of Multān, against the government at Lahore (in 1848) tempted the Sikhs again to take up arms against the British. War was consequently declared, and Lord Gough inflicted two heavy defeats on the Sikh army, first at Čiliānwāla and then at Gujrāt (early 1849). The Pandjāb was declared annexed to the British dominions and Sikh rule came to an end.

The dethroned Dalīp (Duleep) Singh was given a Government of India pension, and later retired to England and the life of a country gentleman, becoming a Christian and dying in 1893.

(Muhammad Iqbal*)

4. History after 1849.

Having experienced the fighting qualities of the Sikhs, the Chief Commissioner of the Pandjāb after 1852, Sir John Lawrence, recruited Sikhs in considerable numbers into the British Indian Army. These Sikh troops, as also the Sikh *djāgīrdārs* or landowners who had retained part at least of their holdings or had received compensatory pensions, remained firmly loyal to the crown during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, with the Khālṣas forming nearly one-third of the 60,000 troops raised by the British at that time. After this, the proportion of Sikhs in the Army increased. New regulations requiring Sikh soldiers to observe the external symbols of the Khālṣa order, such as letting beards and hair grow long, played a notable role in the Sikhs' retention of their separate identity at a time when some European observers thought Sikhism likely to decline and disappear.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a perceptible ferment among the Sikhs, with various movements aiming at religious, social and political revival. Thus the Nāmdhārīs or Kūkās, followers of Baba Ram Singh, formed a millenarian and iconoclastic movement in the central Pandjāb, objecting *inter alia* to Muslim butchers killing cattle for beef, and their activities culminated in British military action in the Ludhiana District against the Kūkās in 1872 and the exiling of Baba Ram Singh to Burma. The Singh Sabha movement which began towards the end of the century was largely concerned with religious and educational reform. It reflected a certain feeling of threat from conversions to Christianity and, to a lesser extent, to Islam, but much more from the militant Hindu Arya Samaj movement. The Singh Sabha reformers welcomed English education, and the Indian government founded several Sikh schools and colleges in different parts of the Pandjāb. A reflection of a new interest by European scholars in Sikhism as a religious phenomenon was M.A. Macauliffe's 6-volume study, *The Sikh religion, its Gurus, sacred writings and authors* (Oxford 1909, repr. Delhi 1963, 1986). The reformers also advocated the use of Pandjābī [*q.v.*] in Gurmukhi script rather than of Urdu or of Hindi in Devanagiri script.

During the First World War, recruitment for military service was higher amongst the Sikhs than amongst any other group in India, and Sikhs fought courageously in France, East Africa and the Middle East. There was, however, unrest among some sections of the Sikh community back in the Pandjāb, initially fanned by a new organisation, which had originated within the Sikh diaspora on the west coast of North America, the so-called Ghadarī ("Mutiny") movement; acts of terrorism led to police and military repression in 1915. Between 1918 and 1947 the Sikhs were involved in intense political activity. Initially, there were clashes with the Government of India over control of the *gurdawaras* or Sikh temples, and there ensued from 1921 onwards the so-called "Third Sikh War", a mainly, but not wholly, non-violent struggle, led by the radical Akālīs ("immortals"), basically a movement of the masses rather than of the professional and landed classes. Their demands were not assuaged by the 1925 Sikh Gurdawaras Act which handed over the historic shrines to a 160-man elected body. Politically articulate Sikhs now became concerned with the question of adequate representation of the community within the Pandjābī membership of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

During the Second World War, Sikhs again cooperated with the Indian government, but with less enthusiasm than previously. The Akālīs in general favoured the unity and integrity of the subcontinent, as did the Indian National Congress, but if there was to be a separate Pākistān, they wanted a separate Sikh "Khālistān" also. A substantial number of Sikh prisoners-of-war joined the Japanese puppet organisation, the Indian National Army.

The Partition of August 1947 divided the Sikhs geographically, but with the greater part of them in India. Most of the Sikhs now within Pākistān, some 2 ½ millions, emigrated to India, displacing Muslims fleeing from East Pandjāb. In 1951 Sikhs formed about 35% of the Indian Pandjāb State, with Hindus over 62%. The scale of Indian government compensation for refuges was low and created much hardship. The central government refused to give any statutory weighting for a religious minority like the Sikhs, and also refused to extend to the Sikh scheduled (i.e. lowest) castes the concessions and reservations given to the Hindu scheduled castes (subsequently granted in 1956). A general sense of grievance increased Sikh demands for an autonomous Sikh state. In 1966 it was agreed to make a separate Sikh majority state in the Indian Union, Pandjābī-speaking and some 56% Sikh. But this proved inadequate to still discontent, and in 1973 the Akālī Dal party passed the so-called Anandpur Resolution demanding greater autonomy. Relations with New Delhi continued to deteriorate, and in June 1984 the Indian Army assaulted a group of radical Sikhs entrenched within

the Golden Temple complex of Amritsar, with estimated total casualties of 5-6,000. It was a Sikh who, in retaliation, murdered the Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi in October 1984. The movement for an autonomous Khālistān continues.

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ṢIḲILLIYA or Siḳilliyya, Arabic adaptation of the Greek Σικελία (with the variants noted by Yāḳūt, iii, 406), as a name of the island of Sicily (but sometimes used to indicate the city of Palermo alone). Al-Bakrī (482, § 812), following the classical sources, gives the mythic etymology evoking the eponymous Sīkūl(os), brother of Īṭāl(os), while also supplying, in what is actually a considerably distorted form, the ancient Greek name Τρινακρία. Al-Ḥimyarī, who follows him in these data, retains for his part, implicit in a verse of Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), the false etymology, owed to the philologist Ibn al-Birr [*q.v.*], which explains the name as derived from συκῆ and ἐλαία, respectively "fig-tree" and "olive-tree".

1. History and culture.

(a) *The image of Sicily among the Arabs*

Geographical information concerning Muslim Sicily, as supplied by the sources (about a score of them), varies perceptibly, from a formal point of view, according to the character of the sources themselves: works of cosmography or of descriptive geography, toponomastic catalogues or accounts of journeys. In dimension it varies from a few lines giving information in an almost casual manner, to the "medium" account, typical of the general treatises but also sometimes specialised glossaries, and finally to the wide pictures which we owe to Ibn Ḥawḳal and Ibn Djubayr [*q.v.*]. A special place should be reserved for the work of al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], who excels over all the other writers in the systematic nature of his survey, the only example of a genuine description, accompanied by all the available detail, of Sicily in the mid-6th/12th century. Furthermore, the case of al-Idrīsī, the accredited geographer at the Norman court of Roger II, as well as those of Ibn Ḥawḳal and Ibn Djubayr, who visited the island in 362/972-3 and 578/1184-5 respectively, serve to underline the fact that the greater, and often the best part of the available information concerning the Sicilian environment of the time, derives principally from writers who had the opportunity of experiencing it personally (it is for this reason that the journey through Sicily of Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī in 511/1117, and al-Harawī's visit to Etna after 568-9/1173, have left no trace other than the disappointment, expressed by the latter, of not having seen a single *samandal* dive into the crater, a spectacle which had been described to him). For the rest, from al-Muḳaddasī to the authors of the 8th/14th century, it should be stressed that their testimony, essentially indirect, is of interest only in its capacity to surprise us with unexpected notions (such as the recollection of the Cyclops in the work of al-Bakrī, already mentioned for his familiarity with classical culture), or in that it conveys, according to the convention of word-for-word transmission, texts that have disappeared, as is done by Yāḳūt who often draws upon sources as specific as the *Ta'rīkh Ṣiḳilliya* by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭā' [*q.v.*] and Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā (6th/11th century), while al-Ḥimyarī, for example, is largely dependent either on al-Idrīsī or on Ibn Djubayr.

Of general geographical observations concerning Sicily, the essential points are to be found among almost all the writers, who are aware of its triangular shape as well as its location, in relation either to Africa or to the Italian peninsula and to the smaller islands, who indicate, each in his own fashion, its dimensions and sometimes even the astronomical co-ordinates, who finally give details, and this is especially true of al-Idrīsī, of the distances from one locality to another. But the theme which takes precedence over all others, in the same context of physical geography, is without doubt that of Etna, the "mountain of fire" as the Arab authors call it, which with its imposing height, its perpetual snows, the chasm at its summit, the winds which reverberated there, the smoke and lava which it spewed out, could not but excite their curiosity and their imagination. It is for this reason that they stress the marvellous and mysterious aspects of these phenomena, which both astonish and enchant them, although they are concerned less with explaining them than with describing them, in varying degrees of detail.

Moreover the description of the landscape, brief though it is, clearly reveals admiration for everything which this island seems to possess in exceptional measure; it tends to evoke the notion of a land distinguished by pleasant localities and fertile soil, unbelievable abundance of water and richness of crops, in a word the prosperity of its numerous inhabitants, grouped according to al-Idrīsī in 130 major urban centres, without counting the villages and fortresses, of which al-'Umarī has meticulously compiled a list of 34 sites. As if in a refrain, the authors incessantly repeat their praise of a vegetation which spreads its richness in urban gardens as well as in mountain forests, reserves of wood for boat-building, or in the innumerable kitchen-gardens and orchards, supplying all kinds of vegetables and fruits. In this picture, supplemented by the mention of flourishing crops, wheat in particular, as well as pastures sufficient for the raising of substantial herds of cattle, the most striking feature is the presence, almost everywhere at this time, of hydraulic resources such that Sicily was never to enjoy in later times. This was rightly considered by the Arab authors themselves a considerable boon, and it is this which stands out in particular, to mention only two illuminating examples, from the scrupulous care which Ibn Ḥawḳal devotes to information concerning the water-supply of Palermo, and in parallel from the concern for meticulous precision with which al-Idrīsī, alone, sets out to describe the course of the rivers: Nahr al-Sulla, al-Ḳārib (= Belice), al-Wādī al-Malīḥ (= Salso), Wādī Mūsā (= Simeto), etc. With the single exception of Yāḳūt, however, the same authors seemed to be unaware of the fact that the origin of the prosperity owed to the development of agriculture, besides the favourable natural conditions, had

been the division into small plots of landed property which had been set in motion by the Muslim conquest, and finally, the work of the conquerors themselves, especially those of Berber origin, who were known for their agricultural skills. It is they who were responsible, among other things, for the introduction into this environment, where the crocus and the violet, according to al-Idrīsī, grew spontaneously, of "exotic" plants such as citrus fruits, cotton and dates, sugar-cane and the mulberry. This enrichment of the already varied vegetal repertoire of a land blessed with extraordinary fertility seemed to be symbolically illustrated by the silhouettes of thousands of windmills standing out against the sky, alternating with the battlements of numerous impressive castles.

If to this is added information regarding mineral products—the jasper and the sal ammoniac of Etna, the sulphur and the pumice-stone and, it is said, the gold of the same mountain, the iron in the neighbourhood of Messina and the oilwells near Syracuse—and finally regarding the fruits of the sea, the tunny and the coral in the Sea of Trapani for example, a glimpse of the economy of Arabo-Norman Sicily is genuinely seductive. It is a picture which is both established and brought to life wherever the authors uncover the traces of prolific activity on the part of craftsmen, and of an almost feverish circulation of merchandise, to the interior and with the exterior; where they indicate the existence of markets, work-shops and emporia, of warehouses and shops; where they evoke the coming and going of ships, Sicilian and foreign, in the ports, favoured sites of commerce. And while on this subject, too, it is al-Idrīsī who, in his methodical fashion, provides the most exhaustive information, mention should also be made in this context of the two texts, as brief as they are eloquent, in which Ibn Ḥawḳal, on the one hand, shows his concern for precision as he lists all the small businesses of the *sūḳ* of Palermo, and Ibn Djubayr, on the other hand, having just escaped from a terrifying shipwreck, turns to contemplate the spectacle of the port of Messina with "boats aligned along the quay, like a row of horses tethered in the stables".

Furthermore, these two travellers deserve credit for having left unique testimony regarding the social, and to an extent political reality of the island, without which the human geography of Sicily at that time would be almost unknown, and its image in the minds of the Arabs deprived of some essential traits.

It is known that they visited the place in totally different circumstances, Ibn Ḥawḳal at the finest hour of Kalbī domination, Ibn Djubayr at the zenith of the prosperity of Arabo-Norman civilisation. But it is also known that what gives their accounts a decidedly original and partially conflicting tone is the role played by personal temperament: rather cold and detached in the case of Ibn Ḥawḳal, endowed with an acute spirit of observation, but also sceptical and prejudiced, always ready to offer criticism, if not mockery and denunciation; enthusiastic and dreamy in the case of Ibn Djubayr, a man who believed absolutely in God and also in men, with an essentially optimistic and sociable disposition, with eyes always open to all things which could elicit either amazement or sympathy. This well explains, in the work of Ibn Ḥawḳal, the attention directed towards the urban reality of Palermo, the description of which is not only the most ancient but also the most detailed, such that nothing of importance could be added to it, with the exception of the names of the gates of the Khāliṣa [*q.v.*], by al-Muḳaddasī. But this also accounts for a series of remarks which he made regarding the people, which were so harsh that they gave rise to the suspicion that this traveller in the domain of the Kalbīs was nothing other than a spy acting on behalf of the Fāṭimids. It is, however, as a result of these passages that the document, which is both historical and literary, attains the highest quality: through mockery, applied to the incredible number of mosques (500!), and to the frivolous pride allied with hypocritical pietism of the Muslims of the city; through the disgust aroused in him by the military convents [see RIBĀṬ] on the seashores, which had become places of perversion and depravity, the haunts of ruffians and scoundrels; through denunciation of the ignorance and stupidity of school teachers; through the depiction, finally, of the absurdity of everyone, owed—he says—to the abuse of the onion, responsible for boundless material decadence, which had led to destitution, as well as to a return to barbaric customs.

Such an attitude, essentially hostile, is parallelled, although with naive traits of admiration, by that of the pious Ibn Djubayr, capable of perceiving anywhere the signs of the providence and the greatness of God, spontaneously disposed to appreciate the good deeds of men, to treat them with indulgence and even benevolence. The inevitable aversion to "worshippers of the cross", which is expressed from time to time in incantations, which are in fact rather lukewarm, does not prevent him from painting without prejudice a memorable picture of the Sicilian scene in the golden age that was the period of the Norman sovereigns. His experience in the island begins with his enchantment by the beauty of the surroundings of Messina, almost a terrestrial paradise with fruit-trees covering the slopes of the hills, but also with the surprise caused him by the liberality of King William II, paying on his behalf the tax demanded from shipwrecked Muslims. But it is in Palermo that Ibn Djubayr is impressed most of all, when he discovers the paradox of an Islamo-Christian community, living in harmony under the auspices of a régime of quite extraordinary tolerance. This spirit, which seems to permeate the relationships of social life, to such an extent that the foreign traveller perceives it in the amicable attitude of those who greet him, emanates from the court, or rather from King William himself. The portrait of this enlightened and refined monarch, a connoisseur of the pleasures of life, but also an Arabic scholar, a cultivated patron of philosophy and literature, simultaneously wordly and pious, guaranteeing freedom of religious observance to all, this portrait by the pen of Ibn Djubayr is surely the most striking eulogy ever made by a Muslim of a Christian historical individual. Nothing could better supplement it than the dazzling fresco which he paints of the monuments of the town, which he compares to Cordova, with noble buildings and the sumptuous royal palace, the elegance of gardens and stairways, the breadth of squares and streets, in short an architectural décor in the middle of which, on the night of Christmas 1184, he was able to see shining, like a jewel, with its flashing mosaics and stained glass windows of irridescent colours, the Antiochene Church (known as the Martorana). This vision came at an opportune time, to seal the representation, both charmed and charming, which Ibn Djubayr was to provide, towards the end of the 6th/12th century, of this "daughter of Andalusia", the affectionate epithet which he applied to Sicily.

(b) *The Arab conquest and domination*

The landing at Mazara, on 19 Rabīʿ I 212/18

June 827, of an army from Ifrīḳiya, did not only mark the beginning of the struggle which, over the course of the next seventy years, was to secure possession of Sicily by the Arabs, but also the culmination of a historical process which, since the middle of the first Islamic century, had affected the island to an ever increasing extent, in the context of the expansion of Islam throughout the Mediterranean region. The interest of the Arabs in Sicily may be traced back as far as their very first maritime experiments, when Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, at that time governor of Syria, conceived the idea of constructing a fleet. The first Arab incursion on the Sicilian coasts dates in fact from the year 31-32/652. Others followed over the course of a century, under the Umayyads, especially after the building of the naval dockyard of Tunis (79/698), but always with the sole objective of carrying off prisoners and booty, with the exception perhaps of the expedition planned by the governor of Ifrīḳiya ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb, and put into effect in 122/739-40 by Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda, who succeeded in laying siege to Syracuse but was obliged to abandon any notion of invasion. On the other hand, no raids are recorded during the second half of the 2nd/8th century, and this is to be explained, among other factors, by the defensive dispositions adopted in Sicily at this time by Byzantium. Furthermore the same policy was implemented in Ifrīḳiya by its new masters, the Aghlabids [*q.v.*], who, following their accession to power in 184/800, took all appropriate measures to establish, in their turn, a fortified coastal defensive system and simultaneously, at the initiative of the second *amīr*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh, to equip a fleet. Reciprocal concern for safeguarding respective commercial interests, which favoured this attitude of restraint and caution, ultimately had the effect of establishing cordial relations between Byzantines and Arabs, which persisted into the first quarter of the 3rd/9th century and were given formal expression in the treaty signed, apparently, by the founder of the dynasty, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, and renewed by his son.

The fatal rupture of this equilibrium took place in 212/827, following the outbreak of disturbances in Syracuse and their repercussions at Ḳayrawān. In fact, paradoxically it was the Byzantines who supplied the Aghlabids with the pretext for engaging in hostilities, and, as is not unusual in history, it was a somewhat banal incident which provoked them. The spark which ignited the gun-powder was the revolt, in Syracuse, of the Byzantine *turmarchos* or army commander Euphemius, who approached Ziyādat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm, the third Aghlabid *amīr* (201-23/817-38) to appeal for his intervention in Sicily. The decision in his favour was not unopposed, but the authority of Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] overrode all judicial scruples. The die was cast for an enterprise, the advance against Sicily, which was to be the last example of the *futūḥ* of Islam, where the spirit of conquest and the zeal of *djihād* played the same role. The achievement of Asad, appointed to lead an army of 10,000 men, transported by a fleet of some hundred vessels, was as brief as it was extraordinary. A respected jurist, without any military experience whatsoever, he succeeded brilliantly in his task, in spite of his advanced age. One month after the landing at Mazara, he scored a decisive victory over the Byzantine Balāṭa near Corleone, after which he traversed the island to unleash an attack on the capital, Syracuse; the siege had been in process for more than a year when Asad died in an epidemic. The Muslims disengaged from the project and withdrew towards the interior, where they took possession of Mineo and of Agrigento [see DJIRDJENT], then, after an unsuccessful attempt at besieging Ḳaṣryānnih [*q.v.*] (the modern Enna), they fell back as far as Mazara. Exposed to the attacks of the enemy, they were extricated from their predicament by reinforcements sent from Ifrīḳiya in 215/830, who were joined by a Berber adventurer, Aṣbagh b. Wakīl, known as Farghalūs, leading a band of Spanish mercenaries. It was as a result of these events that the Muslims were in a position to lay siege to Palermo, which surrendered on 30 Radjab 216/12 September 831.

In operations pursued with the object of conquering territory, which continued until the opening of the 4th/10th century, the Muslims had many difficulties to contend with, owing to the uneven physical terrain and to the strong defensive dispositions of the enemy, but most of all to the disturbances which broke out from time to time between Arabs and Berbers or between the different social classes. On the other hand, they often benefited from the leadership of able chieftains, such as the two Aghlabid princes Abū Fihr Muḥammad (217-20/832-5) and Abu 'l-Aghlab Ibrāhīm (220-37/835-51), of whom the latter in particular achieved some remarkable successes. It was he who, *ca.* 227/842, secured possession of the valley of Mazara, and thus of the western sector of the island, and immediately undertook the occupation of the eastern sector of Sicily, which culminated in the taking of Messina (228-9/843) and soon afterwards, between 231/845 and 234/848, in the surrender of Modica, Lentini and Ragusa. An experienced politician, who had succceded in the meantime in concluding an alliance with Naples and had taken the precaution of equipping a fleet, he had the good sense to entrust the conduct of the campaigns to professional soldiers, such as al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar, the conqueror of Messina, and Abu 'l-Aghlab al-ʿAbbās, who at the same time, at Butera, on the southern coast of the island, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Byzantines. It is to this last-named, who replaced him, on his death in 237/851, as third *wālī*, that credit belongs for the capture, on 26 Shawwāl 244/26 January 859, of Ḳaṣryānnih, for thirty years the pivot of the Byzantine defensive system. With his successors, Khafādja b. Sufyān (247-55/862-9) and his son Muḥammad (killed in 257/871), the advance of the Muslims towards eastern Sicily, in spite of mutinies on the part of the troops, which cost the lives of both generals, became increasingly menacing, and led to the surrender of Noto (250/864) and of Troina (251/865), in addition to a number of incursions against Taormina, Catania and Syracuse. The privilege of capturing the capital itself was to fall much later to Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who on 15 Ramaḍān 264/21 May 878, after a siege of nine months, succeeded in taking Syracuse, the objective of Muslim attacks for the past fifty years. During the last quarter of the century the situation became somewhat chaotic, as a result of mutinies and civil wars, most of them centred on Agrigento and Palermo, but this did not prevent the Muslim forces from pursuing the occupation of the Demona Valley (at the north-eastern corner of the island), as well as launching raids against Catania and Taormina. It was the fall of this city, on 22 Shaʿbān 289/1 August 902, which finally crowned the Muslim conquest. The protagonist of this last act was the ninth Aghlabid prince himself, Ibrāhīm II (in power since 261/875), who decided to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh, in order to take charge, in his place, of military operations in Sicily.

Reduced henceforward to the status of a province of Ifrīḳiya, Sicily followed the same historical path as the colonial power, even when, in 296/909, the Fāṭimid movement dealt a death-blow to the Aghlabid dynasty. However, the reception accorded to the Shīʿī propaganda of the new masters, which was manifested in the support offered to the Berber element (concentrated in Agrigento) at the expense of the Arab element (localised in Palermo), was anything but favourable, with the result that the first lieutenant of the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh, Ibn Abi 'l-Khinzīr, soon had to be recalled. The refusal to compromise with heterodoxy led to the formation of an overt opposition, symbolised by a remarkable individual, a certain Aḥmad b. Ḳurhub, who, between 300/913 and 304/916, was the spokesman of the Sunnī restoration and of loyalism to the caliphate of Baghdād. The repression which ensued was soon succeeded by a period of stability, owed to the discretion of the governor Sālim b. Rashīd (304-25/917-37) and to an improved administration, until a fresh outbreak of disorder required his replacement by the energetic soldier Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (325-30/937-41). The latter took the decision to build within Palermo the citadel of al-Khāliṣa, which did not suffice, apparently, to discourage all aspirations towards revolt, in view of the fact that the Fāṭimid caliph found it necessary, in 337/948, to transfer the administration of Sicily to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kalbī.

Thus began the amīrate of the Kalbids, which was to become hereditary, in response to the actions of the Fāṭimids who, after their transfer to Egypt (362/973), turned their attention away from Sicily. In the first half of the century, during which power was in the hands of the new masters, Sicily experienced the golden age of the Arab domination, both on the level of political prestige and military success, and of cultural prosperity (despite certain negative traits in the account, mentioned above, by Ibn Ḥawḳal, present on the scene in 362/972-3). It is to the two sons of the founder of the dynasty, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan (342-58/953-69) and ʿAlī b. Ḥasan (359-72/970-82), that the régime owes its attainment of the high point of its power: the former, who finally put an end to the disorder of eastern Sicily, where he suppressed, in 351/962, the revolt of Taormina, renamed al-Muʿizziyya in honour of the caliph of Cairo, regained control of Rametta and ravaged Messina, after the memorable naval engagement known as "the battle of the Strait"; the latter, who was responsible for the last great victory of the Muslims of Sicily over the Christians, near Rossano in Calabria, where he could boast of having been invited by the Byzantines themselves to join an alliance against Otto II, before dying in battle. Although peace and prosperity, subsequently assured and almost personified by Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf (379-88/989-98), continued even after the forced retirement of the *amīr*, who was paralysed by a stroke, the seduction of worldly pleasures proved fatal to his son and successor Djaʿfar (in power until 410/1019), to the extent that it even provoked a fratricidal war. With him and after him, nothing could halt the decline of the Kalbid dynasty, reduced under Aḥmad al-Akḥal (410-29/1019-38), to begging for the aid of the old Byzantine enemy, and to submitting, on the other hand, to the depredations of the Zīrids, lieutenants of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya since 362/973. With the last scion of the line of Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf, al-Ḥasan, known as al-Ṣamṣām (431-45/1040-53), Sicily underwent a period of anarchy in which political unity disintegrated and the amīrate collapsed, to the benefit of lesser principalities, by a process similar to that which affected the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] in Spain at the same time. Individuals bearing the title of *ḳāʾid*, appearing on the scene during this final act of the drama of the Kalbid dynasty, took control of a situation which was soon to be subject to the arbitration of the Normans.

(c) *The Norman and Swabian period*

In the conflict which erupted between these minor warlords, those who gained the upper hand were the *ḳāʾid* of Syracuse Ibn al-Thumna [*q.v.*], and his adversary Ibn al-Ḥawwāṣ [*q.v.*], based at Ḳaṣryānnih, from where he controlled the centre of the island. It was in fact the hostility between them which provoked the intervention of the count Roger d'Hauteville, who in February 1061 landed near Messina, coming to the aid of Ibn al-Thumna. Taking advantage of battles in which the Muslims expended their last remaining resources, and of which even the two rivals were soon to be the victims, Roger and his brother Robert le Guiscard, returning to the island in force in 1071, set about occupying the territory, starting with Palermo, which capitulated in January 1072. They were confronted however by stubborn resistance on the part of Benavert [*q.v.*], the last champion of Islam in Sicily, who succeeded in holding them in check for a quarter of a century, and fell in the naval battle of Syracuse in 1086. The conquest was completed in 1091, with the surrender of Noto, which marked the end of the period of Arab domination.

Having first encamped in the south of the peninsula, and now also established in Sicily, the Normans pursued the struggle against the Muslims at sea, with the imperialist aim of controlling the central Mediterranean. Especially under the long reign of Roger II (1111-54), who became in 1130 king of Sicily, of Calabria and of Apulia, with the aid of powerful fleets, led by such prestigious admirals as George of Antioch and Christodoulos, they succeeded in occupying, between 1135 and 1153, the entire coast of Ifrīḳiya, from Tripoli to Bone. And even after the advance of the Almohads had put an end to this adventure in North Africa, they renewed their attacks, under the last sovereign William II, this time against the Egypt of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1169 and 1174).

As for the Arabs who became their subjects in Sicily, now that their effort as warriors for the *djihād*, after more than two-and-a-half centuries, was finally exhausted, their lot was to serve in the ranks of the conquerors, who furthermore appreciated their valour, to the extent of discouraging their conversion to Christianity. This integration of Muslims into the army was nothing other than an aspect of the singular symbiosis which the Norman sovereigns, engaged as they were as knights of Christianity, sought to establish among the various cultures present in their state, in a spirit of tolerance based on both enlightened and pragmatic considerations. It is certain that the Arabs who, instead of emigrating, chose to live under the conquest, were guaranteed rights of citizenship in the framework of a feudal system established by the new régime, with a status which varied according to the different conditions imposed at the time of the conquest. It is this which emerges from the information supplied by the documents known as *djarāʾid* (sing. *djarīda*), also called *plataea*, which set out the different legal and social levels, defining the status, on the one hand, of the people of the countryside, having limited rights, if not reduced to outright slavery, and on the other that of the urban classes, who enjoyed equal, or almost equal treatment to that of the other subjects. In addition,

there was an élite of senior officials, in the entourage of the prince himself, where their presence bestowed a living and distinctive stamp of Arabism upon numerous persistent aspects of Arab civilisation, such as the ceremonial of the court, the chancellery, the system of land taxation, and currency, with the technical language applied to them. The favour accorded to Arabism and to Islam by the sovereign, already made explicit in the writings of al-Idrīsī with regard to Roger II, is also a theme, this time in reference to William II, in the text, mentioned above, of Ibn Djubayr, the richest Arabic literary source available, with its somewhat contradictory testimony, for the Arabo-Norman century, a period during which the Arabo-Muslim community of Sicily, neutralised from a political point of view, succeeded against all expectation, and albeit precariously, in maintaining its religious, economic and cultural vitality.

The bloody riots of which the Muslims were victims in 1161 under William I, and especially in 1189-90, with the severing of the lineage of Hauteville, were only the prelude to the end. Embroiled in the struggles between Tancred of Lecce and Henry VI of Hohenstaufen, respectively bastard son and son-in-law of Roger II, who were rivals in the succession to William II, the Muslims, persecuted by the princes and harassed by the Christian feudal system, took to the countryside and formed a resistance movement, or even resorted to brigandage. Anarchy persisted even after the accession of Frederick II, who as late as 1219-22 was obliged to crush a revolt of Muslims occupying the citadels of Jato and Entella. The heroes of this episode were the character whom western sources call Mirabetto, and his daughter whose proud spirit lives on in a text recently discovered, with the account, both tragic and romantic, of her death. Since even after this the resistance of the Muslims persisted, being all the more dangerous in that its points of resistance were hidden in the mountains, Frederick II, determined to assert his authority over all opposition, did not hesitate to resort to the extreme measure of mass deportation. In stages and over a period of several decades, tens of thousands of Muslims were uprooted, to be resettled in Apulia. Detached from any kind of political or cultural life, Sicilian Arabism which had enjoyed such prosperity in the 11th and 12th centuries, lived out its final phase confined within the colony of Lucera, until its annihilation, in 1300, by the Angevins. In this regard, history can only draw attention to the sad paradox according to which the political and human presence of Arab Islam in Sicily was sacrificed in the interests of the state by a sovereign, none other shall Frederick II who, nourished by Arabic culture since his youth, never ceased throughout his life to express his sympathy for it and his interest in it.

(d) *Cultural life*

While it is quite natural to compare, from a cultural point of view, in the context of western Islam, Sicily with Spain, it should not be too surprising to find that the literary and scientific output of the Sicilian Muslims is not comparable in its entirety to that of the scholars and erudite writers of al-Andalus. It is not unreasonable to add that, while the loss of many of its products is certainly regrettable, the cultural gulf between Sicily and Spain is an established fact, which no new discovery, an improbable event in any case, is likely to modify significantly. In terms of an objective judgment of what has survived, it is impossible to avoid gaining the impression that this Sicilian Arabism, in the literary sphere, with a few exceptions, was as modest as it was rather impersonal. In other words, there is no likelihood of finding productions exceeding the limits of a literature which is quite traditional, in both Arabic and Islamic terms: technical works of *ḳirāʾāt*, of *ḥadīth* or of *fiḳh*, treatises of grammar and of philology, and finally a poetry fixed in conventional moulds. This observation serves moreover to stress the absence, from the works of the Arabic authors of Sicily, of specific traits, to the intense regret of those who would like to find here references to the society and environment of the time, considerably more concrete than the nostalgic echoes, as sentimental as they are vague, preserved in the verses of Ibn Ḥamdīs [*q.v.*] and of other exiled poets.

All this said, it is probably fair to acknowledge that, if Arab culture in Sicily did not have the same opportunity to develop as elsewhere, the blame for this belongs to a considerable extent to the eventful history of the Arabs in the island. It must therefore be admitted that the vicissitudes and instabilities of the Arab domination, in addition to its brevity (two-and-a-half centuries, compared with seven centuries of Andalusian Arabism), strongly affected any cultural prowess. So matters stood during the Aghlabid and Fāṭimid periods, until the turn of the 4th/10th century when, for the first time, the Kalbid amīrate succeeded in creating conditions favourable to the arts and the sciences, a state of affairs also achieved by the Rogers and Williams in the 12th century and, after them, in the first half of the following century, by Frederick II. The fact remains that it was the precariousness of the political situation, as exemplified by the Christian reconquest on the part of the Normans, which was responsible for the singular phenomenon of a mass emigration of scholars to the Maghrib, al-Andalus and Egypt, in a process contrary to that which formerly had often seen the arrival on the Sicilian scene of some itinerant scholar or another. The devastating effect which this diaspora of the Arab intelligentsia of Sicily was to have on its cultural patrimony was hardly to be compensated for by the attribute of al-Ṣiḳillī which these people continued to attach to their names. But if in fact it only survives as an exterior brand, making no contribution to the intellectual life of Sicily, it has proved sufficient, in modern times, to arouse the patriotic ardour of M. Amari, restoring the memory of these individuals, effaced as it had been, to the annals of the cultural exploits of Sicilian Arabism.

A survey of the latter, which would seek to do more than amassing purely onomastic information, must, however, be confined to generalities, otherwise preserving only the memory of persons and of works which have left an appreciable trace. Given the cultural conformism of Sicilian society in relation to the international Islamic community, it is important to stress specifically the primacy of *fiḳh* and the total ascendancy of Mālikism, emanating from Ḳayrawān, over the Sicilian centres of judicial training. This fact seems almost personified by the figure of Asad b. al-Furāt, the pioneer of the conquest and, at the same time, the first promulgator of the Mālikī system, in alternation with the more authentic version of Saḥnūn [*q.v.*], imported by his disciples with their commentaries on his celebrated *Mudawwana*: Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (d. 291/903), Maymūn b. ʿAmr (d. 316/928) and Luḳmān b. Yūsuf (d. 318/930). With the latter, also worthy of mention is the eminent jurist Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus (d. 451/1059), but it was in the following century that judicial theory attained its high-

est point with the *imām* al-Māzarī (d. 595/1141 [*q.v.*]), the author among other works of a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, and also renowned as a traditionist on account of his *al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʾid Kitāb Muslim*. The fact that this last-named work has been preserved, fortunately, in a number of manuscripts, does justice to some extent to the genre of traditionist studies, represented by a host of specialists, whose writings have, however, not survived. A somewhat better fate seems to have been reserved for the other canonical branch of religious studies, that concentrating on the text of the Ḳurʾān, judging by the contributions of Ismāʿīl b. Khalaf (d. 455/1063), with his *ʿUnwān fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt*, and especially of Ibn al-Faḥḥām (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]), with an analogous treatise, the *Tadjrīd fī bughyat al-murīd*. The interest also taken in grammar by this scholar, as a disciple in Egypt of Bābashādh [*q.v.*], whose glosses to his famous *Muḳaddima* he transmitted, serves as a reminder of the favour constantly enjoyed in Sicily by philology, in the broadest sense of the term: from the pure grammatical science, inaugurated by Ibn al-Birr (see above) and cultivated subsequently by, among others, al-Kattānī (d. 512/1118), to lexicography, represented especially by the *Tathḳīf al-lisān* of the purist Ibn Makkī [*q.v.*], a precious document for the study of the dialect of Sicily in relation to Maghribī Arabic; and in addition, the art of poetry, imported from Ifrīḳiya, with its masterpiece *al-ʿUmda* by Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 462/1070 [*q.v.*]), and finally literary history, dominated by the figure of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121 [*q.v.*]), probably the most erudite of Sicilian critics. Although like many others, he left Sicily when it fell under Christian domination, he remained loyal to the values of his own culture, seeking out its language and its texts, and following the particular objective of collecting its poetic remnants in the anthology *al-Durra al-khaṭīra*, which comprised accounts of 170 authors with 20,000 verses (!). It is, however, most regrettable that of such a rich repertoire all that is known is the minimal portion preserved by two abridgments and by al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] in a special section of his *Kharīda*; the loss is made worse by the fact that the gap is not filled at all by other sources, such as the *Mukhtār*, composed a little later by Ibn Bashrūn (d. 561/1166).

Partial and fragmentary though it is, the available documentation leads to the conclusion that Sicily, in terms of the production of verse, which first became known in the period of the Kalbids, generally remained within the parameters of the Arab tradition, whether through the number and the fecundity of poets, or rather of rhymers, or through the predilection, shared with the poetic language of other countries, for the themes of courtly panegyric or of affected description. Paradoxically, if any new upsurge in poetic activity took place, however limited, it was as a result of the upheaval caused by the Norman invasion, and this last rekindling of *djihād* followed by the epilogue, painful for many, of exile. Memory of and nostalgia for the homeland are consequently the inspiration for the most personal verses of certain poets, primarily Ibn Ḥamdīs (see above), the only one whose *Dīwān*, of 6,000 verses in total, has survived in its entirety, along with the other, considerably more modest, of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Billanūbī (5th/11th century). But this was not an absolute rule, since there were writers who gladly adjusted to the new situation, not hesitating to exploit their talent to describe, in verses as precious as they are sincerely emotional, the favoured haunts of the princes: these include ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Butīrī (= of Butera), writing a poem devoted to the royal palace of Palermo, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-ʿAbbās al-Iṭrābanishī (= of Trapani), celebrating the former charm of al-Fawwāra, the splendid villa of Roger II. A little later, under William II, is located the somewhat enigmatic figure of Ibn Ḳalāḳis (d. 567/1172 [*q.v.*]), a native of Egypt, whose verses, especially those contained in *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, dealing with his visit to the island in 564/1168-9, should be considered the last poetic echo in the Arabic language produced by Sicily.

Bearing in mind this quite considerable corpus of poetry, it is all the more surprising to note the almost total absence of prose, whether in the context of historiography or of parenesis or, more especially, of *adab*. Setting aside the anonymous *Chronicle*, known as the *Cambridge chronicle*, composed also in Greek, the only two attempts at a history of Arab Sicily, as already mentioned at the outset, have disappeared; all that remains is to mention the remarkable polygraph Ibn Ẓafar (d. 565/1170 [*q.v.*]), associated particularly with the pleasing treatise on good government, the *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ*, made famous by the translation of Amari under the title of *Conforti politici*. But it was outside the sphere of literary prose that Sicilian Arabism, enjoying the patronage of the Normans, achieved the exceptional, even unique success, represented by the often-mentioned work of al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fī ikhtirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, otherwise known as *Kitāb Rūdjār*, from the name of the sovereign who inspired it, Roger II, whose deeply-felt admiration of the civilisation and, in particular, the science of the Arabs is well reflected in this compendium of geographical information. The extent to which Arab science, as well as the Arabic language, was a welcome guest in his court, is illustrated among other things by the (partial) translation into Latin, from an Arabic version, of Ptolemy's *Optics*, made by the *amīr* Eugenius, as well as the singular novelty of the installation at the royal palace of a hydraulic clock by the Andalusian sage Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya [*q.v.*].

This privileged situation did not remain isolated, but was fortunately revived under Frederick II who, with his spirit of universal tolerance, made of Palermo an incomparable crucible of civilisations, and of his court a cosmopolitan meeting-place of scholars, Latins and Greeks, Jews and Arabs. Among these at least two should be mentioned: Michel Scotus, already renowned as a translator at Toledo, who spent his last years, between 1227 and 1235, in the service of Frederick II, translating the zoological section of Avicenna's *Shifāʾ* (*Abbreviatio Avicennae de animalibus*), and composing two books on astrology and one on physiognomy; then Theodore of Antioch, who in 1236 replaced Michel Scotus in the office of royal astrologer, was entrusted with the composition of official letters in Arabic, and translated, under the title *De scientia venandi per aves*, an Arabic treatise by a certain Moamin on hunting with falcons, which Frederick II used for his own *De arte venandi cum avibus*.

The sympathy for Arabo-Islamic civilisation felt by Frederick II was not at all an episodic attitude nor was it circumscribed, as might be suggested by this somewhat eccentric treatise on falconry, but arose from his intellectual moulding and was nourished by his versatile scientific curiosity. The latter was applied equally to mathematics and astrology, optics and alchemy, physics and medicine, branches of knowledge all dating back, as is well known, to a Greek origin, but conveyed to the West through the intermediacy of the Arabs and of their language, blessed as it was with remarkable flexibility. Also striking is

the singular role which this sympathy played at the level of personal relations maintained, on the one hand, with the Muslim princes, starting with al-Malik al-Kāmil [see AL-KĀMIL], the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, and on the other, with the scholars, whom he habitually consulted with lists of questions. Thus, just as he had previously inquired of Michel Scotus regarding many cosmological subjects, he did not hesitate to seek the advice of Muslim scholars everywhere concerning a series of metaphysical questions, the *Masāʾil Ṣiḳilliya*, according to the title of the Oxford *unicum*, which conveys the responses of Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*]; this evocation of the philosopher of Murcia puts the finishing touches to the eclecticism of a proto-Renaissance, personified by Frederick II. After him, his son Manfred remained loyal, although on a considerably reduced scale, to this tradition of respect for Arab culture, evidenced by the reception accorded in 1261 to the ambassador of the Mamlūk sultan Baybars [*q.v.*], the famous historian Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*], by the foundation at Lucera, according to the latter, of a "House of Science", and finally by the patronage extended to Hermann the German (Hermanus Teutonicus), in his capacity as translator of the Middle Commentary of Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] on Aristotle's *Ethics*. A little later, when Charles of Anjou had eliminated the line of the Hohenstaufens in 1268, it was in the realm of medical science that Sicilian Arabism spoke its last word, even though in the voice of two Jewish scholars: Moses of Palermo, who in 1277 translated into Latin, under the title *De curationibus infirmitatum equorum*, the Arabic version (no longer in existence) of a text of Pseudo-Hippocrates; and Faradj b. Sālim of Agrigento (*alias* Moses Farachi, Faragut), translator, in 1280, of the *Taḳwīm al-abdān* (= *Tacuinus aegritudinum*) of Ibn Djazla [*q.v.*], but especially, in 1279, of the major treatise by al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], *al-Ḥāwī* (in Latin, *Continens*). A finer tribute on the part of Sicily to Arab science cannot be imagined.

(e) *Arab survivals in Sicily*

Exhausted now even in its cultural vitality, and with its political presence long since effaced, Sicilian Arabism was not reduced to silence. It continues, even in the present day, to speak through the medium of the products of its artistic talent, as well as through the innumerable echoes of its language, incessantly repeated in Sicilian demotic speech. Of this permanence, the most striking feature is the Islamic influence retained in the structure of habitat, urban and rural, best preserved in the minor centres, where later arrangements have overturned to a lesser extent the original urban plan. If it is not always easy to recognise in Sicilian towns the structure of a Muslim urban ambience, where a fortified space was separated from the residential quarters, and the latter in turn divided between the *madīna* and the suburbs (in Sicilian *rabati*), what is perceptible everywhere, whether in the case of towns or villages, is the typically Arab road network, with its hierarchy of principal and secondary routes, down to lanes and dead-ends, often blocked by small courtyards, denoted by the customary technical terms (*shāriʿ, darb, zuḳāḳ*), sometimes bizarrely altered.

But nowhere are the traces of Muslim civilisation in Sicily as visible as in the edifices of that architecture which is correctly described as Arabo-Norman, represented mostly in the West and concentrated especially at Palermo. And while it seems appropriate, in regard to this cultural revenge, to repeat the ancient dictum, that Arabia, defeated by arms, subjugated its conquerors with its genius, the Norman princes also deserve credit for not having imposed Gothic traits on the face of their capital, in place of the Oriental character given it by the Muslims. At the most, they were content to add to the Oriental stylistic elements, including those introduced by the Byzantines, such European features as could reasonably co-exist with them. The result of this eclecticism, the artistic equivalent of their tolerance in politics and religion, was the realisation of an original scheme without parallel in Europe and also distinct from anything to be found in the Orient.

Examples of this combination, where arabesques are mingled with mosaics and where the geometric marquetries of Muslim art alternate with the curvilinear polychromes of the Byzantine tradition, are evidently to be found principally in religious monuments, even if churches such as St. Jean of the Eremites (1132), St. Mary of the Amiral (1143), *alias* Martorana, and St. Cataldo (*ca.* 1160) and the Dome of Monreale (1174), display architectural and decorative forms which are clearly of Arab inspiration. These features include the compact frame of the building and the arrangement of spaces, the decoration of the exterior by means of blind interlaced arches, use of the so-called Moorish arch in all its varied forms, hemispherical cupolas covered in red plaster and crenellations of Arab type, friezes with engraved inscriptions, systems of niches (*muḳarnas* [*q.v.*]), culminating in the unique phenomenon, in the pavilion of the cloister of Monreale, of a jet of water gushing from a marble fountain modelled in the form of the trunk of a stylised palm-tree. These are the elements which are to be found in their purest state in secular buildings, freed from all religious constraints, such as those which the Norman princes built in the western and southern outskirts of Palermo, conceived as magical residences, surrounded by gardens and ornamental lakes, places of ease and recreation, "disposed around the town"—according to the image coined by Ibn Djubayr—"like a necklace on the bosom of a girl". Of these pearls, those which survive in a state which permits appreciation of the structure at least, are the Zisa (= *al-ʿAzīza* "the glorious" or "the precious"), begun by William I and completed by his son, the Cuba (= *al-Ḳubba*, "the cupola"), a pavilion of festivities, built in 1180 by William II, and near it the little Cuba, finally the castle of Maredolce or Favara (= *al-Fawwāra* "the bubbling", a term applied to a spring), which Roger II built on the foundations of the *Ḳaṣr Djaʿfar*, named after this Kalbid *amīr* (998-1019), but which is now no more than a ruin.

The splendour, which one would have to seek in vain among these remains, is to be found elsewhere, in the Palatine Chapel, constructed in the interior of the royal palace by Roger II, between 1132 and 1143. Here, the sumptuous ceiling in carved wood of the central nave, joined to the supporting walls by an ornate structure of corbels with *muḳarnas*, unfolds within twenty caissons a cycle of paintings which constitutes one of the most remarkable productions of Islamic art in this domain. They develop the theme of the apotheosis of the sovereign, represented in the context of his recreations: at the hunt, surrounded by knights and falconers, or seated at a banquet, amid a throng of cup-bearers and revellers, dancers and tumblers, chess-players and musicians. Around him it is the entire universe which seems to turn. Such is the meaning of this gorgeous fresco, animated with living scenes, populated by animals, real or mythical, realistic in the details of an evolved material culture and enigmatic in the evocation of symbols and of myths. It is the homage paid to the magnanimous

king by the imagination of art, matched by the tribute which scientific rationalism, through the talent of al-Idrīsī, was to offer him soon afterwards. While on the subject of artistic creation, this brief glimpse at "posthumous" Sicilian Arabism should not be concluded without mention of the superb cloak (now in Vienna), which was woven for the coronation of Roger II, an incomparable masterpiece of the royal workshop known as the *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*].

But the survival of Arab culture in Sicily has an aspect which is, if possible, even more durable: it is the extent to which, grafted onto the language of its people, it remains an inherent part of its life, in spite of the ravages of time. It is obvious that the provision of isolated examples would not be adequate to reproduce the real dimensions of a global process, which has penetrated the lexicon with words of general usage, such as verbs, adjectives or even phrases, but especially with a number of technical terms concerning either the natural environment, or the human universe, its activities and institutions. Leaving this task to the specialised works mentioned below, it will suffice to recall how many Sicilian family names are of Arab origin, and how many toponyms have left, in geography and in history, in short, in the culture of Sicily, an ineradicable Arab stamp (see 2. below).

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(R. Traini)

2. The Arabic toponomy.

Scientifically-based research on the toponomy of Sicily in the period of the Arab conquest begins with Michele Amari. In his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, with its two Appendices of 1875 and 1887, he endeavoured to collect together, in effect, all the Arabic texts relating to the history, geography and literature of the island. In the final *Index* in Arabic characters and including all types of names, he gave an outline list of the Arabic and Arabised place names of Sicily. Then, in 1901, on the occasion of the centenary of Amari's birthday, two other volumes of texts appeared (*Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari. Scritti di filologia e storia araba*, Palermo 1910, 2 vols.). Finally, a century after the publication of the *Biblioteca*, Umberto Rizzitano published a final collection of texts (*Nuove fonti per la storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, in *RSO*, xxxii [1957], 531-55). Yet curious though it may seem, noone has as yet compiled a complete list of the Arabic place names of Sicily.

According to historical information, these names should date from the period between 256/870 and 462/1070, that of the Arab occupation of the island. One should nevertheless note that the Arabic toponomy did not change immediately on the Norman invasion, well illustrated by the description of Sicily (occupying forty large-format pages: *Opus geographicum*, fasc. 5, Naples-Rome 1975, sectio secunda, 583-626, Ital. tr. in Rizzitano, *Il libro di Ruggero*, Palermo n.d. [1966], 153) of the complete edition of the *K. Rud̲j̲ār* or *K. Nuzhat al-mus̲h̲tāḳ* of al-Idrīsī written towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, hence almost a century after the end of Arab domination.

From a linguistic point of view, the Sicilian place names of this period can be divided into two groups: a first one made up of names in origin Greek, Latin or otherwise but then Arabised, and a second one of Arabic names. With the end of Arab domination, part of these place names disappeared, whilst others underwent phonetic adaptations before assuming their recent form. In the first group, one may cite: *Ḳarīnis̲h̲* (Ital. Carini), *al-Ḳārūniyya* (Ital. Caronia), *Ḳaṭāniya* (Ital. Catania), *D̲j̲ulfūd̲h̲* (Ital. Cefalù), *D̲j̲afala* (Ital. Cefalà (Diana)), *Ḳurliyūn* (Ital. Corleone), *Balarm* (Ital. Palermo), *Fīkūda* (Ital. Filicudi), *Lanbadūs̲h̲a* (Ital. Lampedusa) and *Lībar* (Ital. Lipari).

The second group contains two types. (1) Where Arabic terms have had their Italian equivalents, with no connection in sense, substituted e.g. *al-Aṣnām* >

Selinunte, *al-Karīb* > the river Bilici, *Namūsa* > the island of Linosa, and *Ḳūṣira* [see ḲAWṢARA] > Pantelleria. (2) Where Arabic terms have been Italianised, e.g. *Wādī 'l-Tīn* > Dittano, *Marsā ʿAlī* > Marsala, *al-Khāliṣa* > Kalsa and *Shakka* > Sciacca.

Even so, there remain some names difficult to classify, because they are made up of two elements, one of which is translated whilst the other is Italian. This is the case with ʿUyūn ʿAbbās "the Fountains of ʿAbbās", which has become Tre Fontane, or Tirsat Abī Thawr, the modern Porto Palo.

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3. Numismatics.

It should be emphasised that the minting of Arab coins of Sicily is here considered only in regard to the actual period of Arab occupation, in its Aghlabid, Fāṭimid, Kalbid and Zīrid phases, up to 462/1070. The Norman coins with Arabic inscriptions are not considered here at all.

Arab minting in Sicily seems to have begun with the military conquest of the island. The first known money is a silver dirham, diameter 24 mm and weight 2.90 gr and bearing the date 214/829-30. On it can be read the name of Muḥammad al-Djawharī, on the order of the *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh, son of Ibrāhīm Ziyādat Allāh, the Khurāsānian commander to whom Hārūn al-Rashīd had offered the province of Ifrīḳiya. The actual mint involved is uncertain, since the term *Sikilliya*, which can be read on the coin and which was later attributed to Palermo, cannot thus be considered in any way, since the town in question had not yet been captured. One must also take into account the fact that the Arab conquest spread over almost a century; Palermo was conquered in 216/831, Messina in 228/843, Noto in 257/865, Syracuse in 266/878 and finally, Taormina in 289/902. In the areas conquered by the Arabs, the monetary system changed, whilst the Byzantine authorities kept in circulation the totally different Byzantine system based on the gold *solidus*, with its fraction of one-third (*tremissis*) and the copper *follis* and its multiples.

The Arab system, on the contrary, was always based on bimetallism but seems to have been characterised by the issue of gold coins in a small format, in practice reduced to one-quarter in comparison with the coins issued in the Islamic East. As for silver, after the minting of a sole dirham and half-dirham, one reached the quarter-dirham in 250/864. Later, between 273/886 and 277/890, there comes into being a new silver coinage with the appearance of a miniature dirham with a weight varying between 0.17 and 0.55 gr and with a diameter of 9-11 mm, bearing the date but no indication of the place of minting.

One type particularly introduced by the Fāṭimids was the stellate *kharrūba*, whose weight was, theoretically, according to P. Balog, 0.195 gr but which in practice varied between 0.65 and 1.25 gr. This small-sized type of coin naturally raises numerous problems regarding its daily use. The term stellate or étoilé used by the numismatics who have described it, probably stems from the division of the obverse and reverse into diametric segments which divide the surface up into a series of little spaces vaguely reminiscent of the appearance of a star.

One can only conjecture at the reasons why the Arab governors in Sicily adopted this bimetallic system, but one in miniature.

The historical sources show that, in Fāṭimid Egypt and in its Sicilian dependency, there was no copper coinage. Nevertheless, there existed at that time a certain number of glass monetary weights, on the Byzantine model, used in daily life to control the correct weight of the coins. Given that there was a total absence of copper in Fāṭimid Egypt, to the extent that it had to be imported, these weights, issued in large quantities could very likely be used as pieces of subsidiary coinage instead of a copper coinage. Numismatists are not agreed on this interpretation, in favour of which one might add that these tokens have been largely found in hoards, where one would certainly not put glass weights which had no monetary value, and that at least 20% of these tokens are contemporary imitations.

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4. Epigraphy.

At present in Sicily there are 82 Arabic inscriptions found either on buildings or on tombstones, to which another 18 texts can be added, according to literary sources. They are scattered throughout Agrigento, Cefalà Diana, Cefalù, Messina, Palermo, Syracuse, Termini Imerese and Trapani.

According to the historical events that attest the Arab presence on the island, these inscriptions can be divided into the following groups: 1. inscriptions belonging to the period of Arab occupation of Sicily (827-1061); 2. inscriptions belonging to the Norman period (1061-1194); 3. inscriptions with dates corresponding to the Swabian period onwards; 4. inscriptions imported from Egypt and Tunisia.

Only three inscriptions belong to the period of the Arab occupation. The oldest is a graffito on a baked brick found in a cave of Monte Bandiera on the island of Linosa. The text, dated 364/974, commemorates the landing of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Yuḥannis (Yuḥannas, according to Lagumina's transcription) al-Ṣiḳillī. The second was inscribed on one of the gates of Palermo, known as Porta dei Patitelli and called in Arabic *Bāb al-baḥr* (Gate of the Sea), which was built in 942 and destroyed in the 16th century. The third inscription, attributed to 34(3-9)/954-61, was

once in the castle of Termini Imerese. It is a text that commemorates the erection of a building, probably the castle itself. The sandstone blocks containing the inscription are at present broken down into eleven fragments.

To these inscriptions perhaps could be added a burial text, dated x7x or x9x A.H., that M. Amari dates back to the years 883-92 or 980-90 on the grounds of the only figure extant. Nowadays, this tombstone is preserved in the Galleria Regionale di Palazzo Bellomo in Syracuse.

We may presume that the Arabic inscriptions belonging to the Norman period, like those belonging to the period of the Arab occupation, are of local origin even if Islamic burial grounds have not yet been discovered on the island. We know that during the Norman period, permanent Muslim colonies existed in Sicily, and Arabic was one of the languages spoken in the Court or used for official texts. Therefore Muslims must have enjoyed tolerance and welfare to enable them to afford paying such craftsmen as the lapicides, who besides the skill of cutting stone, must also have possessed a good knowledge of Islamic texts.

A similar presumption cannot, however, be made regarding Arabic inscriptions found in sites where the Arab presence was neither stable nor lasting or for those dated from the Swabian period onwards, since those Muslims who were still on the island enjoyed no longer social and economic privileges.

As to the inscriptions bearing dates belonging to the Norman period, it is possible to distinguish some, inscribed mainly on buildings, that could be called Norman inscriptions in Arabic characters because they were made in the Court workshop according to the taste of the Norman dynasty. The texts consist of single words that are expressions of good wishes, with frequent repetition (first half of the twelfth century). They seem to have a unique model, as they use the same phrases or words derived from the identical Arabic root, and most of them can be found woven in the inscription of the coronation mantle of Roger II, now preserved in Vienna.

Furthermore, there is a group of metrical inscriptions, in praise of the rulers, placed on the palaces of Roger II (1105-54), William I (1154-66) and William II (1166-89). The white marble slabs that decorate the Royal Palaces of Roger II in Palermo and Messina are really unique, as the inscriptions have been made with the technique of inlaid marble, with writing in serpentine and background fillers in porphyry, unknown to the Arabic epigraphy.

The use of the languages of the four different ethnic and religious groups living in Sicily, i.e. Latin, Greek and Arabic, which was in one of the texts also written in Hebrew characters, is attested on two tombstones belonging to the parents of King Roger's chaplain, dated respectively 1141-2 and 1153, and on a marble slab which commemorates the installation of a waterclock in 1142.

These "Norman inscriptions in Arabic characters" often contain terms belonging to the Oriental Christian vocabulary, as well as Christian symbols and a unique chronology which refers to the months of the Latin calendar and to the year of the Muslim era. The Arabic words also assumed new meanings related to the social customs and religious habits of the European courts.

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(Vincenza Grassi)

SIKKA (A.), literally, an iron ploughshare, and an iron stamp or die used for stamping coins

(see Lane, *Lexicon*, 1937). From the latter meaning, it came to denote the result of the stamping, i.e. the legends on the coins, and then, the whole operation of minting coins.

1. Legal and constitutional aspects.

As in the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires to which the Arab caliphate was heir, the right of issuing gold and silver coinage was a royal prerogative. Hence in the caliphate, the operation of *sikka*, the right of the ruler to place his name on the coinage, eventually became one of the insignia of royal power, linked with that of the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*], the placing of the ruler's name in the bidding prayer during the Friday congregational worship.

This right of placing the ruler's name on the coinage did not appear immediately in the Islamic state. As is well known, up to the caliphate of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] at least, the former Byzantine and Sāsānid money continued to circulate; and when the new holders of power within the conquered lands finally placed their own names on newly-minted coins or counterstamped them on older coins, this was not a sign of a prerogative reserved to the caliphs. Provincial governors like Ziyād b. Abīhi, al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], etc., minted coins bearing their own names only. Even when the use of the caliphs' names on coins spread, certain provincial governors continued to follow their own local minting practices; thus at the end of the 1st century A.H., the governor of North Africa Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] still minted coins of his own, with legends in Latin. Also notable, during the period from Muʿāwiya to ʿAbd al-Malik, was the appearance of effigies of the caliphs on coins, and when the rulers' names appeared, these were often followed by the titles of *khalīfa* or *amīr al-muʾminīn*. Some ʿAbbāsid coins did not always have the caliph's name on them, but might be minted by the designated heir to the throne or *walī ʾl-ʿahd* or by a caliphal minister. But it became more and more general for the caliph's name to take precedence, usually with their honorifics or *laḳabs* [*q.v.*] also.

With the break-up of caliphal unity, provincial governors began to mint their own coins, placing their own names on them but usually continuing to place first the name of the reigning caliph as a witness to their theoretical subordination to the universal caliphate. Of course, when dynasties arose in deliberate defiance of or emnity to the ʿAbbāsids, as was the case with the Spanish Umayyads and the Fāṭimids of North Africa and Egypt, their coinage was a completely independent one, with their own names only inscribed on the coins.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. Coinage practice.

In Lane's *Arabic-English lexicon*, the origin of the word *sikka* is given as *sakk*, originally a ploughshare, or a nail, pin or peg of iron, thus *sikka*, an engraved piece of iron, a die for striking coins, hence *maskūk*, plural *maskukāt*, coined money. In its literal meaning, *sikka* refers to coinage dies in a mint, in early days made of bronze rather than iron, which tended to shatter under the repeated blows of the hammering process that was used to transfer the inscriptions on the die to the metal blank or planchet. For the purposes of this section of the article, however, *sikka* is discussed in its figurative sense, the right of a Muslim ruler to have his name inscribed on the coinage (see above, 1).

From its origins in classical antiquity until today, manufacture of money, and the standards controlling it have been under governmental supervision. The manufacture of coin was an important source of revenue for the government which derived from the fees, or seignorage, charged by the mint for converting unrefined metal into coin. The government stamp on the metal served as a guarantee of its purity, and as a permit for it to become legal tender within the area of authority where it was issued. In the city states of antiquity, the coinage was first identified by images of local gods and other symbols, and was often guaranteed by the names of moneyers. Under the Roman and Parthian Empires, and later the Byzantines and Sāsānids, local coinages were swept away, and replaced by those whose principal feature was the ruler's bust, often with his name and titles, and thus monarchial coinage became the rule throughout the Mediterranean and Iranian world.

In the time of the Prophet Muḥammad the Ḥidjāz had no indigenous coinage of its own, and its monetary stock was composed of whatever coins were earned through trade or pilgrimage receipts. These were Byzantine gold and copper coins, Sāsānid silver, and a miscellany of older coins which had remained in circulation long after the states which issued them had passed into history. The rapid spread of Islam, however, resulted in the acquisition of large quantities of Byzantine and Sāsānid coins which fuelled the economy of the newly-conquered territories. The Byzantine money came mostly from outside the territories conquered by the Arabs, although there was a long-established Byzantine mint in Alexandria, and another in Jerusalem operational *ca.* A.D. 609-15. In the Sāsānid lands in the east, however, the Arabs acquired control of many local mints. The silver coinage struck in them bore the name and bust of the ruler, the mint mark and the regnal year of striking.

Because the Arabs had no coinage of their own, and the populations of the lands they conquered belonged to two empires with very different monetary systems, they took the pragmatic step of adopting both systems to avoid disrupting the local economy and antagonising their new subjects. The earliest dateable Islamic coins are silver drachms, or dirhams, bearing the name and bust of the last Sāsānid ruler Yazdigird III (11-31/632-51) with the legend *bism Allāh* in the obverse margin and on the reverse the mintmark and the date 20, his last regnal year, which corresponded to the year 31 A.H. Yazdigird's name and bust were then replaced by those of Khusraw II (590-628), which became the model for the remainder of the Arab Sāsānid series. It soon became the custom for local Muslim governors to replace the name *Khusraw* with their own names in Pahlawī script. The dates on these coins, however, are often difficult to elucidate because in many instances it is uncertain whether those above the year 31 were continuations of Yazdigird's regnal years or the actual Hidjra years of striking.

Outside of the former Sāsānid territories, the picture is far less clear. It is not known when Islamic coinage began in the former Byzantine lands, because none of the coins in circulation there were dated. Some authorities have argued that it started soon after the Arab conquest, while others have dated its inception to the early years of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/684-705). In either case it is clear

that the Arabs began to strike copper *fulūs* in long-dormant Syrian and Palestinian mints, with designs based on Byzantine prototypes, often giving the names of the towns in both Latin and Arabic. Occasionally, they bear the phrase *bism Allāh* to give them a specifically Islamic character. Mints did not usually share the same designs, which emphasised the local nature of each issue. None bore the name of a caliph or local governor. It can thus be said with some certainty that the idea of *sikka* as a prerogative of caliphal sovereignty had not yet developed in the early years of the Islamic community.

The situation changed significantly after ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān defeated the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in 73/692. This victory enabled him to direct his attention to the creation of institutions which would serve the needs of the Islamic community and strengthen centralised Umayyad rule over the empire. Several experiments were made to reform the coinage, which are dealt with in some detail in the articles DĪNĀR, DIRHAM and FALS. It should be noted that ʿAbd al-Malik introduced a series of copper *fulūs* showing a standing figure of the caliph drawing a sword in defence of the Muslim community with the legend *li-ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Malik Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, "For the Servant of God ʿAbd al-Malik Commander of the Faithful". This is the only instance where an Islamic ruler adopted the style of the imperial Byzantine coinage for use among the Muslims. Although these *fulūs* are undated, they may be attributed to the years 74-7, because they are linked stylistically to "standing caliph" dīnārs which bore these years of striking in their legends.

ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage reform of 77/696-7 removed all images, names and titles from the dīnār in favour of legends drawn from the Ḳurʾān, and this model was applied to dirhams in 79/698-9. The only human name to appear in the legends was that of Muḥammad, which implies that, as in the frequently used laudation *al-Mulk li'llāh*, "Sovereignty belongs to God", the right of *sikka* was vested in the hands of God and of His Messenger. While gold and silver were given this distinction, it was not always the case for the copper coinage where the names of a caliph or governor were occasionally used to indicate the name of the local issuing authority. This usage should not be confused with the right of *sikka per se*, but only as a means of holding a local governor responsible for coinage issued within the area of his jurisdiction. Despite their differing characters, none of the succeeding Umayyad caliphs altered the legends on the precious metal coinage, which suggests that it satisfied both the spiritual and economic needs of the Muslim community.

The revolutionaries in the late Umayyad period made a few alterations to the standard Umayyad dirham (no dīnārs are known from this time). Those of both ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya and Abū Muslim [*q.vv.*] and their lieutenants bore an additional legend: *Ḳul lā asʾala-kum ʿalay-hi adjr^an illā 'l-mawaddata fi 'l-ḳurbā* "Say: 'I ask of you no recompense for this other than the love of kin'" (Ḳurʾān, XLII, 23). This was obviously intended to provide divine sanction for Djaʿfarid and ʿAbbāsid claims to the caliphate. There were also Khāridjite issues which bore their rallying cry *lā ḥukma illā li'llāh* "authority belongs to God alone". There is a third type of revolutionary issue, which was the only known post-reform dirham struck in the Umayyad period to bear the name of someone other than the Prophet Muḥammad. This was issued in the name of Djudayʿ b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī, and carries the additional legend: *mim-mā amara bi-hi al-Amīr al-Kirmānī b. ʿAlī* "authorised by the Amīr al-Kirmānī b. ʿAlī".

Because the ʿAbbāsids based their claim to the caliphate on their close relationship to the Prophet, they replaced the *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, which was used by the Umayyads basically as an irritant to the Christians, with *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. Thus it could be argued that the original ʿAbbāsid *sikka* was in the name of the Prophet. They did, however, change the way in which the caliph was named. The Umayyad caliphs were known by their proper names and those of their father, e.g. ʿUmar (II) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz or Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, followed by the caliphal title *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The early ʿAbbāsid caliphs became known by their *ḳunya*, *ʿalam* and *laḳab*, e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ and Abū Djaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh al-Manṣūr, but neither of these names is known to appear on their coins. In 145/762, however, al-Manṣūr granted his son al-Mahdī the right of responsibility for the silver dirham coinage of Khurasān and Armenia. The wording of this privilege copied the style of legend used on some of the copper coinage: *amara bi-hi al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The name of a local governor, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳaḥtaba, was also found on a dirham of Armenia dated 154/771.

In the reign of al-Mahdī, 158-69/775-85, the ruler's style regularly appeared on dirhams in the form *li 'l-Khalīfa al-Mahdī* and rarely with his name *Muḥammad*. Two of his sons were occasionally granted responsibility for dirhams in the form *mim-mā amara bi-hi Mūsā walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn* for his heir, and *mim-mā amara bi-hi Hārūn b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn* for the future al-Rashīd. The names of governors also appeared on the dirhams more frequently. During his brief rule (169-70/785-6) al-Hādī was referred to either as *li 'l-Khalīfa al-Hādī* or *li 'l-Khalīfa Mūsā*. Al-Rashīd's earliest dirham coinage from al-Hārūniyya in 170 and 171 called him by his first throne name, *al-Marḍī* "The Approved One": *li 'l-Khalīfa al-Marḍī mim-mā amara bi-hi Hārūn Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The caliph's name then made its first brief appearance on a few rare dīnārs of 170 and 171 in the form *mim-mā amara bi-hi ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, where *ʿAbd Allāh* was used in its titular form as it had been on the coins of ʿAbd al-Malik.

Between 170 and 187/786-803, while al-Rashīd was under the tutelage of Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar al-Barmakī [see AL-BARĀMIKA], an extraordinary variety of coinage was issued. The gold dīnārs of Egypt carried the names of its governors ʿAlī, Mūsā, ʿUmar, Muḥammad, Dāwūd and Ibrāhīm, then that of its honorary governor Djaʿfar (al-Barmakī) and finally Khālid. Dīnārs issued in ʿIrāḳ between 177 and 187 bore the legend *mim-mā amara bi-hi al-Amīn Muḥammad b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. The silver coinage was far more complex, sometimes naming the caliph as either *Hārūn* or *al-Rashīd*, but often not mentioning him at all. Al-Amīn was usually called *walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*, and his younger brother al-Maʾmūn the second heir, *walī walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*. Djaʿfar's name appeared either alone after that of the caliph and his heir, or with the names of local governors. This coinage is particularly valuable for historians because the governors' names provide a chronology for the period which would otherwise have escaped posterity. Presumably they were granted the privilege of placing their names on the coins when they received their commissions from the ʿAbbāsid chancellory headed by Djaʿfar al-Barmakī.

After the latter's execution in 187/803, al-Rashīd curbed this practice, and most of the coinage recovered its former anonymity, particularly in mints such as Madīnat al-Salām, al-Rāfiḳa and al-Muḥammadiyya

which were under direct caliphal control. The conflict that erupted between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn after al-Rashīd's death in 193/809 was reflected in the coins they each struck. No specialised, systematic study has been made of the coinage of these two rulers, which is the most complex in the history of the Islamic world, because by this time responsibility for the *sikka* had become highly decentralised, and indeed fragmented. For example, after the year 145/762 the Umayyad rulers of Spain were striking conventional, anonymous Umayyad dirhams. In the Maghrib the Idrīsids and other local rulers placed their own names on the coinage without any titles. During al-Rashīd's rule, the province of Ifrīkiya had fallen into the hands of the Aghlabids, who became its hereditary governors. They retained the design of the early 'Abbāsid dīnār, but differentiated it by adding the governor's name and the dynastic symbol *ghālib* to its legends.

The province of Egypt, which al-Ma'mūn acquired in 196/812, now became the western boundary of the 'Abbāsid caliphate. From then until 213/829 the names of provincial governors appeared on the Egyptian coinage, usually with that of the caliph. Between 198 and 211 Syria was controlled by Muḥammad b. Bayhas, who placed the caliph's name above his on the dirhams which he struck. Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād) was held by al-Amīn until 198/813, when it fell to the forces of al-Faḍl b. Sahl Dhu 'l-Ri'āsatayn [*q.v.*]. His conquest marked a turning point for the currency, because in 198 al-Faḍl struck the first 'Abbāsid dīnār to bear a mint name, sc. Madīnat al-Salām. More importantly for the purposes of this article, he added the word *li'llāh* "For God", above *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* to the legends found on both dīnārs and dirhams. This dedication made it clear that the right of *sikka* was vested in the hands of God, passing through those of His messenger Muḥammad to the individual named as the issuing agent. This chain of authority can be seen in its most highly developed form on the dirhams struck by al-Ma'mūn after he chose the eighth Shī'ī Imām as his heir in 201/816. The reverse reads: *li'llāh; Muḥammad rasūl Allāh; al-Ma'mūn Khalīfat Allāh; mim-mā amara bi-hi al-Amīr al-Riḍā walī 'ahd al-Muslimīn, 'Alī b. Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; Dhu 'l-Ri'āsatayn.*

The appointment of 'Alī al-Riḍā as *walī 'ahd* sparked off a Sunnī revolt in Baghdād, which was nominally led by al-Ma'mūn's uncle, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (202-3/817-19 [*q.v.*]). He refrained from placing his name in full on the few dīnārs attributed to him, but abbreviated it to its first and last letters, *alif/mim*.

Al-Ma'mūn celebrated his triumph over al-Amīn in 198/813 by adding a Ḳur'ānic passage to the dirhams he struck in Marw, the seat of his government: "With God is the Decision in the past and in the future; on that day the Faithful shall rejoice in the help of God" (XXX, 4-5). While this passage was almost certainly chosen by al-Ma'mūn to give immediate divine sanction to his seizure of the caliphate, with time and continuous usage it became the 'Abbāsid motto, and was found on all dīnārs and most dirhams issued by the dynasty until its downfall in 656/1258. At first its use spread gradually, coming to the dirhams of Madīnat al-Salām with al-Ma'mūn's arrival in the city in 204/819, but it achieved greater prominence in 206/821 when the capital mint issued new dīnārs and dirhams inscribed in a new monumental and highly legible Kūfic script. On this reform coinage, which had come into general use by 215/831, al-Ma'mūn harked back to the past by allowing neither his name nor that of any governor to appear in its legends. Thus the *sikka* was once again issued only in the name of God and His Messenger.

When Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim succeeded to the caliphate on the death of his brother al-Ma'mūn in Radjab 218/833, he continued to strike the same anonymous coinage, but distinguished it slightly by altering the former leftward slant of the word *li'llāh* to make it fully vertical. In 219/834, however, he introduced a new style of throne name, a participial phrase describing the caliph by his relationship to God rather than by the manner of his leadership of the Muslim community. From al-Saffāḥ until al-Ma'mūn, the *laḳab* is understood to have modified the title *al-Khalīfa*, e.g. "the Victorious Caliph", "the Orthodox Caliph" or "the Trusted Caliph", but the new *sikka* read *li'llāh; Muḥammad rasūl Allāh al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh* "For God, Muḥammad is God's Messenger, the One Who Relies on God". This new style was probably chosen because it conformed to the theory that the *sikka* originated in and descended from God's sovereign power.

This form was used by all but one of al-Mu'taṣim's successors until the end of the dynasty, and was only modified for political purposes when the name of the heir was added to the legends. The practice began under al-Mutawakkil, whose son was first named *Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and then received his later throne name *al-Mu'tazz bi'llāh b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn* on his father's dīnārs and dirhams. It was taken further when the feeble caliph al-Mu'tamid divided jurisdiction between his son and heir Dja'far in the West and his powerful brother Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥa in the East. The heir was first named *Dja'far* on his coinage, and later *al-Mufawwiḍ ilā 'llāh*, while Ṭalḥa was always known as *al-Muwaffaḳ bi'llāh*. After al-Muwaffaḳ defeated the Zandj rebels he added another title to the coinage struck under his jurisdiction: *al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, al-Muwaffaḳ bi'llāh.* He subsequently included the name of his heir, *Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaḳ bi'llāh*, who became known as al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh after his father's death, in the year before he succeeded Mu'tamid as caliph.

Throughout the latter part of the 3rd/9th-10th century the unity of the 'Abbāsid state was breaking down because of the rise of powerful, virtually independent local rulers who emphasised their status by adding their names to both the coinage and the *khuṭba.* Even the caliphs had occasionally honoured individual *wazīrs* on their own coinage, but never in their own names. For example, al-Mu'tamid included the title *Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn* to honour Ṣā'id b. Makhlad in 270/883; al-Muktafī *Walī al-Dawla* to honour Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḳāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh in the year of his death, 291/903-4; and al-Muḳtadir *'Amīd al-Dawla* to honour al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, the son of the caliph's *wazīr*, on some of his coinage dated 320/932. The local rulers, however, used only their own *'alam* without any titles on the coins which, in theory, they struck on behalf of the caliph. This practice started in Egypt and Syria in 265/879 when Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn placed his name below that of the caliph in the reverse field. In the East, it began somewhat earlier when the first Ṣaffārid ruler added his own name Ya'ḳūb to the coinage (*ca.* 259-65). Before long the practice became universal, and whether by usurpation or grant from the caliph, the presence of names on the coinage came to be seen as a right that could be exercised by any serious rebel, semi-autonomous local governor or faithful ally of the 'Abbāsid caliphate. This adds an extra dimension of interest to the study of the series for the historian and numismatist, because new

coins fill in gaps in our knowledge which existing textual sources may be unable to do. In the words of Stanley Lane-Poole in his *Fasti Arabici*: "The coins of the Muslim East do not so much recall history as make it... If the complete series of coins issued by every Muslim state was preserved, we should be able to tabulate with the utmost nicety the entire line of kings and their principal vassals that have ruled in every part of the [Muslim Community] ... to draw with tolerable accuracy the boundaries of their territories at every period".

While in theory the right of *sikka* flowed downwards from God, through the Prophet, to his vicegerent the caliph, and from him to his vassal/ally, and ultimately perhaps to the latter's heir or an important governor, in practice it now moved in the opposite direction. The local strong man who controlled the mint defined his political and even religious position by acknowledging only those overlords who were valuable to his status, or by choosing Ḳur'ānic and other legends that defined his allegiance in the Sunnī-Shī'ī divide. No detailed account of the *sikka* in such cases can be given here, but for illustrative purposes examples are drawn from the principal Islamic dynasties which are not discussed elsewhere in this *Encyclopaedia*.

Until 297/909 there was only one caliphate in the Islamic community, but in that year 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī proclaimed the Fāṭimid claimant 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī bi'llāh *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* at Ḳayrawān in Tunisia. The statement on his *sikka*: *al-Imām al-Mahdī bi'llāh 'Abd Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn* prompted the Umayyads of Spain to revive their claim to the Sunnī caliphate. After 316/928, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III issued a redesigned coinage placing his name in the reverse field, *al-Imām al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, which paralleled that of his Fāṭimid rival. In later reigns this order was reversed, e.g. *al-Imām Hishām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh*. Still later, the Spanish coinage often incorporated the title and name of the chief minister as well as that of the caliph, e.g. *al-Ḥādjib 'Abd al-Malik*. Other names also appeared, often those of *wazīrs* or masters of the mint. In such instances, however, these men should not be considered as the holders of the *sikka*, unlike in the East where it was usually the lowest-ranking name who actually controlled the currency.

This is well illustrated by the coinage issued during the crisis in the 'Abbāsid caliphate, when its erstwhile vassals brought about its prolonged eclipse. In 329/940 the *Amīr al-Umarā'*, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Badjkam was able to have his name included on al-Rāḍī's dīnārs and dirhams beneath that of the caliph, where he was described simply as *mawlā* "client". On the accession of al-Muttaḳī, his name appeared in full: *Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Badjkam Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. The *sikka* then reverted to the caliph and his heir al-Manṣūr. In 330/942 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mawṣil, was appointed *Amīr al-Umarā'* with the title Nāṣir al-Dawla. The following year, his brother's name was added to the legends below that of the caliph's heir: *Sayf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥasan*, and that of the senior *amīr* below the caliph's: *Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū Muḥammad*. In 333-4/945 the name of the *Amīr al-Umarā' al-Muẓaffar Abū Wafā'* (Tūzūn) appeared on coins of al-Mustakfī, who very exceptionally called himself *Imām al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Mustakfī bi'llāh*. Shortly after this, he was forced to cede Baghdād to Buwayhid control, which ended both 'Abbāsid independence and his life, but not before he had transformed the three sons of Buwayh from Aḥmad, 'Alī and Ḥasan into Mu'izz, 'Imād and Rukn al-Dawla. For a time, this style of *laḳab* was the highest form of title attained by a secular ruler in the East. The Buwayhid *sikka* can be difficult to determine, but the general principle to follow is to go from one side of the coin to the other starting with the name of the caliph, usually found in the reverse field below *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* and then to work downwards from the highest-ranking *amīr* to the lowest, and thus arrive at the individual who actually exercised the right of *sikka*.

The next round of inflation in coinage titulature was set off when the caliph al-Ṭā'i' li'llāh invested 'Aḍud al-Dawla as supreme secular ruler in 367/977. He now styled himself *al-Malik al-'Ādil 'Aḍud al-Dawla wa-Tādj al-Milla Abū Shudjā'*. On other coins struck immediately before his coronation he was described as *al-Amīr al-'Ādil* and *al-Malik al-Sayyid*. Before long all the ruling Buwayhid *amīrs* had royal titles and *laḳabs* in both the *al-Dawla* and *al-Milla* forms, and often in an *al-Umma* form as well. Bahā' al-Dawla then assumed a superior *laḳab* in the *al-Dīn* form calling himself "The Just King of Kings and Shāh of Shāhs". His *sikka* thus read *Malik al-Mulūk, Shāhanshāh, Ḳiwām al-Dīn, Abu 'l-Nāṣir, Bahā' al-Dawla wa-Ḍiyā' al-Milla wa-Ghiyāth al-Umma*.

Titular excess reached its highest point under the Buwayhid ruler of Fārs, Abū Kālīdjār (415-40/1024-49), who was one of the greatest coiners in Islamic history. Following his investiture as *Amīr al-Umarā'* in 435/1044, his *sikka* read *Shāhanshāh al-Mu'azzam, Malik al-Mulūk, Muḥyī Dīn Allāh wa-Ghiyāth 'Ibād Allāh wa-Ḳasīm Khalīfat Allāh Abū Kālīdjār*. After his death, *laḳabs* in the *-Allāh, al-Milla* and *al-Umma* forms went out of fashion, and those remaining were usually shortened to the *al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* form.

Between 449 and 541/1057-1146 the Almoravids or al-Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*] in the Maghrib struck a plentiful gold and silver coinage acknowledging the 'Abbāsid caliphate, but never naming the caliph individually. He was referred to as *al-Imām, 'Abd Allāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and in later years the epithet *al-'Abbāsī* was sometimes added. The rulers, who were known simply as *al-Amīr Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, al-Amīr Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn*, etc., later adopted the sub-caliphal title *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. 'Alī b. Yūsuf named two successive *walī 'ahds*, Sīr b. 'Alī between 522 and 533/1128-39 and Tāshufīn b. 'Alī (533-7/1139-43). The same style of titulature was used by the remaining Almoravid rulers, Tāshufīn, Ibrāhīm and Isḥāḳ.

When the Almohads or al-Muwaḥḥidūn [*q.v.*] dynasty seized power in Morocco in 540/1146, they altered their *sikka* radically. It was based on the belief that the sect's founder, Muḥammad b. Tūmart [*q.v.*], whose followers called him al-Mahdī, could purify Islam of its corruptions. After Ibn Tūmart's death the sect was led by his most capable disciple 'Abd al-Mu'min [*q.v.*] who, after his defeat of the Almoravids, introduced a new style of coinage unlike any found elsewhere in the Islamic community. Although nominally Sunnī in allegiance, the Almohads made no reference to the 'Abbāsid caliphate, and removed the traditional mint and date formula from the legends, which were inscribed within a new square in circle design. They did, however, take great delight in titulature and genealogy, which somewhat makes up for the lack of mints and dates. A sample *sikka* on a dīnār of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar (646-65/1248-66) illustrates this: in reverse square, *al-Mahdī Imām al-umma, al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh, al-Khalīfa al-Imām, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Alī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, in reverse segments, *Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Abū Ya'ḳūb Yūsuf ibn al-*

Khalīfa, and in obverse segments, *Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Murtaḍā li-Amr, Allāh Abū Ḥafṣ b. al-Amīr, al-Ṭāhir Abī Ibrāhīm, ibn al-Khalīfatayn.* The same square in circle design, with similarly convoluted legends, was used by the Ḥafṣids, Marīnids and Ziyānids. Before leaving this type, there is the *sikka* found on a dīnār of the last Naṣrid ruler in Spain, Muḥammad XII, Boabdil, who lost Granada to the Christians in 897/1492. It reads: *'Abd Allāh, al-Ghālib bi'llāh, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sa'd b. 'Alī, b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr, ayyadahu Allāh wa-naṣara-hu* with the Naṣrid motto *lā-ghālib illā Allāh* repeated four times in the margin.

Turning to the coinage of the Fāṭimid caliphs [see FĀṬIMIDS], it should be recalled that the first ruler's coins bore the legends of a first period 'Abbāsid dīnār, with no more than his name to distinguish them from the previous Aghlabid dīnārs. His successor, however, changed the design and calligraphy on the coinage and used as his *sikka Muḥammad Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Mahdī bi'llāh al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* The coins of the third caliph still showed no overt signs of the Fāṭimid leadership of the Ismā'īlī Shī'īs: *Abd Allāh Ismā'īl al-Imām al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn.*

Their real religious feelings burst forth with the first coinage of the fourth caliph al-Mu'izz. On the obverse, the *Kalima* was augmented by the sentence *wa-'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib waṣiyy rasūl nā'ib al-faḍūl wa-zawdj al-zahrā' al-batūl* "And 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is the Nominee of the Prophet, Most Excellent Representative, and Husband of the Radiant Chaste One". On the reverse the caliph styled himself *'Abd Allāh Ma'add Abū-Tamīm, al-Imām al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn, muḥyī sunnat Muḥammad, sayyid al-mursalīn, wa-wārith madjd al-a'imma al-mahdiyyīn* "Revivifier of the Sunna of Muḥammad, Lord of the Transmitters and Heir to the Splendour of the Rightly-Guided Imāms". This coinage is said to have caused serious problems for the government because most of their subjects were Sunnī by persuasion, and a less inflammatory legend was quickly substituted in its place, "The Imām Ma'add summons (to belief in) the Unity of God, the Everlasting".

When al-'Azīz succeeded al-Mu'izz, he introduced the phrase *'Abd Allāh wa-waliyyuhu* "The Servant of God and His Companion" to the Fāṭimid *sikka*, preceding the *kunya* and *'alam* which were followed by the caliphal title and *Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* Only al-Ḥākim regularly placed the name of an heir on his coinage. Breaking all dynastic conventions, he disregarded the claim of his eldest son al-Ẓāhir and chose a distant cousin and nonentity for the position, 'Abd al-Raḥīm, who appears on the *sikka* as *wa-'Abd al-Raḥīm walī 'ahd al-Muslimīn.* In Ismā'īlī thinking the use of *al-Mu'minīn* was limited to those who held Ismā'īlī beliefs, while the general community were *al-Muslimīn.* Through his actions it would appear that al-Ḥākim saw himself as the last Imām. It is said that he secretly appointed a great religious scholar to lead the Ismā'īlī community as *walī 'ahd al-Muslimīn*, while 'Abd al-Raḥīm was to have exercised overt political leadership of the Muslim community.

Other Fāṭimid coins highlight the problems in the disputed succession after al-Āmir's death in 524/1130. He left no direct male heir, but one of his consorts was said to be pregnant by him. The *wazīr* al-Faḍl Abū 'Alī Aḥmad, who seized control of the government, first struck dīnārs in the name of the expected Imām, *al-Imām Muḥammad Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Muntaẓar li-Amr Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, but when the heir failed to materialise he is said to have discarded his allegiance to the "Sevener" Fāṭimids and revealed himself as a "Twelver" Shī'ī. He then proclaimed his beliefs by striking coins in the name of the Twelfth and last Imām, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, with himself as his lieutenant and viceroy, *al-Imām al-Mahdī, al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh Hudjdjat Allāh 'alā 'l-'ālimīn, nā'ibuhu wa-khalīfatahu al-Faḍl Abū 'Alī Aḥmad.* After al-Faḍl's overthrow the new ruler first proclaimed himself *walī 'ahd*, because of his collateral claim to the caliphate, *'Abd Allāh wa-waliyyuhu, Abu 'l-Maymūn 'Abd al-Madjīd walī 'ahd al-Muslimīn*, and then, casting aside his scruples, as caliph, *al-Imām 'Abd al-Madjīd Abu 'l-Maymūn al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn.*

Following Saladin's accession to power after the last Fāṭimid caliph in 567/1171, he took the cautious first step of striking his *sikka* in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph: *al-Imām al-Ḥasan, al-Mustaḍī' bi-Amr Allāh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and his overlord Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, the ruler of Aleppo, then, after the latter's death, in his own name: *al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb.* This style of *sikka* became the standard form for subsequent Ayyūbid rulers.

After the death of the last Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Tūrān Shāh b. Ayyūb in 648/1250, power was briefly held by one of the rare female rulers in the Muslim world, Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*]. Her *sikka* read: *al-Musta'ṣimiyya, al-Ṣāliḥiyya, Malikat al-Muslimīn, Wālidat al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Khalīl Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* Lane-Poole deduced from this legend that she was formerly in the harem of the caliph al-Musta'ṣim, who presented her to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, that she became Queen of the Muslims and mothered a prince, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, whom she termed "Friend of the Commander of the Faithful". The second Mamlūk ruler, Aybak, concealed himself behind two fictive rulers, first al-Ashraf Mūsā, *al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Fatḥ Mūsā b. al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb*, and then the last powerful Ayyūbid: *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Malik al-Kāmil, Aybak.* The succeeding rulers maintained the Ayyūbid style of *sikka* until Baybars gave refuge to an 'Abbāsid prince who fled the Mongol sack of Baghdād. In return for his name on the *sikka, al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi'llah Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Imām al-Ẓāhir Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, the newly-recognised caliph granted Baybars the style *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Baybars Ḳāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* For the remainder of Mamlūk rule, the conjoint title *al-Sulṭān al-Malik* remained as the royal protocol. Those rulers who were not themselves of royal descent were often identified by an epithet which indicated their original royal master; Baybars I and Ḳalāwūn called themselves *al-Ṣāliḥī* after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, while Kitbughā, Lācīn and Baybars II were known as *al-Manṣūrī* after al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn. All the later Baḥrī Mamlūk rulers were descendants of Ḳalāwūn, and carefully recorded their genealogy in their *sikka.*

The Burdjī Mamlūk rulers continued the same form of royal protocol as the Baḥrīs, but space limitations and, usually, a lack of royal descent kept it relatively brief. Two typical examples are *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Naṣr Ḳā'it Bāy, 'Azza naṣruhu* and *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū Sa'īd Ḳānṣawh, 'azza naṣruhu.* The coinage does, however, hold one curiosity. In 815/1412 one of the 'Abbāsid caliphs in Egypt was elected to the sultanate as a political expedient. He styled himself either as *al-Imām al-A'ẓam* or *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Musta'īn bi'llāh Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās Amīr al-Mu'minīn.*

Elsewhere, the founder of the Rasūlid dynasty of Yemen, al-Manṣūr 'Umar, initially struck his coins in the name of his nominal Ayyūbid overloads, who had previously ruled the country. In 634/1236-7 he began to coin in his own name: *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*

Abu 'l-Fatḥ 'Umar b. 'Alī. He followed the Ayyūbid convention of acknowledging the spiritual overlordship of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, and further emphasised his Sunnī allegiance by becoming the first ruler to incorporate the names of the first four Orthodox Caliphs into the coin legends. This innovation was followed by a second when his son al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf became the first to style himself *al-Sulṭān al-Malik* as early as 648/1250, well before Baybars received the conjoint title in 659/1261.

For Saldjūḳ titulature on the *sikka*, see SALDJŪḲIDS, VIII. Among their successors, the Atabegs of Eastern Anatolia and Western Persia usually acknowledged the 'Abbāsid caliph as head of the Islamic community. As a reflection of the general insecurity of the age, each ruler was faced with the problem of how to express on his coinage the network of feudal allegiances and alliances which would maintain his security, and the coins provide a useful record of the many twists and turns in the political and military history of the time. A few examples will illustrate this. On a typical dīnār of the Zangids of Mawṣil dated 616/1219-20, the *sikka* read *Nāṣir al-Dīn Atabak b. 'Izz al-Dīn b. Arslān Shāh* (Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, son of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh), on the obverse *al-Malik al-Kāmil* referred to al-Kāmil Muḥammad, the Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, and on the reverse *al-Malik al-Ashraf* referred to al-Ashraf Mūsā, the Ayyūbid ruler of the Djazīra and immediate neighbour of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. On a dīnār of Mawṣil, struck after the Mongol conquest of Baghdād, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' [*q.v.*] was quick to recognise the new order in 'Irāḳ: *Möngke Ḳā'ān al-a'ẓam Khudābanda-yi 'ālam, Pādishāh rū-i zamīn, ziyādat 'aẓmatahu*, and on the reverse *al-Malik al-Raḥīm Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'*. After Lu'lu''s death in 657/1258, his son first struck coinage in the name of Möngke as above, naming himself *al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ismā'īl*. Then in 659, just before his downfall, he miscalculated by repudiating Mongol overlordship and struck dīnārs in the name of Baybars and the 'Abbāsid caliph in Cairo: *al-Imām al-Mustanṣir bi'llah Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Ḳāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.

The early Mongol Il Khāns of Persia inscribed their *sikka* in Uyghur script: "The coinage of (name) the Great Khān's Viceroy", and under Ghāzān Maḥmūd "By God's Power, Ghāzān's coinage". His successor Öldjeytü (Ūldjaytū) introduced an important innovation to his first coinage. To satisfy what was probably a felt need to define his stance on the Sunnī-Shī'ī divide, he incorporated the names of the first four Orthodox caliphs in the legends: *Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī*, around the Sunnī *kalima*. Öldjeytü then proclaimed his conversion to Shī'ism by adopting the Shī'ī *kalima* with the names of the Twelve Imāms surrounding it. His new *sikka* may have been intended to quell any controversy over this move: "Struck in the Days of Prosperity of our Master the Grand Sultan, Ruler of the Necks of the Community Ūldjaytū Sulṭān. Defender of the World and Faith, the Servant of God, Muḥammad, May God Preserve his Sovereignty". The later Il Khānid rulers returned to Sunnī beliefs, and placed the name of the Orthodox Caliphs on all their coinages. No other names appeared besides that of the ruler, even in the cases of the last Il Khāns, who exercised no actual power in the state whatever apart from being named in the *khuṭba* and *sikka*.

One extraordinary exception to this practice is found on the coinage of Tīmūr Gürkhān, or Tīmūr Lang. When he seized control of Transoxiana in 771/1369-70 he did not depose the Čaghatay Khāns from their position as its nominal rulers. Between 771 and 790/1369-88, the name of Suyūrghatmish appeared above that of Tīmūr, and between 790 and 800/1388-98 that of Maḥmūd. Tīmūr called himself *Amīr Tīmūr Gürkhān*, but his successor Shāh Rūkh employed the usual Persian style: *al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Shāhrūkh Bahādūr khallada Allāh mulkahu wa-sulṭānahu*.

For the Ottomans' and Ṣafawids' *sikka*, see 'OTHMĀNLİ. IX, and ṢAFAWIDS. 6. After the fall of the Ṣafawids in the part of Persia which came under the rule of the Hōtakī Afghāns, the Shī'ī *kalima* was replaced by the Sunnī one on the coinage struck by Shāh Maḥmūd (1135-7/1722-4) and Ashraf (1137-42/1724-9). The *sikka* was now often expressed through the use of Persian couplets which bore the name of the ruler in elaborate and often playful wording. Because of the many puns and multiple layers of meaning which can be read into these distichs, they lose most of their sense in translation. They were obviously intended for the "happy few" who had the necessary education and means to appreciate them.

On some of his coins the Afsharid Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1735-47) gave himself the title *Sulṭān Nādir khallada Allāh mulkahu*, on others he used distichs. Karīm Khān Zand struck no coinage in his own name, but employed the invocation *Ya Karīm*! in its place. R.S. Poole explains the background in *Coinage of the Shahs of Persia*: "The Zand and Ḳādjār Khāns before Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh did not assume full rights of sovereignty. Their money shows the position they took." The founder of each line first struck money in the name of Shāh Ismā'īl III; then Karīm Khān Zand, as *wakīl*, struck in the name of Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī, also using the invocation *yā Karīm*! alluding to his own name. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār similarly coined in the name of Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā. Evidently, they had no official *djulūs*. The later Zand Khāns, at least in some cases, had a *djulūs*. But on their money they assume no regal titles; there was still a Ṣafawid heir. The principle of Karīm Khān is not deviated from except in the appearance of the names without titles of his first successor Abu 'l-Fatḥ and his last one Luṭf 'Alī; 'Alī Murād and Dja'far used allusive invocations (*Yā 'Alī*! and *Yā Imām Dja'far Ṣādiḳ*!), while Ṣādiḳ repeated that of Karīm Khān. Similarly, Āghā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār struck in the name of both Imāms and was content with an allusive invocation (*Ya Muḥammad*!) even after he had conquered his rivals, and as sole prince had a *djulūs*. Probably this was because a Ṣafawid prince, Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, had been proclaimed by him in Tehran in 1200/1786 and was still living, although not in Persia.

Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh made an extraordinary innovation. Before his *djulūs*, he issued royal money under his name Baba Khān with the title of *sulṭān*. On his later coinage he styled himself as *al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Ḳādjār, sikka Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Khusraw Ṣāḥibḳirān* or *sikka Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Khusraw Kashwarsitan*. Muḥammad Shāh used the title *Shāhanshāh Anbiyā Muḥammad*. Nāṣir al-Din Shāh usually placed *al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār* on his hammered coinage, while on some of his high denomination, machine-struck coins there was room to inscribe *al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam al-Khāḳān al-Fakhīm Ṣāḥibḳirān Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār*. Similar styles were used by the last three Ḳādjār rulers, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, Muḥammad 'Alī and Aḥmad Shāh.

The *sikka* of the Dihlī Sultans [*q.v.*] varies considerably, but the usual style followed the pattern of a coin of Maḥmūd Shāh (644-64/1246-66): *al-Sulṭān al-*

Aʿẓam Nāṣir al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd ibn al-Sulṭān. One of the many *sikkas* of Mūbarak Shāh (716-20/1316-20), who regarded himself as both a religious and secular ruler, read *al-Imām al-Aʿẓam Khalīfa Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn Ḳuṭb al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Mūbarakshāh al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān al-Wāthiḳ bi 'llah Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* The most complex coins in the series were struck by Muḥammad Shāh II (725-52/1325-51), with over fifty varieties recorded. One group was struck in the name of his father, whom he very likely murdered: *al-Sulṭān al-Shāhid al-Shāhid al-Ghāzī Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Tughluḳ Shāh al-Sulṭān.* On others he described himself as *al-Mudjāhid fī Sabīl Allāh Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ Shāh; al-Wāthiḳ bi-Ta'yīd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Shāh al-Sulṭān; al-ʿAbd al-Rādjī Raḥmat Allāh Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ* ... Still others he struck exclusively in the names of two ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Cairo, al-Mustakfī and al-Ḥākim.

The titles used by the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, Bābur (932-7/1525-30), were strongly influenced by his neighbours the Shibānids of Transoxania. They were Sunnī in character, and usually included the names of the four Orthodox Caliphs with their epithets. He often styled himself *al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam al-Khāḳān al-Mukarram Ẓāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādishāh-i Ghāzī*; his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn (937-63/1530-56) used a similar style. The third ruler, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), employed three different styles for his *sikka.* The first, *al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādishāh-i Ghāzī* appeared in the early years of his reign. The next issue was anonymous in the strict sense of the word, but the legend *Allāh Akbar Djalla Djalāluhu* "God is Most Great, May His Greatness be Glorified" has caused many Westerners to assume that Akbar confused himself with God. It is more likely, however, that he placed this invocation on the coinage to draw attention to his newly established *Tawḥīd-i ilāhī Akbar Shāhī* "Akbar Shāh's Doctrine of the Unity of the Divine Being". The third type was an early instance of the use of Persian couplets in the coin legends. This may have been adopted in order to avoid placing the *kalima* on the coinage of a ruler who was not devoted to the practices of traditional Islam. One such example read "The sun-shaped die of Akbar is the honour of this gold, while the light of the sun remains an ornament to the earth and sky".

The coinage of Akbar's son Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-28) was certainly among the most artistic of any Muslim ruler. Elegant distichs, superb calligraphy and figural designs, combined with careful striking, have made his name famous as the master coiner of the age. Each issue seems to have been an occasion for fresh legends and designs, but on many his *sikka* read *Nūr al-Dīn Djahāngīr Shāh [b.] Akbar Shāh.* His successor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) reverted to a more traditional style of coinage, where the *kalima* and the four Orthodox Caliphs returned to the place of honour, and the ruler was styled *Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥibḳirān al-Thānī Shāh Djahān Pādishāh-i Ghāzī.*

The accession of the austerely religious Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707) brought about the near permanent banishment of the *kalima* from the Mughal coinage. Like the Ottomans and the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl II (984-5/1576-7), he believed that the profession of faith would be profaned if it fell into the hands of the unbelievers. This was quite opposite to the early Muslims' view that coins carrying texts from the Ḳur'ān acted as missionaries of the Faith. Most of Awrangzīb's coins bore the couplet "Struck coin in the world like the shining sun (for gold) or moon (for silver) Shāh Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr". The reverse inscription referred to the ruler's regnal year and became virtually invariable: "The year of accession associated with prosperity". The coins of the later Mughals either bore titles, as on the coinage of Shāh Djahān, or couplets in the style of Awrangzīb. They retained their pride and claims to greatness until the end of the dynasty. The *sikka* of the last Mughal ruler Bahādur Shāh II (1253-74/1837-58) read *Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh Pādishāh-i Ghāzī.*

Today the use of the traditional *sikka* has virtually come to an end. The last ruler to place the *kalima* on his coinage was the Imām Aḥmad (1367-82/1948-62), ruler of Yaman, who styled himself *Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn.* His successor the Imām Badr struck a token coinage in exile which did not circulate in the Yaman. Now the only countries which use a royal style on their coins are: Morocco—*al-Ḥasan al-Thānī al-Malik al-Maghribī*; Suʿūdī Arabia—*al-Malik Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Suʿūd Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*; ʿUmān—*Ḳābūs b. Saʿīd Sulṭān ʿUmān* and Brunei—(in Latin characters) *Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah.* Elsewhere in the Muslim world, the coinage is issued in the name of the state or central bank. It has been entirely secularised and shorn of all its past associations, and is no more than a bland reflection of today's political realities.

Bibliography: There is no work *per se* that deals with the Islamic *sikka*, but in every catalogue where a coin is described the names and titles of the ruler are recorded. The material for further study is contained in the great museum catalogues, and in more specialised works which deal with a particular dynasty. There are also hundreds of articles on individual subjects.

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(R.E. Darley-Doran)

3. The Maria Theresa *thaler*.

From the mid-18th century and even amongst Bedouin and in remote parts of Ethiopia at the present time, these *thalers* have been used as a conventional, albeit unofficial, means of exchange, throughout the Arabian peninsula and in the Sudanic belt, and as far eastwards as the Maldives and Indonesia. Since the Empress Maria Theresa's death in 1780 restrikes bearing that date have been issued at different times from official mints because of continued demand for one reason or another: Rome (1935-7), London (1936-61), Bombay (1941-2), Birmingham (1949-55), Brussels (1935-7), and Paris (1937-59), and still continuously from Vienna since 1961. In addition, counter-marked official and unofficial issues have been made in the Azores, Lourenço Marques, Pemba, Djibuti, Bab al-Mandab, the Ḳuʿayṭī State of Shihr and Mukalla, Nadjd (Ibn Suʿūd, *ante* 1916 until 1923), Ḥidjāz (under Ḥusayn, Sharīf and then King of Mecca, 1916-20), the Maldives and Madura in Indonesia. In Western Africa, issues have crossed the Sahara from the Sudanic belt as far as Timbuktu, Nigeria and Dahomey. In these regions both the British and French authorities demonetised them in 1930. They have been used not only as a means of exchange but also for feminine decoration, and especially for bridal costumes; they have also served as a convenient source of bullion for manufacturing silver jewellery. Dubious restrikes have also been attributed to Florence, Leningrad, Marseilles, Utrecht and Venice.

The first German crowns were the silver *guldiners* issued by Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol in 1486, whose coinage was imitated by a number of German princes. The first *thalers* properly so-called originate from the discovery in 1518 of a silver mine by a Count von Schlick at Joachimsthal, on the border of Bohemia and Upper Austria. He obtained a licence to coin in silver, and made his first issues in 1525, denominating them *thalers*, an abbreviation of the toponym of origin. Variant spellings of this term occur in a number of European languages and in Amharic; in the Netherlands it became *daalder*, contorted into the American dollar. In Arabic, however, they are called *ḳirsh*, pl. *ḳurūsh*.

F.W. Hasluck has described in detail "the extreme remissness of the [Ottoman] Turkish Government in the matter of coinage". The quality of metal was notoriously bad, and fluctuated in quality, and neither the actual quantity of money circulated nor the denominations provided were sufficient for trade. Not only the treasury but also provincial Pashas debased the currency by the ancient double-weights trick, taking in good money at a premium and then reissuing it heavily alloyed.

Thus foreign merchants trading within the Ottoman Empire imported their own currencies for sound business reasons. These were principally from Venice, Spain, the Austrian Empire, Germany, Poland and the Netherlands. England was exceptional in forbidding the export of bullion, and generally employed Netherlands currency. An attraction for Ottoman subjects was the consistency and unvarying fineness of the coin. It was impossible to clip it because of a collar, or an inscribed, milled or patterned edge. There was also a constancy of decoration and imagery. Within the Austrian Empire, archdukes, archbishops and others issued crowns of a fixed type, and for Ottoman subjects, the imagery itself was a guarantee of genuineness. Few of them, indeed, could read the Latin inscriptions.

Spanish "pieces of eight" were first struck in 1497, and immediately entered into competition with the preceding currencies. In 1518, following its conquest, Mexico issued silver coinage, and then Peru after the conquest of 1524. Silver coinage of Spanish origins became even more plentiful after the discovery of the rich mines of Potosi in 1545. This was the situation for something like a century, until, in the mid-17th century, the Spanish royal ordinances attest "a scandalous falsification of the silver moneys coined in our Peruvian mints". It led to the total demonetisation of Spanish currency in the British colonies in the latter half of the century. In 1728 the millesimal fineness had been lowered from 930.5 to 916.6, and the weight reduced; in 1772, when a massive recoinage was carried out, the fineness was further reduced to 902.7.

The first Maria Theresa *thaler* was issued in 1751, the year of her accession. Ever since it has been consistently of 833.3 millesimal fineness, 1.553 ins in diameter, and weighing 433.14 gr. The legend is abbreviated, shown here by capital letters: obverse: Maria THERESIA Dei Gratia Romanorum IMPeratrix HUngariae et BOhemiae REGina; and, reverse: her coat-of-arms borne by a double-headed eagle, a decoration that could have appealed since it first occurs in Islamic numismatics in Artuḳid coinage, from an emblem depicted on a Byzantine tower restored by the Artuḳids at Āmid, Turkey, with their inscription dated 605/1208-9. The quarters display the arms of 1. Hungary; 2. Burgundy; 3. Bohemia; and 4. originally Upper Austria, but of Burgau in the restrike issues. The arms of Austria display a single-headed eagle only. The inscription reads: ARCHIDux AUSTriae DUX BURGundiae COmes TYRoli 1780. In the centre of the field is a shield of pretence bearing the arms of her husband, Francis, initially Duke of Lorraine, and after 1751 Duke of Milan and Holy Roman Emperor. On the edge of the flan is the inscription: JUSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA, with various decorative symbols, being the motto of her reign, making clipping impossible.

In 1764 the Günzburg mint was opened specifically to mint *thalers* for the use of bankers from Augsburg engaged in the Ottoman trade. Already in 1751 those destined for Turkey were controlled by a monopoly. The 583,250 pieces coined in 1751 had increased to 1,360,597 by 1757, and to more than 2 million by 1764. Such was the demand that issues were also authorised from Kremnitz and Karlsburg, and, later, Milan, Venice and Prague. By 1767 the traveller Carsten Niebuhr found them in Yemen. By the time that Maria Theresa died in 1780 it had become plain that coins bearing her bust were valued above all others in Arabia and Yemen. Thus in 1781 a bank-

ing firm sent a consignment of bullion to the Günzburg mint requesting *thalers* with the date 1780. Permission was given, but after 1866 Vienna held a monopoly. In the first years of the present century some 46 million pieces were minted.

It was the loss of her Italian territories in 1866 that caused Austria to reserve to herself the sole right to mint *thalers*. It was at this moment that Sir Robert Napier (later Lord Napier of Magdala) was preparing an expedition to Ethiopia to rescue beleaguered British diplomats and missionaries held by the Negus. The Vienna mint provided five million *thalers*; the British were well aware that no other currency could be acceptable in Ethiopia. It was a presage, but not foreseeable.

In 1935 Mussolini determined to conquer Ethiopia, and, on 9 July 1935 succeeded in wresting the right to mint *thalers* from Vienna. It was an intolerable position for Britain. Not only was Britain pledged to Ethiopian independence; she also had commitments to Aden and the Arabian peninsula, as well as the Persian Gulf. The matter was resolved by an international commission of jurists, who ruled that the effigy on the *thaler* was of a person already dead for 150 years, who had been sovereign of a state that had disappeared in 1918. The successor state had twice introduced new currencies, finally the *schilling*, in 1924.

It was in this way that the Tower Mint, in London, was enabled to mint more than 16 million pieces in 1941 when Britain invaded Ethiopia in order to restore the Emperor to his throne. Dies were also sent to Bombay, 8 million pieces being minted in 1940-1, and 10 million in the following year. Supplies were also needed for the Arab lands, and Birmingham also minted further supplies, some of which inexplicably reached Hong Kong. Small numbers were also manufactured in Brussels and Paris.

There were also unofficial mints. In the Ḥaḍramawt the present writer was able to pick up some fractions of *thalers* which had been manufactured locally as small change, and which were known as al-Kāf coins from a well-known family of *Sayyids*. This accords with a remark made by Sir Richard Burton in 1872, of the situation at Zanzibar in 1857, that there "are no mints, of which some sixteen exist at Maskat—private shops to which any man may carry his silver, see it broken up, and pay for the coinage whatever the workmen may charge". He says that a clutch of currencies was to be found there: "German crowns or Maria Theresa—coined in Milan, known as *Girsh Aswad*—as opposed to the Spanish or Pillar dollar *Girsh Abyaz*, or *Abu Madfa*ʿ—'Father of Cannon' from the columns, and *Girsh Maghrabi*. Also Mexican dollars ..." In 1811 Captain Smee R.N. had reported that Spanish dollars were commonly current. So far no work has been done to identify the purely local manufactures.

Regoudy is able to report a veritable curiosity, of a *trouvaille* of 672 Maria Theresa *thalers* confiscated by the French authorities from smugglers who were operating for the Front de Libération Nationale in Tunisia on 30 May 1959. They were chiefly restrikes from Rome, London, Bombay, Paris, Brussels, Vienna, Prague and Venice. Some 60% came from Rome and Bombay, suggesting that the *trouvaille* may have been formed in the 1940s in the Horn of Africa, only eventually to find its way into the hands of FLN arms dealers.

The late Francesco Carbone, when he served in the Italian legation in Yemen from 1931 until 1961, first in Ṣanʿāʾ, then in Taʿizz, assembled a remarkable collection of *thalers*. Apart from 1780 restrikes, eight pieces of Maria Theresa antedated 1780, and two of her husband, Francis III Stephen; there were a further forty-eight pieces in the name of Francis I, dating between 1810 and 1830, together with one only of Francis Joseph I, of 1853. The collection was wholly random. During the whole period of Carbone's residence, the 1780 Maria Theresa *thaler* was in normal circulation, brought up from Aden in conveniently packed boxes. The *ḳurūsh* minted in the name of the Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad never sufficed for local needs. Carbone thus abstracted the pieces not bearing the date 1780, replacing them in the Legation account with conventionally-accepted restrikes. The earlier group helps to illustrate the early popularity of the *thaler* and to show that pieces minted after 1780 not bearing Maria Theresa's name were none the less acceptable. H.G. Stride's statement that "Maria Theresa died in 1780 and that all *thalers* issued subsequently bore this date" would appear to be incorrect. In 1961 the Yemeni Government enquired of the British Legation in Taʿizz what the cost of purchasing one million Maria Theresa *thalers* would be. A quotation was passed to them: the cost of the silver was about five shillings, and the charge of the Royal Mint for manufacture at £16 per thousand pieces, the insurance and freight to be borne by the purchasers. The Yemeni Government did not proceed with the purchase. Ordinarily supplies of fresh *thalers* were introduced into circulation by Aden banks and merchants, whenever the cost of the silver, the minting charge, and insurance and freight were sufficiently below the exchange rate of the *thaler* to allow the bank a profit on the transaction.

It remains to mention what best may be described as a medal in the Carbone collection. It is a copy in gold about 1 m thick of a *thaler* issued by Francis Joseph I from the Vienna mint in 1898. It was specially minted in Ṣanʿāʾ at the mint there [see RIYĀL] by command of the Imām Yaḥyā on the occasions of his visit to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd and his pilgrimage to Mecca. Only a few were minted, for the Imām to give as presents to his friends, of whom Signor Carbone was one.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SIKKAT AL-ḤADĪD (A.), lit. "iron line", in Persian *rāh-i āhan*, in Turkish *demiryolu* (like the Persian term, meaning "iron way") and *şimendifer* (< Fr. *chemin de fer*), railway.

1. *Railway policy in Egypt and India.*

The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 marked the start of the railway era. Shortly after, plans were being laid for building railways in Egypt and India. The first Egyptian railway, between Alexandria and Cairo, was opened in 1855. George Stephenson had originally proposed it in conjunction with the direct line between Cairo and Suez, now disused, as an alternative to the Maritime Canal across the Isthmus of Suez. The main Egyptian line up the Nile from Cairo to Luxor and Aswan was added later.

In India, the first railways were evidently built for purposes other than the purely commercial. In 1846 Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, remarked of the proposed railways that "the facility of rapid concentration of infantry, artillery and stores may be the chief prevention of an insurrection". Sadly, his advice was not heeded in time to forestall the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. Three short lines, from Bombay to Kalyan (30 miles), from Calcutta to the coalfield at Raneegunge (120 miles), and from Madras to Arcot (63 miles) were opened between 1854 and 1856, but, when trouble broke out at Meerut in the next year, the extension of the Calcutta line to Delhi was only under construction, and its engineers suffered in the unrest. Not surprisingly, in subsequent years railway stations in North India were often constructed with an eye to defence: the station at Lahore, in particular, resembled a large frontier fort.

The line from Calcutta to Delhi was completed in 1864, and extended to Multan the following year. By 1869 the engineers had surmounted the obstacles of the Western Ghats behind Bombay (by risking gradients steeper than the maximum considered safe in Britain), and the main sections of the lines connecting the great ports were in place. Until then, Lord Dalhousie's policy of using a uniform broad gauge of 5 ft. 6 ins. had been strictly enforced; but under Lord Mayo's viceroyalty (1869-72) other gauges were permitted, to the regret of later operators.

These early Indian railways were essentially intended to open up the interior to international trade, especially in cotton and jute, and in this they succeeded. However, it stands to the credit of the enlightened policy of Lord Ripon that, after a sequence of disastrous famines in the late 1870s, he followed the recommendations of the Famine Commissioners that railways be constructed with an eye to the rapid movement of surplus food to regions liable to suffer shortage. A further, and perhaps unforeseen, general effect of the railways was to facilitate pilgrimage among both the Hindu and Muslim communities.

The last of the great ports of the sub-continent to be constructed and connected by railway with its hinterland (Sind and the Punjab) was Karachi. The railway from Lahore, completed to Karachi in 1872, was built primarily to serve the newly irrigated "canal colonies". In addition, however, it operated as a baseline for the narrow-gauge mountain railways which led westwards to the advance frontier posts near the border with Afghanistan—Landi Kotal, Thal, Bannu, Tank, Fort Sandeman and Chaman.

At that time, India's frontier defences were mainly in the North-West; the North-Eastern frontier with Burma was of much less concern. During the Second World War, however, the reverse was the case. During the re-conquest of Burma from the Japanese in 1943-5, the lines of communication by rail through the predominantly Muslim territory of East Bengal (later Bangladesh) were few and difficult. The line to Chittagong, which served the Arakan Front, involved a long ferry crossing of the Ganges from Goalando Ghat to Chandpur; and the track, managed by the American Army, to Manipur Road, the railhead for the Chindwin Front, could only be reached by the rail-ferry over the Brahmaputra at Amingaon.

In retrospect, the sub-continent has been well served by its railways, which aided commerce and helped to banish famine; China, by contrast, languished economically through lack of a wide network of railways.

2. *The strategic lines.*

In 1880 the Russian General Annenkov began the conquest of the Turkman steppes to the east of the Caspian Sea. A new railway was built from the harbour of Krasnovodsk to keep pace with the advance and to bring forward supplies and reinforcements. When the "Turksib" railway, coming from the north, was linked with the Trans-Caspian line in 1905 near Tashkent, the encirclement of the Muslim emirates of Central Asia [see BUKHĀRĀ, KHĪWA, KHOḲAND] was complete.

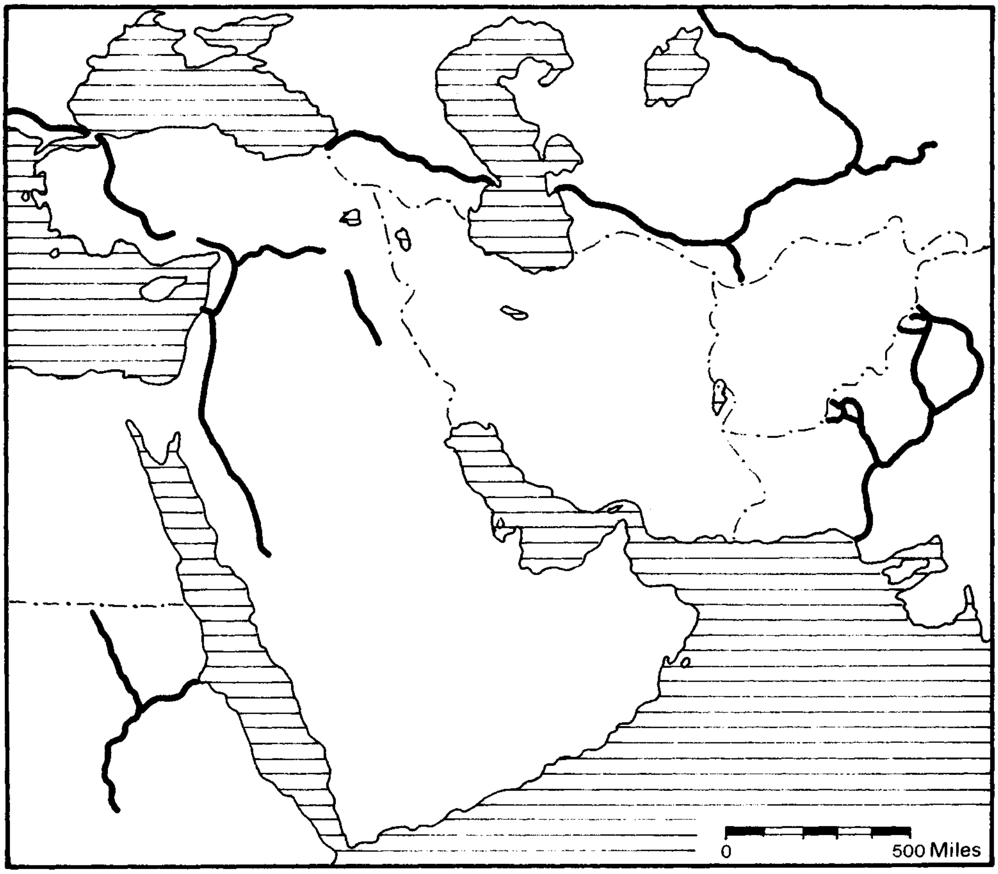
From the Trans-Caspian railway, a branch line was built in 1898 southwards from Merv to Kushka on the Afghan frontier, as a manifest threat to Herat; just as, on the opposite side of Afghanistan, the Indian line from Sukkur to Quetta and Chaman would be construed as a menace to Kandahar. In the event, neither Russia on the one side nor India (and later Pakistan) on the other had the temerity to advance a railway over the Afghan border, and, when the U.S.S.R. did eventually invade Afghanistan in 1979, the days of the strategic railway were over, and it was much easier and more efficient to use the road through the Salang Tunnel under the Hindu Kush.

In 1898 Kitchener launched his campaign of reconquest of the Sudan [see AL-MAHDIYYA] by building a supply rail-line southwards from Wadi Halfa. Atbara was reached in July 1898 and Halfaya (Khartoum North) by the end of 1899. Atbara was linked by rail to Port Sudan on the Red Sea by 1906, and Khartoum to El Obeid by way of Sennar by 1912. In the 1920s, the cotton-growing districts by the Blue Nile were served by a new loop through Kassala and Gedaref to Sennar, and in 1955 branch lines were extended into the Western Sudan as far as Darfur and El Roseires.

More ambitious than either the Russian or the Sudanese military lines was the "Berlin-Baghdād" Railway, planned by the German Empire from about 1880, to gain access to the commerce of the Black Sea, the minerals of the Middle East, and even the shipping of the Indian Ocean. The Turkish railway from Istanbul to Eskişehir, begun in 1871, fell in 1899 into German financial control as the "Ottoman Railway". It was extended to Konya, where ambitious irrigation works were also established, and a branch line across the north of the plateau reached Ankara in 1892. Concessions were also obtained for the port of Alexandretta, and for a rail link from Baghdād to Baṣra. However, at the outbreak of the First World War, there were still uncompleted sections of the Berlin-Baghdād project in Northern ʿIrāḳ and in the Taurus Mountains.

At the turn of the century, Lord Curzon in India was also planning an overland raid link from Karachi to the Mediterranean, through Baluchistan and across Central Persia by way of Kirmān to Baghdād, and thence over Syria. Only the section through Baluchistan to Duzdap (Zahidan) on the Persian frontier was ever laid, in 1917, to supply the Expeditionary Force to Persia.

Another railway line designed as an arm of empire



The Middle East—Frontiers and strategic railways, 1880-1910

was that from Aleppo to Medina, completed in 1906 to the orders of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] to stimulate pilgrimage traffic and to keep his Arab garrisons reinforced. The northern section, as far as Rayak, was laid on standard gauge, the southern (the Hijaz Railway) on a gauge of 1.05 metres. The controlled interruption of this line during the First World War by T.E. Lawrence and his Arab irregulars made it more a burden than a facility for the Turks.

The last of the "strategic" railways were laid during the First World War to support particular campaigns of the Allies, sc. the Quetta-Duzdap line just mentioned; Allenby's line from Egypt along the Palestine coast to Haifa (extended to Tripoli in the Second World War, but now abandoned to the west of El Arish near the Egyptian frontier); and the line in Mesopotamia (ʿIrāḳ) from Baṣra through Bag͟hdād to Baiji and Table Mountain.

3. *The national networks.*

After the First World War, no more strategic railways seem to have been built, doubtless partly because they had been shown in the War to be vulnerable to sabotage and air-attack, but mainly because the old empires were disintegrating into smaller national states.

The "Berlin-Bag͟hdād" line was completed, and carried the Orient Express, but its main value was as a component part of the rail networks of the several countries through which it passed. One of its sections formed part of the frontier between Turkey and Syria.

Each of the new states of the Middle East regarded the fragments of line which it inherited as part of a national network of railways centring on the capital city. The modest coastal lines built in the late 19th century by French and British companies by the shores of the Levant, in Western Asia Minor, Lebanon and Palestine, were incorporated in the new plans. Turkey added major lines to link the new capital at Ankara to the Black Sea (at Samsun, and at Ereğli by the "Coal Line"), to the southern plateau, and to the eastern Frontier (by the "Copper Line" through Diyarbekir, and along the Upper Euphrates).

Afghanistan has remained free of railways, but Iran, with the aid of oil royalties, constructed a bold framework of lines, beginning with the technically superb "Trans-Iranian" Railway of 1936, linking the Gulf with the Caspian. Eastern and Western arms join Mashhad to Tabriz through the capital, and there is also a central branch to Yazd.

In Saudi Arabia, Ibn Suʿūd in 1947-51 had a new line laid to link Riyadh with Damman on the Gulf coast. Although Saudi Arabia has surveyed the Hijaz Railway, abandoned since the end of the First World War, with an eye to reconstruction, it has so far only been re-laid within Jordan, over some 60 miles to the south of Maʿan as far as Mudawwara. Early in the Second World War a short extension of the Hijaz Line towards Aqaba was laid from Maʿan as far as Naqb Ishtar, with rails salvaged from the abandoned section. Subsequently, Aqaba has been connected by

a more southerly route with the rebuilt section of the Hijaz Railway [see further, ḤIDJĀZ RAILWAY].

Syria, too, has constructed a new railway to link the oilfields near its eastern frontier with the coast at Latakia. However, in the Middle East generally, as in Europe, roads have, since the Second World War, superseded railways as the principal means of communication.

In North Africa, the French, in the late 19th century, constructed a main rail line through Algeria from Morocco to Tunis, with branches over the Atlas Mountains to Bechar, Djelfa and Touggourt. Morocco, since gaining independence in 1965, has extended and improved its rail network, and has plans for new lines to the mining districts of the former Spanish Sahara south of Marrakesh. Libya has plans for a line along the coast, but so far has only one short line between Benghazi and Al Marj. The Tunisian line ends at Gabès, and the line along the Egyptian coast, so celebrated in the Second World War, terminates at al-Muʿarrid on the Libyan frontier, just short of Tobruk.

In Java, the Dutch completed in 1873 a short line from Samarang on the north coast to Jogjakarta on the south. This was supplemented in 1906 by a long east-west line from Batavia to Surabaya.

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(W.C. BRICE)

ṢILA (A.), lit. "connection", "what is connected".

1. In grammar.

Here the meaning is lit. "adjunct". It is a syntactical term which denotes in the grammatical literature following Sībawayhi the clause which complements such word classes termed *mawṣūl* as the relative pronouns *alladhī, man, mā, ayy-* and the subordinative *an, anna.* Its early development may be reconstructed as follows. Elements of two different Greek systems of parts of speech were imported synchronously into Arabic by the earliest Arab grammarians: an Aristotelian tripartite division of noun and verb as meaningful elements and another "meaningless" (ἄσημος) part whose function is "conjunction" (Gr. σύνδεσμος, Syr. *esarā*; and Dionysius Thrax's eight-part division, which is also dichotomised into the two major parts and the other "adjunct" parts (Syr. *nekpā*, documented in Elias of Ṭirhān). A significant Syriac modification of this division concerns the status of the article (4th part, ἄρθρον), whose absence in this language forced the native grammarians to either ignore it or annex it to the class of prepositions. In this class, *d-* is the closest to the relative function of the article ὅ and *B,D,L* represent the "oblique" accusative, genitive and dative cases respectively. In the early Arabic grammatical treatises *ṣila* and its synonyms *ḥashw, zāʾid, faḍl* and *laghw* reflect earlier formulations of the categories borrowed from the two systems of their Greek and Syriac predecessors. On the one hand, *ṣila* is a "meaningless" unit which functions as a conjunction and fills up gaps, just like σύνδεσμος in the Dionysian system or even as its sub-group, termed παραπληρωματικός (Syr. *memalyānā* = *ḥashw*), exemplified by a stock of redundant words. On the other, this category known mainly as *zāʾid* denotes the class of prepositions. It reflects the above-mentioned Syriac conception of noun cases. Sībawayhi's employment of *ṣila* as relative clause seems to have originated from identification of *alladhī* with the relative sense of ἄρθρον or its rendition in Syriac as *sharīthā/artherōn*. Al-Farrāʾ still preserved such a broader application of the term *ṣila* for relative clauses.

On the morpho-phonetic plane, *ṣila/waṣl* "conjoins" words and parts of the same word. Genetic relation with מַקֵּף was offered by Guidi. Its relation to ὑφέν (Syr. *mḥayydānā*) is not clear.

In non-grammatical literature, *ṣila* appears in its various denotations mentioned above. In two early exegetical works of the 2nd century A.H. it takes the sense and function of "redundant" words and word segments. In the Djābirian corpus *ṣilāt* and *ḥurūf al-ṣila* are both the prepositions and the prosthetic *alif.* Al-Fārābī's account of classes of particles includes *wāṣilāt* which reflects Dionysius' ἄρθρον class with the article, *alladhī*, the vocative particle and a few additions. The metrical term *ṣila* is closely related to the redundant, "gap filling" function. It appears in *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* as *ṣila* (iv, 158) and in al-Akhfash's *al-Ḳawāfī* as *waṣl* (10, 32, 81).

Bibliography: W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*; I. Guidi, *Sull'origine delle masore semitiche*, in *BISO*, i (1876-7), 430-4; F. Rundgren, *Über den griechischen Einfluß auf die arabische Nationalgrammatik*, in *AUU*, N.S. ii/5 (1976), 119-44; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī ʾl-Ḳurʾān*, i-iii, Cairo 1955-72; al-Akhfash, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, Cairo 1970; G. Goldenberg, *Alladī al-maṣdariyya*, in *ZAL*, xxviii (1994), 7-35; J.B. Segal, *The diacritical point and the accents in Syriac*, London 1953; A. Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen*, Leipzig 1907, ii, *Zur Terminologie*; C.H.M. Versteegh, *Arabic grammar and Qurʾānic exegesis in early Islam*, Leiden 1993; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, Paris 1986; H. Gätje, *Die Gliederung der sprachlichen Zeichen nach al-Fārābī*, in *Isl.*, xlvii (1971), 1-24; Fārābī, *K. al-Alfāẓ al-mustaʿmala fī ʾl-manṭiḳ*, ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut 1968.

(R. TALMON)

2. In literature.

Here, it denotes the continuation, the complement of a work (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 813). Thus it is said of the *Ṣila* of al-Farghānī (see below): "it is a book which is a continuation of the *Annales* of Ibn Djarīr" (*waṣala bihi taʾrīkh Ibn Djarīr*) (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 426/xviii, 44).

I. *The genre of complements in Arabic*

The generic term which denotes them is *mutammima* (pl. *mutammimāt*), "supplement/complement": not only *ṣila* but also *dhayl* (pl. *dhuyūl*, less frequently *adhyāl*), *fāʾit/fawāt, ikmāl, mustadrak/istidrāk, takmīl, takmila, tālī, tamām, tatimma, zawāʾid, ziyādāt*, etc. The semantic

field may be arranged in terms of the relative continuity (root *w-ṣ-l*) or discontinuity (root *f-w-t* "pass by, escape") which the work denoted by either of these titles manifests in relation to the work which it is reckoned to "complete".

Ṣila is located, in principle, in the quasi-absolute continuity of the work which it supplements. On the other hand, *fā'it* or *fawāt* connotes discontinuity in relation to the original work; furthermore, numerous books of this type are relatively ancient, dating from a period when it was still possible to produce something "new". They belong to the genre of "complement" or of *addendum* to a work, which is supposed to repair its "omissions" or errors, especially in philology.

Dhayl, like "tail", is simultaneously attached to the work of which it is the "appendix" and detached from it ("at the bottom of the work" denoted, Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 493). Thus "Ibn al-Zubayr wrote an appendix to (*dhayyala 'alā*) the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl" (al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-fahāris*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1982, i, 454). The work in question being called *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, it may be concluded from this that there is no essential difference between *ṣila* and *dhayl*, although it seems that, in certain cases, at least in historiography, a *ṣila* can be both a kind of summary or partial rewriting, with additions, of the original work and a continuation of the latter.

Mustadrak (*addendum et emendandum*) is characterised by both continuity and discontinuity: it follows the line of the original work, but amends it by means of reflection (*adraka*) on the basis of the constitutive principles of the latter. The omissions of the author of the book are corrected, especially in *ḥadīth*. *Istidrāk*, featuring particularly in philology, connotes to a greater degree the idea of "correction of errors" (see *Fihrist*, 43, ll. 20-2, on the *K. al-'Ayn: wa-ḳad istadraka 'alā 'l-Khalīl djamā'a ... wa-huwa muhmal*).

Takmila expresses the idea of completion with a moral connotation; furthermore, with one exception, the works bearing this title are fairly late. In principle, it should be less the continuation of an original work than its complement, its perfection; but it is not always so, and this can also be a continuation (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 489). *Takmilat al-Ṣila* and *Ṣilat al-Takmila* are both encountered. Sometimes the notions of "continuation/appendix" and of "complement" are combined in the same title in the form; *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila li-Kitābay al-Mawṣūl wa 'l-Ṣila*. The same work may be described by *dhayl*, *istidrāk*, *mustadrak*, *takmila*, or *ikmāl* (see below, the *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*. It may be noted that with the passage of time, the precise sense of these terms is lost, and nuances tend to vanish.

Ẓiyāda/*ziyādāt* refers to the quantitative rather than to the qualitative; it is no accident that this title is encountered especially in the *furū'* of law and in lexicography: all that can be added here are cases; otherwise, the rules are being broken. It seems that with *zawā'id* it is once again an issue of discontinuity, but without taking a stand (eight titles in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Yaltkaya, ii, 906-7: eight, without counting those which feature under the entry of a work or of a genre; Brockelmann, S III, 1164: five; three in Sezgin, i, 922), especially for compilations of *ḥadīth* and in law.

Not all the works intitled *ṣila* belong to the category of "continuation". Thus *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf* by al-Rūdānī (d. 1094/1683; Brockelmann, II, 459), ed. M. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1988, is an index of the works which he has received permission to transmit. Other examples: Sezgin, viii, 84_{11}; Brockelmann, I, 360_6, S I, 612; *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, ii, 70).

In historiography, it is probable that *ṣilas* first appeared in the earlier half of the 4th/10th century; see below, II. But it seems that in philology the date can be pushed back in time considerably as regards the other titles (*fā'it*, *istidrāk*, *ziyādāt*); see below, III.

II. *Historiography, bio-bibliography and onomastics*

It is in this literature that the genre of "continuations"/"complements" (*ṣila*, *dhayl*, *takmila*) is the most abundant.

(a) *"Universal" or dynastic chronicles*. Al-Farghānī (Abū Muḥammad) continued the *Annales* of al-Ṭabarī: Sezgin, i, 337 (two fragments surviving). Abū Manṣūr al-Farghānī (d. 398/1007) continued his father's *Ṣila* (Yaḳūt, *Udabā'*, ed. Rifā'ī, iii, 106; *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 70: "The Continuation of the Appendix to the *Annales* of al-Ṭabarī"). Other complements to the *Annales* have come to light, such as that of 'Arīb al-Ḳurṭubī [*q.v.*], ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1897/*Ṣilat Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, in *Dhuyūl Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 10-184, years 291-320/903-32, which combines a partial re-working for the years 291 to 302 with the continuation proper for the remaining years to 320. The same was done, in an identical way, by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī (d. 521/1127) in his *Takmilat Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī* (years 295-367/907-77) which he wrote on the instructions of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir (*Dhuyūl Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 185-489). The complement of Thābit b. Sinān (d. 363/974) carried on until 360/970; that of Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (Brockelmann, I, 324; S I, 556), until 447/1055; that of his son, Ghars al-Ni'ma al-Ṣābi' (d. 480/1087), intitled *'Uyūn al-tawārīkh*, until 479/1086. To be noted finally is that of al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn b. al-Kāmil al-Ayyūbī (d. 647/1249?). Many of these texts do not seem to have survived in manuscript form; others have, but are incomplete: Brockelmann, S I, 217; Sezgin, i, 327; Rosenthal, 81-3.

The universal history, from the Creation to the beginning of 654/1256, intitled *Mir'āt al-zamān* by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] has also been the object of several "continuations" (*dhayls*: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1647-8; Brockelmann, I; 347; S I, 589), including that of al-Yūnīnī (see *Bibl.*).

The book by Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349 [*q.v.*], *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar*, also known as *Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Wardī*, is a summary and a continuation for the years 729-49/1329-49 of *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār* [*ta'rīkh*] *al-bashar* by Abu 'l-Fidā' [*q.v.*]: besides the ancient editions, Nadjaf 1969^2; A.R. al-Badrāwī, Beirut 1970.

As for Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448 [*q.v.*], Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa attributes to him a *Dhayl Tawārīkh al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dhahabī wa 'l-Birzālī wa-Ibn Kathīr* (Brockelmann, II, 51, S II, 50). Darwīsh, ii, 27, distinguishes between: (i) *K. al-I'lām bi-ta'rīkh al-islām*, extract from the *History* of al-Dhahabī, with complements drawn from the *Histories* of Ibn Kathīr and of al-Kutubī (years 300-792/912-1390; (ii) *al-Dhayl al-muṭawwal*, from 741/1340, where al-Dhahabī comes to a halt in the *'Ibar*, a complement and a rectification to that which has been omitted by al-Birzālī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Rāfi', etc., with a supplement up until 810/1408; (iii) *Ta'rīkh Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba*, a summary of the above-mentioned *Dhayl*, which concludes in 808/1406 (see *Bibl.*); and (iv) *Mukhtaṣar Mukhtaṣar al-Dhayl*.

Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268 [*q.v.*] continued *al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, in his *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1947, Beirut 1974.

(b) *Local chronicles*. The *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was continued by al-Sam'āni (d. 562/1167) in *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, which comprised fifteen volumes (surviving extracts, Brockelmann, I, 330, S I, 565; Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, i, 288). It was expanded by Ibn al-Dubaythī (d. 637/1239; Brockelmann and Ḥādjdjī

Khalīfa, *ibid.*), in *Dhayl Madīnat al-salām*, ed. B. ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, Baghdād 1974. The *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* by Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*], Brockelmann, I, 360, S I, 613; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 288) has survived only in part: i-iv, ed. C.E. Farah *et alii*, Ḥaydarābād 1978-86; M.M. Khalaf, 31-46. As for *al-Mustafād min Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (see *Bibl.*) by Ibn al-Dimyāṭī (Shihāb al-Dīn, d. 749/1348), this is a summary of the preceding.

Similarly, the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk* of Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*] was furnished with an incomplete *dhayl* by his son al-Ḳāsim (d. 600/1203). Also worthy of mention are the *dhayls* of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 656/1258) and of ʿUmar b. al-Ḥādjib (d. 630/1233). Abū Shāma made a summary of this chronicle: *Taʾrīkh Abī Shāma* prolonged (*fi ʾl-dhayl ʿalayhi*) until the year of his death (Brockelmann, I, 331). Al-Birzālī (ʿAlam al-Dīn, d. 739/1338) completed it in *al-Muktafā li-Taʾrīkh Abī Shāma*, or *Wafayāt al-Birzālī* (Brockelmann, S II, 35). As for Ibn Rāfiʿ (d. 774/1372), he composed a *dhayl*, years 737-74/1336-73, to the work of al-Birzālī: *Wafayāt Ibn Rāfiʿ* (Brockelmann, II, 33, S II, 30; S.M. ʿAbbās, 47) which has been edited (see *Bibl.*). The *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (d. 555/1160 [*q.v.*] or *Dhayl al-Taʾrīkh al-Dimashkī*, sometimes considered on account of this title a continuation of the *History* of Ibn ʿAsākir, or that of the lost *History* of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, is in fact neither one nor the other (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 294).

Other local histories have also been continued: the *History* of Aleppo by Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*] (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 291-2), *Taʾrīkh Bukhārā* by Ghundjār (Sezgin, i, 353), the histories of Medina (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 302-3), *Taʾrīkh Naysābūr* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, d. 404/1014 [*q.v.*] (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 308), *Taʾrīkh Samarkand* by al-Mustaghfirī (Sezgin, i, 353), etc.

(c) *Biography and onomastics.* While the preceding works also contain biographical notices, others exist in which the biographical aspect is dominant. Many of them have had a substantial lineage. The obituary register compiled by Ibn Zabr al-Rabaʿī (d. 379/989), *Wafayāt al-nakala/Taʾrīkh mawālid al-ʿulamāʾ wa-wafayātihim* (Brockelmann, S I, 280), covering the period from the Hidjra to the year 338/949, was continued with an appendix contributed by his pupil, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kattānī (d. 466/1073), as far as the year of the latter's death, in turn supplemented by the contribution of his pupil al-Akfānī (d. 524/1130): *Djāmiʿ al-wafayāt*, as far as the year 485/1092, supplemented by that of ʿAlī b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Makdisī (d. 611/1214; Brockelmann, I, 366), who completed the work of his predecessor as far as 581/1185. All these works bear the title of *Wafayāt*; although their titles make no mention of *ṣila* or any equivalent term, they are nevertheless "continuations". The *Takmilat Wafayāt al-nakala*, 4 vols. ed. B. ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, Beirut 1984[3] (Baghdād, 1967[1]), by al-Mundhirī (ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, d. 656/1256) continues the last-mentioned appendix, from 581/1185 to 642/1244. Ibn al-Ḥalabī (ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī; d. 695/1295) continued (*dhayl*) the work of his master al-Mundhirī until 674/1275 and perhaps even until the year of his death: *Ṣilat al-Takmila li-wafayāt al-nakala* (autograph ms.): R. Sellheim, *ʿIzzaddīn al-Ḥusainīs Autograph seiner Ṣilat al-Takmila*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii (1992), 156-80. Ibn al-Dimyāṭī composed an appendix to the preceding, and Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 806/1404) supplied one to that of Ibn al-Dimyāṭī. The son of al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāḳī, Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳi (d. 826/1243), continued in his turn his father's work. For the overall scheme, see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 2019-20; S.M. ʿAbbās, i, 58-60.

The *Obituary of famous men* by Ibn Khallikān [*q.v.*] has also experienced a pedigree, although less extensive. It was continued for the years 658/1259 to 725/1325 by the Christian Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī (d. 726/1326) in his *Tālī K. Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. and tr. J. Sublet, Damascus 1974, then by al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) in his *Dhayl al-Wafayāt*.; Brockelmann, S I, 561; Sublet, *op. cit.*, p. xi, n. 1. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363) wrote a supplement to it: *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* [*wa ʾl-dhayl ʿalayhā*], 5 vols. ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4. One of the latest of these complements is the *Durrat al-ḥidjāl* of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī [*q.v.*].

Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1449) wrote an appendix to his *al-Durar al-kāmina* (alphabetical order, 8th/14th century), *Dhayl al-Durar*, ed. ʿA. Darwīsh, Cairo 1992 (obituary years 801-32/1408-29); Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxii, no. 190.

As for al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), his *K. al-ʿIbar* was supplied with a *Dhayl* composed by himself for the years 701-40/1301-39 (ed. M. Rashād ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Kuwait 1970, with the *Dhayl* following). His disciple, Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765/1354) pursued this work in his *Dhayl al-ʿIbar* (years 741-64/1340-62). (The whole, *al-ʿIbar* with the two *Dhayls*, ed. Abū Hādjir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd b. Basyūnī Zaghlūl, 4 vols. Beirut 1985.) His son Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 791/1389) continued this work until 785/1383. Ibn Sanad al-Lakhmī (d. 792/1390) in his turn completed the *Dhayl* of Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī from 763 to *ca.* 780. Then Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳi wrote his *Dhayl*, following on directly from that of al-Dhahabī (years 741-63/1340-62); his son Walī al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī completed his father's work (years 762-86/1361-84) in his *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 3 vols., ed. S.M. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1989. As for Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, he wrote a *Dhayl* on that of Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī. For an overall view, see Brockelmann, II, 47, S II, 46; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1123-4; Introd. by S.M. ʿAbbās to the ed. of al-ʿIraki's *Dhayl*. The *Tadhkirat* (or *Ṭabaḳāt*) *al-ḥuffāẓ* has also been the object of appendices: *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī; *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ bi-Dhayl Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ* by Ibn Fahd (Taḳī al-Dīn, d. 871/1466); *Dhayl Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ* by al-Suyūṭī; all three ed. Rafīʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, Damascus 1347/1928, repr. Baghdād 1968, and Beirut n.d. Brockelmann, S II, 46; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1097.

Among the books on the classes of scholars, Ibn Radjab (d. 795/1392) wrote *al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanabila*, ed. H. Laoust and Sāmī al-Dahhān, i, Damascus 1951, i-ii, Cairo 1952-3, a continuation of the work of Ibn al-Farrāʾ (Ibn Abī Yaʿla, d. 526/1133). Al-Maṭarī al-ʿAbbādī (d. 765/1364: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, no. 1355; Kaḥḥāla, vi, 108-9) wrote *Dhayl Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, ed. Hāshim and ʿAzab, Cairo 1993; Gilliot in *MIDEO*, xxii (1995), and corrs. in *MIDEO*, xxiii (1996).

The *Dhayl Rafʿ al-iṣr* or *Bughyat al-ʿulamāʾ wa ʾl-ruwāt* by al-Sakhāwī, ed. Djawdat Hilāl and M. Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ, Cairo 1966, is an *addendum* to what was omitted by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī in his *Rafʿ al-iṣr ʿan ḳuḍāt Miṣr*. The *Dhayl al-taḳyīd li-maʿrifat ruwāt al-sunan wa ʾl-masānīd* by Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī al-Makkī (d. 832/1428), ms. DK 198, *muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth*, is a supplement to the *Taḳyīd* of Ibn Nuḳta (d. 629/1231).

Muslim Spain has also produced a series in the genre. Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183 [*q.v.*]) wrote a "sequel" to the *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Faraḍī which he intitled *al-Ṣila fī Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*. Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) continued this work in *al-Takmila li-K. al-Ṣila*. Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308 [*q.v.*]) composed a sequel to the *Takmila* which he intitled *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-

Marrākus̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] wrote a complement/supplement to the works of Ibn al-Faraḍī and of Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl: see *Bibl.*; M. Meouak, *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* (1985-7) [1989], 61-96.

The onomastic literature which specialises in the identification and correct writing of the proper names of traditionists and scholars likewise shows no lack of supplements. Thus the *Tālī al-Talk̲h̲īṣ*, sometimes called *Bāḳī al-Talk̲h̲īṣ* (2 mss.; al-S̲h̲ihābī, 42) of al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, is an appendix to his *Talk̲h̲īṣ al-Mutas̲h̲ābih*, 2 vols. ed. S. al-S̲h̲ihābī, Damascus 1985, on the correct orthography of the names of traditionists. The same author wrote a complement to *al-Mu'talif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif* of al-Dāraḳuṭnī which he intitled *al-Mu'tanif fī takmilat al-Mu'talif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif*; Brockelmann, I, 329, S I, 564; Muwaffaḳ b. 'Al. b. 'Aḳ., 73_{17}. Ibn Mākūlā (d. 487/1094 [*q.v.*]) added considerably to the materials collected by al-Dāraḳuṭnī, and this in *al-Ikmāl*. Ibn Nuḳta composed a *d̲h̲ayl* to this work: *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl* (*al-Istidrāk/al-Mustadrak 'alā/Takmilat al-Ikmāl*) ed. 'Abd al-Ḳayyūm 'Abd Rabb al-Nabī, Mecca, Umm al-Ḳurā Univ. (date?). Ibn al-Ṣābūnī (D̲j̲amal al-Dīn, d. 680/1281) completed this last work in *Takmilat Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, ed. M. D̲j̲awād, Bag̲h̲dād 1957, Beirut 1986 (Brockelmann, I, 355, S I, 602; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ii, 1637; Muwaffaḳ b. 'Al. b. 'Aḳ., 73-8). Also worth mentioning is *al-Ẓiyādāt fī K. al-Mu'talif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif li-'Abd al-G̲h̲anī* [al-Azdī, d. 409/1018] by al-Mustag̲h̲firī (d. 432/1040); Sezgin, i, 353; Muwaffaḳ b. 'Al. b. 'Aḳ., 72_{11}. In the same context, Ibn Rāfi' is the author of an appendix to *al-Mus̲h̲tabih fi 'l-rid̲j̲āl* of al-D̲h̲ahabī: *D̲h̲ayl Mus̲h̲tabih al-nisba*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Beirut 1974.

III. *Language and literature*

In lexicography, the *K. al-'Ayn* of al-K̲h̲alīl was completed and amended by its author in the *K. Fā'it al-'Ayn; Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 43, l. 26; Sezgin, viii, 54. Numerous *al-Istidrak 'alā K. al-'Ayn* are attested by al-Naḍr b. S̲h̲umayl (d. 203/818; Sezgin, viii, 54_3), al-Mu'arrid̲j̲ al-Sadūsī (d. after 204/819; Sezgin,viii, 60), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933; Sezgin, viii, 103), al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989); Sezgin, viii, 255: *Istidrāk al-g̲h̲alaṭ al-wāḳi' fī K. al-'Ayn*, also *al-Mustadrak min al-ziyāda fī K. al-Bāri' li-Abī 'Alī al-Bag̲h̲dādī* [i.e. al-Ḳālī] *'alā K. al-'Ayn*, according to Ibn K̲h̲ayr, *Fahrasa*, 350. Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid also wrote a *K. Fā'it al-'Ayn*; Sezgin, viii, 55_{10}. Abū Ḥāmid al-K̲h̲ārzand̲j̲ī (d. 348/959) composed the *Takmilat K. al-'Ayn*; Sezgin, viii, 195-6.

The *G̲h̲arīb al-muṣannaf* of Abū 'Ubayd has been the object of *addenda: Ẓiyādāt fī G̲h̲arīb al-muṣannaf* by S̲h̲amir d. Ḥamdawayh (d. 255/869; Sezgin, viii, 83); *K. Ẓiyādat al-G̲h̲arīb al-muṣannaf* or *Ẓiyādāt K. al-Mu'allaf li-Abī 'Ubayd* by al-Mund̲h̲irī (d. 329/941; Sezgin, viii, 195). The same was the author of the *K. Ẓiyādāt G̲h̲arīb al-ḥadīt̲h̲ li-Abī 'Ubayd* and of the *K. Ẓiyādāt Ma'ānī 'l-Ḳur'ān li 'l-Farrā'* (*ibid.*).

The *K. al-Faṣīḥ* of T̲h̲a'lab (d. 291/904) was also the object of complements and of *emendanda: Ẓiyādāt al-Faṣīḥ* by al-D̲j̲a'd al-S̲h̲aybānī (d. *ca.* 320/922; ms. Princeton; Sezgin, viii, 142, 175). *Fā'it al-Faṣīḥ* by Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid (d. 345/957), ed. Aḥmad, Cairo 1986[2]; Sezgin, viii, 156; Gilliot in *MIDEO*, xix, no. 5. *Tamām Faṣīḥ al-kalām* by Ibn Fāris (395/1005), ed. I. al-Samarrā'ī, in *MM'I'I*, xxi (1971), 160-95; Sezgin, viii, 212_6. *D̲h̲ayl Faṣīḥ al-kalām* by al-G̲h̲aznawī (Abu 'l-Fawā'id, wrote 442/1050); Sezgin, viii, 143_{19}. *D̲h̲ayl al-Faṣīḥ* by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bag̲h̲dādī (d. 629/1231), ed. al-K̲h̲afād̲j̲ī, in *Faṣīḥ T̲h̲a'lab wa 'l-s̲h̲urūḥ allatī 'alayhi*, Cairo 1949; Sezgin, viii, 143-4.

The *Tād̲j̲ al-lug̲h̲a wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabiyya* by al-D̲j̲awharī [*q.v.*] has engaged the attention of numerous authors (Sezgin, viii, 215-24), and two works at least are relevant to this study: that of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṣāg̲h̲ānī (d. 647/1249 or 651), *al-Takmila wa 'l-d̲h̲ayl wa 'l-ṣila* (Sezgin, vii, 219_{15}), 7 vols. ed. 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Ṭaḥāwī *et alii*, Cairo 1970-9: Anawati, in *MIDEO*, xiii (1977), no. 5, and that of al-Basṭī (wrote 622/1225), *Takmilat Ḥās̲h̲iyat Ibn Barrī* which is lost: Sezgin, viii, 218_{9c}. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), for his part, is the author of *al-Takmila wa 'l-d̲h̲ayl wa 'l-ṣila* [*limā fāta ṣāḥib al-Ḳāmūs min al-lug̲h̲a*], 7 vols. ed. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥid̲j̲āzi *et alii*, Cairo 1986-90, which includes many additions not found in the *Tād̲j̲ al-'arūs*, especially regarding proper names, names of tribes and of places, and, remarkably, Egyptian dialectal forms indicated as such: Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xx (1991), no. 2; for an overall assessment, in lexicography, see J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexicographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38.

In grammar, the *K. al-Mut̲h̲allat̲h̲* on the forms *fa'l, fi'l and fu'l* by Ḳutrub (d. 206/821) was completed by Abū Ḥabīb Tammām b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Lak̲h̲mī (?) in his *Takmila* (ed. Ḥ.S̲h̲. Farhūd, Cairo 1969; Riyāḍ 1981; Kāẓim Baḥr al-Mard̲j̲ān, Cairo, Faculty of Letters, 1972); Sezgin, viii, 65_{10}. Abū 'Ali al-Fārisī (377/987) wrote a complement to his own *K. al-Īḍāḥ* called *al-Takmila*. While the first of these deals with syntax, the subject of the second is morphology (*ṣarf/taṣrīf*): P. Larcher, in *Arabica*, xl (1993), 250.

Al-D̲j̲awālīḳī [*q.v.*] composed a book concerning incorrect locutions called *al-Takmila fīma yalḥan fīhi al-'āmma*, also known as *Tatimmat Durrat al-g̲h̲awwāṣ*, *The book of solecisms* (Brockelmann, I, 280, for the Derenbourg and Tanūk̲h̲ī editions). It is often presented as an appendix to *Durrat al-g̲h̲awwāṣ* by al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*] but is in fact a complement to works of the genre. He is also the author of *Takmilat Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (Sezgin, viii, 132) which is lost. Al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī (d. 337/949) had already written *al-Istidrāk 'alā Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*: Sezgin, viii, 105.

In *adab*, Abū 'Alī al-Ḳālī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) wrote an appendix to his *Amālī*, the *D̲h̲ayl al-Amālī*, Cairo 1344/1926. To Abū Manṣūr al-T̲h̲a'ālibī (d. 429/1038 [*q.v.*]) is owed a complement to his own *Yatīma*, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (or *al-Yatīma al-t̲h̲āniya*; Brockelmann, S I, 499), ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1353/1934; ed. Mufīd M. Ḳumayḥa, Beirut 1983.

The author declares (p. 8) that he composed it and gave it this title because many things had escaped him in the two versions of the *Yatīma* [*al-dahr*]. Al-Bāk̲h̲arzī (d. 467/1975 [*q.v.*]) in his turn continued the *Yatīma* for the poets of the 5th/11th century, until 450/1058, in *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* [*wa-'uṣrat ahl as-'aṣr*]. Al-Ak̲h̲sīkat̲h̲ī (d. 528/1134) composed a commentary on the *Saḳṭ al-zand* of al-Ma'arrī: *al-Ẓawā'id* [*fī s̲h̲arḥ Saḳṭ al-zand*]; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, ii, 906, 993, ll. 1-3.

Al-Sakallī al-Mag̲h̲ribī is the author of *al-Takmila wa-s̲h̲arḥ al-abyāt al-mus̲h̲kila min Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutannabī*, ed. Anwar Abū Suwaylam, 'Ammān 1935: Sezgin, ii, 595.

Ḥadīt̲h̲ and law

In this domain, there are no *ṣilas* as such, but there are complements and corrections (*mustadrak*), and *addenda* (*ziyādāt, zawā'id*). Thus al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī wrote *al-Mustadrak 'alā 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn* ("Complement to the two authentic collections") with the object of including prophetic traditions omitted by al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim which, according to him, conform to the conditions of acceptance (*s̲h̲urūṭ*) determined by them; al-D̲h̲ahabī checked, completed and amended this work in *al-Mustadrak 'alā 'l-Mustadrak*: Sezgin, i, 221. Abū D̲h̲arr al-Harawī (Ibn al-Sammāk, d. 435/1042) is also the

author of a *Mustadrak ʿalā ʾl-Ṣaḥīḥayn*: al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xvii, 559. Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) also completed Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in *al-Mustadrak ʿala Saḥīḥ Muslim*: *op. cit.*, xvii, 462.

Still in the context of *ḥadīth*, Nūr al-Dīn al-Haytamī (d. 807/1405; Brockelmann, II, 76; not to be confused with Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥadjar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567 [*q.v.*]) wrote his *Zawāʾid Ibn Mādja ʿalā ʾl-kutub al-khamsa*: Brockelmann, S II, 82; Sezgin, i, 148: *Zawāʾid ʿalā ʾl-kutub al-khamsa*. But he also wrote *Zawāʾid* on the *Musnads* of Ibn Ḥanbal, of Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (d. 292/905; Sezgin, i, 162), of Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919; Sezgin, i, 170-1) and on the *Dictionaries of traditions* (the three *Muʿdjams*; Sezgin, i, 196: *Ziyādāt Muʿdjama al-Ṭabarānī*, i.e. *al-Awsaṭ* and *al-Ṣaghīr* together, according to the author in his introd., i, 11) of al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). He combines them and makes them into a single work, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid*, numerous eds. or reprs., including 9 vols. Beirut 1986; Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxiii (1996), no. 71.

The son of Ibn Ḥanbal, ʿAbd Allāh, made additions to his father's *Musnad*, known as *Ziyādāt* [*Zawāʾid*] *al-Musnad*; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xi, 75; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1680, l. 9. He is also the author of a supplement to his father's *K. al-Zuhd*, *Zawāʾid al-Zuhd*, mentioned in al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 256, l. 6, *ubi leg.* ʿAbd Allāh, *not* Aḥmad; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 957. Al-Haytamī wrote *Ghāyat al-maḳṣad fī zawāʾid al-Musnad*: Brockelmann, I, 182.

In Ḥanafī law, al-Shaybānī (d. 189/80) is the author of *al-Ziyādāt* and *Ziyādāt al-Ziyādāt* which are *addenda* to his *Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* [*fi ʾl-furūʿ*]: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 962-4, with the list of other *ziyādāt* and *addenda* of *addenda*; Spies, 240-1; Sezgin, i, 422-3. In Shāfiʿī law, *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī (264/877) was completed by Ibn al-Mundhir al-Naysābūrī (d. 318/930) in his *Ziyādāt*: Sezgin, i, 493. Ibn Ziyād al-Naysābūrī (d. 324/936) wrote *Ziyādāt, K. al-Muzanī*: al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1981, 113. Al-ʿAbbādī [*q.v.*] is the author of *al-Ziyādāt* [*fi ʾl-furūʿ al-shāfiʿiyya*], of *al-Ziyāda ʿalā ʾl-Ziyādāt* and of *al-Ziyāda ʿalā Ziyādat al-Ziyādāt*: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 964; G. Vitestam, Introd. to al-ʿAbbādī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyya*, Leiden 1964, 6. In Zaydī law, al-Murādī (d. 290/903) transmitted and completed the *Amālī* of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd (d. 247/861) in *Ziyādāt al-Amālī*: Sezgin, i, 563.

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(CL. GILLIOT)

3. In the sense of a gift.

Here it is often found in the more restricted sense of reward and remuneration; it is thus ubiquitous in stories in which payment of a panegyrist for his poem is mentioned. For the contexts of gift-giving in general, see the various sections of HIBA. The word *ṣila* is the *maṣdar* of the doubly transitive verb *waṣalahu ṣilat^{an}*, "he gave him a present/reward". The underlying notion of using the root *w-ṣ-l* "to connect" to express the idea of "gift" is said to be either "that by which the giver establishes a connection with the recipient" or "that by which the recipient's livelihood is continued" (*LʿA*, xi, 728a-b). A synonym of *ṣila* is *djāʾiza*, with the concomitant verb *adjāza*. For an *awāʾil* story about the origin of the term *djāʾiza*, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 392. (ED.)

AL-SILAFĪ, AL-ḤĀFIẒ ABŪ ṬĀHIR, *shuhra* of the Shāfiʿī traditionist al-Ḥāfiẓ Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (Silafa) al-Iṣfahānī al-Djarwānī (from Djarwān, a quarter of Iṣfahān) al-Iskandarānī. He was born in Iṣfahān in 472/1078-9 (or 474, 475, 478), and died on 5 Rabīʿ II 576/28 August 1180, in Alexandria (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xxi, 5-7). Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v., gives an abridged genealogy of his name, making Silafa the agnomen of his grandfather Muḥammad. It should be noted that he signed himself sometimes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Silafa, sometimes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (Zaman, *Silafī's biography*, 3). According to different versions, he died at 98, or 106 years of age; whatever the case, he is classed among the excessively long-lived (al-Dhahabī, *Ahl al-miʾa*, 134) but also as one of the "cyclical renovators" (*mudjaddids* [*q.v.*], in partnership with al-Ghazālī (E. Landau-Tasseron, in *St. Isl.*, lxx [1989], 95). The origin of his attributive name poses a problem.

According to some, Silafa was the agnomen of his great-great-grandfather Ibrāhīm, the expression signifying in Persian "the man with three lips" (*silabi*, from *si* "three", and *lab* "lip"), since he had a cleft lip, according to Abū Ṭāhir. For others, and again according to Abū Ṭāhir himself, his grandparents allegedly belonged to a clan of the Ḥimyarī tribe, the Banū Silafa. There is little support for a third hypothesis, according to which this name would have derived from a quarter of Iṣfahān known as Silafa (Ibn Khallikān, i, 107, who was in contact with a number of his disciples in Egypt and in Syria; Ibn Mākūlā, iv, no. 1, 468-70; al-Zabīdī, *Takmila*, v, 78-9; Zaman, *art. cit.*, 1-3). Also called al-Silafī is his grandson, the traditionist Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥāsib Makkī al-Ṭarābulusī al-Iskandarānī (al-Sibṭ, i.e. *sibṭ* al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī Ṭāhir, d. 651/1253; *Siyar*, xxiii, 278-9). It is said that the traditionist Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṣaydalānī (d. 568/1173; *Siyar*, xx, 530-1) was also described as al-Silafī because the name (nickname?) of his grandfather was Silafa (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tabṣīr*, ii, 738).

Abū Ṭāhir's grandfather was a Ṣūfī, a disciple of al-Sayyid al-Zāhid Abū Hāshim al-ʿAlawī; his father, for his part, was a traditionist of some renown, a disciple of Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī (al-Mubārak b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, d. 500/11-7; *Siyar*, xix, 213-16, and also one of Abū Ṭāhir's teachers in Baghdād. The fact that Iṣfahān was his birthplace was not to prove inconsequential in the intellectual destiny of the great traditionist that Abū Ṭāhir became, if it is true that "No city has produced so many scholars and masters in all disciplines, especially having regard to the high quality of chains of authority (*ʿuluww al-isnād*, i.e. the least possible number of transmitters in a chain), for people there live long; furthermore, they have a pronounced

interest in the audition (*samā*ʿ) of *ḥadīth*, and the great masters of *ḥadīth* (*ḥuffāẓ*) are innumerable there" (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1955, i, 209a). It was the favoured residence of the great Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] during the infancy of the subject of this article; the ruler even founded a *madrasa* there and was buried in its precincts.

His first experience of audition of *ḥadīth* in the city of his birth was owed to Rizḳ Allāh al-Tamīmī al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 488/1095). He also attended the classes of other scholars of Iṣfahān, including al-Ḳāsim b. al-Faḍl al-Thaḳafī (*al-ra*ʾ*īs, al-musnid*, d. 489/1096). It was also there that he received instruction in reading the Ḳurʾān. He was indebted for his education to his father (d. 498/1104-5) with whom he performed the Pilgrimage in 497. The number of teachers whose courses he attended in Iṣfahān is said to have exceeded six hundred. He also composed a dictionary of his authorities in this city entitled *Mu*ʿ*djam Iṣfahān/al-Safīna al-iṣfahāniyya* (al-Biḳāʿī, no. 1); al-Dhahabī quotes this (lost) work on numerous occasions, as well as borrowing from it without acknowledgement.

The Pilgrimage was an opportunity for him to profit by acquaintance with the masters of Mecca and Medina; he pursued the same objective in Kūfa and in Baghdād, where he stayed until 500/1106-7. It was there that he attended courses in *fiḳh* given by the leading Shāfiʿīs of the Niẓāmiyya; Ilkiyā al-Ṭabarī (d. 505/1111), Abū Bakr al-Shāshī (d. 507/1114), the classes of Abū Zakariyyā al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109 [*q.v.*]) and of ʿAlī al-Faṣīḥī (d. 516/1123) at the same school, as well as those of Ibn Fākhir (Abu 'l-Karam al-Mubārak, d. 505/1112) in language and in *adab*. The same year, he made his way to Baṣra and then to Wāsiṭ. In 509/1115-16 he was in Damascus, where he stayed for some time (Ibn ʿAsākir, vii, 179-80; al-Biḳāʿī, 7-8). It was there that he encountered Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 524/1130), and also there that he composed a summary of the *K. Makārim al-akhlāḳ* of al-Kharāʾiṭī on the basis of the original, then verified his text with a recitation before ʿAlī b. Muslim al-Sulamī (Djamāl al-Islām, d. 533/1138-9), al-Ghazālī's master, in 511 (below, no. 7; Ḥāfiẓ, 13-14, on the two modes of *intiḳā*ʾ). The list given by al-Dhahabī of the masters from whom he received his education, including women, is vast. That of his disciples, especially in Alexandria, is no less impressive.

The same year (511/1117-18), he embarked at Tyre for Alexandria, where he settled and remained until his death, a period of sixty-five years, and this not only at the solicitation of the scholars of this town but also because he married a wealthy local lady who placed her fortune at his disposal (Ibn ʿAsākir, *ibid.*; *Siyar*, xxi, 25). Furthermore, Ibn Sallār al-ʿĀdil had a school and a religious institution constructed on his behalf. The choice of Alexandria was quasi-strategic, since there he could meet Muslim intellectuals of East and West (for example, al-Tudjībī of Tlemcen (d. 610/1212-13), who, according to his prediction, was to be the principal traditionist of the Maghrib; al-Kattānī, 264) without leaving his domicile, and this purpose was duly achieved (I. ʿAbbās, 8; al-Biḳāʿī, 10). He left Alexandria only once, for a journey to Cairo in 517/1123-4 (although according to one source he was in residence there from 515 to 517: Ṭarābīshī, 13 no. 1). His library was impressive, since he invested all his property in the acquisition of literature, but it was discovered after his death that these volumes had been seriously damaged by the humidity of Alexandria.

His eminence as a great traditionist (*ḥāfiẓ*) is demonstrated, in particular, by the countless fascicles (*djuz*ʾ), collections of traditions, which he left behind in the form of audition, reading or of dictation (below, no. 15); they are sometimes called *al-Adjzā*ʾ *al-Silafiyyāt* or *al-Silafiyyāt* which exceeded, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, nos. 4093, 7216/ed. Yaltkaya, i, 587, ii, 996, a hundred. They were established on the basis of source-texts (*uṣūl*) of Baghdādīs such as al-Anmāṭī (d. 538/1143) or al-Ṭuyūrī (above, below no. 13) and others. In common with numerous other scholars, he devoted a collection to the "Tradition of Mercy" (*ḥadīth al-raḥma*), "Those who are merciful, the Merciful One shows them mercy; show mercy to those who are on the earth, and those who are in the Heavens will show you mercy" (al-Kattānī, 94).

His renown extended far beyond that of a traditionist and a writer, since it is impossible to count the number of times that he appears in certificates of audition (*samā*ʿ*āt*) or of reading, or in licences of transmission (*idjāzāt*) (see G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture*..., Paris 1957, 70, index; al-Rūdānī, *Ṣilat al-khalaf bi-mawṣūl al-salaf*, ed. M. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1988, 516, index). This is particularly evident in his *Wadjīz* (below, no. 14). "Brief account of the master who delivers the certificate of transmission and the one who receives it", in which he sets himself the objective of presenting a list of scholars with whom he has been in correspondence, in most cases without having met them. He awarded to many of them a "general licence" (*idjāza* ʿ*āmma*), i.e. the right to transmit all his works, among others to al-Ḥātimī (d. 638/1239-40; al-Kattānī, 317-18), al-Randī (d. 616/1219; al-Kattānī, 340, dating from 560/1165), al-Ghāfiḳī (d. 619/1121-2; al-Kattānī, 884). For others, in particular the scholars of the Maghrib, it is known that he sent to them licences in writing from Alexandria (al-Kattānī, 995, gives six names), in particular to the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149): *kataba ilayya yudjīzunī djamī*ʿ *riwāyātihi wa-madjmū*ʿ*ātihi* (*al-Ghunya, fahrasat shuyūkh al-Ḳāḍī* ʿ*Iyāḍ*, ed. M.Z. Djarrār, Beirut 1982, 102). His longevity was such that four generations of traditionists were enabled to transmit traditions from him: his last eastern disciple, his grandson (see above), died in 651 (*corr. Tadrīb*, which gives the date 605), and the last western one in 662, while the first to die, Abū ʿAlī al-Bardānī (*Siyar*, xix, 219-22), was deceased in 498/1105, thus an interval of more than one hundred and fifty years! In the science of *ḥadīth*, this is considered a unique case in terms of anteriority and posterity in relation to the demise of a master (*al-sābiḳ wa 'l-lāḥiḳ*) (al-Kattānī, 996; al-Tahānawī, 677; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ch. 46; W. Marçais, in *JA* [July-August 1901], 131-2). The advantage in this is the production of "high quality" chains of authority.

His *Mu*ʿ*djam al-safar* (below, no. 5) testifies to the same interest. Here he assembled articles regarding scholars whom he had met "in other places" (i.e. outside Iṣfahān and Baghdād) and more specifically those with whom he was acquainted in Alexandria (Egyptians, Maghribīs, etc.). He wrote a lengthy biography of one of his masters, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī (d. 507/1113 [*q.v.*]) (*Siyar*, xix, 289, l. 3; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 2911/1, 398: *Tardjamat al-Silafī*; Zaman, *Sources of Silafī's biography*, 493-5).

Among hundreds of other examples of works for which he features in certificates of authenticity is al-Djūzdjānī (d. 259), *Aḥwāl al-ridjāl*, ed. S. al-Samarrāʾī, Beirut 1985, 20, no. 6 (*corr.* al-Biḳāʿī, no. 37, who attributes *al-Niṣf al-thānī min K. al-Shadjara fī aḥwāl*... to al-Silafī; see Sāmarrāʾī, 17-8). Similarly, he is in the list of authorities of certain ms. of the

K. Gharīb al-Ḳur'ān attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxii [1995], no. 47, 37, l. 2 of the edited work), to the point where the elucidation of certain Ḳur'ānic expressions is, probably erroneously, attributed to him (in the case of Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 4, ms. Berlin 427, more developed and critically evaluated in al-Biḳāʿī, no. 6). Such details apart, he played a fundamental role in the transmission of knowledge in Islam, and represents one type of the great traditionists of the *madrasa* era.

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2. Studies. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Iskandariyya fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*, in *al-Kitāb*, iii/3 (1947), 383-5 [379-93]; Biḳāʿī (below, no. 14), 5-46; Brockelmann, I², 450, S I, 624; Ḥasanī (below, no. 5), 7-104; Dj. al-Shayyāl, *Aʿlām al-Iskandariyya*, Cairo 1965, 130-59: Ṭarābīshī (below, no. 10), 11-33, to be supplemented by Biḳāʿī; G. Vajda, *Un opuscule inédit d'as-Silafi* [since edited, see below no. 14], in *Bull ... de l'Inst. de Rech. et d'Hist. des Textes*, xiv (1966), 85-92 (= embellished translation of material by M.Kh. al-Biḳāʿī, *Kutayyib makhṭūṭ li 'l-Silafī*, in *MMLʿAU* (ʿAmmān), xxxix [1990], 281-318); "study" by Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ, Damascus or Beirut (?) 1977, mentioned by Biḳāʿī, 45, without title (n. *c.*); S.M. Zaman, *Sources for Silafī's biography*, in *Isl. Stud.*, xxiv (1985), 493-502; idem, *Silafī's biography: his birth and family background*; idem, *Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), acquisition of Ḥadīth and Qirā'āt in Isfahan*, in *Isl. Stud.*, xxv (1986), 1-10, 151-9; Maḥmūd Zaytūn, *al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī*, Alexandria 1972; Ziriklī, i, 216a, mentions a biography, ms. Rabat 1046d.

3. Edited or preserved works. (1) *K. al-Arbaʿīn al-buldāniyya/al-Arbaʿīn al-mustaghnī bi-taʿyīn mā fīhi ʿan al-muʿīn* [ms. Paris BN, Algiers, DK, 3 Ẓāh.; Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 3; Biḳāʿī, no. 5; Şehid 540/1; Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xx (1991), no. 130, following Kh. Alavi: *Forty traditions of forty shaykhs living in forty places*; Kattānī, 111]. (2) *Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan fī ḥaḳḳ al-fuḳarā'*, collected by his disciple, probably his grandson, ʿĪsā b. Ḥ. al-Silafī; ms. Alex., Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 11; Biḳāʿī, no. 29). (3) *al-Faḍā'il al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira* (ms. Cambridge, Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 8, erroneously attributed to Sulamī; Biḳāʿī, no. 9; Ziriklī, i, 216a; ms. Istanbul Hamid 363 *ta'rīkh*). (4) *Muʿdjam Baghdād/al-Mashyakha al-baghdādiyya* (ms. Esc., Ẓāh., Feyz.; Brockelmann, I², 450, S I, 624; Biḳāʿī, no. 1; Ḥasanī, 76-82); according to Brockelmann, a summary of it exists, *al-Safīna al-baghdādiyya*, by A. al-Labbādī (?). (5) *Muʿdjam al-safar*, ed. S.M. Zaman, Islamabad 1988 (794 entries) [*corr.* Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 9: *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā'*; Biḳāʿī, no. 7, seems to show that its title was *al-Muʿdjam al-mu'akhkhar*]; partial editions: Bahīdja Bāḳir al-Ḥasanī, i, Baghdād 1978 (145 entries), and I. ʿAbbās, *Akhbār wa-tarādjim andalusiyya mustakhradja min Muʿdjam al-safar*, Beirut 1963. (6) *al-Muntakhab [al-Tadjzi'a] min K. al-Irshād fī maʿrifat ʿulamā' al-ḥadīth* of al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1055; *Siyar*, xvii, 666-8), ed. Saʿd, Beirut 1986/ed. Idrīs, Riyāḍ 1989. (7) *al-Muntaḳā min K. Makārim al-akhlāḳ wa-maʿālīhā wa-maḥmūd ṭarā'iḳihā*, summary of the celebrated work by al-Kharā'iṭī [*q.v.*], ed. M. Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ and Ghazwa Burayd, Damascus 1986. (8) *Murāsalāt al-Silafī maʿa 'l-Zamakhsharī*, ed. B. al-Ḥasanī, in *MMʿIʿ*, xxiii. (9) *al-Salamāsiyyāt* [five sessions of dictation to the scholars of Salamās, in Ādharbaydjān, in 506/1112-13; 2 ms. Ẓāh.] (10) *Su'ālāt* [al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī] *li-Khamīs al-Ḥawazī ʿan djamāʿa min ahl Wāsiṭ*, ed. al-Ṭarābīshī, Damascus 1976 (Brockelmann, I², 450 no. 12). (11) *Ḳaṣīda*, Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 5; Biḳāʿī, no. 33; Ḥasanī, 64-75, has reproduced some of his poetry. (12) *al-Sudāsiyyāt [allatī akhradjahā al-Ḥāfiẓ ...]* (traditions with a chain of six authorities which he had received in 512/1118-19, by means of audition, from Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Rāzī al-Shurūṭī, d. 524/1130; *Siyar*, xix, 583-5; Kattānī, no. 525; besides the ms. in Brockelmann, S I, 624 no. 6, ms. Ẓāh.; Biḳāʿī, no. 10). (13) *al-Ṭuyūrāt*, choice and *emendatio* of traditions drawn from collections (*adjzā'*) of Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī (ms. Ẓāh.; Biḳāʿī, no. 12). (14) *al-Wadjīz fī dhikr al-mudjāz wa 'l-mudjīz*, ed. M. Khayr al-Biḳāʿī, Beirut 1990: rev. by Gilliot, in *Stud. Isl.*, xli (1994), 143-5. (15) Seventeen collections or fragments of collections of traditions (*aḥādīth, aḥādīth muntakhaba, amālī, djuz', djuz' fīhi fawā'id, fawā'id, ḳiṭʿa*, etc.) drawn from those of other authors, as well as certificates of audition (*samāʿāt*), preserved in ms., Biḳāʿī, nos. 13-30. See Kattani's index, iii, 85a.

4. Works no longer extant (*addenda* to the 38 entries of Biḳāʿī): *Djuzʿ Ḳulunbā*, fascicle of traditions dictated by al-Silafi to the traditionist Ibn Ḳulunbā in 511 in Alexandria (*bi 'l-thaghr*), according to Zabīdī, *Takmila*, i, 328b; *corr.* Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 4092: *Djuz' ḳalbinā*, tr. as *Cor nostrum*/i, 587: *Ḳalanbā. Man ismuhu Dhu 'l-Nūn* (Kattānī, 421). *Manāḳib al-ʿAbbās*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 13040/ii, 1843. *Mashyakha Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb* (or *al-Rāzī*), *takhrīdj al-Silafī*; Kattānī, nos. 252, 276; cf. above, no. 12.

(Cl. Gilliot)

SILĀḤ [see Suppl.].

SILĀḤDĀR (A., P.) ("arms-bearer"). This military-administrative title and function have a long history in the Islamic world, going back to the days of the Great Saldjūḳ sultans, whose state organisation followed early Persian and ʿAbbāsid models. Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, describing the organisation of the Saldjūḳ state, lists the *silāḥdār* as one of the most trusted personnel in the sultan's palace, who was directly responsible to the person of the sultan. As chief of the army's arsenal (*zarad-khāna*), where the armour and weapons were stored, the *silāḥdār* had a military unit under his command and the responsibility of carrying the sultan's weapon (Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1891, 94-95, 109; Ibn al-Bībī, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿalā'iyye fī 'l-umūri 'l-ʿalā'iyye*, ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1956, 216).

The Mamlūks retained the same title in its Arabic form *amīr silāḥ*, who was one of the nine most important office holders in the Mamlūk state and ranked among the Amīrs of a Thousand (*amīr alf*), the highest

rank in the military echelon. In this capacity, he was in command of a Royal Mamlūks' unit (*ṭulb*), called *silāḥdāriyya*, with a number of horsemen ranging from 110 to 120. He was also in charge of the arsenal (*silāḥ-khāna*) and over the amīrs of the arsenal, who were called *zaradkāshiyya* and whose duty was to guard the arsenal. He was therefore sometimes called *al-zaradkāsh al-kabīr*. During public appearances, the *amīr silāḥ*'s duty was to bear the sultan's arms. The role of *amīr silāḥ* reached its highest importance in the 9th/15th century and involved the participation in military campaigns (Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 386-7; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 14 ff.; Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *K. Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. P. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, 111-16).

The Ottomans, who used the title in its Persian form *silāḥdār*, continued Saldjūḳ and Mamlūk traditions and even elevated its role to a higher level in the Imperial Palace (*saray*). During Meḥemmed II's reign (1451-81), the Inside Service (*enderūn*) in the palace, under the direction of the *ḳapî aghasî*, was made up of four Chambers, of which the Privy Chamber (*khāṣṣ-oda*) was the highest-ranking. Immediately beneath the chief of the Privy Chamber, the *khāṣṣ-oda bashî*, was the *silāḥdār agha*, along with other principal officials who performed the general service of the sultan and therefore were the nearest to him. Being the second-in-command in the Privy Chamber, the *silāḥdār agha* handled all communications to and from the sultan and accompanied him with his sword in public ceremonies, travels and campaigns. He also commanded his own unit, the *silāḥdār bölüghü* (sometimes called *sarî bayraḳ bölüghü* because of its yellow flag). During public ceremonies, such as the Friday procession (*selamlîḳ*), the *silāḥdār bölük* took position on the left side of the sultan. In the battlefield, as part of the *ḳapîḳulu* cavalry, they served as the sultan's personal guards protecting his flanks. Over the years, as the *silāḥdār aghas* gained greater power and expanded their functions, the number of their *bölüks* increased, comprising 2,000 *silāḥdārs* during Meḥemmed II's time, 2,780 in 1568, 2,930 in 1588, 5,000 in 1597, 6,244 in 1660, 7,683 in 1699, 10,821 in 1713, reaching the staggering number of 12,000 during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808-39). Since the sultans appointed their favourite men to high offices in the administration, the ranks of the *silāḥdār agha* provided countless viziers and dignitaries. Two such *silāḥdār aghas* were Silāḥdār Yūsuf Pasha who, during Sultan Ibrāhīm's reign, conspired successfully to bring about the fall and execution in 1644 of the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], and Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pasha, Aḥmed III's son-in-law, who engineered the overthrow of Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] and in 1713 became Grand Vizier himself. With the death of Silāḥdār Giritli ʿAlī Agha in 1831, Maḥmūd II eliminated the office of the *silāḥdār agha*, and incorporated it into the office of the Treasury under the control of the *khazîne ketkhüdāsî* (*Ḳānūn-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. M. ʿĀrif, in *TOEM*, supplement, 23-4; Luṭfī Pasha, *Âsâfnâme: devlet adamlarına öğütler*, Ankara 1977; Ottaviano Bon[-Robert Withers], *A description of the Grand Signiour's Seraglio*, ed. John Greaves, London 1653, 78-9).

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SILĀḤDĀR, FÎNDÎḲLÎLÎ MEḤMED AGHA, (1068-1139/1658-1726-7), Ottoman historian.

The palace official Silāḥdār Meḥmed Agha was born on 12 Rabīʿ I 1068/8 December 1658 in the Fîndîḳlî district of Istanbul. A protégé of the *bash muṣāḥib* Shāhīn Agha, he was educated in the *sarāy* and entered the palace *bostāndjî* [*q.v.*] corps in 1084/1674. In 1089/1678 he became a *zülflü baltadjî* [*q.v.*] and in 1090/1679, was promoted to the *seferli odasî*. In this capacity he took part in the 1683 Vienna campaign led by Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]. In 1099/1688 he entered the *khāṣṣ oda* [*q.v.*] and was promoted successively to *dülbend ghulāmî*, *čukhādār* (in the reign of Muṣṭafā II), and, finally, *silāḥdār* [*q.v.*], in Rabīʿ II 1115/August 1703 immediately upon the accession of Aḥmed III (1703-30), this despite his closeness to the deposed Muṣṭafā II. He subsequently played an important role in quelling *bostāndjî* unrest and in overseeing arrangements for the funeral of Muṣṭafā II in Shaʿbān 1115/December 1703. However, in Shawwāl 1115/February 1704, when a protégé of one of Aḥmed III's favourites was appointed *silāḥdār* in his place, Meḥmed Agha chose to retire from palace service, refusing the offer of a provincial governorship with the rank of vizier and accepting instead a daily pension of 300 *aḳčes*. He settled in the Demirkapî district of Istanbul and on his death in 1139/1726-7 was buried at Ayāzpasha.

He compiled a detailed chronicle of Ottoman history during the years 1065-1133/1655-1721, written in a matter-of-fact prose style. This is generally considered as two separate works: (i) *Dheyl-i Fedhleke* ("Supplement to the *Fedhleke*") (sc. of Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]), detailing events of the years 1065-1106/1655-95 (published as *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1928, introd. by Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altınay]); (ii) *Nuṣret-nāme*, comprising initially a day-to-day account of the reign of Muṣṭafā II (1106-15/1695-1703), then continuing with a less detailed account for 1115-33/1703-21 (*Nusretnâme*, modern Turkish tr. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, 2 vols., Istanbul 1962-9). Meḥmed Agha's history is a particularly valuable first-hand account for the period *ca.* 1683-1703, when he was in close attendance upon the sultans. The *Nuṣret-nāme* was probably a major source for the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* Rāshid [*q.v.*] (O. Köprülü, *Râşid'in kaynaklarından biri Silahdâr'in Nusretnâmesi*, in *Belleten*, xi [1947], 473-87).

Bibliography: Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altinay], *ʿĀlimler ve ṣanʿatkārlar*, Istanbul 1924, 228-55 (and introd. to *Silāḥdār taʾrīkhi*, i, pp. iii-xii); *GOW*, 253-4; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, esp. 342-53; İ. Artuk, *Silâhdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa*, in *Tarih dergisi*, xxvii (1973), 123-32.

(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

SILHET, conventional form Sylhet, a famous city, a district and a division at the easternmost part of Bangladesh. The present Division of Sylhet (a District prior to 1 August 1995) covers approximately 4,785 square miles (lat 23° 58'-25° 12' N., long. 91°-92° 38' E.) and comprises the districts of Sylhet, Sunamganj, Maulvi Bazar and Habibganj. Before the advent of Islam, Sylhet formed part of Samatata region (Djūzdjānī mentions it as Suknāt; see *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, i, 426, tr. Raverty, i, 557-8) and was divided into small kingdoms (i.e. Laor, Jayantia, Gauḍa) ruled by Hindu dynasties. Some parts of Sylhet were also ruled by

the neighbouring kingdom of Kamrup. An economically prosperous land where cowrie-shells were used for currency, Arab traders sometimes visited Sylhet on their overland route to China. Muslim conquest of the area began in early 14th century during the reign of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh (d. 1322) of Lakhnawati. The celebrated Suhrawardī *shaykh*, Shāh Djalāl Mudjarrad Kūnyā'ī (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 158), and his disciples played an important role in consolidation of Islam in this region. Mughal rule was extended up to Sylhet in the early 17th century. In 1874, during British colonial rule, the District of Sylhet was made part of the newly-formed Assam State. In 1947, the Muslim majority of this area opted for Pakistan, and Sylhet became a District of East Bengal Province (now Bangladesh).

Sylhet is quite rich in its natural resources such as natural gas and limestone. Huge cement, fertiliser and tea factories have provided it with an industrial base. The tea plantations of Sylhet are famous. A sizeable number of people from Sylhet have emigrated to the U.K., and their remittances enrich the country with much-needed foreign exchange.

Bibliography: Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlī, *Ḥaḍrat Shāh Djalāl o Sileter itihās*, Ḍhākā 1988; Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *al-Nuḳūsh al-Islāmiyya fī 'l-Bangāl wa-atharuhā al-ḥaḍārī*, Beirut 1995.

(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SILIFKE (Greek Seleucia; Armenian Selefkia, Selewkia; Frankish Le Selef, Salef, Saleph; Arabic Salūḳiya), important rural centre in the (present-day) Turkish province of Adana, 87 km/48 miles east of the port of Mersin [*q.v.*], on the river Göksu (ancient Calycadnus), about 14 km/9 miles from the Mediterranean Sea. In a strategic position where the coastal road and the route inland over the Taurus Mountains meet, it was founded before 300 B.C. by Seleucus I Nicator. Extant monuments in Silifke include a 2nd century A.D. temple to Zeus, a large Byzantine rock-hewn cistern and, most importantly, a mediaeval castle. In spite of being exposed to Arab incursions, the castle remained in Byzantine hands until the end of the 6th/12th century. Thereafter it was, at different times, under Armenian, Hospitaller and seignurial Frankish control, until at least the second half of the 7th/13th century, when the record is lost. The castle occupies the long, narrow platform of an outcrop overlooking the town. While little remains of the structures within the castle save at the western end, the outer gateway and some of the outer wall are still in place, as well as most of the inner wall and salients. Although the Byzantine Emperor Alexius 1 ordered his secretary Eustathius to rebuild the castle at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the work visible today is probably largely Frankish, with perhaps some Armenian contribution, reflecting the occupancies of the 7th/13th century.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 126-7; R.W. Edwards, *The fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, Dumbarton Oaks 1987, 221-9 (description and plan); H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Tabula imperii Byzantini*, v/1 (*Kilikien und Isaurien*), Vienna 1990, 402-6 (extensive bibl., including Islamic source references).

(D.W. Morray)

SILSILA (A.), literally "chain", a term used in the terminology of Ṣūfism and the Ṣūfī orders (*ṭuruḳ*) for a continuous chain of spiritual descent, a kind of mystical *isnād* [*q.v.*]. This connected the head of an order, the *shaykh* or *pīr*, with a person regarded as the order's founder and back to the Prophet. These persons might stem from early Islam, such as the Yemeni contemporary of the Prophet, Uways al-Ḳaranī (actually, not initiated directly but after the Prophet's death, in a dream), and the Patriarchal Caliphs, especially Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿAlī. That such claims to descent were fictitious, given the obviously intensely practical and unmystical bent of the first caliphs, was early recognised by some authorities, such as Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] (who suspected here Shīʿī influence; see his *Muḳaddima*, iii, 73-4, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 93-4). Somewhat more plausible were *silsila*s traced back to early undoubted Ṣūfīs like Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875 or 264/878 [see abū yazīd]) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd (d. 298/910-11 [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, refs. in the Glossary, at 311; and see ṭarīḳa. (Ed.)

SILVES [see shilb].

al-SĪM, Lughat, a secret vocabulary or argot employed by criminals, beggars, gypsies, and other groups for communication among themselves without the risk of being understood by outsiders. The word *sīm* (variant *sīn*) is well attested in Arabic from the 19th century to the present, but its earlier history and etymology are obscure; M.J. de Goeje's proposal of a Gypsy and ultimately Indian origin for the term, and his citation of an isolated 7th/13th century instance of its use by an Arabic author (*Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, Leiden, 1903, 71), require further investigation. For the mediaeval Islamic world, our sources mainly associate such an argot with the Banū Sāsān [see sāsān, banū] a loose confraternity of beggars and other marginal types; this group's esoteric vocabulary is known to us primarily from two remarkable jargon poems, by Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī (*fl.* fourth/tenth century [*q.v.*]) and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 750/1349 [*q.v.*]), which have been thoroughly analysed by C.E. Bosworth (*The medieval Islamic underworld: the Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, 2 vols. Leiden, 1976). A degree of continuity in this argot is traceable into modern times, notably in the vocabulary of the Ḥalab, a pseudo-Gypsy group in Egypt, which is shared as well by traditional Egyptian musicians and entertainers in general, who call it *sīm al-fannānīn* or "artistes' argot." Scholars have also documented a number of other secret vocabularies in the contemporary Arabic world, of which the most elaborate appears to be the *sīm al-ṣāgha*, or argot of gold- and silversmiths, based largely on Hebrew, distinctive forms of which have thus far been recorded in Cairo and Damascus. Some forms of contemporary argot in Persian and Turkish are also known. In addition to argot in the strict sense of secret vocabularies, the phenomenon of encrypting one's language by means of phonetic and morphological distortion, as in English "pig Latin," is known in all three languages, and in Arabic is also sometimes called *sīm*.

Bibliography: In addition to earlier literature, treated comprehensively in Bosworth, *Underworld*, see M. Barbot, *Notes lexicographiques sur les 'orfèvres et bijoutiers de Damas*, in *Arabica*, xxi (1974), 72-83; E.K. Rowson, *Cant and argot in Cairo Colloquial Arabic*, in *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter*, 122 (Summer 1983), 13-24; ʿA. ʿĪsā, *al-Lughāt al-sirriyya*, Alexandria 1988; R.L. Djumʿa, *al-Lugha al-sirriyya li-baʿḍ al-ṭawāʾif wa 'l-mihan al-shaʿbiyya fī Miṣr*, in *al-Maʾthūrāt al-shaʿbiyya*, xxxvii (January 1995), 43-57; K. van Nieuwkerk, "*A trade like any other*". *Female singers and dancers in Egypt*, Austin, Texas 1995, 96-102.

(E.K. Rowson)

SIMANCAS [see SHANT MĀNKASH].

SIMAW, modern Turkish SIMAV, a town of northwestern Anatolia, lying on the river of the same name and just to the south-east of the Simav Gölü, 90 km/58 miles as the crow flies to the south-west of Kütahya [*q.v.*] and on the road connecting Balıkesir with Usak (lat. 39° 05' N., long. 28° 59' E., altitude 823 m/2,700 feet). In later Ottoman times, it was the chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name, and is now the centre of the *ilçe* or district of Simav in the *il* or province of Kütahya. One should not confuse it, as did Babinger in his *EI*[1] art., with Simāwnā in eastern Thrace, the birthplace of the early Ottoman rebel, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Simāwnā [*q.v.*].

In Antiquity, it was the Synaos of western Phrygia, and vestiges of the town's classical past remain. In Byzantine times it was the seat of a bishop, and there are relics of the Byzantine citadel. In the 8th/14th century it came within the *beylik* or principality of the Germiyān Oghullarï [*q.v.*], but was ceded to the Ottoman sultan Murād I in 783/1381 (see N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 43). Simaw was the birthplace of several well-known Ottoman scholars, such as Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī (d. 896/1491) and Ḳara Shams al-Dīn (see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 377). It was visited by several 19th-century scholars, including Wm. Hamilton, A.D. Mordtmann Senr., K. Buresch and Th. Wiegand.

Modern Simaw was rebuilt after a fire of 1911. After the First World War, it was occupied by the Greek army from July 1921 to September 1922. Carpet-weaving has been one of its industries. In 1965 the population was 7,877.

Bibliography: *PW*, 2nd ser., iv. A.2, cols. 1326-7 (Ruge); Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, Istanbul 1935, 44-50; W.J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, ii, 124; Sh. Sāmī Frāsheri, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2625; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 222 ff.; K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, Leipzig 1898, 142 ff.; Th. Wiegand, in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xxix (Athens 1904), 324 (with view); A.D. Mordtmann, ed. F. Babinger, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1925, 40-1; Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, i, 129, ii, 207, 421-2, 581; *Belediyeler yıllığı*, Ankara 1945, iii, 334-40; *İA*, art. *Simav* (Besim Darkot).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SĪMDJŪRIDS, a line of Turkish commanders and governors, originally of slave origin, for the Sāmānids in 4th/10th-century Khurāsān.

The founder, Abū ʿImrān Sīmdjūr, was the *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad's [*q.v.*] ceremonial ink-stand bearer (*dawātī*). He became Sāmānid governor of Sīstān [*q.v.*] in 300-1/913-14 when the local dynasty of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] were temporarily driven out. Thereafter, the family was prominent as governors of Khurāsān for the *amīrs*, involved in warfare with the Sāmānids' rivals in northern Persia such as the Būyids, and they acquired a territorial base of estates in Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*]. They were active in the tortuous politics and campaignings of the last decades of the Sāmānids. The last-mentioned member of the family is Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī, commander in Khurāsān till 392/1002.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vi, 351-5; Barthold, *Turkestan*; 246 ff.; Erdoğan Merçil, *Simcûrîler. I-IV*, Istanbul n.d. [*ca.* 1986], originally published in various journals; C.E. Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 271-3; idem, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 86.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SĪMIYĀʾ, in form like *kibriyāʾ*, belongs to old Arabic beside *sīmā, sīmāʾ* (Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 29 etc.; al-Bayḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i, 326, 14, 15), in the sense "mark, sign, badge" (Lane 1476a; *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v., ed. Būlāḳ, 1282, ii, 200; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 696; *LʿA*, xv, 205). But the word, as a name for certain genres of magic, had a quite different derivation; in that sense it is from σημεῖα, through the Syriac *sīmya* (pl.), and means "signs, letters of the alphabet" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 708b, and references there; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ii, col. 2614). In Bocthor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, i, 154b, under *Chiromancie*, *sīmiyāʾ* is given as one of three Arabic renderings. By Barhebraeus (d. 685/1286) the Syriac and Arabic forms are used together (*Chron. Syr.*, ed. Paris, 14, 7; *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Pococke, 33); according to these passages the science (*ʿilm*) was "invented" in the time of Moses by a certain انونيوس, which Bruns and Kirsch rendered "Eunumius", but he seems to be quite unknown. The *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, ii, 1032b, suggests a derivation from שֵׁמָה "name of Allāh", and the Names of Allāh certainly play a large part in *sīmiyāʾ* (Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 344, who also suggests, 102, that the form of the word has been affected by *kīmiyāʾ*; but see above).

The term, apart from this dubious sense of "chiromancy", has been and is applied to two quite different branches of magic. (1) It is very widely applied at the present day to what is often called "natural magic", but is evidently hypnotism. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 126, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 158) gives this as the third division of magic (*siḥr*) in his arrangement and says that the philosophers (*al-falāsifa*) call it *shaʿwadha* and *shaʿbadha* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Khaldūn expresses it very clearly as a working of the *nafs* of the magician on the imagination of his subject, conveying certain ideas and forms which are then transferred to the senses of the subject and objectify themselves externally in appearances which have no external reality. Well-described cases of this will be found in Lane's *Arabian nights*, ch. i, n. 15, ii, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xii; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 452, iv, 277; Nöldeke, *Doctor und Garkoch*, 5 and *passim*. Cf. also Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 102, 345, who calls it also *nīrandj*; *Muḥīṭ*, ii, 1032b; Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, part vii, 102, and references there.

(2) The second is dealt with at length by Ibn Khaldūn in a special section (ed. Quatremère, iii, 137 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 170 ff.). In Ibn Khaldūn's time (d. 808/1405) it was called distinctly *sīmiyāʾ*. Ibn Khaldūn prefers to call it the science of the secret powers of letters (*ḥurūf* [*q.v.*]) because *sīmiyāʾ* was originally a broader term applied to the whole science of talismans and this limited use only originated in the extremist school of Ṣūfīs, who professed to be able to control (*taṣarrafa*) the material world by means of these letters and the names and figures compounded from them. It was thus considered a possible study and practice for pious Muslims. But the Ṣūfīs who took it up were of the speculative and pantheistic school and claimed control of the elemental world and power to invade its order (*khawāriḳ al-ʿāda*) and asserted that all existence descended in a certain sequence from a Unity (the Neoplatonic Chain). In their system the entelechy (*kamāl*) of the Divine Names proceeds from the help of the spirits of the spheres and of the stars, and the natures and secret powers of the letters circulate in the Names built out of them. Then they circulate similarly in the changes of transient becoming (*al-akwān*) in this world and these *akwān* pass from the first initial creation (*al-ibdāʿ*) into the different phases of that creation and express clearly its secrets. This seems to mean that letters contain the primal secrets of creation and the secret powers

which still circulate in the *akwān* and that the Divine Names and Allocutions (*kalimāt* [*q.v.*]) are produced from letters; therefore the elemental world and the *akwān* in it can be controlled by these names and allocutions when used by spiritual souls (*nufūs rabbāniyya*). That is the doctrine of al-Būnī [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] and their followers. As to the nature and origin of this secret power in letters, there is dispute. Some assign it to an elemental nature or constitution (*mizādj*) and divide letters into four classes according to the four elements. Others ascribe it to a numerical relationship (*nisba ʿadadiyya*) based on the value of the letters as numbers (*abdjad*). Ibn Khaldūn admits that there does exist such control of the material world but it is by divine grace in the *karāmāt* [*q.v.*] of the *walīs* [*q.v.*], and when those who lack that divine grace and insight endeavour to exert the same control by means of these names and allocutions, they are in the same class as the workers of magic by means of talismans, except that they have not the scientific training and system of these magicians. They may produce effects through the influence of the human *nafs* and purpose (*himma*)—which for Ibn Khaldūn is the basis of all such working, licit and illicit—but these effects are contemptible besides those of the professional magicians. Ibn Khaldūn, therefore, disapproves of this attempt by al-Būnī and others to produce a pious and licit magic; but there is no question that al-Būnī has imposed his system upon Islam. The best description of this state of mind which sees in letters relations to the universe and a science of the universe is in Louis Massignon's *Al-Ḥallâdj*, 588 ff.; see also Doutté, 172 ff. It is evident that this is a sister phase of thought to the Jewish Ḳabbāla of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the divine names, teaching that the science of letters is the science of the essences of things and that by letters God created and controls the world and that men by suitable knowledge of these can control material things (see C.D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, 127; art. KABBALA, by H. Loewe, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Rel. and Ethics*, vii, 622-8).

Finally, one should note that the term *sīmā*, mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (II, 273, VII, 46, 48, XLVIII, 29, LV, 41), denotes a mark of recognition of the believer, either physical (mark on the forehead from practising the Muslim worship) or moral (the result of his good or bad behaviour). Likewise in *Ḥadīth*, *sīmā*, *sīmāʾ*, denotes the distinctive mark of Muslims in relation to other peoples (*umam*) (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, 36-7) and the mark resulting from the effects of the worship on their foreheads, allowing one to distinguish them from other peoples on the Day of Resurrection (al-Tirmidhī, *Djumʿa*, 74). This term has thus no connection with *sīmiyāʾ*, a transliteration of σημεῖα, a derivative of σημεῖον, with the same sense as *sīmā*. But just as *sīmiyāʾ* evokes *siḥr* "magic, white or phantasmagoric", *sīmā* evokes *firāsa* [*q.v.*] "physiognomy". In Persian, *sīmyā* "natural magic" is distinguished from *sīmyāʾ* "mark, sign", according to Steingass, *Dictionary*, 718.

Bibliography: On *sīmiyāʾ*, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 137-61, tr. idem, iii, 188-200 (pp. 147-91 of text not tr. by him), Eng. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 182-227; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, iii, 646-7. There are several works on *sīmiyāʾ*, from which one may cite Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad al-ʿIrāḳī, known as al-Sīmāwī (7th/13th century), *ʿUyūn al-ḥadāʾiḳ wa-īḍāḥ al-ṭarāʾik*, Cairo 1321/1906; Aḥmad b. Muḥ b. al-Bannāʾ (d. *ca.* 721/1321), *ʿUyūn al-ḥadāʾiḳ fī ʿilm al-sīmiyāʾ*, B.N. of Tunis, ms. 431, fols. 131-54; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj al-Maghribī al-Tilimsānī (d. 736/1336), *R. fi 'l-Sīmiyāʾ*, Cairo, *Fihris*, vi, 418; Djīlī (d. 831/1428), *ʿUyūn al-ḥadāʾiḳ fī kull mā yuḥmal min ʿilm al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, B.N. Paris ms. 2595. There are three anonyma in the B.N., Paris: *al-Sharāsīm al-hindiyya fī ʿilm al-sīmiyāʾ*, mss. 2634-5; *al-Shaʿbadha wa 'l-sīmiyāʾ*, ms. 2595, fols. 136-48; and *Sīmiyāʾ*, ms. 2357, fols. 143-56.

On these texts, see the refs. in M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, HdO, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 391 ff.; A. Kovalenko, *Magie et Islam. Les concepts de magie (siḥr) et de sciences occultes (ʿilm al-ghayb) en Islam*, diss. Strasbourg 1979, publ. Geneva 1981, 22 ff., 434.

(D.B. MACDONALD-[T. FAHD])

SIMNĀN, a town of northern Persia (long. 53° 24' E., lat. 35° 33' N., alt. 1,138 m/3,734 ft.), in mediaeval Islamic times coming within the province of Ḳūmis [*q.v.*] and lying on the great highway connecting Rayy with the administrative centre of Ḳūmis, sc. Dāmghān [*q.v.*], and Khurāsān. To its north is situated the Elburz Mountain chain and to its south, the Great Desert.

1. History.

Simnān comes within what was the heartland of the Parthians (whose capital almost certainly was at Shahr-i Ḳūmis, southeast of Dāmghān on the Simnān road), but nothing is known of any pre-Islamic history for the town, even though legend later attributed its foundation to Ṭahmūrath (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 161, tr. 157). At the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution (131/748-9) it was described as a mere village, occupied by the forces of the *dāʿī* Ḳaḥṭaba's son al-Ḥasan in the course of the march westwards in pursuit of the Umayyad governor Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2-3). In 267/880-1 the soldier of fortune Aḥmad al-Khudjistānī, who had seized Khurāsān from the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layth, reached as far as Simnān in an abortive attack on Rayy (*ibid.*, iii, 2008).

By the time of the 4th/10th century geographers, however, Simnān had become a flourishing town, with fertile gardens and agricultural lands watered by the stream which came down from the Elburz and ran through it. The waters were canalised and allotted to the users in rotation, and also stored in cisterns. Simnān is mentioned in the accounts of the fighting between various Caspian princes and the generals of the Sāmānids in the early 4th/10th century (see Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 191, 390). In Ghaznawid times, the local governor Abū Ḥarb Bakhtiyār carried out building works in the town (see 2. below), and although in 427/1036 it was plundered by the so-called "ʿIrāḳī" Turkmens en route for Rayy and Ādharbaydjān (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 379), by 437/1046 it must have been rebuilt enough for Nāṣir-i Khusraw to have halted there on his Pilgrimage westwards and to have had learned discussions with local scholars (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 3, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 2-3). When Yāḳūt described Simnān (probably utilising earlier information of al-Samʿānī), there were signs of ruin and decline (*Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 251-2), which must have been intensified by the devastation in 618/1221 of the Mongol commander Sübetey (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 146-7).

Simnān has nevertheless survived as a town of moderate importance, largely because of its position on the Khurāsānian highway. It was the home town of the famous Sunnī mystic ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (659-736/1261-1336 [*q.v.*]). At the end of the 19th century, Curzon found it prosperous enough, with tobacco

grown in its environs as a cash crop and with a small colony of Hindu traders living off trade coming from Yazd and the Persian Gulf coastlands (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, 290-1).

The modern town is the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or county in the province (*farmāndārī-yi kull*) of Simnān. It is on the Tehran-Mashhad railway and is a lively market centre for local agricultural produce and for textiles and carpets. In 1991 the town had a population of 93,715 (*Preliminary results of the census*, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 135; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 229-31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 366; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 819-20; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 119-20; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, iii, 157-9.

2. Monuments.

Al-Muḳaddasī, 356, visited what he describes as the fine Friday mosque in the bazaar, but the earliest surviving elements of this are from the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. They include a minaret which has an inscription of the benefactor, the *amīr* Abū Ḥarb Bakhtiyār b. Muḥammad Dāmghānī, governor of Ḳūmis under Masʿūd I of Ghazna [*q.v.*] and dateable therefore to 421-5/1030-4 (this same Bakhtiyār had previously built the Pīr-i ʿAlamdār tomb tower for his father Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad at Dāmghān and also a minaret at the Tārīk-khāna mosque there). There are also in Simnān a 6th/12th century *ḥammām*, and the *khānaḳāh* and tomb of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī, built nearly a century after his death by the Tīmūrid sultan Shāh Rukh in 828/1424. The Masdjid-i Sulṭān or M.-i Shāh, built by the Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1242/1826, together with a *madrasa*, is a particularly fine example of Ḳādjār architectural and inscriptional art.

Bibliography: Pope, in *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1033, 1038; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*[2], London 1972, 192-3; Chahryar Adle, *Le minaret du Masjed-e Jâmeʿ de Semnân, circa 421-25/1030-34*, in *Stud. Iranica*, iv/3 (1975), 177-86; Nasratollah Mechkati, *Monuments de sites historiques de l'Iran*, Tehran n.d., 253; P. Soucek, in R. Ettinghausen and E. Yarshater (eds.), *Highlights of Persian art*, Boulder, Colo. 1979, 138-41; R. Hillenbrand, *The role of tradition in Qajar religious architecture*, in E. Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran, political, social and cultural change 1800-1925*, Edinburgh 1983, 359; Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxania*, London 1992, 7, 99-100, 102, 109.

3. Language.

The man whom Nāṣir-i Khusraw encountered at Simnān who spoke Persian with a "Daylamī" accent (*Safar-nāma, loc. cit.*), may have been reflecting the idiosyncratic speech patterns of the town. At the present day, Simnānī is a distinct dialect of New Persian, phonologically connected with the central Persian dialects but, from the point of view of morphology, it departs from these last and forms a transitional dialect with the Caspian ones. The masc. and fem. genders are distinguished in nouns; this may be by separate forms of the indefinite suffix or by the endings of the nouns in question. An oblique case is distinguished in nouns and pronouns.

Bibliography: Earlier studies by Christensen (1915), Mann (1926) and Morgenstierne (1950s and early 1960s, plus in *Hdb. der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, IV. *Iranistik*, 1, 172-3) are outdated. See now P. Lecoq, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 307-9, cf. bibls. at 312; Mohammed-Reza Majidi, *Strukturelle Beschreibung des iranischen Dialekts der Stadt Semnan. Phonetik, Morphologie, Syntax*, Hamburg 1980. M. Sitūda published a *Farhang-i Simnānī* (Tehran 1343/1964) on Simnānī and neighbouring dialects. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-SIMNĀNĪ, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, traditionist, Ḥanafī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian, born at a place called Simnān in ʿIrāḳ (and not at the better-known one in Ḳūmis) in 361/971-2, died at Mawṣil in Rabīʿ I 444/July 1052.

He lived mainly in Baghdād, and then in Mawṣil, where he acted as *ḳāḍī*. In *ḥadīth*, his masters included al-Dāraḳuṭnī [*q.v.*] and Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī, and amongst his own disciples was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*]. In *fiḳh*, he is said to have composed several works, whose titles are not specified. But it was as a theologian that he was known above all, displaying the rare peculiarity of being a Ḥanafī adherent of the Ashʿarī doctrine. His master in this regard was the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*], himself a Mālikī; al-Simnānī was known as his disciple par excellence (cf. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 301, ll. 11-12) or the main disciple (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 208 l. 14, and also, al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Beirut 1965, ii, 586-7). He is vigorously called to account as such by Ibn Ḥazm in the chapter of his *Fiṣal* devoted to criticism of the Ashʿariyya (iv, 206-26), in the course of which the author cites, growing indignant about it, several extracts from a work by al-Simnānī in which the latter sets forth the theses of his companions (see also *ibid.*, ii, 168, where one should read al-Simnānī for al-Samʿānī). This work, for which no title is given, most certainly differs from that preserved in the ʿUthmāniyya madrasa at Aleppo (no. 577) under the title *K. al-Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-īmān wa ʾl-kashf ʿan tamwīhāt ahl al-tughyān*. On this important treatise of 145 fols., of which an edition remains to be done, there are some apposite references in Gardet and Anawati, *Introd. à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 73, 184-5, 365-7, 378-9 (where one should read throughout al-Simnānī for al-Sumnānī) and D. Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 93-4, 101-2, 326.

Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad's son, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Aḥmad (384-466/994-1074) had a "profile" quite similar to that of his father: he was also both Ḥanafī and Ashʿarī, and also a *ḳāḍī* (but in Baghdād).

Bibliography: *T. Baghdād*, i, 355 no. 284; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. Margoliouth, fol. 310a ll. 2-9, ed. Ḥaydarābād, vii, 240; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, ed. Ḳudsī, Damascus 1347, 259; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 156 no. 215; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 252a; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. Dedering, ii, 65 no. 362; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1964-76, v, 301-2; Ibn Abi ʾl-Wafāʾ al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, ii, 21 no. 57; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim*, Baghdād 1962, 61 no. 181; Brockelmann, S I, 636. On the son Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Aḥmad, see *T. Baghdād*, iv, 382 no. 2260; Ibn al-Djawzī, viii, 287 no. 338; Ibn Abi ʾl-Wafāʾ, i, 95-6. (D. Gimaret)

SIMSĀR [see dallāl].

SIMSIM, sesame, a family of plants with some 16 classes, of which *sesamum indicum* or *sesamum orientale, Pedaliaceae*, primarily qualifies for consideration. Sesame is an ancient cultivated plant, whose habitat is probably in Central Asia and which spread in the tropics and sub-tropics. The name can be derived from Akkadian *shamashshammu*, which became on the

one hand Greek σήσαμον, on the other Arabic *sumsum* and the more usual *simsim* via Hebrew *shumshōn* and Aramaic *shushmā* (and variants). An often-used synonym is *djuldjulān*, wrongly interpreted by some authors (like Ibn Baklārish, *Mustaʿīnī*, ms. Naples fol. 71b) as coriander (*kuzbara*). The greasy oil of sesame is indicated as *duhn al-ḥall* (*sic, al-khall* is wrong), as *ṣalīṭ djuldjulān* or *shīradj* (Persian *shīra*). The small, angular, yellow-white to black seeds are kept in elongated capsules which develop from the blossoms of the plant. In many countries, sesame is an important foodstuff. In India sesame flour is boiled into pulp, in Asia Minor and in Egypt bread and pastry are flavoured with sesame. If pressed when cold, sesame oil is liquid, odourless and of a pleasant taste. Like olive oil, it has served at all times as a valuable salad oil, and also as a substitute for butter fat (*samn*).

In medicine, sesame belongs to the softening and resolving remedies. When grilled and eaten with linseed (*badhr al-kattān*), it increases virility. It is quite efficient against breathing difficulties and asthma, as well as against coughing and hoarseness. Sesame may harm the stomach, but this can be avoided or alleviated if it is taken together with honey. Sesame herb boiled in wine is efficient against inflammation of the eye. Its oil is a remedy against raw and chapped skin and brings ulcers to ripening. Mixed with attar, it soothes headaches originating from sunburn (*iḥrāḳ al-shams*). It is also used in cosmetics. In the bazaars of Cairo, sesame is sold in great quantities, but, in pursuit of profit, lotus seeds (*nīlūfar*) are often deceitfully passed off as *djuldjulān miṣrī*, and the seeds of the black poppy (*khashkhāsh aswad*) as *djuldjulān al-ḥabasha*. Finally, there were also "sesame-like" plants (*sisāmuwīdā*, σησαμοειδές), a large one and a small one, which were considered as classes of a wild sesame (*simsim barrī*) (A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, iv, 138-52).

As a means to neutralise magic, sesame is already mentioned in Babylonian-Assyrian incantations. Until today, the Arabs consider sesame presses as dwelling-places of spirits. The formula "Sesame, open your door" (not "Sesame, open up") became popular through the well-known story of Ali Baba and the forty thieves from *Alf layla wa-layla* (270th night).

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa, *K. al-Nabāt*, no. 528; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, 36-9 (no. 442); Maimonides, *Sharḥ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 268; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, iii, 30-1 (Leclerc no. 1218); Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt*, ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 200b; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, no. 367; Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, i, 198; M.A.H. Ducros, *Le droguier populaire arabe... du Caire*, Cairo 1930, no. 129; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, ii, 83; idem, *Die Dioskurides-Erklärung des Ibn al-Bayṭār*, Göttingen 1991, ii, 84.

(A. Dietrich)

SĪMURGH (P.), the name of a mythical bird. There are two passages in the Avesta referring to the "bird Saēna-" (*mərəγō saēnō*; Yašt 14: 41) or the "tree of Saēna-" (*vanam yam saēnahe*; Yašt 12: 17); the latter specifies that this tree stands in the middle of Lake Vourukaša, that its name is "all-remedies" and that it bears the seeds of all plants. The word *saēna-* is etymologically identical with Sanskrit *śyēná-*, "eagle, falcon", but it is not clear from the two Avestan passages whether it designates a species of bird (though the fact that Saēna- is used elsewhere in the Avesta as a personal name supports this view), or whether it is the name of an individual supernatural bird. However, the latter is clearly the case with Middle Persian *sēn murw* ("Sēn the bird") and New Persian *sīmurgh* (which is no longer separable). In the Persian epic tradition, best recorded in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, Sīmurgh is a gigantic creature, the special protector of Zāl, who is brought up by this bird after being abandoned by his parents, and of his son Rustam, whom it helps in his battle against Isfandiyār. Remnants of ancient Avestan conceptions can be seen in the fact that Sīmurgh's feathers have magical healing powers. On the other hand, the original function of the tree of healing seems to be inverted in the story of how Sīmurgh conveys Rustam to a far-away tree, from the branches of which he forges the fatal arrow which kills Isfandiyār. Similarly, the story of how Isfandiyār himself slays Sīmurgh must be a later accretion.

It is perhaps not surprising to see the Sīmurgh of Iranian mythology amalgamated with the Arabic *ʿanḳāʾ* ("phoenix" [*q.v.*]) and even with Garuḍa, the giant bird which in Hindu mythology transports the god Viṣṇu. A striking example for this syncretism can be found in the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; in the story of the strand birds and the sea, as told in the first book of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, the birds complain to their king Garuḍa; in the old Syriac translation (and evidently in its lost source in Middle Persian) Garuḍa has become *sīmur(gh)*, while in the Arabic translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (from the same Middle Persian original) he becomes *al-ʿuḳāb al-ʿanḳāʾ*. Similarly, in Arabic accounts of the "history" of pre-Islamic Persia (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, al-Thaʿālibī) the Sīmurgh of the Rustam story is represented by *al-ʿanḳāʾ*, and conversely Arabic *ʿanḳāʾ*, is often translated in Persian by *sīmurgh*.

Sīmurgh plays a role in Islamic mystical literature. The *Risālat al-ṭayr* (extant in an Arabic and a Persian version, attributed, on very questionable authority, to Muḥammad and Aḥmad al-Ghazālī respectively [see AL-GHAZĀLĪ, AḤMAD]) uses a story of how the birds set off in search of their king, *al-ʿanḳāʾ*/Sīmurgh, as an elaborate allegory for the relationship between the worshipper and God. Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] developed this story further in his Persian narrative poem *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, where it is given a pantheistic twist; through their search for God, the "thirty birds" (*sī murgh*) become of one essence with the Sīmurgh himself.

Bibliography: Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, 1548; V.F. Büchner, *EI*[1], art. *Sīmurgh* (detailed, but rather speculative); H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele. Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār*, Leiden 1955, 8-18, and index s.v. *Sīmurgh*; M. Moʿin (Muʿīn), *Sīmury*, in *Dr. J.M. Unvala memorial volume*, Bombay 1964, 18-24; M. Boyce, *A history of Zoroastrianism*, i, Leiden-Cologne 1975, 88-9, 138.

(F.C. de Blois)

SĪN and **SHĪN**, the 12th and 13th letters of the Arabic alphabet. Both letters have the same form (*rasm*), which derives from that of the Aramaic letter *shīn*, and are distinguished only by diacritics, *shīn* having three dots above, while *sīn* is in principle unpointed (*muhmal*), though in carefully written manuscripts it can be distinguished by a V-shaped sign above the letter, or else by three dots below. In the Eastern form of the *abdjad* [*q.v.*], *sīn* occupies the position of Aramaic *semkath* and, like this, has the numerical value 60, while *shīn* has the position of Aramaic *shīn* (= 300), but in the Western *abdjad*, *sīn* occupies the position of Aramaic *shīn* (= 300), while *shīn* stands at the very end with the value 1000. It is worth mentioning that *s* (*semkath*) is the only Aramaic letter which has no graphic descendant in the Arabic alphabet.

For the hypothetical common ancestor of the Semitic languages it is possible to postulate three unvoiced, non-glottalised sibilants, for which we can use the conventional symbols s^1, s^2 and s^3. In most Semitic languages these have coalesced into two or even one single phoneme (in Arabic and Old Ethiopic s^1 merges with s^3; in Akkadian, Ugaritic and some Canaanite dialects s^1 merges with s^2; in Aramaic and modern Hebrew s^2 merges with s^3; in modern Ethiopic languages all three are reduced to a single sibilant), but they survived as three separate phonemes in Biblical Hebrew (where they are represented by שׁ, שׂ and ס respectively), in Ancient South Arabian (which has three different characters for these sibilants) and in the modern South Arabian languages (Mehrī, Dj̲ibbālī, Soḳoṭrī, Hobyōt). In the latter the descendant of Semitic s^1 is a palato-alveolar [š]—with a frequent (except in Dj̲ibbālī) secondary shift to [h]—, s^2 is represented by the unvoiced lateral conventionally transcribed as [ś]—roughly like Welsh *ll*—and s^3 by the alveolar [s]; it is probable that these were approximate realisations of the three sibilants in proto-Semitic. Already in the earliest documents in North Arabian (with the exception only of Taymanite, which appears to have retained the three Semitic sibilants), s^1 and s^3 have become a single phoneme, which is represented by the South Arabian sign for s^1, and which in classical Arabic is continued by the phoneme represented by the letter *sīn*, while s^2 survives as the separate phoneme represented in classical Arabic by *s̲h̲īn*. The etymological correspondence of Arabic *sīn* and *s̲h̲īn* with the sibilants in other Semitic languages is clear and well-established; what remains uncertain is the chronology of the sound-shifts in Arabic and the precise pronunciation of the sibilants at any particular stage in the history of the language. It seems, however, that one must reckon with at least two sound-shifts: the first resulting in the merger of s^1 and s^3 into one phoneme, which in remote antiquity was probably realised as [š] but in modern Arabic has become a very sharp [s]—produced with the tip of the tongue just behind the ridge of the upper teeth—, and a second, evidently more recent, shift of Semitic s^2 from a lateral [ś], perhaps via some intermediary stage, to a palato-alveolar [š].

The mediaeval grammarians give detailed phonetic descriptions of *sīn* and *s̲h̲īn* which, though much discussed by modern scholars, remain rather obscure; in particular, one must ask to what extent these descriptions really reflect the pronunciation at the time of a given author and are not merely repeated from an earlier tradition. Some light on the history of Arabic pronunciation is shed by the treatment of loan-words from non-Semitic languages (the many Arabic borrowings from Aramaic are less instructive, as there is always the possibility that their form has been influenced by that of cognate Arabic roots). It can be observed that in early Arabic borrowings from Greek the σ of the latter language, though often represented by *sīn*, quite frequently appears as *ṣād* (e.g. *ḳayṣar* from χαῖσαρ, though here, velarisation as a suprasegmental feature should be considered), which would seem to indicate that the Arabic phoneme represented by *sīn* was in any case not perceived as being completely identical with the Greek or Aramaic [s], though the difference may be merely that the latter were produced with a more retracted tongue, i.e. with a tongue-position closer to that of Arabic [ṣ]. In Arabic words borrowed from Iranian languages, original [š] is, as the mediaeval philologists noted, normally represented by *sīn* (e.g. Arabic *sarāwīl*, "trousers", plural of *sirwāl*, from Middle Persian *šalwār*/*šarwāl*; Arabic *banafsadj̲*, "violet", from MP. *wanafšag*; also proper nouns like Arabic Sābūr for MP. Šābuhr), though in some (presumably more recent) loan-words Iranian [š] is represented by *s̲h̲īn* (e.g. in *s̲h̲āh*, "king [in the game of chess]"). Conversely, Arabic *sīn* is represented by Persian [š] in the early loan-word *las̲h̲kar*, "army", from Arabic *al-ʿaskar*, itself evidently borrowed (via Aramaic and Greek) from Latin *exercitus* (thus Nöldeke, *apud* S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 239; but this borrowing is not accepted by everybody, nor is it entirely clear in which direction the borrowing occurred). Such examples confirm that early Arabic *s̲h̲īn* was not pronounced like the Persian palato-alveolar [š], for otherwise *s̲h̲īn* would have been used consistently for its supposed Persian equivalent.

On the other hand, Sībawayh (ed. Derenbourg, ii, 376) cites the *sīn* of the above-cited word *sarāwīl* as an example for how Arabic can substitute one "letter" for another in a borrowed Persian word even in cases where the replaced letter is one that occurs also in native Arabic words; in other words, the [š] of Persian *šarwāl* was, in Sībawayh's judgement, one of the "letters of the Arabs". From this one must conclude that in the 2nd/8th century *s̲h̲īn* already had its modern value [š] and that the grammarians consequently saw the substitution of [s] for [š] no longer as a case of the replacement of an unknown sound by a known one but as a phenomenon within the phonological system of Arabic.

Bibliography: C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908-13, i, 128-30; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 24, 30, 73; J. Cantineau, *La "mutation des sifflantes" en sudarabique*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 313-23; A.F.L. Beeston, *Phonology of the Epigraphic South Arabian unvoiced sibilants*, in *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1951), 1-26; idem, *Arabian sibilants*, in *JSS*, vii (1962), 222-33 (both articles are fundamental); M.V. McDonald, *The order and phonetic value of Arabic sibilants in the "Abjad"*, in *JSS*, xix (1974), 36-46; R.C. Steiner, *The case for fricative-laterals in proto-Semitic*, New Haven 1977; A. Faber, *Genetic subgroupings in Semitic languages*, Austin 1980, 171-229 (largely misguided); A. Roman, *Étude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la koinè arabe*, Aix en Provence 1983, i, 68, 144-7; M.C.A. Macdonald, *HU 501 and the use of s^3 in Taymanite*, in *JSS*, xxxvi (1991), 11-35; idem, *On the placing of ṣ in the Maghribi abjad and the Khirbet al-Samrāʾ ABC*, in *JSS*, xxxvii (1992), 155-66. (F.C. de Blois)

ṢĪN- or ČĪN KALĀN, literally, "Great China", a name appearing in Islamic sources, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Western travellers of the Mongol period, for the Chinese port of Canton, more generally known in Islamic sources as K̲h̲ānfū [*q.v.*].

al-ṢĪN, the usual designation in mediaeval Arabic for China; properly, it means the Chinese people, but is normally used, with the prefixed *bilād*, for the land of China itself.

1. The name.

The initial consonant of the word represents the customary rendering of Persian *čīm* into early Arabic as *ṣād*. Thus the forms Čīnistān and Čīn appear in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (*ca.* 372/982), the first form going back to the 2nd century A.D. Sogdian letters and appearing subsequently in Middle Persian and Armenian; in New Persian, the form Čīn is more common. The Arabic version al-Ṣīn appears in geo-

graphical and historical texts from the time of Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]) onwards. The origin of the name lies in that of the first of the Chinese empires, i.e. the Ch'in (Qin) (221-210 B.C.) (see V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 227).

One also finds in later Islamic sources the place name Mādjīn = Māčīn, said to be called by the Indians Mahāčīn "Great China", referring to the Northern and Southern Sung (Song) (960-1279), so that when Islamic sources link Čīn with Māčīn, the latter term refers to southern China where the Sung emperors ruled after 1127. A reminiscence of the dynastic name is to be found in the local history of Bayhaḳ by Ibn Funduḳ (later 6th/12th century), the *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ* (ed. A. Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938, 18): *S.nḳū* = the capital of Mahāčīn.

2. The present distribution of Muslims in China and a characterisation of Islam there.

The modern People's Republic of China (PRC) contains 55 recognised ethnic minority groups, ten of which include Muslims amongst their numbers: (a) The Turkic group: Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar and Salar [see the arts. on these various peoples]. (b) The Mongol group: Tung-hsiang (Dongxiang) and Puo-an (Baoan) [see MONGOLIA. Muslims in the modern Mongolian People's Republic, at the end]. (c) The Iranian group: Tadjiks. (d) The Chinese group: the Hui or native Chinese Muslims. The Turkic group and the small number of Tadjiks are essentially concentrated in what was historically Eastern Turkestan. This was only fully incorporated into the Chinese empire after a lengthy military campaign in the mid-18th century, and is now the Hsin-chiang (Sinkiang or Xinjiang) Uighur Autonomous Region, comprising about one-sixth of the total area of the Chinese Republic and its largest administrative unit. It contains over half of the Muslims in the Republic as a whole. For this region, see SINKIANG, and for its peoples and languages, see also TURKS.

These facts show that Islam in China, although with indigenous Hui elements in various regions, such as Yün-nan (Yunan), Sichuan (Ssu-chuan, or Szechuan), Shan-tung (Shandong), Shan-si (Shanxi), Shensi (Shaanxi), Kan-su (Gansu), Ning-hsia (Ningxia), Hu-nan (Henan) and T'in-fang (Tianfang) is essentially a religion of the western lands lying between Tibet and Mongolia and of the interiors, rather than of the eastern coastlands. Hence Chinese Islam has over the centuries only been able sporadically to keep in touch with the main centres of Muslim piety and scholarship outside China, such as Western Turkestan, the Iranian world and Muslim India. Maritime contacts, e.g. with the very numerous Muslims of Indonesia, have been minimal in recent centuries, after European naval powers like the Portuguese, Dutch and British took control of the Indian Ocean and China Seas. On the other hand, Chinese Muslims have always had a consciousness that the focus of their faith lay in the "Western lands", the *T'ien fang* or "celestial region", and have endeavoured to send a trickle at least of believers for the Arabian Pilgrimage. This has increased in recent years, with a slackening in the anti-religious stance of the Chinese Communist government and the diplomatic need to cultivate Muslim powers of the Middle East, Africa, etc.; in 1983 over 1,000 pilgrims went to Mecca (see further below, 4).

A consequence of geographical isolation has been intellectual impoverishment; at the present time, Kansu, traditionally a concentration-point for Muslims, has the lowest literacy rate (2%) of all China's eighteen provinces. No contributions to Muslim culture or scholarship of any significance have ever come out of China. Up to the 20th century, the sole religious knowledge of the Hui Muslim leaders, the *Ahongs* (< Persian *ākhūnd*) or Imāms, was often of a few Ḳurʾānic texts and prayers. Only in the last few years, with the ending of the Cultural Revolution and its excesses, have *madrasas* been allowed to cater for increased numbers of students and potential religious leaders, with *Ahongs* being allowed to study abroad, in e.g. Pakistan. It was not really till the 18th and 19th centuries (the first Chinese Muslim literature seems to date from *ca.* 1600) that there grew up a Muslim apologetic literature in Chinese emphasising the faith and trying to demonstrate a certain degree of conformableness to the mainstream of Han Chinese culture and traditional Confucian religion, with which Chinese Islam was always in a state of tension and, at times, of outright rebellion. It was at this time, too, that Chinese translations from Arabic and Persian religious literature were made, the first complete Chinese translation of the Ḳurʾān being that by Tu Wen-hsiu [*q.v.*] (Du Wenxiu), leader of the western Yunnan Muslim rebels in the Panthay [*q.v.*] revolt of 1855-73 [see AL-ḲURʾĀN. 9. Translation of the Ḳurʾān, 4]. Nevertheless, despite all such handicaps, the faith has survived in China and despite the repression of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, retains its place, so far as one can now discern, as one of the active and flourishing religions of China.

Reliable population statistics for the Muslims of China have never been easy to obtain. Estimates in the early part of the 20th century, as attempted by M. Broomhall (*Islam in China, a neglected problem*, Shanghai 1910, repr. London 1987, and the French military mission whose findings were published as *Mission d'Ollone 1906-1909, recherches sur les musulmans chinois*, Paris 1911, could only be tentative, but tended to show that their numbers had at that period been often much exaggerated. In the modern Peoples' Republic of China (PRC), an often-cited, semi-official estimate (1995) is 16 to 18 millions, with 7 to 8 millions of these being Hui.

Bibliography: See also G.F. Andrews, *The crescent in north-west China*, London *ca.* 1921, and the articles on the various Muslim nationalities of China in R.V. Weekes (ed.), *Muslim peoples, a world demographic survey*², London 1884; M. Dillion, *Islam in China*, in Azim Nanji (ed.), *The Muslim almanac*, Detroit 1996, 91-105. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. Geographical and historical information to the year *ca.* A.D. 1050.

The early connections of the pre-Islamic Near East with China were primarily commercial, involving above all the silk trade, carried on by land through eastern Persia, Transoxania, the Tarim basin (with a route along its northern rim passing through Ḳuča and Ḳarashahr and one along the southern rim through Yarkand and Khotan) and the Kansu corridor to northwestern China. The native Chinese seem to have brought their goods only to the western borders of their empire, and the great carriers of the trade across Inner Asia were the Western Turks or Kök Türks—in Chinese, T'u-chueh (Tujue)—and, above all, the Indo-European peoples of the Tarim basin, such as the Tokharians and the Khotanese, and the Sogdians of Transoxania, whose colonies were spread out along the route and into China itself (on the silk trade here, see A. Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, Quellen und Vorschlagen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Berlin 1910, repr. Tient-

sin 1941; W. Watson, ch. *Iran and China*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iii/1, 537-58). The main consumers of silk goods in the Near East were the Sāsānid Persians and the Byzantines, both of whom required a steady inflow of silk textiles for their elaborate court ceremonial and, in the latter case, for religious ceremonies. In the later 6th century, the Western Turks under their Ḳag̲h̲an or Yabg̲h̲u Istemi (in the Byzantine historian Menander Protector, Silzibul < Yabg̲h̲u) and his son and successor Tardu—in Chinese, Ta-t'u (Datu)—endeavoured to bypass the Persians, who claimed to act as sole intermediaries in the trade, and to deal directly with Byzantium, and diplomatic missions took place between the Kag̲h̲ans and the Emperors Justin II and Tiberius II (see on these, R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1951, 128-30, Eng. tr. *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 83-5; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*[2], Berlin 1958).

We have numerous accounts of the relations of the Islamic world with China, which in part prove to be very accurate. To the Arab geographers, China was the land of the unknown and mysterious, into which only the boldest might venture. It must be noted that even in the oldest Arab geographers, who deal with China, that have survived for us, the connection of South and North China is known; it is one and the same land whose coasts are washed by the Indian Ocean (*Baḥr Fāris, Baḥr al-Hind* [*q.vv.*]) and whose mountains are connected with the mountains of Farg̲h̲āna and their continuation; so we are told by al-Balk̲h̲ī in al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and Ibn Ḥawḳal (sea-coasts, 40, 193; mountains, 109, 249). What the tradition of the Muslims of China itself tells us about the earliest connections of China and western Asia, is legendary, although it is stated in numerous monuments in stone. It deals with the famous companion of the Prophet Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], whom it makes a maternal uncle of Muḥammad and whose grave in Canton (Guangzhou) is revered, although he really never came to China (de Thiersant mentions the name Wahb Abū Kabs̲h̲a in addition to Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, without sufficient authority, cf. Broomhall, *Islam in China*, 76 ff.). Tradition also tells of the bringing of Islam to China by land via Hami (Ḳumul) by Arab envoys and the exchange of 3,000 Arab and Chinese soldiers as a result of a dream of the Emperor T'ai-tsung (Taizong) (A.D. 626-49). These legends have been collected by de Thiersant and, more critically, by Devéria, *Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*. The oldest document on the beginnings of Islam in China is a stele in the chief mosque of Hsi-an (Si'an, or Xi'an), which under the name of Ch'ang-an (Chang'an) was the principal capital of the T'ang (Tang) emperors, K̲h̲umdān of the early Islamic sources (see below), situated on the River Wei, a tributary of the Yellow River. This stele professes to have been erected in A.D. 742. According to this, Islam must have been known in China under Won-ti (Wonti), first emperor of the Sai Tien-ch'e (Sai Dianche) dynasty (A.D. 581-604). Equally impossible dates for the introduction into China of Islam are given in other places also. In any case, the inscription is a palpable forgery. It was probably erected when the mosque was repaired, possibly at the renovations undertaken in the Yüan or Mongol period by Sai Tien-ch'e (Sayyid-i Ad̲j̲all, see below). The Chinese official tradition found in the dynastic histories is not much more reliable than that of Chinese Islam. These also are full of legendary matter, profoundly influenced by national pride and compiled with a lack of critical judgement; nevertheless, they cannot be entirely neglected as they contain a few geographical and linguistic data. One should note also that, in the older Chinese literature, the land of the Muslims is called *Ta-shih* (*Dashi*), i.e. *Tād̲j̲ik* (*tād̲j̲ik* being the Middle Persian form of the modern Persian *tāzī*; it is the Persianised form of the Syriac *ṭayyāyē*, properly "Arab of the tribe of Ṭayyi'". The change in meaning is explained by the fact that once the Muslim Ṭayyi' Arabs were regarded by one body of Persians as the representatives of the Arab world, their name was extended to all Arabs and thus came to mean "Arab" or "Muslim". Later, they learned to distinguish more accurately between various branches of Muslims and *tād̲j̲ik* again became limited in application and was applied to the Muslim inhabitants of northeastern Persia; see TĀD̲J̲IK).

The Arabic sources are much better. We have such splendid works as al-Ṭabarī's history, which gives us all the material available in his time so that we can reconstruct the history for ourselves; it is improbable that any important notices from older times have escaped him. The Arabic sources afford a check on the Chinese ones, which we cannot afford to neglect; they are quite silent regarding the legends handed down by the traditions of indigenous Chinese Islam.

The Arab geographers are of particular importance. While no exact definition of the locality of China or its chief towns is given by the historians, the geographers by the very nature of their works have to give this information. Striking differences are found when one compares the different authors, according to the views prevailing when they wrote. Particularly striking is the utter disagreement between the statements of Ibn Rusta [*q.v.*] (who wrote his *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa ca.* 290/903) and al-Masʿūdī (who wrote his geographical work *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-is̲h̲rāf* in 344-5/955-6). According to Ibn Rusta (96, l. 5), the first clime begins in the east in the farthest borders of China, passes over China, thence over the coast lands in the south of the land of Sind, etc.; the second clime begins (96, ll. 13 ff.) in the east, passes over China, thence over India and thence to the land of Sind, etc.; the third clime (97, ll. 1 ff.) begins in the east passes over northern China, then over India, etc.; Tibet is the first station of the fourth clime (97, l. 12); the fifth clime begins in the land of Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ in the east (98, ll. 3 ff.) and passes immediately into northern K̲h̲urāsān; the sixth clime begins in the land of Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ and passes over the land of the K̲h̲azars; the seventh clime (98, ll. 13 ff.) begins in the east with the northern Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲, passes over the land of the Turks, the coast lands of the Caspian Sea, etc.; Ibn Rusta adds (98, ll. 16 ff.); "what lies behind these climes, in addition to the inhabited areas enumerated by us, begins in the east with the land of Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲, then passes over the land of the Tog̲h̲uzg̲h̲uz (i.e. Tog̲h̲uz Og̲h̲uz [*q.v.*], the 'Nine Og̲h̲uz) and the land of the Turks, then over the land of the Alahs, then over the Abars (the land of the Avars), then over Burd̲j̲ān or Burčān (the land of the Danubian or "Inner" Bulg̲h̲ārs) and the Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*] (the land of the Slavs) and ends in the Western Ocean". It is clear from this sketch that Ibn Rusta and his contemporaries only knew of South China, which was only reached by sea; China is a country by the sea, and so he speaks (83, ll. 15 ff.) of the Sea of the Indians, Persians and Chinese. When he says (87, ll. 19 ff.): "The Sea of the Indians is bounded on the east side [at the beginning] by the island of Tīzmakrān, at the end by China and is

bounded on the west side at the beginning by the Gulf of Aden, at the end by Java", he evidently means that the Indian Ocean is divided into an eastern and a western section, the first of which ends on the one side at the island of Tīzmakrān and on the other at China, which is a vast expanse of land reaching in the north to the land of Tibet in the fourth clime and to the land of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj in the fifth to seventh climes. Characteristic of Ibn Rusta's views is also the statement (88, l. 24, 89, l. 1) that the sea on which one sails from Baṣra to China is one sea and one water reaching to China, in which India also is situated. It was, however, thought that there were really seven seas, each of which had its characteristic features, such as different winds, different taste, different colour and different animals; on this opinion, cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* i, 325 = § 356, where it is stated that the sea is one but is to be navigated in different ways in different parts (this point is not raised in Ibn Rusta, 88, ll. 11 ff., where probably *al-zābadj* should be read for *al-ṣīn*). Ibn Rusta unconcernedly makes another land adjoin China, sc. Japan and Korea. He says, 82, l. 23, 83, l. 1: "Every Muslim who enters a land at the end of China, which is called al-Sīlā and where there is much gold, settles there and never comes back again from it"; we are also told elsewhere of Muslims who had come to al-Sīlā (Silla was the name of the dependent kingdom of Korea during T'ang times).

Al-Masʿūdī is better informed, though there are many confusions in his account of the climes (*Tanbīh*, 32 ff.). It is in the main based on a knowledge of the northerly situation of China; according to the general view (31 ff.), the sixth clime is particularly associated with Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj and the seventh with the *Yawamāris* (?) and the Chinese; on the other hand, we find the other view manifesting itself on 26, ll. 3 ff., where China and Korea are regarded the last inhabited areas in the east: "the farthest outposts of civilisation in the east are the frontiers of China and al-Sīlā (or al-Shīla [*q.v.*], i.e. Korea), up to where they end in the wall of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, which Alexander built, and the mountains behind, through the ravines of which the wall runs; Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj used to sweep down on the plains from there. The beginning of this wall is outside the habitable region in the seventh clime ... it then takes a southward direction and runs right along till it finally reaches the Sea of Darkness. In the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7) there had allegedly been an embassy from the court in Sāmarrā' to the wall of Gog and Magog led by one Sallām the Interpreter. See M.J. de Goeje, *De muur van Gog en Magog*, Leiden 1888; C.E. Wilson, *The wall of Alexander against Gog and Magog, and the expedition sent out to find it by the Khalif Wāthiq in 842 A.D.*, in *F. Hirth anniversary volume = Asia Major*, introductory vol., ed. B. Schindler, London 1927, 575-612.

Al-Masʿūdī also knows that India and China are near one another: "thither go ships of the Muslims, who on the voyage thither and to Djidda and al-Ḳulzum are attacked by the pirates of the land of Sind ... on *bawāridj*, which are like the *shawānī* of the Mediterranean" (55, ll. 9 ff.). Al-Masʿūdī gives more information about China in his *Murūdj al-dhahab* (written in 332/943, revised in 336/947 and again in 345/956). There was no longer a direct connection by sea in his time but ships came from either side to Galla (Point de Galle), which was almost the halfway point, from which Chinese ships sailed to Khānfū (Canton): "in olden times it was otherwise, when the Chinese ships sailed to the land of ʿUmān in Sīrāf, the coasts of Fārs and Baḥrayn, to Ubulla and Baṣra, and ships from these places likewise traded directly with China: it was only after justice could not longer be relied on and the above-described state of affairs in China had come about that they began to meet at this intermediate point" (i, 308 = § 336). The journey was actually undertaken by this route by a contemporary of al-Masʿūdī's, a merchant of Samarḳand, whose experiences al-Masʿūdī gives (i, 307-12 = §§ 336-41), while a Ḳurashī in the time of the revolt of the Zandj in Baṣra (255-65/869-79) sailed from Baṣra to India, thence proceeded partly by water and partly by land to China and landed at Khānfū, from which he visited the Emperor in his residence Khumdān (*ibid.*) (but the capital city in T'ang times was Ch'ang-an (Chang'an), hence there is a problem here). In i, 303 = § 329, Khānfū is also mentioned as an important commercial town, up to which ships from Baṣra, ʿUmān, Sīrāf, the towns of India, the islands of al-Zābadj and al-Ṣanf sail from the mouth of the river, some six or seven days' journey distant (on al-Zābadj, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 163-4, comm. 472-3; according to Minorsky, the form stems from *Javaga "Javanese", the term being applied by Islamic writers at various times to Java, Sumatra and the whole of the Sunda archipelago; on al-Ṣanf = Čampa in South-East Asia, see AL-ṢANF and also ČAM).

The roads leading to China have been most fully described by the oldest Arab geographer whose work has survived, Ibn Khurradādhbih, who held the office of chief superintendent of roads, in his *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* written around the middle of the 3rd/9th century. According to him, relations with China were principally maintained by sea, and his account of the ports of South China is surprisingly thorough. After giving the route of the traveller to China from Baṣra to al-Ṣanf on the coast, three days' journey from Ḳumār, he continues (69, ll. 1-19): "from al-Ṣanf to Lūḳīn, which is the first harbour in China, is 100 *farsakhs* by land and water ... from Lūḳīn to Khānfū, which is the largest port, is a journey of four days by sea and of twenty days by land ... from Khānfū to Khāndjū is an eight days' journey ... from Khāndjū to Ḳānṣū is a journey of twenty days ... every harbour of China has a large river which the ships sail into; there is ebb and flow of the tide there. ... The length of China along the coast from Armābīl to the end of the land is a journey of two months. There are 300 flourishing towns in China, ninety of which are particularly renowned: the [northern] frontier of China runs from the sea to Tibet and the land of the Turks, in the west to India; to the east of China is the land al-Waḳwaḳ, rich in gold ... (70, ll. 7 ff.) (on Wāḳwāḳ, concerning which there is utter confusion in the Arabic sources between a Wāḳwāḳ on the East African coast and a Wāḳwāḳ = Sumatra, "the gold island", at the side of other names for this last like Zābadj and Fanṣūr, see the art. s.v.). At the end of China opposite Ḳānṣū, there are many mountains and many kings, this is the land of al-Sīlā, where is much gold; the Muslims who enter this land settle in it on account of its attractions (cf. the account of Ibn Rusta above); it is not known what lies beyond". The whole route from Ceylon to Ḳānṣū is discussed by A. Sprenger in his *Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864, 82 ff. (on the route to Ceylon, it should be noted that "the harbour between ʿUmān and China" is not a place called Kila, to be identified with the town of Malacca, but Galla, which still survives in Point de Galle, see above). Al-Ṣanf he

identifies (with Reinaud and Peschel) with Čampa, i.e., the southern part of Cochin China, and locates Lūḳīn at the mouth of the Songkoi. As to the latter part of the route, one should note that Khānfū is undoubtedly Canton (Guangzhou), and Ḳānsū, in which we readily recognise the Khansā of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, is clearly Hang-chou (Hangzhou, or Hangchow), and Khāndjū should be identified as Ch'üan-chou, with Khāndjū a copyist's mistake for *Djāndjū*; this would agree with the distance, and we would then have evidence of the existence of Zaytūn, afterwards so important, in this period.

Ibn Khurradādhbih was, however, also acquainted with the land-routes to China. He only briefly describes the route followed by the Jewish Rādhān merchants [see AL-RĀDHĀNIYYA] in connection with the route followed by them by sea from the land of the Franks (Mediterranean—al-Faramā—carrying their goods on their backs over the isthmus to al-Ḳulzum = Suez) (153, ll. 13-15) "beyond Rūm into the land of the Slavs, then to Khamlīdj, the capital of the Khazars, then across the Caspian Sea, then to Balkh and Transoxania, then to the *wurut* (i.e. *yurt* 'pasture-grounds') of the Toghuzghuz and thence to China". He is much more detailed in describing the roads which lead from Transoxania to the east, and gives a vivid picture of a journey by the main route from the lands of the west to the east (178 ff.). At the ford on the upper course of the Oxus where it separates the Pamirs from Ṭukhāristān (Badakhshān), the Turks used to wait on the Pamir side and watch for foreign merchants appearing and signalling to them on the summit of the mountains opposite; they crossed the river and brought back the strangers and their goods to set them on their journey again to China or to India; he describes in thrilling fashion the skill with which these mountain Turks travelled through the great deserts of rocks where no path was visible; this agrees pretty closely with what modern travellers tell us about the Pamir districts of Darwāz and Shughnān, which is the locality referred to by Ibn Khurradādhbih; even the name has survived, for we may easily recognise Shughnān in the *Shikinān* of Ibn Khurradādhbih (179), who calls the Turks of this district *Shikīna* (178, 15) and gives the name of the district in the form *Shikinān* (37, 173). When Ibn Khurradādhbih calls the *Shigīna* Turks (178, ll. 15: *al-Turk alladhīna yusammawna Shigīna*), he is using the word in a very general sense; the inhabitants of Shughnān as well as of the whole of the rest of Ṭukhāristān were certainly Indo-Iranians and probably spoke the same dialect (*Shughnī*) as they do at the present day [see further, SHUGHNĀN].

Ibn Khurradādhbih's account makes it quite clear how distinctly the difference between China and the land of the Turks was understood in his time. This is all the more remarkable, as in his time the influence of China in the Turkish lands between China proper and the T'ienshan (Tianshan) was still significant; the Khāḳān and the lesser Turkish princes were regarded by China as vassals, and these princes endeavoured to place themselves under the protection of the Chinese Emperor or *Faghfūr* [*q.v.*] when threatened, e.g. by the Arabs. Through contacts with the harbours of China, the Muslims were well enough acquainted with the characteristics of the Chinese to understand the differences between them and the Turks. The division of the earth into four continents by Ibn Khurradādhbih is characteristic (155): Arūfā (Europe), Lūbiya (Africa), Ityūfiyā (Ethiopia) with Tihāma, Yemen, Sind, India and China, and Isḳūtiya (?) with Armenia, Khurāsān, the land of the Turks and the land of the Khazars, which cuts up Asia in a peculiar fashion.

There are also other important extant sources of information on the connections by sea, namely the accounts collected by Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī in his *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948. Though the first part of this work is merely a repetition of the notes compiled in 237/851 by Sulaymān the Merchant (Reinaud, *Relations de voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et dans la Chine*, Paris 1845, ii, 61), supplemented by Abū Zayd's own materials, the second part deals with the changes that had taken place in commerce by sea, in their relation to history and gives the narrative of the Ḳurashī Ibn Wahb (of the family of Habbār). This narrative is of no geographical importance: only two towns are fully dealt with, *viz.* Khānfū, which has just been discussed above and shown to be Canton, and Khumdān or Khamdān (= *Khān* "Emperor" + *t'ang* "court"?) the capital of the empire, Hsi-an fu (Xi'an fu), which Ibn Wahb visited. In the *Akhbār*, Khānfū is the great centre of trade between the Arabs (the word is of course not to be taken literally, but means Muslims generally) and the Chinese; on account of the frequent fires and shipwrecks, the goods exposed were not numerous, however; trade was also seriously hampered by piracy (ed. Sauvaget, § 11); Sulaymān is quoted as authority for the statement that a Muslim was appointed law-giver to the Muslim colony by the King of China; this judge was also *Imām* and prayed for the caliph. His decisions were universally respected (§ 12). The voyage from the Gulf to Khānfū was made in fresh water (§§ 13 ff.); the Chinese governor of Khānfū bore the title *dayfū* = *t'ai fu* (*taifu*) (§ 37); the revolt of the Banshua was a disastrous period in the history of Khānfū; he attacked the town which lay in the interior, a few days' journey from the coast, on a large river; this was in 264/878; after the capture of the town by the rebels over 120,000 souls perished from among the foreigners alone, Muslims, Christians, Jews and Magians; it was possibly this blow to Khānfū which brought Ch'üan-chou (Quanzhou), the nearest commercial town to the north, to the front. Lastly, Abū Zayd tells of a native Khurāsānī, who came with his wares to Khānfū and from there visited the capital Khumdān, more than two months journey distant.

It is not till a later period that the seaport of Zaytūn appears in Arabic literature, probably for the first time in Ibn Sa'īd, whose statements Abu 'l-Fidā' (365, tr. in Reinaud, ii, 124) utilised along with those of one who had been there, probably a fellow countryman and subject. It is next described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 268-72, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 894-5), who first stepped ashore on Chinese soil at Zaytūn. Zaytūn (i.e. Ch'üan-chou-fu or Quanzhou, near Amoy (Hsiamen, or Xiamen), in Fukien or Fujian province) had an enormous harbour where the Moroccan traveller saw a hundred large junks and innumerable smaller ones. The Muslims lived in a separate town of their own, with a *ḳāḍī*, a *shaykh al-Islām*, a Ṣūfī convent and a colony of leading merchants who, to judge by their *nisbas*, were all Persians. He made Zaytūn his base for further journeys in China, e.g. to Ṣīn Kalān or Ṣīn al-Ṣīn or Canton (i.e. Khānfū), then after a return to Zaytūn, by river to Ḳandjanfū, a large city on a plain (? Fu-chou, or Fuzhou, Foochow, further north on the Fukien coast), which again had a Muslim colony with its *shaykh*. Then he went via al-Khansā

(Hang-chou-fu or Hangzhou, Hangchow), Marco Polo's Kinsai, in Chekiang province, which had a large Muslim community, including a merchant descended from the Caliph ʿUthmān and a group of Ṣūfīs; and then to the capital of the Yüan, Khān Bālik (Peking) also said to be called Khānikū (read Khānfū, hence a confusion with the name for Canton?). The lengthy florescence and importance of a Muslim Arab and Persian colony at Zaytūn is further attested by the survival there of several hundred mosque and tombstone inscriptions in Arabic script, mostly in Arabic language but with some in Persian and with some Arabic-Chinese bilingual ones, dating from the 7th to the 15th century. See Chen Da-sheng, *Islamic inscriptions in Quanzhou (Zaitun)*, tr. Chen En-ming and Zheng De-chao, Ningxia and Fujian 1984; R.B. Serjeant, *Yemenis in mediaeval Quanzhou (Canton)* [*sic*], in *New Arabian Studies*, i, Exeter 1993, 231-4.

The land route connecting Transoxania with China via Inner Asia figures in the travel account, his first *Risāla*, of the Arab author Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*], purporting to describe his membership of an embassy *ca.* 331/943 to the King of China, Ḳālīn b. al-Shakhīr (Minorsky suggested for this last component of the name **Čaḳir* = Tkish. *čaghrï* "falcon") from the Sāmānid Amīr of Bukhārā, who refused to give a daughter in marriage to an infidel but allowed his son to marry a Chinese princess. The embassy travelled to Sandābil [*q.v.*], which Marquart identified (*Streifzüge*, 85-90) with Kansu or Kan-ču, capital of the eastern, so-called "Yellow" (*Sarï*) Uyghurs, whose head was recognised as Khān by the Chinese Emperor (see A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abû Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestân, China und Indien neu übersetzt und untersucht*, Bonn, 1939, tr. 25-30, comm. 56-60). Unfortunately, Abū Dulaf's *Risāla* contains so many fanciful elements and problems of itinerary that it cannot be relied upon for firm evidence of Sāmānid-Chinese relations at this time.

Very important, however, for such considerations as these is the information in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (tr. Minorsky, 83-6, comm. 223-35) and in the geographical-ethnographical section of the *K. Zayn al-akhbār* of the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī [*q.v.*], who wrote in the mid-5th/11th century (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 268-71; the significance of this passage was first noted and translated by Barthold in his *Otčet o poyezdkie v Sredniyu Aziyu 1893-1894*, St. Petersburg 1897, 92-4). These two sources are the first Islamic ones to speak of China and Tibet [see for this last, TUBBAT. 1] in any detail, and though they have many resemblances, they do not entirely coincide. Minorsky surmised, with great probability, that they both went back to the lost geographical work of the Sāmānid vizier Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djayhānī [see AL-DJAYHĀNĪ, in Suppl.]. Both sources give roughly the same itinerary for the land route to China. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* notes that the Chinese monarch was called the Faghfūr-i Čīn, and was said to be a *shamanī* (? Buddhist). His capital was at Khumdān (Ch'ang-an fu, Hsi-an-fu), although after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907 it was transferred elsewhere. China is said to have nine large provinces, but the places mentioned, apart from the capital, tend to be in the Tarim basin-Kansu region rather than in China proper further to the east and south. Gardīzī, however, was by his time aware that there were many kings in China, "of whom the greatest is the Faghfūr", thus reflecting the post-T'ang political divisions of the land. The statement in both sources that the main religion of China was Manicheism can only, of course, reflect the state of affairs amongst the eastern Uyghurs on the western fringes of the Chinese empire proper (see above).

Writing some 70 years after Gardīzī, in *ca.* 514/1120, the section on China in Marwazī [*q.v.*] is less concerned with itineraries and places than with ethnological and sociological details plus an emphasis on the importance of trade and manufactures for the Chinese (Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, tr. 13-27, comm. 61-92). Chinese artisans had long been famed in the Islamic world for their aptitudes; thus al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*] praises their fine silk textiles and their porcelain, and states that "The Arabs used to call every delicately or curiously made vessel and such like, whatever its real origin, 'Chinese', because finely-made things are a speciality of China" (*Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1968, 141-2). This fame of Chinese technical skills may go back to the capture of Chinese paper-makers at the battle of Talas in 133/752 and the consequent establishment by means of these workers of paper manufacture at Samarḳand (see *ibid.*, 140, and KĀGHAD).

From all these accounts, there emerges that the road from Turfan via the Kansu corridor to north-western China was always the main land route for diplomatic and commercial contacts with China up to the Mongol period. It appears that, in the 13th century, the Mongol Great Khāns tended to take a more northerly route from their *ordo* at Karakorum [*q.v.*] in Mongolia, one going north of the T'ienshan via Bishbalïḳ, Almalïḳ, Talas and Sayram [*q.vv.*] to the Sïr Daryā valley, though much of the traffic in the Mongol period was military rather than commercial.

The above analysis of the accounts of the land of China by Islamic writers will facilitate the investigation of the history of Islam in China. For the older period, this investigation must be undertaken in two quite separate fields. The two routes by which Islam came to China were quite different in character and object: the land route, which led into northern China, brought Islam into the western parts of the northern kingdom only, and did not send out colonies to the coast; the route by sea ran along the coast of China as far as Hangchow, founding colonies everywhere, which carefully avoided any attempt to advance into the interior. This was one of the features of the advance of Islam; when it came by water, it remained on the coast, and when it came by land, it remained in the interior. The maritime contacts of the Islamic lands of Western Asia and China remained strong well into the Yüan period of Chinese history (1260-1368), and probably into that of the early Ming (1368-1644), but as noted in 2. above, the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the China Seas during the 16th century severed this connection; thereafter, Islamic-Chinese contacts were to be almost entirely by the land route, and it is now the Hui Muslim communities of western and northwestern China which become significant for Chinese imperial history.

The story of the maritime contacts has largely emerged from the geographers' and travellers' accounts detailed above. However, for the story of political and military relations via the land route across Inner Asia, one needs to go back to the early decades of Islam.

The earliest notices of the relations of Islam with China that are worthy of mention, are connected with the political events which arose out of the expansion of Islam. Fīrūz, son of the last Sāsānid king, Yazdigird III, had fled to China after his father's death in 651 [see SĀSĀNIDS] and had sought to persuade the Emperor

to take action on his behalf. His prospects seemed on the whole not unfavourable, as an important dynastic change had just been accomplished in China at this time; the Sui Dynasty had been superseded by the T'ang (A.D. 618), whose first emperors were pursuing an energetic career of conquest. Muḥammad and his successors were similarly engaged in the west. The fact that the huge mountain wall of the T'ienshan formed a barrier between these two new powers, and that on the Chinese side between it and China proper lay the inhospitable Tarim basin, did not prevent Muslim legend from supposing that the Prophet and his companions entered into relationships with the distant empire. According to an oft-repeated tradition (see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 270-1, Eng. tr. Barber and Stern, i, 245-6), Muḥammad issued a warning against provoking the Turks, whose name he possibly did not even know. Such stories are later inventions, whose object it was to increase the prestige of the Messenger of God by crediting him with foreseeing later events. The Chinese were accustomed to hold aloof when, under exceptional circumstances, strangers entered their territories or when their armies would have to be sent beyond the natural frontier. They followed this policy in the case of Fīrūz, son of Yazdigird. The Emperor T'ai-tsung (Taizong) refused his request for help (this we may assume from al-Ṭabarī, i, 2685-6, even if the report of the envoy is legendary; cf. i, 2876). Islam, on the other hand, began to expand eastwards from Khurāsān, and by 94/713 the great general Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] had led an army out of the conquered Farghāna across the mountains into the adjoining land of the Turks. His campaign was unsuccessful; the comparison of the original authorities in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1275-9, shows that his expedition did not result in the conquest of Kāshghar, a conclusion confirmed by H.A.R. Gibb (*The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 467-74).

There are various mentions in the T'ang annals of diplomatic contacts and military clashes with the Arabs during the 8th century A.D. in the Central Asian region, over which the Emperors claimed a general suzerainty, and records of appeals for aid from the Soghdian city-states of Transoxania now threatened by the Arabs [see MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR. 2]. Thus in A.D. 715 the Tibetans and Arabs are said to have attacked, in concert, Farghāna, provoking the Chinese governor in Kāshghar to send a punitive expedition to extend Chinese overlordship in the province. But the Chinese failed to maintain their position in Transoxania, and three or four decades later, in 133/751, the Arab general Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ defeated the imperial army under Kao Hsien-chih (Gao Xianzhi) at the battle of Talas, determining the future orientation of Transoxania, that it was to become an integral part of the Islamic and not the Chinese world, and deterring the Chinese from ever again intervening there militarily. China was in fact racked by internal revolts from 751 onwards. The Emperor Hsüan-tsung (Xuanzong) fled from his capital to Szechuan, but his son and successor Su-tsung (Suzong) recaptured Ch'ang-an with the aid of troops from Kāshghar, Farghāna and the upper Oxus lands, including Arabs; in the Chinese annals these last are said to have been lent by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr. Gibb pointed out (*Chinese records of the Arabs in Central Asia*, in *BSOS*, ii [1923], 615-22) that there is no mention of any of the episode in the Arab historians and that the so-called "Arabs" must have mercenaries and adventurers, who probably subsequently settled in China and may have formed a nucleus for the spread of Islam there. The Arabic sources are equally silent about what was a long series of Arab diplomatic missions mentioned as being received at the T'ang court from 716 onwards (detailed in E. Chavannes, *Notes additionelles sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, in *T'oung Pao*, v [1904], 32 ff.); there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of this information, but the embassies were probably sent by the governors of Khurāsān rather than directly by caliphs.

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, overland connections between the Arab Persian governors of Khurāsān and the successor-states there to the caliphate (e.g. those of the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids [*q.vv.*]) and China, tended to be blocked by the constituting of powerful Turkish states like those of the Uyghurs of Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia, with their capital on the Orkhon river (till A.D. 840), and, in the 4th/10th century, the ascendancy of the Ḳarluḳ Turks [*q.v.*] and the Ilig Khāns or Ḳarakhānids which almost certainly arose out of them. Hence contacts were only sporadic. From this period, we know of the possible embassy to the Emperor of China sent by the Sāmānid Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad in response to a Chinese approach (see above), and of a more historically-attested embassy from the rulers of Ḳitā and of the Uyghurs to Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 417/1026 (Gardīzī, ed. Ḥabībī, 191) or in 418/1027 (Marwazī, tr. 19-21), bearing presents of the specialities of China and Siberia and seeking marriage alliances, in fact refused to the infidels by the Sultan; the potentates in question would appear to be Sheng-tsung (Shengzong), emperor of the (probably Mongolian) Liao (Khitan) dynasty (982-1031) [see ḲARA KHITAY] and the Uyghur Khān of Kansu, head of the "Yellow" (*Sari*) Uyghurs there. See Minorsky, *Marvazī*, comm. 76-80).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Dabry de Thiersant, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, Paris 1878; Devéria, *Musulmans et Manichéens chinois*, Paris 1898; H. Yule and H. Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], London 1903; eidem, *Cathay and the way thither*, repr. Taipei 1966; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1905; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910; T. Lewicki, *Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine*, in *RO*, xi (1935), 173-86; Jih-ming Chang, *Les Musulmans sous la Chine des Tang (618-905)*, Taipei 1980; Zhang Jun-yan, *Relations between China and the Arabs in early times*, in *Jnal. of Oman Studies*, vi (1980), 91-109.

(M. HARTMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

4. History of Islam in China from *ca.* A.D. 1050 to the present day.

During the Sung (Song) period (Northern Sung, 960-1127, Southern Sung, 1127-1279) we again hear in the Chinese annals of Muslim mercenaries. In 1070, the Sung emperor, Shen-tsung (Shenzong), invited a group of 5,300 young Arabs, under the leadership of Amīr Sayyid So-fei-er (this name being as mentioned in the Chinese source) of Bukhārā, to settle in China. This group had helped the emperor in his war with the newly-established Liao empire (Khitan) (on these, see above, 3) in northeastern China. Shen-tsung gave the prince an honorary title, and his men were encouraged to settle in the war-devastated areas in northeastern China between Kaifeng, the capital of the Sung, and Yen-ching (Yanjing) (today's Peking or Beijing) in order to create a buffer zone between the weaker Chinese and the aggressive Liao. In 1080, another group of more than 10,000 Arab men and women on horseback are said to have arrived in China to join So-fei-er. These people settled in all

the provinces of the north and northeast, mainly in Shan-tung (Shandong), Ho-nan (Henan), An-hui (Anhui), Hu-pei (Hubei), Shan-hsi (Shanxi) and Shen-hsi (Shaanxi). As settlers in the area between the Chinese and the northern nomads, these Muslims became an important local element in the 11th and 12th centuries, being involved in the land commercial traffic along the Silk Road with the support of the Chinese, the Khitan, and the Tibetan and Tangut authorities.

So-fei-er was not only the leader of the Muslims in his province, but he acquired the reputation also of being the founder and "father" of the Muslim community in China. Sayyid So-fei-er discovered that *Arabia* and *Islam* were misnamed by the T'ang and Sung Chinese as *Ta-shi kuo* (*Dashi guo*) ("the land of the Arabs") or as *Ta-shi fa* (*Dashi fa*) ("the religion, or law, of Islam"). This was derived from the ancient Chinese name for Arabia, *Ta-shi* (*Dashi*), which remained unchanged even after the great developments in Islamic history since that time. He then introduced *Ta-shi kuo* (*Dashi guo*) ("the Religion of Double Return") to substitute for *Ta-shi fa* (*Dashi fa*), and then replaced *Ta-shi kuo* (*Dashi guo*) with *Hui-hui chi'ao* (*Huihui jiao*) ("the Islamic state"). "The Religion of Double Return" meant to "submit and return to Allāh". Thus, in Chinese, *Hui-hui kuo* (*Huihui guo*) was universally accepted and adopted for *Islam* by the Chinese, Khitan, Mongols and Turks of the Chinese border lands before the end of the 11th century.

The appearance of the Mongols [*q.v.*] in China meant a new phase in the development of Islam there. The Yüan Dynasty was founded by Ḳubilay K͟hān (r. 1260-94 [*q.v.*]), a grandson of the Great K͟hān, Čingiz K͟hān (1206-27 [*q.v.*]). His military forces, used for the overunning of both North and South China, were built largely upon the thousands of Muslim soldiers which he brought with him from the Middle Eastern and Central Asian campaigns. At least two of the commanders-in-chief of the three Mongol war zones were Arabs: Amīr Sayyid Bayan (Po-yen, Boyan) (1235-94) and Amīr Sayyid-i Ad̲j̲all S̲h̲ams al-Dīn ʿUmar (1211-79) (see below). They fought in the war against the Sung, and helped to establish Mongol power in China, with many thousands of Muslims serving as high officials in the central and provincial governments. Because large numbers of the Mongol soldiers were Muslims, the K͟hān decreed them to be second-class citizens of the Mongol empire (after the Mongols themselves in Yüan China). One of Ḳubilay's Muslim commanders was the Buk͟hāran, who claimed to be a *sayyid*, i.e. descendant of the Prophet, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn ʿUmar, called Sayyid-i Ad̲j̲all, given by the Great K͟hān the transliterated Chinese title *Sai-tien-ch'e* (Saidanche). He was Ḳubilay's governor of the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan [*q.v.*] for the period 1273 till his death in 1279. He was buried there, and his tomb, with its inscriptions, was subsequently discovered at the opening of the 20th century by the French Mission d'Ollone; a second grave also exists at Hsi-an (Xi'an), also with an inscription, this being a cenotaph which only contained the dead governor's ceremonial court dress (see A. Vissière, *Etudes sino-mahométanes*, Paris 1911, 41 n. 1). Sayyid-i Ad̲j̲all probably did much for the spread of Islam in Yunnan, but it is his son Nāṣir al-Dīn who is given the main credit for its spread there. The latter had been governor of Shensi, and when he died in Yunnan as governor there in 1292, he was succeeded by his brother Ḥusayn. Other sons of Sayyid-i Ad̲j̲all and their sons in turn held high office under the Yüan emperors, and the family remained famous in Chinese life. Thus the famous scholar Ma-chu (Mazhu) (*ca.* 1630-1710) supervised the renovation of the tomb and shrine of his ancestor Sayyid-i Ad̲j̲all, as attested by an inscription. It is certain that the dominant position of Islam in Yunnan dates from the Yüan period, being accomplished through land contacts and not maritime ones, and the Muslims of Yunnan must have remained in constant contact with the Hui Muslims of the northern provinces of Shensi and Kansu, especially as Muslims became famous as traders and hirers of animals for transport.

The tolerant, or rather, indifferent Great K͟hāns thus encouraged the Muslims, as they did other religious groups within their empire. Under such conditions, the Muslim community in China made great strides, and the evidence of such Muslim travellers as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows that there were also flourishing mercantile colonies in the coastal cities along the China Sea (see above, 3.). Muslims became prominent in occupations such as engineering, medicine, technology, transportation and overseas trade, agriculture and handicraft work. Under the Yüan, there was a significant change in religious life as well; mosques and schools were built, and a network of Muslim hostels was established for travelling Muslim merchants. In the 14th century, by the end of the Mongol role in China, the Muslims totalled about 4,000,000, more than any other minority in China. They took their place in all aspects of Chinese life: political, economic, administrative and military; yet they were still confined to their own communities, somewhat isolated from the vast Chinese population surrounding them. Most of their large communities were still located in areas distant from "China Proper".

The high profile of some Muslims under the Yüan inevitably provoked a backlash. Many Muslim officials and commanders behaved arrogantly and oppressively, lording it over the native Chinese majority, with its own, much more ancient Confucian ethos and traditions, very much at variance with many Muslim attitudes (e.g. in regard to taboos on food and to ritual cleanliness). Already in Ḳubilay's reign, Marco Polo noted the tyranny of a certain Aḥmad, who secured an ascendancy of the K͟hān and used it to further the interests of his own family, until after suffering 22 years of oppression, a Chinese revolt took place in which Aḥmad was killed (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*³, London 1903, i, 415-23; cf. also H. Franke, *Aḥmed. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte China's unter Qubilai*, in *Oriens*, i [1948], 222-36).

Hence the situation changed for the Muslims under the indigenous Chinese Ming dynasty (1368-1644), during whose period the Hui-hui evolved from being Muslims in China to being Chinese Muslims but for whom the golden age under the Yüan was now over. At the beginning, Muslims were granted political, economic, social and religious freedom, but later this attitude changed. The new régime forced many Chinese immigrants to settle in the border zones, such as the northwest and the southwest where the Muslims had established their communities, and the majority of the people in these areas became Chinese. Moreover, the Muslims were prohibited from upholding their dietary, marriage, dress and speech customs. Under these circumstances, they adopted Chinese names, wore Chinese dress and often married Chinese spouses. This process of acculturation into Chinese culture continued steadily, and the Muslims in China came to consider themselves Chinese.

But with the increase of Sinicisation, they also insisted on retaining many customs and traditions attesting to their origin. Many Arabic and Persian words were preserved, particularly in religious life. This syncretisation of the two cultures created the *Hui* as we know them today, namely, not merely "Chinese with Islamic faith", but a minority with various ethnic distinctions from the Chinese. Towards the end of the Ming rule, in the late 16th century, the first Chinese translations of Arabic and Persian books concerning Islamic history, ritual and philosophy appeared in China. This was probably the most obvious sign of the culmination of the process of Sinicisation. By the end of the Ming, in the year 1644, the total Chinese Muslim population had increased considerably. But then, the almost 1,000 years of Islamic existence in China were undergoing a violent form. The new Manchu rulers, who conquered China and established the Ch'ing (Qing) Dynasty (1644-1911), would act adversely as far as the Hui minority was concerned.

The Muslims greeted the new dynasty with a series of rebellions. Muslim "Ming loyalists" led uprisings against the Manchus in various locations where large Muslim populations resided. Such was the Ting Kuo-tung (Ding Guodong) rebellion (1648) in Kansu. This ill-prepared uprising lasted one year and resulted in many cities destroyed and hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Muslims killed. The Ch'ing rule in China was characterised by many Muslim rebellions, and an uneasy coexistence between Chinese and Muslims. Intercultural and inter-religious violence usually triggered significant rebellions of the Muslims in mid-19th century China also, when Muslim leaders established ephemeral Muslim states and threw all northwestern and southwestern China into chaos. A case in point was Tu Wen-hsiu (Du Wenxiu), who took over much of Yunnan and styled himself "Sultan Sulaymān". After 17 years of struggle, in 1872, he was defeated by the Manchu forces with more than one million Muslims killed [see PANTHAY]. This was probably the last significant chapter history of Islam in Imperial China. In Kansu, Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*] (Ma Hualong) and in Sinkiang, Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] of Kāshghar attempted also to throw off the Manchu rule, but they were likewise suppressed.

Religious aspects of Islam in China

Some scholars tend to divide the development of Islamic religion in China into three tides of influence or movements which entered China from without, thus relating the changes in Chinese Islam to developments in the Islamic world. Not surprisingly, it was the maltreatment of the Muslims in China by the Manchus which conditioned much of their predisposition to rebel, when their oppression under the Ch'ing coincided with the new winds of reform and change which blew from the core of the Islamic world.

During the T'ang and Sung, the Muslim merchants of the China Sea fringes lived in their separate quarters in the major coastal cities where they had settled down and continued their Middle Eastern lifestyle undisturbed. Under the Yüan, their status was second only to the Mongols and they were prominent throughout China; but under the Ming, they adopted a low profile. All this while, they stuck to their Ḥanafī law school allegiance with moderation and without raising much suspicion in their environment. They paid lip-service to the Imperial Calendar, but they lived by their own Muslim one. They built their mosques often without a minaret, in order not to give any prominence to their houses of prayer in comparison with Chinese temples. They behaved as Chinese outwardly, but as Muslims indoors. They spoke Chinese outdoors, but inside the mosque they used Arabic script and ornaments, and sprinkled their speech with Arabic or Persian words. These Muslims are referred to today as *Gedimu* ("the Ancients") (Ar. *Ḳadīm*).

A second phase set in after the 13th century, when Ṣūfī orders penetrated to China. The Ṣūfī wave intensified and widened the roots of Islam in China, and it generated the spread of Islamic learning as well as the construction of new mosques. Of several Ṣūfī orders, the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*], brought from Central Asia via Sinkiang, became the most deeply and widely rooted in China.

The next stage was connected with a movement renewal (*tadjdīd*) generated by a prominent 18th century scholar, Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*] (Ma Mingxin). His group was known as the *Hsin chiao* (Xin'jiao) ("New Teaching"). When he returned to China in 1761 from his trip to the Middle East and Central Asia, Ma Ming-hsin was imbued with revivalist ideas which generated much of the unrest in 18th and 19th-century China. He introduced new variants of ritual, for example, the reading out loud and declamation of the Ḳur'ān (hence the name, the *Djahriyya* sect, compared with *khufya*, the silent reciting of before). There is reason to believe that many of the leaders of the rebellions, notably Ma Hua-lung and Tu Wen-hsiu, were related to this revivalist trend.

Islam in Communist China

Under the Republic (1911-49), and then under Communist rule (since 1949), the Muslims have been recognised as a "national" minority, but under the PRC they are kept atomised under their various ethnic appellations (Hui, Uyghur, Kazakh, etc.; see 2., above). Generally speaking, because of the régime's necessity to have relations with Muslim countries on the international arena, it attempted to avoid any overt and brutal oppression of the Muslims domestically. But during the harsh periods of ideological oppression (the Great Leap in the 1950s, and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s), Muslims were grossly mistreated, as were members of other religious groups. *Waḳf* lands were confiscated, mosques destroyed (only one remained open in the capital Beijing) and Muslims forced to undergo Marxist education. On some occasions, even physical attacks were launched by Chinese troops against Muslim villages. However, since the advent of Teng Hsiao ping (Deng Xiaoping) (1979) and the opening up of China to the outside world, there has been a considerable relenting regarding these policies. More Chinese Muslims than ever are allowed to go on the *Ḥadjdj*. Muslim delegations are allowed in from outside. There are at present several mosques open in the capital to serve its considerable Hui population, the largest and oldest of which, that in Niu chieh (Niujie) or Ox Street, now (1995) has six *Ahongs* on its staff. Scattered manifestations of Islamic revival are again evident in many a Chinese Muslim locality. Whether these emergences of Islam amongst the Hui will follow the path of fundamentalism, as has been the case amongst the Turks of Sinkiang in the early 1990s, or will settle into a pattern of mild protest and peaceful religious re-emergence, remains to be seen.

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5. Chinese Islamic literature [see Suppl.].

SĪNĀʾ, the Arabic form for Sinai (as in Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 20, though whether this term denoted Mount Sinai itself or the region in which it was situated, was not clear to the exegetes; cf. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 184-5). The present article deals with the Sinai peninsula in general, and specifically, its history and ethnography in more recent times; for its early and mediaeval Islamic history, see AL-TĪH and AL-ṬŪR.

The Sinai peninsula is an arid, desert region, now part of Egypt, bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Suez on the west, the Gulf of Aqaba on the east, and the Negev [see AL-NAḲB] and the Gaza strip on the north-east. It covers about 23,000 sq. miles. The topography comprises a coastal plain bordering on the Mediterranean, with the land gradually rising as one goes southwards, culminating in the mountainous southern tip, with its highest point the Djabal Kātirīnā at 2,637 m/8,651 feet. Close by this last is Mount Sinai itself (Ar. Djabal Mūsā, the Ḳurʾānic al-Ṭūr [*q.v.*], with a height of 2,285 m/7,493 feet, just to the north of which lies the celebrated monastery of St. Catherine's, founded in A.D. 530 and probably the oldest continuously-inhabited Christian monastery in the world.

The people of the Sinai peninsula call the northern plateau region *Bādiyat al-Tīh* "the Desert of the Wanderings", i.e. of the Children of Israel, as depicted in Ḳurʾān, V, 23-9/20-6, and the mountainous southern part *Bilād al-Ṭūr* "the Land of the Mountain", i.e of Mount Sinai, as in Ḳurʾān, II, 60/63. Since the 18th century, the main administrative centre has been al-ʿArīsh [*q.v.*] on the Mediterranean coast, whose older, very mixed population comprised the descendants of Ottoman officials, Egyptian peasants and migrant cultivators from the Ḥidjāz, but whose present population has been much swelled by refugees, incomers, etc. (population in 1975: 40,000). At times, al-Ṭūr, on the Gulf of Suez, and Nakhl, in central Sinai, have served as district administrative posts.

Until recently, two-thirds of Sinai's population have been Bedouin tribesmen, adhering to a number of tribal confederations, such as the Ṣawālḥa, ʿUlaygāt and Muzayna forming the Ṭawara confederation in the south, the Suwārka, Tarābīn, Tiyāhā, Aḥaywāt and Bayāḍiyyīn groups in the north. Being mainly arrivals from the Arabian peninsula in the 15th and 16th centuries, most tribes already inhabited their present areas by 1807, when Seetzen visited Sinai. Since then, peace has prevailed amongst the Bedouin, except for some who participated in the 19th century tribal wars of fellow-tribesmen in the adjacent Negev desert.

During the 19th century, various Western travellers visited Sinai and wrote about the region, including the German Seetzen, the Swiss Burckhardt, the English professor Palmer, the American E. Robinson and the Czech explorer Musil. The most comprehensive work on Sinai's history is that of the official in British service, Naʿʿūm Shuḳayr. Britain took over administrative responsibility for Sinai, along with the rest of Egypt, in 1882 [see MIṢR. D. 7]. The major impact of this change of power was that the whole peninsula was for the first time under regular administration. In 1884 the Cairo-Mecca Pilgrimage caravan was ended, and, on the diplomatic level, the Ottoman government was compelled to recognise that Sinai was part of Egypt, with the present eastern border of Sinai delimited in 1906. During the First World War, Sinai was occupied by the Turks, and there was strenuous fighting in northern Sinai between Ottoman forces under Djemāl Pasha, attempting to push towards the Suez Canal, and British forces, who in 1917 after defeats at Gaza nevertheless broke through under General Allenby towards Palestine. For much of the interwar period, Major C.S. Jarvis, whose various books are an interesting and amusing commentary on life in Sinai during this period (see *Bibl.*), was governor of Sinai. In 1946, Egypt gained control of Sinai, which became a *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate, and was the setting for large-scale warfare against Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1968-70 and 1973. Sinai was under Israeli military occupation 1967-82. Since its retrocession to Egypt, the latter power has constructed several strategic roads, developed tourism on the two Gulf coasts, sedentarised the Bedouin and settled Egyptians in newly-founded towns.

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ṢINĀʿA (A., pl. *ṣināʿāt*), the occupation of and production by artisans; craft, industry, derived from the verb *ṣanaʿa* "to do, to produce". The Arab lexicographers provide several meanings of *ṣināʿa*, *ṣunʿ*, *ṣanʿa*; the common significance is "occupation" (defined as *ḥirfa*); *ṣāniʿ*, pl. *ṣunnāʿ* meaning *ḥādhiḳ* (adj.) = "skilful, skilful artisan". The original verb means "to produce, to keep well or take care of (a horse)"; *ṣanīʿ*

(adj.) would mean "polished (sword)", *maṣnaʿa* (pl. *maṣāniʿ*) means "notable palaces, fortresses and edifices in which special endeavours are invested". This denotation originated from Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 129, where the people of ʿĀd [*q.v.*] are reproved on account of the *maṣāniʿ* that they built to dwell forever (see Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, x, 53, xii, 255-61). *Ṣināʿa* could also denote the action of shipbuilding that flourished in Umayyad, Fāṭimid and Mamlūk times and was adopted in *dār al-ṣināʿa*, in both English and French, arsenal, arsenale = workshop or house for handwork. In modern Arabic, *maṣnaʿ* denotes "factory" and *ṣināʿa* means "industry".

Ṣināʿa meant in the Middle Ages the activities of the craftsmen which were usually concentrated in the market (*sūḳ* [*q.v.*]), the latter consisting of lanes and streets, each specified in a given category: a street of shoemakers producing and selling ordinary shoes, a street of producers and vendors of special shoes, streets of saddle makers, tent makers, goldsmiths, etc. On the periphery of the town one finds industries requiring space or causing bad smells and dirt, such as pottery, dyeing and tanning. The *sūḳs* of Cairo are minutely depicted by Ibn Duḳmāḳ in his *al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiḳd al-amṣār*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, as well as by authors of *ḥisba* manuals [see ḤISBA; SŪḲ]; see also L. Massignon, in *Enc. of the Social Sciences*, art. *Guilds*, in the section *Islam*; B. Lewis, *The Islamic guilds*, in *Economic History Review*, viii (1937), 20-35; idem, *An epistle on manual crafts*, in *IC*, xvii (1947) 142-51; G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam. Essays in the nature and growth of a cultural tradition*, ch. vii, 141-55; G. Baer, *Guilds in Middle Eastern history*, in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, Oxford 1970, 11-17; S.M. Stern, *The constitution of the Islamic city*, in A. Hourani and Stern (eds.), *The Islamic city*. Several vocations, such as medicine (sometimes defined as *ʿilm* = science, sometimes as craft), singing, poetry, calligraphy and astrology, that one describes today as technical and free professions, were considered by the Muslim world, before modern times, as mere *ṣināʿāt* (see Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil*, in the 8th *risāla*; al-Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa ʾl-dīn*, Beirut 1986, 213-14; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut n.d., 382-3, 405-34). The classification of crafts is an important issue. Al-Djāḥiẓ is one of the first authors in Islam who dealt with crafts and craftsmen. He claims that God planned the differentiation between artisans in order to keep society in harmony (see his *Ḥudjadj al-nubuwwa*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, Beirut 1991, iii, 242-3). In some of his other works, he describes the two principal categories of crafts:

(a) The trades that bring wealth to their occupiers, like jewellers (*aṣḥāb al-djawhar*), vendors or producers of embroidery (*aṣḥāb al-washy*), money-changers (*ṣayārifa*).

(b) Minor crafts and trades that hardly suffice the provisions of their occupier, like water-supplier (*saḳḳāʾ*), plasterer (*ṭayyān*) and ploughman (*ḥarrāth*); see *Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, Cairo 1988, iv, 434-5; *Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1983, ii, 48-9; *Risāla fī ṣināʿāt al-ḳuwwād*, in the above-mentioned *Rasāʾil*, 379-97 (partly tr. in Ch. Pellat, *Life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, London 1963, 114-16, and minutely discussed in Sadan, *Kings and craftsmen*, in *SI*, lvi [1982], 5-49, lxii [1985], 89-120); see also W.T. al-Nadjm, *al-Djāḥiẓ wa ʾl-ḥādira al-ʿabbāsiyya*, Baghdād 1965, 44-101; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, ch. vi; M. ʿUways, *al-Mudjtamaʿ al-ʿabbāsī min khilāl kitābāt al-Djāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1977, 156-75.

The above-mentioned Ikhwān classify the crafts according to their simplicity and according to the materials used and according to ranks (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ed. Ziriklī, Damascus 1928, i, 210-26; see also the analysis of the eighth *risāla* by B. Lewis, in *op. cit.*). This classification was adopted in the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, ascribed to Ibn Sīnā (see *al-Mashriḳ*, ix [1906], 967), as well as al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 193-4, and Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.* It is possible that the Muslims followed the pre-Islamic classification of Bryson (see M. Plessner, *Der Oikonomikos des Neupythagoreers Bryson*, Heidelberg 1928, 145-8; see also R. al-Sayyid, *Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Māwardī: dirāsa fī ruʾyatihi al-idjtimāʿiyya*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxxiii (1985), 55-97.

In addition to *ṣināʿa* and *ḥirfa*, there are two other terms with the same denotation, *mihna* and *ṣinf*. *Mihna* (pl. *mihan*) means "profession, service and handiness, mostly domestic", while *aṣḥāb al-mihan* means artisans. *Māhin* is one who serve others skilfully, a servant, and is to be distinguished from *mahana* and *imtahana* signifying "to submit, to be humiliated" (see *LʿA*, s.v. *m-h-n*; J. Sadan, *A new source*, in *IOS*, ix, 375, n. 15).

Ṣinf (pl. *aṣnāf* and *ṣunūf*), means literally "sort, kind", whereas *taṣnīf* means "classification". In the wider sense, *ṣinf* means a group of something, *ṭāʾifa min kull shayʾ*; at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period *ṣinf* means also various kinds of crafts and trades. Al-Yaʿḳūbī uses the term *aṣnāf*, meaning various artisans that the caliph al-Manṣūr grouped, classified and arranged in the *sūḳs* of his new capital (*Buldān*, Leiden 1891, 242, 253). Concerning the controversy regarding the beginning of *aṣnāf* and whether they constituted real guilds, see Massignon, *op. cit.*, in *Enc. of Soc. Sc.*, 215; idem, *Les corps de métiers et la cité islamique*, in *Opera minora*, i; Lewis, *loc. cit.*, Stern, *loc. cit.*; Baer, *loc. cit.*; Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1968, 267; S. al-Shaykhalī, *al-Aṣnāf fi ʾl-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī*, Baghdād 1967; Dūrī, *Nushūʾ al-aṣnāf wa ʾl-ḥiraf fi ʾl-islām*, in *Bulletin of Fac. of Arts, Baghdād* (1959), 133-69; and see ṢINF. The *ṣunnāʿ* (craftsmen) play an important role in the Islamic society. They constitute a distinct group within the *ʿāmma* [*q.v.*]. Ethnically, the *ṣunnāʿ* class consisted of Arabs, Persians, Syriac Christians, *Nabaṭ* [*q.v.*] ("autochtonous" speakers of Aramaic), Kurds, Turks, Jews and others. Many of them, especially those who embraced Islam or were born Muslims, played an important part in the religious, political and the social movements, and even in the rebellions against the Sunnī authorities. They were also organised in professional groups in order to resist any kind of hostile actions or governmental sanctions (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 895-6; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 452-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vi, 271-3; Pellat, *Milieu*, *loc. cit.*; al-Nadjm, *loc. cit.*; Fahmī Saʿd, *al-ʿĀmma fī Baghdād*, Beirut 1983; al-Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī*, Beirut 1974, 75-116, 246-8.

The nomad Arabs and dwellers of the desert towns esteemed trade and despised crafts; they respected the brave horsemen who used to take part in wars and raids; even robbery was not despised. When someone worked for himself, performing any occasional handwork, or when he was served by his wife in works such as clothing and manufacturing tents, it did not provoke any criticism (see Sadan, *The art of the goldsmith*, in D.J. Content (ed.), *Islamic rings and gems in the collection of B. Zucker*, London 1987, 462-73). However, earning one's living by serving others was disdained. Accordingly, *ḳayn* (blacksmith), *ṣāʾigh* (goldsmith), *dabbāgh* (tanner) and *ḥāʾik* (weaver) were despised by pre-Islamic Arabs (see Goldziher, *Die Handwerke bei den Arabern*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1967-73, iii, 316-18; Ettinghausen, *The character of Islamic art*, in N. Faris

(ed.), *The Arab heritage*, 251-67; and see the reaction of Ağa-oğlu to these arguments, "*Remarks on the character of Islamic art*, in *Art Bulletin*" [Sept. 1954], 175-202). When some circles spoke in favour of the tradesmen, they quoted the tradition according to which Muḥammad earned his living as a herdsman and merchant. According to this tradition, the Prophet also used to perform repairing works (mending shoes and clothes) for himself; in this manner, the Islamic tradition could praise modesty and handiwork, without depicting the Prophet contrary to the old Arab values. One should not neglect the traditions ascribed to the Prophet and to his Companions encouraging *kasb* ("earning") in all its permitted forms, including trade and crafts (special chapters titled *al-Buyūʿ wa ʾl-tid̲j̲ārāt* and *Ṣināʿāt* in *Ḥadīth* collections, such as those by Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mād̲j̲a, al-Kulaynī, al-Rāzī and others; see also al-G̲h̲azālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ch. *Adab al-kasb wa ʾl-maʿās̲h̲*; al-S̲h̲aybānī, *al-Iktisāb fī ʾl-rizq al-mustaṭāb*; Abū Bakr al-K̲h̲allāl, *al-Ḥat̲h̲t̲h̲ ʿalā ʾl-tid̲j̲āra wa ʾl-ṣināʿa*; see also Goitein, *The rise of the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie*, in *Journal of World History*, iii [1957], 583-604.

In the Ḳurʾān one encounters a positive attitude towards the outcome of the various crafts, i.e., the products, especially those which will be used by believers in paradise (see the various utensils described in the verses XVII, 31; XLIV, 53; LXXVI, 21; LV, 54; XXII, 23; XXXV, 33). On the other hand, the excessive use of luxury products in this world (*al-dunyā*), especially precious objects and imposing buildings, is far from being praised. It is possible that the period of the Prophet inherited certain concepts from pre-Islamic times, namely, the discrepancy between the taste for fine objects and the attitude towards their producer, the artisan. Many Ḳurʾānic verses praise *kasb*, i.e., earning from any permitted craft and trade (LXII, 8-10; XX, 73; II, 198, 267). Verses XXXIV, 10-11; XXI, 80, tell the story of David. God taught him how to use iron and produce armour in order to defend himself at war (XXI, 80, *wa-ʿallamnāhu ṣanʿat^a^ labūs^in^*), whereas verse LVII, 25 speaks about the various uses of iron. No wonder that the Ḳurʾānic verses indicating positively the crafts of iron and linking them to a prophetic figure are quoted, in later periods, by those who try to plead for the apparently despised professions. Is it possible that through these verses the Ḳurʾān intended to change the negative pre-Islamic attitude towards such crafts? However, in Arabic literature we encounter a real discrepancy between the positive attitude towards the product and the negative attitude towards the producer (Sadan, *The art*, and *Kings*, in *SI*, especially lxii [1985], 89-120). One can conclude that the first generations of Islam were still under the influence of pre-Islamic concepts, transmitted, *inter alia*, by language and poetry. On the other hand, one should not forget the continuation of the sedentary concepts inherited from the civilisations, the territories of which were occupied by the Muslims; even these civilisations felt a certain contempt towards certain crafts. However, in the D̲j̲āhiliyya, there was a general disdain of manual crafts; when some artisans were especially mocked, it is due to the fact of their presence in the society of the Arabian tribes, while other trades, more sophisticated, sedentary and refined, were absent or rare; but in the Islamic world, some trades were more despised than others, due to both the concepts inherited from the D̲j̲āhiliyya and the contempt felt by the Persians and others towards particular trades. Such are the trades of the cupper (*ḥid̲j̲āma*), the tanner (*dibāg̲h̲a*) and the weaver (*ḥiyāka*). R. Brunschvig (*Metiers vils en Islam*, in *SI*, xvi [1962]) excludes the weavers and stresses that they were despised in particular by the free Arab spirit because of the hard labour and servitude involved in this trade; the rich testimony to the inter-sedentary aspect, namely the disdain of the pre-Islamic Persian aristocracy towards weavers, is rejected by Brunschvig (who accepts, however, this argumentation concerning other trades, relying mainly on Talmudic sources), because he suspects the evidence to be non-authentic projected into the past by the Arab historiographers who were influenced by their own standpoint and the atmosphere prevailing in their period (*ibid.*, 49, n. 1). For a different opinion, emphasising the continuation of the Persian concept, see Sadan, in *SI*, (1986), 89-91, and n. 33, who takes into consideration the great skill of A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen 1944, in distinguishing, in the Arabic sources, between authentic and doubtful data.

In his so far unpublished *Kitāb al-Mat̲h̲ālib*, Ibn al-Kalbī, one of the first Arab historiographers, depicted the crafts despised by the Arabs; his descriptions reflect urban circles, i.e. those of Mecca, probably at the beginning of the Islamic era; for instance, trades such as *d̲j̲azzār*, *ḳaṣṣāb*, *laḥḥām*—all designating butcher, with probable different nuances—as well as teacher, tailor and smith (Sadan, *op. cit.*, 120).

There were also serious attempts to defend crafts and craftsmen and give the latter a better place in Muslim society. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, who does not refrain from humoristic statements concerning tradesmen, shows respect and understanding of their vocation and responsibility to mankind, from the practical and moral point of view. He also praises *tid̲j̲āra* (commerce) and considers the high status of merchants in society. Weavers, he believes, are essential for the religious duty of *satr al-ʿawra* ("hiding of intimate parts"); without builders, people would not live safely (*Rasāʾil*, ii, 242-3, and al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ's dialogue with a carpenter in *al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 276-7, iv, 434-5; see also *al-Bayān*, ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, Cairo 1990, i, 248-9 and the conclusions drawn from these passages by al-Nad̲j̲m, *op. cit.*, 52-62; Sadan, *Kings*, 89-94; F. Saʿd, *op. cit.*, 85-91). Another kind of pleading for the manual crafts is manifested by jurists and theologians such as Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-ʿĀlim wa ʾl-mutaʿallim*; al-S̲h̲aybānī, *op. cit.*; al-K̲h̲allāl, *op. cit.*; al-Ḥabas̲h̲ī al-Wiṣābī, *op. cit.* One of their arguments is based on the tradition according to which every prophet was given by God at least one trade for his living: Ādam knew one thousand crafts which he taught his descendents; his wife was a weaver; Idrīs was a tailor and calligrapher; Nūḥ and Zakariyyā were carpenters; Hūd and Ṣāliḥ were merchants; Ibrāhīm was a farmer and carpenter; Dāwūd was an armourer; and lastly, Muḥammad used to repair his own garments and shoes, as mentioned above, and he also tended his herd as a shepherd and was engaged in the housework of his family. Thus the trades of the various prophets include all kinds of *kasb*; and *imāra* ("governing"), trading, farming and *ṣināʿa* are equal and of the same status (see al-S̲h̲aybānī, *al-Kasb*, 36; al-Wiṣābī, *op. cit.*, 6-7; al-K̲h̲allāl, *op. cit.*, 5-21). Apparently, this apologetic attitude was needed in the 3rd/9th century; certain Ṣūfī circles believed in relying totally on God (*tawakkul* [*q.v.*]) even in everyday economic life and those who exaggerated this principle, called for *taḥrīm al-makāsib*, i.e. the prohibition of all forms of earning (see al-Muḥāsibī, d. 243/857, *al-Makāsib*, Cairo 1969, 180-212). From the 5th/11th century onwards, more positive views towards *kasb* (earning) and crafts are expressed by theologians such

as al-Māwardī and al-G̲h̲azālī. They laid down the legal grounds for all kinds of *kasb*, including almost all trades and crafts. At the same time, the role played by the lower classes, especially craftsmen, in the Islamic city became more important. However, religious opposition movements, such as the Ismāʿīliyya (and associated groups like the Ḳarāmiṭa), may possibly have tried to get close to the spirit of the *ʿāmma*. Thus the Ik̲h̲wān al-Safā', who reflect Ismāʿīlī tendencies, may have sought positively to change the social attitude towards them in order to recruit them against the Sunnī caliphate. On this ground, certain orientalists have sought the origin of the *aṣnāf* organisations in these movements, e.g. Massignon, and B. Lewis, in his *Islamic guilds*, repeats the same argument (see also Lombard, *L'Islam dans sa première grandeur*, 153-8). But more recent opinion denies any connection between the *aṣnāf* and the Ismāʿīlī movement; see, e.g., Stern, *op. cit.*; Goitein, *op. cit.*, 255-70 and especially Cahen, *Y-at-il eu des corporations professionelles?*, in Stern and Hourani (eds.), *Islamic city*, 51-63; Baer, *op. cit.*; al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲alī, *op. cit.*, 48-57.

The Ṣūfī movements were used by the various categories of tradesmen as a means to improve their position in Islamic society. They used to adopt a *wālī* (a patron, like a saint chosen by Christians for each of the arts and crafts) for each of the trades, such as Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*], a Companion of the Prophet, for the barbers. The religious ground for this was the tradition that every prophet had a special craft from which he earned his living. Those prophets are considered by the *aṣnāf* as *d̲j̲ud̲h̲ūr* ("roots") of the various crafts, while the patrons chosen among the Companions of Muḥammad and the Successors are the *bīrs* (*pīrs*), the elder heads of the trades, who inaugurated these trades in Islam. By this the *aṣḥāb al-ḥiraf* intended to prove the religious origin of their crafts and to assure their legitimacy in Islam (see anon., *al-D̲h̲ak̲h̲ā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf fī bīr al-ṣanā'i' wa 'l-ḥiraf*, ms. Gotha, Or. 903; Lewis, *op. cit.*, 29; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲alī, *op. cit.*, 116-20).

An interesting resemblance exists between the organisation of *aṣnāf* and *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] associations. The mediaeval phenomenon of *futuwwa* groups organised as *ʿayyarūn* [*q.v.*] ("robbers, brigands") provoked a controversy between those who were eager to define them as representatives of the proletarians and those who saw in them (as well as in other elements, such as the *aḥdāt̲h̲*) the latent expression of civil and corporate feeling in Islamic city life. According to Ibn al-Miʿmār, *Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, Bag̲h̲dād 1958, the *naḳīb* (the assistant of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-fityān*, the leader) presides over the ceremony held in honour of the newly-recruited members, reads the names of the elder masters of trades and blesses them. The ceremony is called *s̲h̲add al-futuwwa* [see SHADD]. (The *futuwwa* of the following categories is defined as "deficient" (*futuwwa nāḳiṣa*): *mudallisūn* ("cheaters"), *arbāb al-ḥiyal* ("people using trickery devices") and of the despised crafts (see Ibn al-Miʿmār, *op. cit.*, 139-78; F. Taeschner, *Futuwwa Studien*, in *Islamica*, iv [1932], 285-333; idem, *Die Islamischen Futuwwabünde*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxvii [1934], 6-49; Cahen, *Mouvements populaires*, in *Arabica*, vi [1959], 47-48; Von Grunebaum, *Mediaeval Islam*, Chicago 1954, ch. 6; E. Ashtor, *Social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley etc. 1976, 183-92). The craftsmen's associations were apparently based on the fraternity principle used to bring together the members within a strong unit in order to protect their trades from outside depredations, such as those of robbers and governmental sanctions. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *futuwwa* associations were transformed in Anatolia into *ak̲h̲īs* [*q.v.*] organisations called *ak̲h̲iyyāt al-fityān* ("fraternity associations of *futuwwa* brethren"). He defines the *ak̲h̲ī* as one who, in his *zāwiya* joins his fellow-tradesmen, *ahl ṣināʿatihi*, and other young people who like their company. Thus craftsmen were the initial and essential members of the *ak̲h̲ī* associations, although the associations were non-professional (see Taeschner, *op. cit.*, Baer, *op. cit.*, 16-30; M. D̲j̲awād, *al-Futuwwa wa-aṭwāruhā*, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, v [1958], 46-81; D.A. Breebaart, *The* Fütüvvet-name-i kebīr, *a manual on Turkish guilds*, in *JESHO*, xii [1970], 203-15).

A very important aspect of *ṣināʿa* in the mediaeval Islamic city was the agoranomos (*muḥtasib*); see B. Foster, *Agoranomos and Muhtasib*, in *JESHO*, viii [1965], 128-44, and ḤISBA. The latter's task included inspecting the morality, integrity and quality of the various trades. He inspected prices, measures, weights and scales, as well as religious and moral regulations. Obviously, the *muḥtasib* relied on the assistance of specialists chosen from each of the various trades. He also appointed an *ʿarīf* (a man responsible) for each craft and each market. The candidate for such an appointment should be "one who is experienced in the craft, and familiar with all the swindlings and deceits; one who is well-known for trustworthiness and honesty and who will be a true observer of the craftsmen's affairs and who will inform about it the *muḥtasib*" (see anon., in Sadan, *A new source of the Būyid period*, in *IOS*, ix [1979], 355-76; al-S̲h̲ayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Cairo 1946, 12; Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge 1938, 217-21, and Eng. tr., *ibid.*, 88; R.B. Buckley, *The* Muḥtasib, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 59-117). With the help of the *ʿarīf*, the *muḥtasib* could keep in touch with the people of the market, both tradesmen and customers. A special literary genre dealt with tricks and devices of the various craftsmen and reveals their secrets. It began in the time of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, who composed the lost epistle *G̲h̲is̲h̲s̲h̲ al-ṣināʿāt* (see Pellat, *Inventaire*, in *Arabica*, iii [1957], in the alphabetical list, under *ṣināʿāt*). There are other works, such as the anonymous *Raḳā'iḳ al-ḥilal fī daḳā'iḳ al-ḥiyal*, Fr. tr. René Khawam, who also published separately the Arabic text; the manuscript on which both the translation and the edition are based contains only the sections dealing with the relatively better-off classes, whereas the part dealing with the masses (and which, according to the list of contents, should have dealt with the various artisans and tradesmen) is now lost. Other lost works are *Kas̲h̲f al-dakk wa-īḍāḥ al-s̲h̲akk* of Ibn S̲h̲uhayd al-Mag̲h̲ribī (d. 425/1035 [*q.v.*], see Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Wafayāt*, Beirut 1968, i, 116-18). A manuscript of *Irk̲h̲ā' al-sutūr wa 'l-kilal fī kas̲h̲f al-dakkāt wa 'l-ḥiyal* of Ibn Dahhān (d. 591/1195) is to be found at the Rampur Library, no. 1/689. The best-known work in this literary genre is the *Kas̲h̲f al-asrār wa-hatk al-astār* by al-D̲j̲awbarī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Fr. tr. R. Khawam, *Le voile arraché*, Paris 1980. An Arabic summary of this book was published in Damascus 1885 and in Beirut 1992 (the latter edited by ʿIṣām S̲h̲apparō). In his book al-D̲j̲awbarī reveals all the devices and secrets used by perfumers (*ʿaṭṭārūn*), alchemists (*ahl al-kāf*), wandering physicians (*aṭibbā' al-ṭarīḳ*), jewellers (*d̲j̲awhariyyūn*), armourers (*ahl al-ḥarb wa-ālāt al-silāḥ*), money-changers (*ṣayārifa*) and so forth; many of the tricks described here are also mentioned briefly by *ḥisba* manuals.

A noteworthy phenomenon in Islamic *ṣināʿa* is the fact that one craft can be referred to by more than one term. For example, the goldsmith (*ṣā'ig̲h̲* [*q.v.*]) is

also called *ṣawwāgh*, *dhahabī*, *sabbāk* and *djawharī* (see Ibn Sīda, *op. cit.*, xii, 256-261; Sadan, *The goldsmith*, in *Islamic rings*, 480, and H. Shay, *A glossary of goldsmithing terms*, in *ibid.*, 502-16).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but note also the philosophers, e.g. al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā makārim al-sharīʿa*, ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd, Cairo 1393/1973, 197-219, with an interesting classification of the crafts at 202-3. (A. GHABIN)

SINAI [see SĪNĀʾ; AL-TĪH; AL-ṬŪR].

SINĀN, born in 895/1490, the chief Ottoman court architect from 945/1538 until his death in 996/1588. Although the names of several other Ottoman court architects are known, none match his fame. Combining a long life with the opportunities afforded by the resources of the Ottoman empire at its zenith, he produced an œuvre that is unmatched in quantity and quality, not just in Ottoman, but in Islamic architecture as a whole. Of Christian Greek origin, he was recruited in the *devshirme* levy within the reign of Sultan Selīm I (1512-20). He first participated in a military campaign at Belgrade in 1521 under Süleymān, and subsequently, until his appointment as court architect, in locations as far apart as Vienna (1529) and Baghdād (1535). He would have had the opportunity to learn his profession in the repair and erection of military architecture, such as bridges and citadels and, in the early 1530s, in building mosques in Istanbul between campaigns. Sinān's accomplishments as an architect are detailed in three late 16th-century manuscript sources: Muṣṭafā Sāʿī's *Tadhkirat al-bunyān* and *Tadhkirat al-abniya* and the anonymous, but partially autobiographical, *Tuḥfat al-miʿmārīn*. Between them they list some 477 buildings, ranging over the following categories: congregational mosques (*djāmiʿ*), neighbourhood mosques (*masdjid*), colleges (*madrasa*, *dār al-kurrāʾ*, *dār al-ḥadīth*), infant schools (*maktab*), mausoleums (*türbe*), hospitals (*dār al-shifāʾ*), aqueducts, bridges, caravansarays, soup kitchens (*ʿimārat*), palaces (*sarāy*) and baths (*ḥammām*) (see the list in F. Babinger's *EI*[1] art.). The sheer number attributed to Sinān is proof in itself that he could not have overseen each project. For those in centres remote from Istanbul he can hardly have done more than send a plan with more or less detailed instructions on how the finished buildings should be realised. For instance, the Süleymān complex at Damascus (962/1554-5) and the Melek Aḥmed Pasha mosque at Diyār Bakr which have been attributed to Sinān have stonework and decorative detailing which locate them fully within their local style. Even some of the buildings in Istanbul which are listed as Sinān's work such as the Ḳïlïč ʿAlī Pasha mosque at Topkhāne (988/1580), a diminutive copy of Hagia Sophia, or the Piyāle Pasha mosque (981/1573-4) at Ḳāsïmpasha in Istanbul, have been questioned on grounds of quality (Kuran, *Sinan*, 126, 220).

Major projects. The three largest complexes (*külliyes*) erected by Sinān, the Shehzāde, Süleymāniyye and Selīmiyye, each represent a significant step in his maturity. In each, however, he chose to work with the form that had become standard for major Ottoman mosques since the building of the Üč Sherefeli in Edirne (841-51/1438-47), namely, the combination of large dome chamber and square or rectangular courtyard.

The death of Süleymān's son Meḥmed in 1543 gave Sinān his first major commission, the Shehzāde complex at Istanbul (950-5/1543-8). A prototype for its plan of a central dome surrounded by four semi-domes has been suggested in the Fātiḥ Pasha Mosque (1516-20) in Diyār Bakr. While this is a possibility, it does not take great imagination to alter the dome flanked by two semi-domes of the Sultan Bāyezīd II mosque at Istanbul (906-11/1501-5) to the four flanking semi-domes of the Shehzāde. But a comparison of the Shehzāde with the mosque of Bāyezīd II reveals two striking differences, each repeated in his later major projects, which are indeed the result of a new vision.

The first is the fenestration. Sinān virtually doubled the number of windows of the Bāyezīd mosque by a novel approach to the supporting walls: thickening them with buttresses at regular intervals to open up the intervening spaces, these buttresses being disguised. The second innovation is the treatment of the roofscape. In the Bāyezīd Djāmiʿ the square block which supports the dome is awkwardly obvious; in the Shehzāde, it is all but invisible due to two alterations. The first is the enlarged height and diameter of the round turrets which stand at the four corners of the square; the second is the stepped profile, both horizontal and vertical, of the area between the turrets and the central dome. Sinān obtained a pyramidal effect by raising the height of the four corner domes to be in line with the diagonal axis created by the central dome and the turrets. Further evidence of his concern for variety in this area is seen in the height of the semi-domes and their exedrae, the first a little higher, the second a little lower, than the corner domes.

The Süleymāniyye in Istanbul (957-64/1550-7) was the most ambitious single Ottoman complex, with an array of some 14 buildings of various functions accommodated ingeniously on the sloping site around the mosque. The mosque itself was divorced from these by a surrounding garden which can be viewed as a variation of the *ziyāda*. Set on a hill overlooking the harbour, the mosque still dominates the skyline of the city. Sinān took up the challenge of the Hagia Sophia, the largest dome in Istanbul, by reproducing its vaulting scheme of two axial flanking domes. At ground level, however, the vast interior is adjusted to the requirements of Islamic ritual by having the maximum uninterrupted space, to enable the faithful to pray in rows, the plan being actually quite similar to that of the Shehzāde, apart from the three smaller domes on the sides that replace the earlier mosque's semi-dome and exedrae.

In the complex built for Selīm II at Edirne (972-82/1564-75) Sinān determined to surpass the dome of Hagia Sophia, although as built it was approximately the same diameter; it is lower if measured from the ground, but its steeper profile makes it higher if measured from the base of the dome. The challenge resulted in a ground plan radically different from the previous two large mosques: based on an octagon, so that eight instead of four piers are the main load-bearing elements. This in turn permitted the most striking feature of the building: a reduction of the curtain walls to enable light to pour into the building from an even greater multitude of windows than in his previous mosques. The only drawback of the octagonal plan is the arrangements that had to be made for the *miḥrāb*. To leave it on the plane of the rest of the *ḳibla* wall would have been to overshadow it by the colossal flanking piers, so a deep recess was made between them. In contrast to the rest of the mosque, this area has few windows and so leaves the *miḥrāb*, despite its flanking Iznik tile panels, in relative obscurity. The exterior treatment of this recess is also less than satisfactory. Its bulk necessitated a link to the corner minarets, but the diminutive paired columns of the arcade which accomplish this

are on too small a scale. The minarets are the tallest in Ottoman architecture; their slender form at the four corners of the dome chamber provides an effective complement to the massiveness of the dome between them.

Smaller projects. Among the myriad of Sinān's smaller projects, we may single out four of particular interest. The complex of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*] at Ta<u>kh</u>taḳalʿe in Istanbul was finished not long after his death in 1561. Structurally its mosque is of interest for being raised on a vaulted substructure that enables it to dominate its commercial neighbourhood. However, the relatively simple architectural lines of its interior, with a dome on an octagonal base, are unfortunately sabotaged by the very thing that gives the mosque its fame: its lavish revetment of Iznik tiles. Seen close up these are indeed superb examples of their kind, but the overall effect of repeated small-scale patterns, especially on the four large piers, is to negate the stability of the structure.

The exact date of the complex of Mihrimāh Sulṭān, the daughter of Süleymān, at Edirneḳapî in Istanbul is not known, although a teaching appointment to it was first made in 976/1568-9. From the exterior the mosque is the embodiment of the dome on pendentives: the four arches which support it soar above the roofline of smaller domes, their form emphasised by both the setback of the tympana and by lightening them with as many windows as possible—nineteen in all.

The complex of the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳullu Meḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*] at Ḳadîr<u>gh</u>a in Istanbul (979/1571-2) was expertly fitted into an awkward sloping site downhill from the ancient hippodrome. Here it is the interior which holds the greatest interest. The dome is seamlessly incorporated within the rectangular prayer hall without using columns by means of a hexagonal base. For once, the balance of decoration seems appropriately weighed: the central arched panel on the *ḳibla* wall is revetted to its full height near the base of the dome with Iznik tiles patterned on a large scale.

Notwithstanding these comments on decoration, it is as well to remember that we are unfortunately missing an essential ingredient in evaluating the decorative programme of Sinān's buildings: their painted interiors. Not one has survived intact without restoration. Judging from the lavishly-painted decoration of a provincial Ottoman building such as the mosque of Süleymān Pa<u>sh</u>a in the citadel in Cairo (935/1528), the loss is a major one that might have tempered a view of Sinān's structures as usually being of exclusively architectonic interest.

One other architectural masterpiece should be mentioned, partially because it is so unexpected: the aqueduct at Ma<u>gh</u>lova (1553-64). Its diamond-shaped piers support twin buttresses which are faceted like the Turkish triangles of early Ottoman zones of transition. The upper story has a second tier of buttresses arranged so that the knife-edged lines of support continue unbroken from top to base. It is strikingly modern in its blend of form and function, a concept that also encapsulates the successes of his domed mosques.

Bibliography: The most comprehensive study is A. Kuran, *Mimar Sinan*, Istanbul 1986 (in Turkish), also published in English as *Sinan, the grand old master of Ottoman architecture*, Washington and Istanbul 1987, both with full bibls. See also R.M. Meriç, *Mimar Sinan, hayatı, eseri. I. Mimar Sinan'ın hayatının eserlerine dair metinler*, Ankara 1965 (contains eds. of the *Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-bunyān*, *Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-abniya*, and the *Tuḥfat al-miʿmārīn*); G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971; Ö. Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami ve imareti inşaatı*, 2 vols., Ankara 1972-9; D. Kuban, art. *Sinan*, in *Macmillan Encyclopaedia of Architects*, ed. A.K. Placzek, London 1982, iv, 62-73; J.M. Rogers, *The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey. The stones of Süleymaniye*, in *IJMES*, xiv [1982], 71-86, 283-313; G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The Süleymaniye complex in Istanbul, an interpretation*, in *Muqarnas*, iii [1985], 92-117; D. Kuban, *The style of Sinan's domed structures*, in *ibid.*, iv [1987], 72-97; Jale Erzen, *Sinan as anti-classicist*, in *ibid.*, v [1988], 70-86; M. Sözen, *Sinan, architect of ages*, Istanbul 1988 (full bibl.); M. Sözen and S. Saatçi, *Mimar Sinan and Tezkiret-ül bünyan*, Istanbul 1989; S. Saatçi, *Tezkiret-ül bünyan'ın Topkapı Sarayı Revan kitaplığındaki yazma nüshası*, in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık*, iv [1990], 55-101; G. Necipoğlu, *Challenging the past. Sinan and the competitive discourse of early modern Islamic architecture*, in *Muqarnas*, x [1993], 169-80; G. Goodwin, *Sinan. Ottoman architecture and its values today*, London 1993. (B. O'Kane)

SINĀN PA<u>SH</u>A, <u>KH</u>ĀDÎM (? - 922/1517), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Selīm I.

Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Pa<u>sh</u>a was of Christian, probably Bosnian, origin, recruited into Ottoman service through the *dew<u>sh</u>irme* [*q.v.*] system. Promoted from amongst the white eunuchs of the Palace to the rank of vizier, he served as *beg* of Bosnia, and then in 920/1514, at the beginning of the eastern campaign against <u>Sh</u>āh Ismāʿīl, was appointed *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia. Commanding the right wing of Selīm I's army at the battle of Čaldiran [*q.v.*] (August 1514), he played a decisive role in the Ottoman victory and was immediately appointed to the vacant post of *beglerbegi* of Rumelia. In 921/June 1515, as a result of his victory over <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Ḳadr-og<u>h</u>lu ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, he was made Grand Vizier, remaining in that post until the reinstatement of the former Grand Vizier Hersekog<u>h</u>lu Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a in August 1515. In 922/April 1516 Sinān Pa<u>sh</u>a was appointed Grand Vizier for a second time and also commander-in-chief of that year's campaign. He was the chief architect of the Ottoman victory against the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-<u>Gh</u>awrī [*q.v.*] at Mar<u>dj</u> Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] (922/August 1516) and the subsequent conquest of Syria. Marching south towards Egypt, he gained a second victory over the Mamlūks at <u>Kh</u>ān Yūnis (922/December 1516), but was killed at the battle of Raydāniyya (922/January 1517). One of only two white eunuchs to rise to the rank of Grand Vizier in this period, <u>Kh</u>ādîm Sinān Pa<u>sh</u>a was renowned for his personal bravery and was particularly well-regarded by Selīm I.

Bibliography: Meḥmed <u>Th</u>üreyyā, *SʿO*, iii, 105; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1943, ii, 266 ff., 536 ff.; for a full account and other bibl., see *İA*, art. *Sinan Paşa, Yusuf, Hadım*, at x, 661-6. (Christine Woodhead)

SINĀN PA<u>SH</u>A, <u>KH</u>O<u>DJ</u>A, the name of two Ottoman dignitaries.

1. The vizier, scholar and prose writer (845-91/1440-86).

Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Pa<u>sh</u>a was born probably in 845/1440, in Bursa, the son of <u>Kh</u>îḍr Beg b. Ḳāḍī <u>Dj</u>elāl al-Dīn (d. 863/1459 [*q.v.*]), the first Ottoman *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. Through his mother, a daughter of Mollā Yegān (d. 878/1473), he was also descended from a second *ʿulemāʾ* family prominent in the early Ottoman period. After initial appointments as *müderris* in Edirne, he was promoted by Meḥemmed II to a teaching post at the Istanbul *ṣaḥn-i <u>th</u>emāniye* [*q.v.*], to be held jointly with that of <u>kh</u>o<u>dj</u>a to the sultan. In 875/1470 he was raised to the rank of vizier and

became known consequently as "Khodja Pasha". In 881/1476 he was apparently appointed Grand Vizier to succeed Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], but was himself disgraced and imprisoned within a year. Although the precise cause remains unknown, one possibility is that, as a prominent member of a particular *ʿulemā'* group, he may have been a victim of factional rivalry (*IA* art. *Sinan Paşa, Hoca*, at x, 666-7). Meḥemmed II ordered his release following *ʿulemā'* protests, but removed him to Sivrihisar as *ḳāḍī*, where he remained five years. On the accession of Bāyezīd II in 886/1481, Sinān Pasha was restored to the rank of vizier and appointed *müderris* at the Dārü 'l-ḥadīth in Edirne with a daily salary of 100 *aḳčes*. He died in 891/1486, either in Edirne or in Istanbul. His brothers, Aḥmed Pasha, *müftī* of Bursa (d. 925/1519), and Yaʿḳūb Pasha, *ḳāḍī* of Bursa (d. 891/1486), were also prominent members of the *ʿulemā'*.

Sinān Pasha was a noted scholar and sceptic, with wide-ranging interests and a talent for debate; he became a follower of the dervish Sheykh Wefā'. His early works comprised learned treatises in Arabic on law and mathematics, but he is better known for his three works in Ottoman Turkish written during Bāyezīd II's reign: (i) *Taḍarruʿ-nāme*, a work on *taṣawwuf*, particularly admired for its fluent rhymed prose (ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1971); (ii) *Naṣīḥāt-nāme* or *Maʿārif-nāme*, a work on ethics (ed. İ.H. Ertalayan, Istanbul 1961); (iii) *Tedhkiretü 'l-ewliyā'*, containing the biographies of 28 saints, a partial translation of ʿAṭṭār's [*q.v.*] *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* (ed. E. Gürsoy-Naskali, Ankara 1987).

Bibliography: Khodja Saʿdu 'd-dīn, *Tādj al-tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863, ii, 498-500, 510; Ḳinali-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, *Tezkiretü 'ş-şuarâ*, ed. İ. Kutluk, Ankara 1978, i, 486-8; Meḥmed Medjdī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-shaḳā'iḳ*, Istanbul 1269/1853, i, 193-6; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir; *ʿOM*, ii, 223-5; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1943, ii, 534, 658-60; mss. and further bibl. in *İA*, art. *Sinan Paşa, Hoca*, at x, 666-70. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

2. The vizier and statesman (d. 1004/1596). He was born in Albania, in the village of Topoyan, belonging to the province Lurë, *ca.* 1520. His father was a Muslim, with the name of ʿAlī. He first appears in the Serai as the *čashnegīr bashi*, chief taster of Süleymān the Magnificent [*q.v.*]. Narrative sources maintain that he was later promoted to be *mīr-i liwā* of Malaṭya, Ḳasṭamūnī, Ghazza, Ṭarābulus in Syria, and *beglerbegi* of Erzerum and Ḥaleb (*Ḥadīḳat ül-wuzerā*, 35). Archival evidence suggests a somewhat different career. At least the appointment of a *čashnegīr bashi* Sinān, who must be identical with the later Grand Vizier, to the *sandjaḳ* of Ṭarābulus on 17 Djumādā II 963/28 April 1556 can be documented (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 2, p. 68, no. 618). Sinān, the former *sandjaḳbegi* of Ṭarābulus, is referred to on 4 Rabīʿ I 967/4 December 1559 (Mühimme defteri 3, p. 234, no. 666). Then he is mentioned as the *sandjaḳbegi* of Ghazza in April 1560 (*ibid.* 317, no. 929), from where he—"the brother of Ayās Pasha"—was transferred to Malaṭya on 28 Djumādā II 968/16 March 1561 (Mühimme defteri 4, p. 191, no. 1998). After some years, Sinān was *beglerbegi* of Erzerum in 1564 and 1565 (Mühimme defteri 6, p. 9, and Mühimme defteri 5, p. 144, no. 325). His holding office in Aleppo can also be proved in October 1565 (BBOA, Kepeci 7502, p. 115). At the end of 1567, he became governor of Egypt. While in this function, he was nominated vizier and *serdār* on 20 Ṣafar 976/15 August 1568, to undertake campaigns against the Yemen and to suppress the revolt of the *Imām* Muṭahhar. He succeeded in regaining the territory for the Ottomans, for which his panegyrists gave him the epithet "conqueror of the Yemen". He undertook the *ḥadjdj* in 1571, and was again appointed governor of Egypt on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 978/13 May 1571 (Mühimme defteri 12, no. 542, cited by Hulûsi Yavuz, *Kâbe ve Haremeyn için Yemen'de Osmanlı hâkimiyeti (1517-1571)*, Istanbul 1984, 117, n. 92), and remained in this position for almost two years. He returned to Istanbul as sixth vizier.

In the spring of 1574 he was given supreme command of the Ottoman land forces, which were marching against Tunis. Goletta (Ḥalḳ al-Wādī) was stormed after a long siege and Tunis incorporated once again in the Ottoman Empire (consequently, Sinān Pasha used the epithet "conqueror of Tunis"). For his success, he was honoured by the rank of fourth vizier, in which position his old rivalry with Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], who happened to be the third vizier, intensified. This led to their unprecedented double nomination as *serdārs* of the campaign against Persia in 1577. Later, he lost this position, but when his rival was unsuccessful, he was charged with the continuation of the warfare alone. In the spring of 1580 he led the Ottoman army against Georgia, and on 18 Djumādā II 988/31 July 1580 was appointed Grand Vizier in succession to Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha, who was *wakīl-i salṭanat* for three months after Aḥmed Pasha had died. Since, however, the Ottoman conquests in Georgia were not secure and peace with Persia could not be concluded, Sinān Pasha was dismissed on 10 Dhu'l Ḳaʿda 990/6 December 1582 and he was banished to Dimetoḳa, and later to Malḳara [*q.v.*] in Thrace. After four years in disgrace, through harem influence and appropriate presents (allegedly 100,000 ducats), he attained the governorship of Damascus in December 1586. Having lost this office, he was staying in Üsküdar when he was appointed Grand Vizier for the second time on 16 Djumādā I 997/2 April 1589. During this term, a peace treaty with Persia was signed, thus ending twelve years of hostilities. His new rival, Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*], however, was able to denigrate him and oust him from his position (11 Shawwāl 999/2 August 1591), using as a pretext the huge expenses spent for the realisation of the old plan of connecting the Black Sea with the Gulf of Nicomedia by digging a canal from the lake of Ṣabandja; also the aborted project of ordering galleys from provincial governors for a large-scale naval campaign in the Mediterranean must have played some role in his fall from favour (cf. Pál Fodor, *Between two land wars: Ottoman naval preparations in 1590-1592*, in *Armağan. Festschrift für Andreas Tietze*, ed. Ingeborg Baldauf and Suraiya Faroqhi, Prague 1994, 89-111). One and a half years later, however, a rising of the Janissaries brought him back again from Malḳara, and from 25 Rabīʿ II/29 January 1593 onwards, he filled the Grand Vizierate for the third time.

Henceforth, all his energies were concentrated on winning military laurels in the west, especially in Hungary. In the spring of 1593, he therefore personally led the army in the Hungarian campaign which followed the defeat of Ḥasan Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, at Sisak. The first year of the Long War between 1593 and 1606 resulted in the capture of two fortresses of secondary importance, Veszprém and Palota, by the Ottomans, while some Ottoman strongholds were lost to the Habsburgs. In 1594, Sinān's forces were more successful since—besides Tata and Pápa—they took Györ, a significant trading town

situated in the strategic zone before Vienna, and made it the seat of a new province. A month after the death of Murād III [*q.v.*] on 16 February 1595, he again had to leave his post and go into exile at Malḳara, but only for a few months. On 29 Shawwāl 1003/7 July 1595 he replaced his rival and relative Ferhād Pasha, and immediately began a campaign against Wallachia. His defeat at Giurgiu (Yergöğü) and the loss of Esztergom in Hungary brought about his dismissal and banishment to Malḳara on 16 Rabīʿ I 1004/19 November 1595. But when his successor, Lala Meḥmed Pasha, died on the third day after his appointment, the imperial seal was again entrusted to Sinān Pasha, this great survivor, for the fifth time. In this office he died, when just engaged in plans to attack Transylvania, on 4 Shaʿbān 1004/3 April 1596. He was buried in his own *türbe*, built by Miʿmār Dāwūd, in the Čarshiḳapi̊ quarter in Istanbul.

Sinān Pasha's fabulous wealth, with which he could finance the state in cases of emergency, explains why he was able—besides his personal capacities—to survive four periods of disgrace. He established several pious foundations in various places of the Empire. Although some of them were confiscated by the treasury when he was dismissed, many others survived or were renewed later. The handsomely-fitted *köshk* of the Serai on the shore of the Golden Horn bore his name and survived till 1827.

It was during his terms as Grand Vizier that—as a result of the consummation of the process of princely isolation of the sultans—the communication in writing of the ruler and his "absolute attorney" became a general practice in the form of the *telkhīṣ* [*q.v.*].

His strong personality provoked his contemporaries, mainly those who belonged to the Bosnian faction in the Serai. The chronicler Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī [*q.v.*] had a special hatred for him, partly because the vizier openly expressed his contempt for the literati. On the other hand, for people of lower rank he symbolised the Ottoman soldier, the true pillar of the empire, and the suppressor of the infidels.

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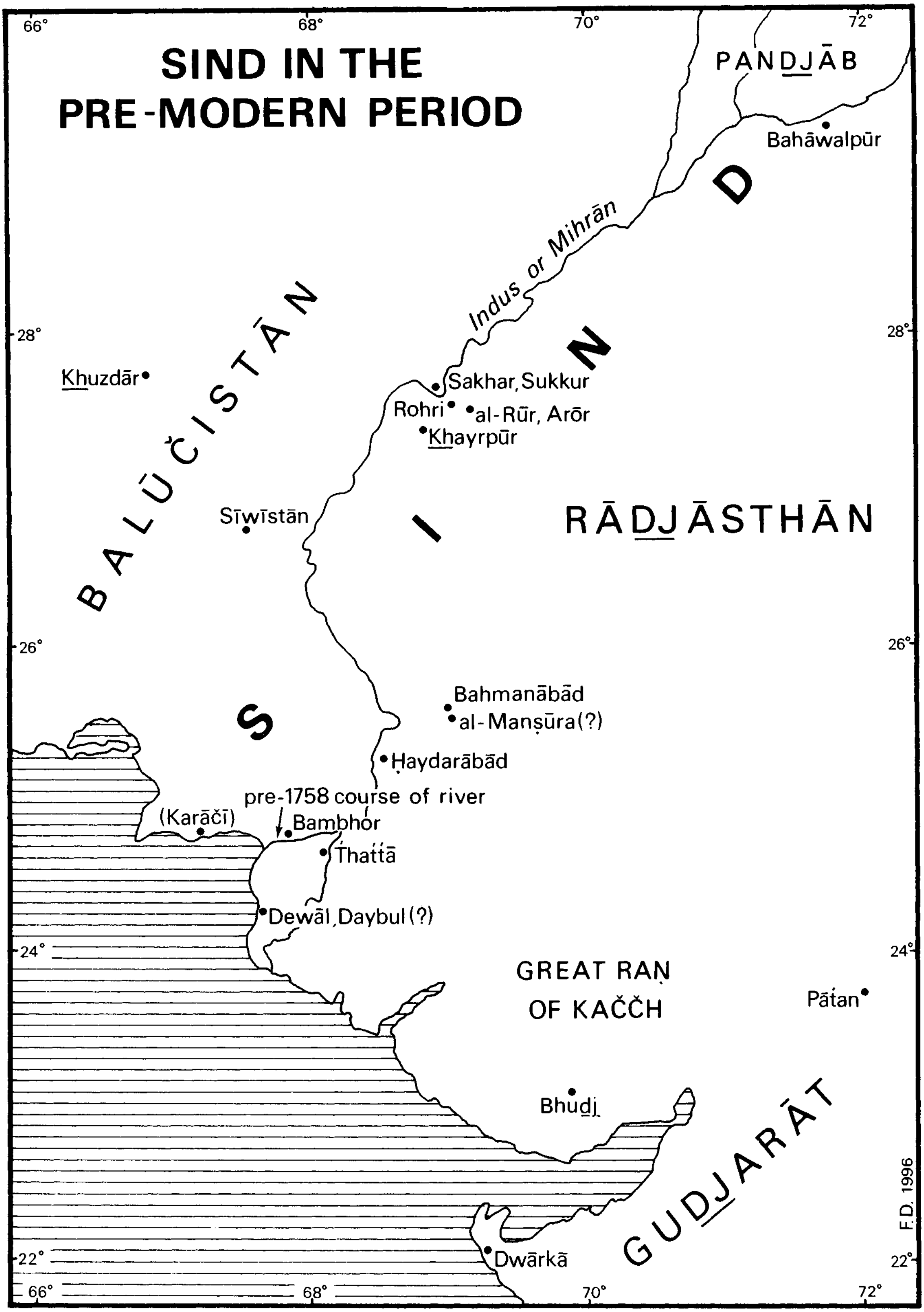
SIND, the older Indian Sindhu, the name for the region around the lower course of the Indus river (from which the region takes its name, see mihrān), i.e. that part of the Indus valley south of approximately lat. 28° 30' N., and the delta area, now coming within the modern state of Pākistān.

There are alluvial soils in the delta and in the lands along the river, liable to inundation when the river rises in spring from the melting snows of the northern Indian mountains and rendered fertile by a network of irrigation canals and channels for flood control. To the west of the lower Indus lies the Sind hill country, much of this comprising the Kīrthar range, which rises to an average height of 1,500 m/ 5,000 feet and which forms a natural frontier with Balūčistān [*q.v.*]. To the east of the river valley begins a desert of sand dunes, the southwestern end of the Thār Desert which lies mainly in modern Rādjāsthān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (see H.G. Raverty, *The Mihrán of Sind and its tributaries*, in *JASB*, lxi (1893), special number, repr. Lahore 1979; H.T. Lambrick, *Sind, a general introduction*, Ḥaydarābād-Sind 1964, chs. 1-4; Kazi S. Ahmad, *A geography of Pakistan*[2], Karachi 1969, index; O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan, a general and regional geography*[3], London 1972, 504-13).

1. History in the pre-modern period.

Sind forms part of one of the early centres of human civilisation, that of the Indus valley (overall span, approximately 2500-1700 B.C.), with its epicentre at Mohenjo-daro on the right bank of the river in Upper Sind (see Sir R. Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus valley and beyond*, London 1966; idem, *The Indus civilization*[3], Cambridge 1968). This civilisation was succeeded by the one brought into the subcontinent by the Indo-Europeans or Aryans, doubtless in several waves but apparently covering the years 1750-1000 B.C. The Achaemenid king Darius the Great (522-486 B.C.) made Sind and Gandhara parts of his empire, but these were soon lost to the Persians, certainly by the time Alexander the Great traversed the region in 326-325 B.C. before turning westwards and homewards through Gedrosia (the later Makrān [*q.v.*]) (see M. Stein, *On Alexander's track to the Indus*, London 1929; P.H.L. Eggermont, *Alexander's campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the siege of the Brahmin town of Harmatelia*, Leuven 1975). Various conquerors subsequently controlled Sind, from the Mauryas through the Indo-Bactrian Greeks and the Parthians, the Scyths and the Kushans. Under the Kushan emperor Kanishka (1st century A.D.), Sind apparently became, at least in part, Buddhist in faith, in addition to its existing Hinduism, so that, at the time of the Arab invasion of the early 8th century, Sind seems to have been in majority Hindu but with a very substantial Buddhist minority.

The Arab general Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] invaded Sind in 93/711, during the governorship of ʿIrāḳ and the east of al-Ḥadjdjādj and the caliphate of al-Walīd I b. ʿAbd al-Malik, marching from southern Persia through the arid region of the Makrān [*q.v.*] coastland to the Indus delta, and by the time of his recall and death three years later, the Arabs controlled all the lower Indus valley up to and including Multān [*q.v.*] and beyond. Despite the brevity of this conquest period, fierce and bloody campaigning was necessary. Probably a majority of the towns of Sind sought *amān* from the Arabs and submitted under a treaty of peace, *ṣulḥ*, as was the case, e.g. at Arōr/al-Rār, Armabīl and Sīwistān. But resistance at the capital Dēwal/Dēbal/Daybul [*q.v.*] by the local king, named in the Arabic sources as Dāhir (whose attacks on Muslim shipping in the Arabian Sea had allegedly provoked the Arab's punitive expedition) was strenuous, with the invaders conducting a massacre of the inhabitants over three days; 6,000 were killed at Rāwar and another 6,000 at Multān (see F. Gabrieli, *Muhammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab conquest of Sind*, in *EW*, N.S. xv [1964-5],


SIND IN THE
PRE-MODERN PERIOD
66°
68°
70°
72°
28°
26°
24°
22°
PANDJĀB
Bahāwalpūr
SIND
Indus or Mihrān
BALŪČISTĀN
Khuzdār
Sakhar, Sukkur
Rohri
al-Rūr, Arōr
Khayrpūr
Sīwīstān
RĀDJĀSTHĀN
Bahmanābād
al-Manṣūra(?)
Ḥaydarābād
pre-1758 course of river
(Karāčī)
Bambhor
Thaṭṭā
Dewāl, Daybul (?)
GREAT RAṆ
OF KAČČH
Pāṭan
Bhudj
Dwārkā
GUDJARĀT
F.D. 1996

281-95; Y. Friedmann, *A contribution to the early history of Islam in India*, in Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 309-33). In the succeeding decades, when Arab rule was well established, it seems to have been the Buddhists who collaborated more readily with the Muslim Arabs than the Hindus, and there may have been a process of absorption which contributed to the comparatively rapid extinction of Buddhism in Sind. When the Arab geographers and travellers of the 4th/10th century give descriptions of Sind, there is no mention of the *sumaniyya/samaniyya*, and al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048 [*q.v.*]), when he visited Sind, was unable to find any information there on Buddhist and Buddhism for his book on the religions of India (see D.N. McLean, *Religion and society in Arab Sind*, Leiden 1989, 22-82).

During the three centuries of Arab rule in Sind up to the Ghaznawid period (5th/11th century), the province was governed by officials sent out by the caliphs, with the capital and residence of these governors at al-Manṣūra (perhaps 78 km/45 miles to the northeast of modern Ḥaydarābād, Sind), founded by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's son ʿAmr [see AL-MANṢŪRA]. By the mid-3rd/9th century, caliphal control had become very tenuous, and Arab families of Sind like the Habbārids, who claimed Ḳurashī descent, ruled this out-post of the *Dār al-Islām* largely undisturbed. Islam as a faith settled down into a generally peaceful co-existence with the Hindus, doubtless still very much a majority of the population. It produced a good number of traditionist scholars (*muḥaddithūn*), the majority of whom were accounted amongst the stricter school of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* (McLean, *op. cit.*, 95-110, cf. also 120-5).

Ibn Ḥawḳal (mid-4th/10th century) found the *khuṭba* in Sind pronounced in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph (ed. Kramers, 320, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 313), but in this century, *duʿāt* (pl. of *dāʿī* [*q.v.*]) of the Ismāʿīlīs [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA] arrived in Sind and Multān from Yemen. During the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz (341-65/953-75 [*q.v.*]), an Ismāʿīlī principality was set up in Multān, and the *khuṭba* accordingly made there for the Fāṭimids (see S.M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlī propaganda and Fatimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii [1949], 298-307). This nest of heresy attracted the attention of the rigidly Sunnī orthodox military conqueror Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], who was concerned at this time to display his loyalty to the ʿAbbāsids and his abhorrence of the Fāṭimids. In 396/1006 he attacked Multān, capturing the city, and four years later he returned, extinguished its independence completely and deposed the local ruler Abu 'l-Futūḥ/Fatḥ Dāwūd b. Naṣr. The latter's son Dāwūd al-Aṣghar led a rebellion against the new Ghaznawid sultan Mawdūd [*q.v.*] in *ca.* 432/1030-1 or shortly thereafter, but his failure marks the end of Ismāʿīlism in Multān and Upper Sind. Less is known about Lower Sind at this time, but Ismāʿīlism does not seem to have secured a significant hold there in the face of a strong adherence to Sunnī orthodoxy (M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 96-7; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1964, 76; idem, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, 31; McLean, *op. cit.*, 126-53).

At some point in the first half of the 5th/11th century, Lower Sind came under the rule of a Rādjput family, the Sūmeras [*q.v.*] or Sūmras, but Upper Sind remained under Ghaznawid control. After the demise of the Ghaznawids, the whole of Sind came into the hands of their supplanters, the Ghūrids, and it was conquered by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*], passing after the sultan's death in 602/1206 to his commander Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubāča. The latter submitted to the Dihlī Sultan Aybak, but was defeated by Iltutmush, whose authority he refused to recognise. The Khʷārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*], fleeing before the Mongols, invaded the Indus valley in 618-20/1221-3, reaching as far as Dēwal/Daybul and the Indian Ocean coast, with the local Sūmera chief fleeing before him (see J.A. Boyle, *Jalal al-Din Khwarazm Shah in the Indus valley*, in *Sind through the centuries*, 124-9). The Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] visited Sind in 734/1333-4, probably entering the Indus valley via the Bolan Pass, and almost certainly again in 741/1341 (C.F. Beckingham, *Ibn Battuta in Sind*, in *ibid.*, 139-42); he mentions the Sūmeras (whom he calls by the familiar Arabic term *al-Sāmira* [*q.v.*], *recte* the Samaritans) as an endogamous clan, with an *amīr* called Wunār who led a rebellion against the Dihlī Sultans, the suzerains of Sind (*Riḥla*, iii, 101-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 596-600). When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was in Sind, the ancient capital Dēwal/Daybul had ceased to exist, and its place must have been taken by Ṭhaṭṭā [*q.v.*], probably a foundation of the Sūmeras. The Sūmeras themselves ceased to rule Sind in *ca.* 733/1333, and their power was crushed in 752/1351 by a new ruling dynasty, also of Rādjput origin, the Sammās [*q.v.*], whose monarchs, the Djāms, were to rule Sind for nearly two centuries until the early 10th/16th century. Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] of Dihlī died in Muḥarram 752/March 1351, on the banks of the Indus, while in pursuit of a rebel whom the Sammās had harboured, and Sind contended successfully with the imperial arms until the Sammās were reduced to obedience and vassalage by Fīrūz Shāh, Muḥammad's successor. With the decline of the power of Dihlī, that of the Sammās revived, the greatest of their line being Djām Nanda, or Niẓām al-Dīn, who reigned for forty-six years and died in 915/1509. In 926/1520 Sind was invaded by Shāh Beg Arghūn [*q.v.*], who, having been driven from Ḳandahār by Bābur, succeeded in establishing himself in Sind. Djām Fīrūz, the last of the Sammās, was driven into Gudjarāt, where he died. The Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*], expelled from Hindūstān by Shīr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*], made two abortive attempts to conquer Sind, during the second of which his son Akbar was born at ʿUmarkot in 949/1542, but was compelled to flee into Persia. On the death of Shāh Ḥasan, the last of the Arghūns, in 961/1554, the Tarkhāns, another short-lived dynasty, related to the Arghūns, became rulers of Sind, and witnessed the sack of Ṭhaṭṭā by the Portuguese in 1555, but in 1000/1592 Akbar defeated Mīrzā Djānī Beg Tarkhān and annexed Sind, which was incorporated in the *ṣūba* of Multān. The province was a part of the empire, but owing to its remoteness local affairs remained much in native hands. The Dāūdputras were powerful in Lower Sind in the 11th/17th century, and were succeeded by the Kalhoras, who in 1112/1701 ousted them from Shikārpūr and obtained from Awrangzīb a large grant of land. For the next forty years, the Kalhoras increased their power, but in 1153/1740 Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora incurred the displeasure of the Persian invader Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], to whom that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus had been ceded, and was compelled to surrender Shikārpūr and Sībī and to pay a heavy tribute. In 1167/1754 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (Abdālī) [*q.v.*], to whom Sind had passed on after the death of Nādir Shāh, drove Nūr Muḥammad to Djaysalmer, where he died, but his son, Muḥammad Murād Yār Khān, appeased the Afghān and retained the kingdom. In

1182/1768 his brother and successor, Ghulām Shāh, founded Ḥaydarābād on the site of Nerankot. The relations of the Kalhoras with the English East India Company, which in 1772 opened a factory at Thaṭṭā, were the reverse of friendly, and the factory was closed in 1775. Some years later, Mīr Bidjar, a chief of the Tālpūr tribe of the Balūč, rose in rebellion, and the Kalhora compromised the matter by appointing him minister, but he was assassinated in 1195/1781 after defeating an Afghān army near Shikārpūr, and his son ʿAbd Allāh Khān Tālpūr drove ʿAbd al-Nabī, the last of the Kalhoras, to Kalāt [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Nabī regained his throne and put ʿAbd Allāh to death, but the latter's kinsman, Mīr Fatḥ ʿAlī, defeated him and finally compelled him to take refuge in Djodhpūr, where his descendants held distinguished rank till the end of British Indian days. In 1197/1783 Fatḥ ʿAlī, the first of the Tālpūr Mīrs, established himself as Raʾīs of Sind. The history of the country under its new rulers was bewildering, owing to its partition among different members of the family: (1) the Ḥaydarābād or Shāhdādpūr branch, ruling in Central Sind, (2) the Mīrpūr or Manikānī branch, seated at Mīrpūr, and (3) the Suhrābānī branch, ruling at Khayrpūr [*q.v.*].

The English East India Company had had a factory at Thaṭṭā for some thirty years in the mid-17th century and, as noted above, again in the later 18th century. In 1799 an attempt to establish commercial relations was made by the Governor of Bombay, with the additional motives of excluding possible French Revolutionary influence from Sind and, more pressingly, that of the Tālpūr Mīrs' suzerains, the Durrānī rulers of Afghānistān. By *ca.* 1830 the possibility was being mooted in British Indian circles of trade along the Indus waters, and a mission under Henry Pottinger was sent to Sind in 1832. At the time of the First Afghan War, British Indian troops insisted on transit through Sind and the Bolan Pass into Afghānistān, and in 1839 a treaty was imposed on the Mīrs. Military disasters in Afghānistān and north-eastern Balūčistān weakened British prestige. In the rising in Sind of 1843 against British interference there, Sir Charles Napier defeated the insurgents at Miyānī near Ḥaydarābād. Mīr ʿAlī Murād, of the Suhrābānī branch, remained faithful to the British connection, and was permitted to retain his principality of Khayrpūr and the honorary office of *Raʾīs* of Upper Sind. The rest of Sind was annexed to British India, attached administratively to Bombay, and until 1847 was in fact governed by Napier, until his retirement from the post, as Commissioner for Sind.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): For an early source on the Arab conquest, see ČAČ-NĀMA in Suppl. Also R.F. Burton, *Scinde; or, the unhappy valley*, London 1851; idem, *Scinde revisited*, London 1877; M.R. Haig, *The Indus valley delta country*, London 1894; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 389-432; E.H. Aitkens, *Gazetteer of the province of Sind. A*, Karachi 1907; H.T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sind*, Oxford 1952; R.A. Huttenback, *British relations with Sind, 1799-1843*, Berkeley, etc. 1962; R.C. Majumdar, in idem (ed.), *History and culture of the Indian people*, ix/1, Bombay 1963, ch. VIII; H.T. Sorely, *Gazetteer of West Pakistan. The former province of Sind, including Khairpur State*, Lahore 1968; M.H. Panhwar, *Source material on Sind*, Jamshore, Sind 1977; Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and culture of Sind*, Karachi 1980; Hamida Khuhro (ed.), *Sind through the centuries, Procs. of an International Seminar held in Karachi in Spring 1975 ...*, Karachi 1981; A. Wink, *Al-Hind. The making of the Indo-Islamic world. I. Early medieval India and the expansion of Islam 7th-13th centuries*, Leiden 1990, 144-218.

(T.W. HAIG-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. History from 1843.

Sind was annexed by the British in 1843 following the defeat by British troops commanded by Sir Charles Napier of the local Tālpūr *mīrs* at the battles of Miani (17 February) and Ḥaydarābād (22 March). This action was taken as part of a wider plan to secure India's northwestern frontier in the aftermath of the unsuccessful First Afghan War of 1838-41, and was officially justified by claims that Sind's rulers had failed to honour agreements entered into with the British administration in India. Contemporary public opinion, however, was divided over the way in which the *mīrs* had been treated, some observers alleging that Britain had behaved dishonourably, which led to the famous "Peccavi" (I have sinned/Sind) saying attributed by the magazine *Punch* to Napier.

Under British administration, a hierarchy of officials was installed along the same lines as other parts of British-controlled India. A similar land revenue system was also introduced which did not differ very greatly from the situation under the *mīrs*. In return for their allegiance, most landholders were confirmed in their estates. From the British point of view, Sind remained a frontier province, albeit attached to the Bombay Presidency after 1847, and consolidating and maintaining the security of its borders was consequently a high priority. The other main concern of Sind's new authorities was to encourage the development of the local economic infrastructure in order to expand the region's usefulness as a source of raw materials and a market for British goods. The introduction of new irrigation schemes such as the Jamrao canal in 1900 and the Sukkur barrage in 1932 facilitated a steady shift to cash cropping as thousands of acres were released for cultivation. Helped by the expansion of the railway network, the port of Karachi [*q.v.*] acquired all-India importance. The strains of commercialisation combined with British revenue demands resulted in a familiar pattern of alienation, with land often moving out of Muslim into Hindu hands. The events of 1857-8 had passed by almost unnoticed in Sind, but economic problems in the 1890s produced a period of instability when the administration was confronted with problems of law and order. Local people also began to resent the presence of settlers from outside the region, who were officially encouraged to exploit the new agrarian opportunities.

While the province escaped the communal bitterness of many other parts of India, Muslim-Hindu differences gradually came to dominate local politics. By 1936, enough public support had been generated to win Sind's separation from the Bombay Presidency, which had communal implications, as on the whole Muslims supported the break while Hindus remained wary. Sindhi Muslims had enthusiastically supported the Khilāfat movement [*q.v.*] of 1919-22, but it was not until the Second World War that Sindhi politics were drawn more fully into the wider nationalist debate. Both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League had only acquired toe-holds in the province prior to the war years. However, during 1939-45 the League, in particular, with the help of influential Muslim landed élites, increased its support, winning victory in the post-war elections of 1945-6.

At independence in 1947, Sind became a province in the new state of Pakistan, with Karachi the federal capital until 1962. As a result of the demographic

upheaval which accompanied partition, Sind received large numbers of refugees from north and west India who were largely urban-based and so filled to some extent the gap left behind by Sind's departed Hindu community, contributing to Karachi's dramatically-swelling population, which rose from 400,000 at independence to nearly 1.5 million in the early 1950s. Provincial politics continued to be the domain of rural élites, but with the introduction of One-Unit in 1955, for which Sind's Chief Minister M.A. Khuhro mobilised support, Sind's separate political identity was once again lost until the late 1960s. Sind's towns and cities continued expanding, and further irrigation schemes such as the G.M. Barrage across the Indus at Ḥaydarābād helped to strengthen commercial agriculture.

Despite the advantages of having a Sindhi Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, during the 1970s, economic problems, exacerbated by widescale waterlogging and salination, and competition for scarce employment, contributed to political instability, producing riots as migrants protested against the introduction of quotas favouring local Sindhis, while Sindhis resented the dominance of Urdu. The martial law régime of General Zia was interpreted by many Sindhis as undisguised rule by the Panjab, and there was much support mobilised in Sind for the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which campaigned hard against it in 1983. With the return to parliamentary democracy in the late 1980s, another Sindhi, Benazir Bhutto, became Prime Minister but ethnic tensions fractured the province, which fell victim to the widespread violence that erupted between the province's communities. New political organisations, such as the *Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz* (MQM) which represented refugee interests, clashed with Sindhi nationalists and also Panjabi-Pathan groups in battlegrounds provided by the province's main cities and towns. By the early 1990s, Sind was facing an uncertain political and economic future.

Bibliography: Several of the works listed in the *Bibl.* to 1. above deal with events leading up to the annexation of Sind and its aftermath, but see also Hamida Khuro, *The making of modern Sind. British policy and social change in the nineteenth century*, Karachi 1978; Sarah Ansari, *Sufi saints and state power. The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, Cambridge 1992.

(Sarah Ansari)

3. Language and literature.

Sindhī is the Indo-Aryan language of Sind, spoken by an estimated 15 million speakers in Pakistan, where they constitute the third largest speech community after speakers of Pandjābī and Pashtō, and a further 2.6 million (1991) in India.

(a) Language. Within Indo-Aryan, Sindhī is most closely related to the Sirāikī of the southwestern Pandjāb, which is also widely spoken bilingually with Sindhī in northern Sind. Even Sirāikī, however, which was classified by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India* under Lahndā [*q.v.*], shares many more features with Pandjābī [*q.v.*] than with Sindhī. The somewhat isolated status thus conferred upon Sindhī by its peculiar mix of conservative and innovatory features is largely to be accounted for as a natural consequence both of its geographical position on the extreme western perimeter of the Indo-Aryan speech area and of the high degree of isolation from other parts of South Asia imposed upon Sind by the deserts and hills with which the historically inhabited riverain area is largely surrounded. Internal dialectal divisions, e.g. between the standard Vičōlī of the central region, including Ḥaydarābād, and the Lāṛī of the Indus delta, are less significant than those between Sindhī proper and Kaččhī, a distinct variety of Sindhī which betrays its cultural subordination to Gudjarātī.

Among the more notable conservative features of Sindhī particular mention may be made of the widespread retention of short final vowels (albeit often as whispered vowels) now entirely lost in most other New Indo-Aryan languages, thus permitting the retention of such grammatical distinctions as *gharu* "house", *ghara* "houses", *ghari* "at home". Other conservative features include the continued existence of distinctive feminine pronouns, partial distinctions in conjugation between intransitive and transitive verbs, and the maintenance of more than 100 irregular past participles. Innovatory distinctive features include the formation of the future from the present participle, and the exceptionally widespread use of pronominal suffixes not only with verbs, e.g. *atha-mi* "is for me", but also with nouns of relationship, e.g. *pi'u-mi* "my father", and common postpositions, e.g. *sāñu-mi* "with me". While Sindhī is naturally further distinguished from Urdū and the other Indo-Aryan languages of Pakistan by many distinctive lexical items, its vocabulary also shares with these a very considerable component of Perso-Arabic loans, although here too there are some unexpected contrasts, e.g. Sindhī *kitābu* "book", masculine, versus the feminine Urdū and Pandjābī *kitāb*.

Phonologically, the most distinctive feature of Sindhī (and Sirāikī) is the presence of the voiced implosives *g' dj' ḍ' b'*, which are derived from Middle Indo-Aryan initial and medial geminate voiced unaspirates, and which now stand in phonemic contrast with the corresponding explosives *g dj d(ḍ) b*. As a result of these and other contrasts, Sindhī possesses 41 consonant phonemes, an exceptionally large inventory which led to rather far-reaching adaptations of the Arabic script. Earlier conventions were formalised soon after the British conquest of 1843, with the implementation in 1853 of the recommendations of the Ellis Committee of 1851. A regularised Sindhī orthography was thereby instituted, using a 52-letter alphabet normally written in *naskhī* style as opposed to the *nastaʿlīḳ* favoured for Urdū and other South Asian languages. Many letters are distinguished by additional dots, so that, e.g. the *djīm* set also includes separate letters for implosive *dj'* (with two vertical subscript dots), palatal *ñ* (with two horizontal subscript dots) and aspirated *čh* (with four subscript dots). Other unusual conventions include the specialisation of different forms of *kāf* for *k* and aspirated *kh*, and such creative spellings as *hamza* with nunation for *aē̃* "and". Although the unsystematic character of these innovations was deplored by Trumpp, whose Germanic enthusiasm for order led him to devise a confusingly different orthography in his classic grammar, the quite distinctive character of the Sindhī script has done much to ensure the subsequent literary and cultural autonomy of the language. The autonomy of Sindhī was fostered by the region's separate administration from Bombay during the British period, but came to be challenged after 1947 by the settlement of very large numbers of Urdū-speaking *muhādjirīn* in Karāčī, Ḥaydarābād and other urban areas and the accompanying expulsion of most of the Sindhī Hindū population to India, and by subsequent attempts by centralising régimes to enhance the unique status of Urdū as national language of Pakistan. In spite of enduring tensions, however, the status of Sindhī as the most highly developed of Pakistan's provincial languages has now been amply secured, while in India its national status was recog-

nised in 1967 in the eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution.

(b) Literature. The beginnings of a reliable literary record hardly predate the late 16th century. In spite of the claims sometimes more or less extravagantly advanced to the contrary, the early date of Muslim conquest of Sind is therefore not matched by the preservation of any substantial early Muslim Sindhī literature. The Sindhī and Kaččhī elements to be discerned in some of the hymns (*ginān*) of the Ismāʿīlī Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 1416?) and his successors provide tantalising indications of the likely early existence of an important sectarian literature, but much has been obscured by uncertain textual transmission and the tendency of later copyists and editors to impart a strongly Gudjarātī character to the language of these Ismāʿīlī compositions.

The classical tradition of Sindhī literature has a strongly Ṣūfī emphasis, already apparent in the brief couplets ascribed to Ḳāḍī Ḳāḍan (d. 1551) and the better authenticated and poetically more memorable set composed by ʿAbd al-Karīm of Bulṙī (1536-1623). The apogee of this tradition is reached in the *Risālo* of Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf of Bhiṭ (1689-1752), a collection of verses designed for musical performance in *ḳawwālī*, which has subsequently become the focus of extraordinary veneration as the supreme expression of Sindhī cultural identity. Arranged under the modal headings called *sur*, the *Risālo* draws for its poetic inspiration not only upon the Ḳur'ān and *Mathnawī*, but also variously upon directly observed phenomena of Sindhī rural life, upon such local folk-romances as the tragic stories of Sasuī and Māruī, and upon memorable evocations of the yogis to whose company the author appears to have been so particularly drawn. Many later Ṣūfī poets were inspired by the example of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, but his ecstatic inspiration is genuinely matched only by Saččal Sarmast (1739-1827) of Khayrpūr [*q.v.*] in Upper Sind, who also wrote in Sirāikī. The primacy of the Ṣūfī lyric has caused the considerable Islamic literature produced in other traditional poetic genres in the Kalhoṙā and Ṫālpur periods (1748-1843) to appear to be of rather lesser interest.

During the British period, there was the usual shift in fashion away from indigenous genres to more prestigious external models, involving extensive adaptations into Sindhī both of the pedantic niceties of Perso-Urdū *ʿarūḍ* and the Western genres now being made familiar through English. While Hindu writers played an important part in these modernising developments in Sindhī, both tendencies were most vigorously if often prosily promulgated by the extraordinarily prolific writer Mīrzā Ḳalīč Bēg (1853-1929), the son of a Georgian Christian convert to Islam. Ḳalīč Bēg was one of those figures characteristic of the age who devoted his life to the service of his mother tongue. Fluent in Persian, Arabic, Urdū and English, he drew upon the most varied sources in his 300-odd books, which embraced poetry, dramas, novels, essays, grammar, biography and children's books, as well as many translations of all sorts. In the Pakistani period, the leading figure in Sindhī literature has been the poet Shaykh Ayāz (b. 1923), whose extensive œuvre has drawn profoundly upon the resources of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's *Risālo* in its often outspoken articulation of Sindhī cultural nationalism.

Bibliography: (a) Language. E. Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi language*, London and Leipzig 1872, remarkably long-lived as the standard work of reference, may be supplemented by R.E. Yegorova, *The Sindhi language*, Moscow 1971. G.A. Grierson (ed.), *Linguistic survey of India*, viii/1, *Sindhī and Lahndā*, Calcutta 1919, has a full bibl. of the earlier sources. Later items may be found in the bibliography of C.P. Masica, *The Indo-Aryan languages*, Cambridge 1991, 508-9.

(b) Literature. Besides the useful account of L.H. Ajwani, *History of Sindhi literature*, New Delhi 1970, the summary description in A. Schimmel, *Sindhi literature*, Wiesbaden 1974, is an excellent guide to the primary and secondary bibliography, including many of her own valuable contributions to the subject. Further information may be conveniently sought in G.R. Garg, *International encyclopaedia of Indian literature*, viii, *Sindhi*, New Delhi 1991. H. Khuhro (ed.), *Sind through the centuries*, Karachi 1981, includes articles on various aspects of Sindhi language and literature.

A comparative analysis of the earliest examples of Sindhi verse is offered in C. Shackle, *Early Muslim vernacular poetry in the Indus valley: its contexts and its character*, in A.L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant (ed.), *Islam and Indian regions*, i, *Texts*, Stuttgart 1993, 259-89. The language and content of the Ismāʿīlī literature is described in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili hymns from South Asia*, London 1992. M. Jotwani, *Shah Abdul Karim*, New Delhi 1970, offers an introduction to one early poet with complete translation of his verses. The overwhelming reputation of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf has generated a considerable literature in English, but this is largely uncritical. The classic account in H.T. Sorley, *Shāh Abdul Laṭīf of Bhit*, London 1940, should be supplemented by A. Schimmel, *Pain and grace*, Leiden 1976, and Durreshahwar Sayed, *The poetry of Shah Abd al-Latif*, Jamshoro-Ḥaydarābād 1988. The character of the pre-modern Islamic literature may be deduced from the descriptions in C. Shackle, *Catalogue of the Panjabi and Sindhi manuscripts in the India Office Library*, London 1977, 58-71. More recent literature is much less well described, but mention may be made of the useful small anthology *Sindhi short stories*, tr. H.K. Ramani, Karachi *ca.* 1972, and the coverage of modern poetry in Fahmida Riaz, *Pakistan, literature and society*, New Delhi 1986.

(C. Shackle)

4. Architecture.

Deserts, marshes and inhospitable ranges of hills and mountains have isolated Sind from the architectural traditions and building techniques of Persia, the Pandjāb and other parts of the subcontinent. The earlier tradition of building in brick was followed throughout the Islamic period, with plinths of stone to protect the walls from rising salt. The use of stone structures and carving could have been introduced from neighbouring Gudjarāt in the late 8/15th century. A century earlier, the glazed tilework tradition of Persia started to enliven brick buildings with two shades of blue and white; the occasional touch of yellow appeared later.

Built under Arab rule, the earliest mosque of the subcontinent in Bhambōr [see daybul] contains two dated inscriptions: 109/727 and 294/906. Excavations only reveal the outline in stone of the ground plan; it follows the square plan of the earlier mosques in Kūfa and Wāsiṭ with a sanctuary without *miḥrāb*, three bays deep and with three rows of eleven columns on stone bases. The *ṣaḥn* is surrounded by the usual *riwāḳs*. Presumably the mosques in al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*] followed the same plan. Later mosques can be grouped according to their tilework decoration inspired by Persian work. Their ground plans recall Lōdī and Mughal prototypes. The earliest example is the Dabgīr

mosque 966/1558 in Thaṭṭā [*q.v.*] as well as the better-known one, the Djāmiʿ Masdjid built between 1053/1644 and 1056/1647. Other such mosques in bad repair are scattered throughout Sind in Sukkur, Khūdābād, Rōhrī (*ca.* 990/1583) and Ghotki (1144/1732).

More than mosques, tombs stand out as the major architectural achievement of Sind. Many of them are characterised by a funerary enclosure which includes a *miḥrāb*. Once more, baked brick remains the basic material and in the earlier examples of Arūr [*q.v.*] near Sukkur, such as the tombs of Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd Shakar-Gandj [*q.v.*] or Khatal al-Dīn, the relief patterning in terra cotta recalls the decoration of the tomb towers of Kharraḳān from 486/1093 in northern Persia. On the other hand, the square plans with dome are drawn from monuments such as the tomb of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in Bukhārā or in Sind from indigenous stupas. Although Multān [*q.v.*] remains the province of grandiose mausolea with glazed tiles, yet in the Maklī [*q.v.*] Hills near Thaṭṭā, the largest Muslim cemetery of the subcontinent, there are also brick tombs with intense patterning in tilework. The best preserved brick-and-tile mausoleum is that of Dīwān Shūrfā Khān (1048/1638) with its mosque; inside its enclosure the square domed building with corner round towers, is sited on a plinth. In Ḥaydarābād, the massive tomb of the founder Ghulām Shāh Kalhōrā buried in 1186/1772 follows the same building traditions as do the two groups of later Tālpūr tombs.

The impact of Gudjarātī stone carving is also echoed in the stone mausolea of the Sindī ruling dynasties. In the Maklī Hills, the most richly carved is the tomb of Djām Niẓām al-Dīn, who died in 914/1508. Amongst other large cemeteries, that of Chaukundi, meaning domed roofs, contains numerous stone burials of the Jokhia tribe (12th/18th century); they exhibit geometric carvings and crude representations of warriors on horseback.

To protect cities, fords and bridges, forts were an essential feature of river and desert landscapes. Nothing much remains of the walls of Bhambōr or al-Manṣūra, but the battlements of the two forts of Ḥaydarābād still dominate the city. In Sukkur, one imposing brick watch tower (1003/1594) survives by the *Ārām-gāh* or resthouse of Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm [*q.v.*], the gifted courtier of the Mughal court. South of Sukkur, the fort of Kōt Didji (12th/18th century) stands out as an impressive landmark; and the ruined battlements of Rōhrī still overlook the Indus, as do those of the fortress on the island of Bhakkar near by. The early 13th/19th century fort at Ranikot, with its 24 km/15 miles of walls, is said to be the largest in the world.

Urban architecture during the British period in Karāčī [*q.v.*], in particular, took on a syncretic European style of great exhuberance. After independence, Mahdī ʿAlī Mīrzā (1910-61), the first president of the Institute of Architects of Pakistan, directed the next generation into a more modern international form of building, although in Karāčī's university complex planned by M. Ecochard, the materials used are a combination of cement and local stone, sand and aggregate.

All over Sind, wind catchers, *mangh* or *mungh*, from around 1 m square and up to 2 m high/3.3-6.6 feet high, rise above the flat roofs of houses to catch the summer wind. From the *shikargāhs* or the game reserves comes the *acacia arabica* for the building of houses. In Thaṭṭā, fine lime plaster or *čunam* covers the mud rendering of the walls; it is carved into mouldings and pilasters. Doors for the fort of Ḥaydarābād are elegantly carved in Indian rosewood or *shīsham*, as are in Lārkhānā the doors for the tomb of Shāh Bahra, who died in 1148/1735.

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SINDĀBŪR, Sandābūr, a port on the western coast of peninsular India. Al-Idrīsī describes it as a trading town on a large estuary with an anchorage. It has been tentatively identified with either Siddhāpūr/Shiddāpūr or the modern Shadāshivagad, some 80 km/50 miles south of Goa, hence in what is now the union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu in the Indian Union.

Bibliography: S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq ... *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 58, 62, 102, 159. (Ed.)

SINDĀN, Sandān, a port on the western coast of peninsular India, mentioned by the early Islamic geographers (Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*) as a flourishing mercantile town with a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. It has been identified with the Sanjam of Portuguese maps and the St. John of English ones and as lying south of Damān and north of Thāna, hence in the modern Bombay state of the Indian Union.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 57, comm. 244-5; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq ... *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 56, 102. (Ed.)

SINDBĀD (the sailor), narrator and protagonist of a collection of travel narratives, originally an independent work, but since the time of Antoine Galland's adaptation (1704-6), forming an integral part of the *Arabian Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla* [*q.v.*]).

The frame story tells of how the wealthy merchant Sindbād overhears a passing porter, his namesake (alternatively also called Hindibād), complain about the injustice of fortune. He invites the porter, and at a number of subsequent occasions narrates about his seven mercantile voyages at sea. On all occasions he is shipwrecked by some misfortune, saved by chance, endurance, and cleverness, and after experiencing varying numbers of adventures, at the end of each journey eventually returns home richer than before. All of Sindbād's adventures mention a number of mirabilia, e.g. wonderful objects, creatures, facts, etc.

Generally speaking, the various voyages focus on the following central episodes: (1) Sindbād's companions mistake a huge fish for an island on which they light a fire. Later, he finds a mare that is to be impregnated by the magic stallion of the sea. (2) Sindbād finds the huge egg of the giant bird Rukhkh [*q.v.*]. Tying himself to the bird's leg, he is carried

to the diamond valley guarded by huge snakes. From there he is saved by clinging to a large piece of meat, which has been thrown down by human merchants exploiting the diamonds. (3) Sindbād's company is kidnapped by hairy dwarfs. A cannibal giant roasts and devours his companions. The giant is blinded with a glowing spike, but only Sindbād himself manages to escape from the wrath of his fellow giants. Later, he saves himself from being devoured by a giant snake by tying his body to large pieces of wood. (4) Caught by black people, Sindbād's comrades are fattened and slaughtered. Managing to escape, Sindbād teaches a foreign king the use of the saddle. He gets married, but later, according to local custom, is deposited in a cave together with his deceased wife. He survives on the scarce nutrition gained by killing other people lowered into the cave until an animal by chance points out to him a way to escape. (5) Sindbād's comrades on the island of the Rukhkh destroy some eggs, and the returning birds bombard their ships with rocks. Sindbād is saved on an island where an old man, taken on Sindbād's back, slings his legs around his body and forces him to obey his orders until Sindbād gets him drunk and kills him. On another island, the inhabitants regularly flee from hordes of monkeys until Sindbād teaches them how to exploit the monkeys' habit of throwing back items thrown at themselves. (6) Sindbād's ship is wrecked at the shores of the magnetic mountain, and he entrusts himself on a raft to a river leading through an underground passage. Eventually emerging in Sarandīb [*q.v.*] (Ceylon), the kingdom's ruler furnishes him with numerous presents intended for Hārūn al-Rashīd. (7) Hārūn subsequently orders him to repay the ruler's generosity, but Sindbād is kidnapped by pirates, who sell him into slavery. When his master orders him to go hunting elephants, he does not engage in killing the animals. In return, they lead him to their cemetery, where he finds huge amounts of ivory.—A variant recension renders the last adventure in a different way: (7a) Sindbād saves himself through the passage of an underground river, and lives with people who turn into flying demons at certain occasions. Not knowing their true nature, he evokes God's name while airborne and is cursed for risking their life.

The Sindbād tales usually are considered as originating from the context of sailors' yarns such as are preserved in Buzurg b. Shahriyār's [*q.v.*] *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind.* Attempts at establishing an exact dating delineate a period ranging from about A.D. 900—since the Sindbād tales contain numerous verbatim quotations from Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*]—to the 12th century, after which date analogous tales are quoted by al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*]. Probably the earliest mention of the *Ḥadīth Sindbād* is in al-Ṣūlī's *K. al-Awrāḳ* (Brockelmann, S I, 252; N. Abbot, in *JNES*, viii [1949] 155); since the title there is mentioned in close context with a book entitled *ʿAdjāʾib al-baḥr*, it seems quite likely that this quotation does not refer to the *Sindbād-nāma*, a collection of edifying stories, focusing on a homonym protagonist, which was popular in Persian and Arabic at an early period. The further textual history of the Sindbād tales remains largely unknown, though obvious similarities exist between the Sindbād tales and other narratives of fabulous journeys, such as the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (*ca.* 10th century; see M.J. de Goeje, *La légende de Saint Brandan*, in *Actes du viii*ᵉ *Congrès International des Orientalistes*, ii, Leiden 1893, 43-76), the German *Herzog Ernst* (12th century; see C. Lecouteux, *Herzog Ernst*, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vi, Berlin-New York 1990, 939-42), or the Arabic romance *Sayf al-mulūk*, itself integrated in the *Arabian Nights* (V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vii, 64-73). The Sindbād collection was first publicised by the French orientalist scholar Galland (see M. Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris 1964, s.v.) towards the end of the 17th century. Galland initially intended to publish an independent French translation, but becoming aware of the fact that the Sindbād tales were similar to the larger collection of the *Arabian Nights*, he included them in his translation *Les mille et une nuits*, adapted to the literary taste of the contemporary French mode of *contes de fées.*

Since then, the Sindbād tales have achieved an immense popularity, notably in the Western literatures, where they continue to constitute a mine of inspiration for literary and artistic production (see e.g. *The Arabian Nights in English literature*, ed. P.L. Caracciolo, Houndmills 1988, s.v.; R. Irwin, *The Arabian Nights*, London 1994, s.v.). In this respect, their impact is challenged only by that of the tale of *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Aladin) and the wonderful lamp* (U. Marzolph, *Das Aladdin-Syndrome*, in *Sehen, Hören, Lesen, Lernen, Festschrift Rudolf Schenda*, Frankfurt am Main 1995). In the literatures of the Islamic lands, where pure fiction traditionally appears to be regarded with discretion, the impact of the Sindbād tales is less well articulated (compare, however, several mentions in F. Saʿd's *Min waḥy Alf layla wa-layla*, i-ii, Beirut 1962-6). Rare distinct examples of the collection's reflection in oral literature are represented by the Persian popular romance *Salīm-i djawāhirī* (see U. Marzolph, *Social values in the Persian popular romance "Salīm-i Javāhirī"*, in *Edebiyât*, N.S. v [1994], 77-98), or the Persian storyteller's Mashdī Galīn Khānum's re-telling of Sindbād's fourth journey (see *Die Erzählungen der Mašdi Galin Ḫānom/Ḳiṣṣahā-i Mashdī Galīn Khānum*, ed. U. Marzolph and A. Amirhosseini-Nithammer, Wiesbaden 1994, i, no. 60).

As for single traits, numerous motifs incorporated in the Sindbād tales find analogues in other literatures, prior and posterior to the collection (E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, ³Leipzig 1914, 191-6). To name only the most important: The huge fish (or turtle) in the first journey appears already in the *Ps.-Callisthenes* (see J. Runeberg, *Le conte de l'île poisson*, in *Mémoires de la société néophilologique à Helsingfors*, iii [1902], 343-95). The huge egg of the Rukhkh in the second and fifth journeys is known by Lucian (*True history*, ii, 40). The diamond valley and the particular way to harvest its treasures also form the basis of another story of the *Arabian Nights* (see U. Marzolph, *Hasan von Basra*, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vi, 538-40). The blinding of the giant cannibal in the third journey reminds one of the Homeric adventure of Odysseus and Polyphemus (*Odyssey*, ix, 231-499; see J.L. Comhaire, *Oriental versions of Polyphem's myth*, in *Anthropological Quarterly*, xxxi [1958], 21-8), and the fattening of Sindbād's companions in the fourth journey bears a vague memory of Odysseus' adventure with Circe (*Odyssey*, x, 229-347; see Chauvin, *Homère et les 1001 nuits*, in *Le Musée Belge*, iii [1899], 6-9). The old man in the fifth journey, often misinterpreted as an orang-utan of Sumatra or Borneo, undoubtedly represents a popular repercussion of the ancient and widely spread belief in a race of strap-legged monsters (see F. Meier, *Das Volk der Riemenbeinler*, in *Festschrift Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 341-67). The mountain in the sixth journey, although its magnetic qualities are not mentioned in an outspoken way in the Sindbād tales, derives from a Plinian tradition rendered in the *Commonitorium Palladii* which was popularised by the latter's incorporation into the Alexander legend (see

C. Lecouteux, *Die Sage vom Magnetberg*, in *Fabula*, xxv [1984], 35-65). Finally, the story of the cemetery of the elephants, as in Sindbād's seventh journey, is already included in al-Tanūkhī's (d. 384/994) *al-Faradj ba'd al-shidda*, ed. al-Shālidjī, iv, no. 424.

In addition to inspiring Western artistic imagination, the Sindbād tales have occasioned a number of specialised interpretations, such as concerning the real geographical background of the travels (B. Walckenaer, *Analyse géographique des voyages de Sind-bad le marin*, in *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques*, liii [1832], 5-26; J. Henninger, *Der geographische Horizont der Erzähler von 1001 Nacht*, in *Geographica Helvetica*, iv [1949], 214-9). Here, it has been stated that Sindbād's travels almost exclusively head eastward toward India, Ceylon, and the Indonesian archipelagoes, with the sole exception of East African islands (the home of the Rukhkh). While M. Gerhardt has pointed out the structural characteristic of fixing the culmination point of the small cycle of travel narratives in the middle rather than at the end (*Les voyages de Sindbad le Marin*, Utrecht 1957; eadem, *The art of story-telling in the Arabian Nights*, Leiden 1963, 236-63), P. Molan additionally deciphered the underlying ethics of violence (*Sindbad the Sailor, a commentary on the ethics of violence*, in *JRAS* [1978], 237-47), which justify the means of solving a conflict by ultimate success. Probably, this point is the most responsible for the Sindbād tales' enthusiastic reception in Western societies.

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(U. Marzolph)

SINDBĀD al-ḤAKĪM (Syntipas), a collection of tales also known by the title *Book of the seven viziers*.

The existence, as early as the 4th/10th century, of an Arabic version translated or adapted from Pahlavi, is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī. This version, revised, was later incorporated into certain editions of the *Thousand and one nights* as well as the *Hundred and one nights*, but independent references to it exist (in particular, that given by A. Ateş following his edition of the Persian *Sendbād-nāme* by Ẓāhirī Samarḳandī, Istanbul 1948). From the 4th/10th century onwards, numerous Persian versions also appeared (mentioned in that of Ẓāhirī, mid-5th/11th century, cf. D. Bogdanovic, *Le livre de sept vizirs de Ẓāhirī de Samarḳand*, Paris 1975, "Postface"); then, towards the end of the 5th/11th century, a Greek version, *Syntipas*, was made, based on a Syriac intermediary (*Sindbān*), as well as a Hebrew version (*Sindabār*); the work was finally translated into Spanish in 1253, at the court of Alfonso the Wise, under the title *Libro des los engannos y los assayamientos de las mujeres*. It was also the subject of numerous adaptations in the literatures of mediaeval Europe, in particular the *Book of the seven sages of Rome*, of which numerous editions exist, as well as the *Dolopathos*. It is also worth mentioning the fact that several tales from *Sindibād*, in more or less adapted form, are reprinted in collections of *exempla* intended for preachers; such volumes proliferated from the 12th-13th centuries onward.

The framework-narrative of *Sindibād* adopts the thoroughly classical theme of "rescue through story-telling". A young prince, commanded to keep silence for seven days by his teacher, the sage Sindibād, is accused by one of his father's wives of having attempted to seduce her; he is condemned to death, but the king's seven viziers take turns in delaying the execution from day to day, each telling a story designed to show the perfidy of women. Each evening, their work is undone by the guilty wife, who tells the king a story presenting the contrary case. After seven days the prince, permitted once more to speak, exculpates himself and then pardons his accuser.

The Indian origin of this theme, accepted by the majority of specialists, has been contested by B.E. Perry (*The Origins of the Book of Senbād*, in *Fabula* [Berlin 1960], 1-95), according to whom it is linked to a very ancient Greco-Oriental tradition; there is also close kinship between certain stories in the collection and tales known in classical Antiquity. Although there can be no definitive resolution of this point, it may be noted that *Sindibād* apparently exploits international thematic material, which was probably constituted in such an early period that its origin is not easily to be determined.

A variation on the framework-narrative of *Sindibād* appears in the *Story of the ten viziers*, also known by the title of *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, of which an Arabic version (probably based on a Persian version from the second half of the 8th/14th century; later versions exist in Persian, Turkish, Malay and Syriac) also appears in certain editions of the *Thousand and one nights* and has been translated by R. Basset (Paris 1883); here, it is the ten viziers who accuse the prince Bakhtiyār of having attempted to seduce one of the king's wives. The cycle of *Shāh Bakht*, likewise incorporated into certain versions of the *Thousand and one nights*, and known in Turkish, is also close to the two preceding in terms of its framework-narrative and some of its thematic material; in this case, it is a vizier who, unjustly accused of trying to assassinate his master, postpones his execution by telling the king stories intended to exonerate himself.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Histoire des dix vizirs* (= annotated tr.), Paris 1883; idem, *Deux manuscrits d'une version arabe inédite du recueil des Sept Sages*, in *JA*, ii (1903), 43-83. See also V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège-Leipzig, viii, 1904; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (annotated tr.) *Les cent et une nuits*, Paris 1911, repr. 1982, 134-71.

(J.-P. Guillaume)

SINDHIND, a word understood by various Arabic authors to mean "eternal" because its astronomical system is based on a Kalpa of 4,320,000,000 years, but in fact a clever calque (Sind and Hind) on *siddhānta* ("perfected"), a term applied to a class of Sanskrit astronomical texts. Such a *siddhānta*—probably entitled *Mahāsiddhānta* because there is mention of *al-Sindhind al-kabīr*—was brought to Baghdād by an embassy sent from Sind in 773, and there translated into Arabic by an Indian scholar collaborating with an Arab, probably Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī. The original Sanskrit *siddhānta* was either a part (*adhyāyas* I-X) of the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, composed by Brahmagupta at Bhillamāla in southern Rādjasthān in A.D. 628 for the Cāpa ruler Vyāghramukha (Fiyāghra in Arabic), or a separate treatise, the hypothetical *Mahāsiddhānta*, derivative from it, but mixing with it elements from other Sanskrit astronomical works. The Arabic translation is known only through its remote descendents, each of which has distorted its immediate ancestor in various ways.

The original translation would have been characterised by numerous parameters and by rules for computation based on certain geometrical or other mathematical models; the only table would have been (though not in tabular form) one for Sines and Versines. From the (now lost) translation, al-Fazārī fashioned a set of astronomical tables accompanied by canons for their use; his models would have been the Sāsānid *Zīk-i Shahriyārān* and the latter's model, Ptolemy's *Handy tables*. Al-Fazārī entitled his work *Zīdj al-Sindhind al-kabīr*, in which he mingled elements from Indian, Pahlavi and Greek sources into a usable but internally contradictory set of rules and tables for astronomical computations.

A different solution to the problem of combining the various astronomical traditions known in the early ʿAbbāsid period was achieved by Yaʿkūb b. Ṭārik, apparently a collaborator with al-Fazārī, in his *zīdj*, also written in the mid-770s. Fifty years later, in the 820s, the task was undertaken again by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*] in his *Zīdj al-Sindhind*. Of this work we know much more than we do of the earlier two, and so can perceive most clearly the process of Ptolemaicisation that gradually rendered the Indian part of the *Sindhind*, except for its trigonometry and its analemmata, meaningless to Muslim astronomers.

Shortly after al-Khʷārazmī composed it, the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* was brought to Spain, and it was there and in Western Europe that it thrived the longest. Though it is the basis of a Byzantine treatise of the 11th century and still survives today in Samaria, the last eastern astronomer writing in Arabic to base, at least nominally, his *zīdj* upon it was Ibn al-Ādamī, whose *al-Zīdj al-kabīr* was completed by his pupil, al-ʿAlawī, who completed it under the title *Naẓm al-ʿiḳd* in 338/949. To scholars like al-Bīrūnī, the *Sindhind* was simply a curious antiquity. Meanwhile, the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* of al-Khʷārazmī was revised by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī at Cordova in the late 10th century, and later by two of his students, Ibn al-Ṣaffār and Ibn al-Samḥ. Through the work of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] and al-Zarḳālla, some elements of the *Sindhind* were incorporated into the *Toledan tables*; the translation of these tables into Latin in the 12th century, along with the translations of the commentary on al-Khʷārazmī's original version by Ibn al-Muthannā (which was also translated into Hebrew by Abraham ben Ezra, who wrote elsewhere about the *Sindhind* in Latin works and in Hebrew works that were translated into Latin), of the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* itself in Maslama's recension, and of Ibn Muʿādh's *Zīdj al-Djayyānī*, written in Jaén in about 1080, strongly established *Sindhind* astronomy (of course, with modifications of or replacements for many of its Indian components) as the basis of that of Western Europe. This position it held till the introduction of the *Alfonsine tables* in the 14th century.

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(D. Pingree)

al-**SINDĪ, ABŪ ʿAṬĀʾ** [see abū ʿaṭāʾ al-sindī].

SINDJĀBĪ (in Kurdish, Sendjāwī/Sindjāwī), a Kurdish tribe of Persia, playing an important role in the inter-tribal relations of western Persia, on account of its loyalty to the Iranian state and its defence of the frontiers, confronting foreign powers—Russian, British and in particular, the Ottomans.

Localisation of the tribe. The areas of habitation and of agricultural and stock-rearing activity comprised two regions: that of transhumance in summer and that of settled residence in winter.

The territories of transhumance (*kishlāk*) included the regions of Bāghča, Ḳaṭār, Āḳ-dāgh and Ḳalʿa-Sabzī with their numerous villages and pasturing places extending from Ḳaṣr-i-Shīrīn to the neighbourhood of Khānaḳīn as well as Ḳizil-Ribāṭ and Naft-i Shāh. The Zehāb was located to the north and the pasturages of the Kalhors to the east. Other tribes originating from more or less far-flung districts (Bādjelān, Māfī, Morādī and Ṭālebānī) bordered on territory of this tribe and sometimes engaged in legal disputes with them. Following the treaty of 1914 and the determination of the Persian-Ottoman frontiers imposed by the representatives of Britain and Russia, Sir Arnold Wilson and V. Minorsky, a significant proportion of these territories was ceded to the Ottomans and is currently part of ʿIrāḳ.

Eighty per cent of this population was sedentary, still living on a permanent basis in the regions of winter residence to the north of the Māhīdasht plain (neighbouring the Kalhor and Gūrān tribes) in the province of Kirmānshāh. This geographical position has never been favourable for rebellion against the central government; rebellion tends to be the prerogative of mountain-dwellers, with access to mountain refuges.

The Djalīl-wand and Surkhakī clans and numerous other minor branches inhabit the mountainous region in the capacity of *khorda-mālek* (small-holders), each peasant owning his portion of land; in ancient times these included major landowners.

This region of sedentary habitation is thus subdivided into two districts, plain and mountain. These districts were at all times centres of stock-rearing and comprised huge pasturages later transformed into arable land. The horses of Māhīdasht were and still are famous.

Origins, history and clans. The organisation of the numerous clans constituting this tribe is relatively recent and mention of the "Sindjābī" does not date back beyond two centuries, although the existence of its components is much more ancient. The denomination of this tribe cannot be accounted for with precision. It is said to derive, however, from the word

sandjāb (Persian)/*sindjāw* (Kurdish) "squirrel", which is corroborated by tradition. In fact, the first time that its members were thus named dates back to the period of the war for the reconquest of Harāt (formerly in Khurāsān, currently in Afghānistān), in which the rebellious chieftains were supported by the British, to detach it from Persia. This war had begun at a time when the Sindjābīs were still a part of the tribe of the Zangena, before joining with the Gūrāns and finally forming an independent tribe; they then constituted a group apart, supplying the government with soldiers in return, as was normal under the *bonīča* system, for retention of their equipment and the security of their families. The Persian defence of Harāt was begun in 1249/1833, but was interrupted on account of the death of ʿAbbās Mīrzā (the Crown Prince), son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. The second war for the reconquest of Harāt took place in 1255/1838 under the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and the third in 1273/1856 in the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. It was actually in the course of the second war for Harāt that a detachment of 200 horsemen from this tribe took part for the first time in the siege of this city of Khurāsān. The lining of their tunics being made of squirrel fur, it is said that the army commander assigned them the nickname of Sindjābī "those dressed in the fur of squirrels".

At the outset, there existed in this geographical zone numerous families of diverse origin led by a succession of chieftains (*khāns*), known as Čālāwī/Čālābī, from the province of Fārs. They claimed that their ancestors belonged to the Shabānkāra Kurds [*q.v.*], they themselves constituting a branch of the descendants of the pre-Islamic Sāsānids. This is at least the version of this family's tradition. According to other oral versions, they were descended from the Daylamīs, the best known of whom was the Amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla of the Būyid dynasty (who reigned from 338/949 to 372/982). In the period of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) they left their original home and migrated to western Persia before settling in their region of current residence.

The line of chieftains included the branches of the *khāns* of Bakhtiyār, Barkhordār, Khodā-Morowwat and Allāhyār-Khān. Other groupings which followed them in this migration were the clans of ʿAbbās-wand (in Kurdish, Hawāsa-wan), Khorda-dasta, Djalīl-wand (in Kurdish, Djalīla-wan), Sorkhakī, Sorkha-wand (in Kurdish, Sura-wan), Dāliyān, Dawlat-mand (in Kurdish, Dawla-man), Dastadja, Dārkhor and the minor clans of the Ṣūfī and the ʿAlī-Walī, all including their subgroups. Some groups and clans which no longer exist also accompanied them, sc.: Rahbar-wand (in Kurdish, Rīwara-wan) Wotka-wand (in Kurdish, Wotka-wan), Bīwa-Djashniyān (Bīwar-Djashniyān?) and Modjrīlān. The suffix *-wand* (*l-wan*) which follows certain names of clans, of mountains and villages shows that outside elements (coming from Luristān) were mingled at the very outset with the clans of the Sindjābīs. It is even probable, on account of numerous names of places and mountains, that at least a part of this ethnic group was in residence, even before the arrival of other branches of the Sindjābīs. This is the only tribe which succeeded in assimilating within itself, in a spirit of great tolerance, the three communities—Sunnī, Shīʿī and Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ—side-by-side in each village, even though its lineage of chieftains was Shīʿī.

Major figures. The individual who was among the last to contribute to the prosperity and unification of these clans and families, detaching them from other tribes, was a descendant of the Čālāwī family named Ḥasan Khān. Through his wisdom and energy, the majority of the villages were purchased by this family. In years of plenty he stored the produce (grain), reselling it during the years of famine which followed. It was thus that this family, at the outset nomadic, practising livestock husbandry and participating in wars of survival, passing through periods of prosperity and of penury, became, for some time, influential and rich. The son of Ḥasan Khān, Shir Muḥammad Khān Sandjābī, officially nicknamed Ṣamṣām al-Mamālik "the sharp sword of the Kingdom", was the governor of Ḳasr-i Shīrīn, a frontier town in western Persia, and to some extent, the warden or margrave entrusted with the protection of a border zone. He tirelessly defended the frontiers of Persia against the incursions of the army of the Ottoman Pashas and sporadic attacks by Russian and British units before and during the First World War.

After the death of Ṣamṣām al-Mamālik, it was his three illustrious sons, ʿAlī Akbar Khān Sardār Muḳtadir, Ḳāsim Khān Sardār Nāṣir and Ḥusayn Khān Sālār Ẓafar, who continued their father's activities. Sardār Muḳtadir, the best known of the three, was frequently imprisoned and finally exiled to Tehran and placed under house arrest; he died in 1935. Sardār Nāṣir, exiled to Ḳazwīn and dispossessed of his lands and property, died in 1950. Sālār Ẓafar, the youngest, who survived the repressions under Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, unwisely took refuge in 1930 in Russia, and was killed at the time of the Stalinist purges.

The last celebrity produced by this family was Dr. Karim Bakhtiyār Sandjābī, son of Sardār Nāṣir, statesman, former professor and Dean of the Faculty of Law, Minister of National Education in the cabinet of Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] and the Iranian judge at the Hague, during the Anglo-Iranian dispute over the nationalisation of Iranian oil. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs at the outset of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, before retiring and going into self-imposed exile, disappointed at the turn of events.

In summary, in the preceding decades, before the policy of sedentarisation pursued by the state from the time of Riḍā Shāh onwards, and before the damage which this caused, each tribe had a place designated for the pasturing of its livestock. By consensus and by traditionally established regulations, changes could be made in the allocation of territory. Conflicts resulting from the greed of individuals, owners of substantial herds of cattle and sheep and from the belligerence of young nomads, were not uncommon. Tribal elders and government officials tried to solve these problems amicably. Such disputes were ended by force or by the decision of the government, or by the payment of compensation calculated by head of animals, for the use of pasturage possessed by another tribe. Ultimately the Sindjābīs and other tribes were deprived of their regions of transhumance.

This sedentarisation (which was, however, partially abandoned after the fall of Riḍā Shāh), has contributed to the impoverishment of the peasantry and a decline in livestock numbers, the policy being hastily introduced and badly planned. Instability has reigned in recent years, and reigns still among the nomads, semi-nomads and sedentary tribes. It has led to the decline of herds and progressive pauperisation, in turn entailing an increase in the importation of foreign meat and dairy products, as well as malnutrition of country dwellers; this process is thus changing the economic structure of the tribes of these regions.

Bibliography: The late nature of the formation of this tribe accounts for the absence of ancient and recent sources. In the capacity of representative of a commission for the training and education of the nomadic and sedentary tribes of Iran, founded in 1944, the author of this article has travelled extensively among these tribes, and has had the opportunity to question the elders and dignitaries of tribes. Thus the first study relating to the Sin̲dj̲ābīs was published in the historical and literary review *Yādigār*, Tehran, in 1948, then printed as a book in its own right, in Tehran in 1951; new ed. Mohammad Mokri, *Les tribus kurdes. I. Tribu des Sandjābīs, Histoire, géographie, toponymie, groupes et clans*, Paris-Louvain 1993. This third edition has been revised and expanded with the addition of a supplement containing new notes and hitherto unpublished documents, as well as a summary in French from which a substantial part of this article has been drawn. See also Karim Sanjabi, *Hopes and despairs. Political memoirs* [in Persian], London 1989, and M. Mokri, *Le foyer kurde*, in *Ethnographie* [Review of the Ethnographical Society of Paris] (1961), 79-95; idem, *Notes sur la généalogie des fondateurs de la secte des Fidèles de Vérité (Ahl-i Ḥaqq), d'après un manuscript inédit de source sunnite*, in *JA* (1994), 37-109 (see esp. 83, 92). The *Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-i Īrān*, Tehran 1951, mentions the names of certain villages in the Sin̲dj̲ābī district, but the majority of these are inaccurate and incomplete.

(M. Mokri)

SIN̲DJ̲ĀR, D̲j̲abal, a steep mountain range to the west of Mawṣil, rising to 1,463 m/4,798 feet in height, in the desert zone between the Tigris and K̲h̲ābūr rivers. At the present time, it lies mainly in ʿIrāḳ, but has its western slopes in Syria. There are only a few valleys with vegetation and timber; some wādīs of the southern slopes are affluents of the Nahr al-T̲h̲art̲h̲ār, and irrigated agriculture (in mediaeval Islamic times, with figs, date palms and mulberry trees for a flourishing silk production) is possible. The town of Sin̲dj̲ār lies on this side also. An important ancient east-west route, in Sald̲j̲ūḳ times called *al-darb al-sulṭānī*, connects Mawṣil with Syria, and there is a more minor road to Takrīt and Ḥasakiyya. In the main, the D̲j̲abal Sin̲dj̲ār has functioned, like other such areas in the Syria-al-D̲j̲azīra region, as a refuge for minority groups.

For the ancient city of Singara, of which hardly any original traces remain, see Oates (in *Bibl.*), Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 484-6, 495-8, and J.-M. Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus*, Beirut 1993, 268-9. Both Nestorian and Jacobite bishops are mentioned, and Fiey, *op. cit.*, records five Jacobite bishops in the period from the 7th century until A.D. 818, one in 1278 and another in 1345. According to early Islamic sources, control of the region had oscillated in pre-Islamic times between Persians and Byzantines (see al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 177; Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲*, 64). A fascinating view of the mixed Christian, Zoroastrian and Jewish population is given in a 6th century *vita* (see P. Peeters, *La passion arabe de S. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ*, in *Anal. Bollandiana*, xliv [1926], 270-341); the decline of Christian culture there under early Islam is reflected in the Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius, written in Sin̲dj̲ār (see G.J. Reinink, in *Bibl.*). From the late 5th century, this part of the later Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] was inhabited by the Arab tribe of Tag̲h̲lib [*q.v.*].

At the time of the conquests, it was taken over by ʿIyāḍ b. G̲h̲anm. Already in 117 or 118/735-6, Dionysius of Tell Mahré (*Chronique*, 30, tr. Chabot, 27-8) mentions the revolt in Sin̲dj̲ār of one ʿAtīḳ, perhaps a K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ite, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 302 = § 1994, mentions Ibāḍiyya there at an unspecified date. Since the 4th/10th century until today, Yazīdī Kurds have been dwelling there (see R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yézidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar*, Paris 1938). It was taken by the Ḥamdānids in 359/970, but the citadel seems to be of ʿUḳaylid origin (Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, 129). Its most flourishing phase came in the period of the Turkmen commanders and dynasties, who from the time of Čekermis̲h̲ of Mawṣil (*ca.* 500/1106-7) tried to secure their independence in this remote region. Nūr al-Dīn Zangī twice conquered Sin̲dj̲ār (563 and 566/1169-71) and a branch of the Zangid dynasty grew up there, beginning with ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Zangī II (565-94/1170-97), whose petty court achieved a high cultural level. There followed Ayyūbid rule under al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Muẓaffar al-Dīn of Diyār Bakr (607-17/1210-20) and then that of the vizier of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ (619-57/1222-59).

Ibn S̲h̲addād describes the town as having a double wall and two citadels, the old ʿUḳaylid one and a new one built by the local Zangid ruler Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad in the early 6th/12th century, both of them devastated by the Il-K̲h̲ānid Mongols in 660/1261-2, together with a *mas̲h̲had ʿAlī* next to the wall, subsequently rebuilt by the Il-K̲h̲ānids' Persian governor Muḥammad al-Yazdī. Also mentioned are two mosques and six *madrasa*s, for both the Ḥanafī and S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab*s. A minaret is preserved with an inscription by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn from 598/1201 (Van Berchem, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Reise*, i, 9-10, ii, 229, 308, 318, iii, pls. 4, and 84-5, with a view of the town; *RCEA*, ix, 3544). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Friday mosque was encircled by a running stream (*Riḥla*, ii, 141, tr. Gibb, ii, 352). Ibn S̲h̲addād also mentions three *k̲h̲ānḳāh*s, and a further *zāwiya* is mentioned by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bug̲h̲ya*, viii, 3647. Al-Ḳazwīnī calls Sin̲dj̲ār a "little Damascus", especially from its fine baths with mosaic floors and walls and its octagonal stone-lined ponds (*Āt̲h̲ār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 263). A Yazīdī sanctuary, that of Imām Pīr Zakar, one km to the south of the town, is mentioned by Sarre-Herzfeld, *Reise*, ii, 204, and they also mention (ii, 200-1) two shrines, apparently of the Ḳādiriyya. Ibn al-ʿAdīm records several *ʿulamāʾ* of Sin̲dj̲ār, to which others may be added from al-D̲h̲ahabī, such as the polymath Ibn al-Akfānī al-Sin̲dj̲ārī, d. 749/1348 [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

After the Tīmūrid interlude, for which Ewliyā Čelebi records the local tradition of a seven months' siege by Tīmūr (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, iv, 64), the region passed under the control of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and then the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu until the Ṣafawid conquest of 913-14/1507-8 and the Ottoman conquest in 941/1534. Under the Ottomans it was a *sand̲j̲aḳ* of the province of Diyār Bekir, then a *nāḥiye* of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Mārdīn until *ca.* 1830, and thereafter of Mawṣil. According to Ewliyā, there were 45,000 Yazīdī and Bāburī Kurds in the D̲j̲abal Sin̲dj̲ār and, within the town itself, Kurds and Arabs of the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. For long, the Yazīdīs were a threat to travellers through the region (cf. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, London 1849, 317; M. von Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, 17-18). In spite of the efforts of the governor of Bag̲h̲dād, Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a, Yazīdī revolts in the period 1850-64 could not be suppressed by force, and it was only after careful diplomacy that Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] was able to introduce Ottoman taxation and customs to the D̲j̲abal (see ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ʿIrāḳ*, vii, 173-4, viii, 119-20). The modern town of

Sindjār (lat. 36° 20' N., long. 41° 51' E.) comes within the Mawṣil governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) of ʿIrāḳ.

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ṢINF (A.), pl. *aṣnāf*, a term denoting "profession" (synonyms *ḥirfa*, pl. *ḥiraf*, and *kār*, pl. *kārāt*), and not "corporation".

1. In the Arab world.

In Cairo, in the Ottoman period, *ṣinf* is not used in this sense, except by the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi, in his renowned description of professional corporations (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 358-86). There is no word in Arabic specifically denoting the professional corporation: texts frequently use the word *ṭāʾifa*, pl. *ṭawāʾif*, which has the much more general connotation of "group", "community". It is only in the expression *arbāb al-ḥiraf wa 'l-ṣanāʾiʿ* that *ḥirfa* takes on a very similar meaning, "the masters of arts and professions". It is important to stress this limitation before describing the corporative system in the Arab world with reference to the word *ṣinf*, as was done by L. Massignon in *EI*[1].

This lexical lacuna could be one of the reasons which has recently led scholars to reconsider the classical notions of the origin and development of professional corporations in the Muslim world, such as were expounded by L. Massignon (see his *EI*[1] articles SHADD and ṢINF) and synthesised by B. Lewis in his article of 1937. The idea that professional corporations were born in the 3rd/9th century in an Ismāʿīlī environment (in the framework of the Ḳarmaṭī movement) was subjected to vehement criticism on the part of S. Stern and Cl. Cahen, in *The Islamic City* (1970). These two authors concluded that professional corporations did not exist in the classical Muslim world, the date of their appearance needing to be postponed until the 16th century, i.e. the start of the Ottoman period: influences emanating from the Anatolian Turkish world would then have led to the formation in the Arab world of professional organisations of a powerfully religious nature, with the *akhī* [*q.v.*] ("brothers") of the *fityān* ("young people"), whose activities and ritual were described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 260-5).

This revisionism seems, in its turn, excessively radical. According to all the evidence there were, before the 16th century, professional communities (*djamāʿas*) directed by *shaykhs*, which could be quite legitimately be considered corporations. The *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], in particular, was under their control. But there is no doubt that the 16th century has to be considered effectively as a turning-point. In the Arab Near East it was at this time that there was introduced, in the corporative system, the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], which constituted its "catechism". In the Maghrib, the corporative organisation seems to have been regenerated under the influence of Andalusian immigration, very strong in the 16th and the early 17th centuries; this was, evidently, the case of Tunisia where the corporative system was controlled entirely by Andalusians, who were to dominate it until the 19th century.

The functioning of professional corporations comprises internal aspects (organisation) which often remain obscure, and external aspects (ceremonies) which are in general better known. The hierarchy in professions is described in detail in the manuals of *futuwwa* of the Arab East, rites of passage being marked by the *shadd* [*q.v.*]. It does not appear with the same clarity in the practices revealed by the texts currently available. The essential grades were those of apprentice (*mubtadiʾ*), of companion (*ṣāniʿ*) and of master (*muʿallim* or *usṭā*): there is only fragmentary information regarding the tests which eventually existed, and, in particular, regarding the presentation of a "masterpiece", with a view to accession to the status of master. Corporations were directed by a *shaykh* (*amīn* in the Maghrib) appointed by his peers, but often confirmed by the administration which intervened in cases of difficulty. The older masters constituted a council, that of the *ikhtiyāriyya*. It seems that the corporative organisation was often headed by a senior dignitary: in Damascus there was (according to Qoudsî) a *shaykh al-mashāʾikh*, in Tunis an *amīn al-tudjdjār* (an Andalusian), in Algiers (Touati) an *amīn al-umanāʾ*). But these individuals seem to have performed a purely ceremonial role.

The number of professional corporations varied according to the importance of cities and their economic activity: Algiers contained only about sixty and Cairo more than two hundred. But the number of professions was much higher: Qasimi and Azem have referred to 435 in Damascus where A. Rafeq thinks that there were between 160 and 180 corporations.

The efficacy of professional corporations was assured, on the one hand, by the very thorough specialisation of professions which gave them strong cohesion, on the other by a very effective geographical localisation, each profession, and the corporation which represented it, occupying a specified zone of the urban centre: there was thus a correspondence between profession, corporation, market (*sūḳ*) and quarter. The corporation also played an important role as a factor of integration when, as was the case in Aleppo it united members of different communities (in this case, Muslims, Christians and Jews) (A. Rafeq).

The activity of the corporations was multifarious. Their economic role is evident. They regulated dealings between artisans and merchants and with consumers; and they co-operated with the authorities in the fixing of prices in times of crisis. They played the role of a "para-administrative" structure, helping to represent the working population in dealings with rulers, and enabling the latter to control their subjects and to raise taxes and contributions. They were one of the communities (*ṭawāʾif*) which assisted the functioning of the city, the absence of a precise judicial statute constituting no obstacle, either to their existence or to their role (on this point, too, the analysis of S.M. Stern, in *The constitution of the Islamic city*, is to be treated with caution). In the central (public) part of the city they were an active instrument for urban generation: they palliated the lack of "public services", since it was through their agency that citizens were assured of the supply of water, street-cleaning, and fire-fighting. They contributed to the vitality of the city, participating in public festivals (decoration of markets to celebrate the arrival of an important individual), in religious ceremonies (in Cairo, the *ruʾya* [see RUʾYAT AL-HILĀL] at the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān was the occasion for a kind of

major review of the corporations which paraded with floats symbolising the activities of the different professions).

There can be doubt that the strict organisation of professions did not favour a spirit of competition, the causative motivator of progress; the quasi-hereditary principle in professional activities which institutionalised the practice of *gedik* (a right awarded by shopkeepers and giving access to the profession) also contributed to a certain technical stagnation. But the importance of these negative factors should not be exaggerated: the introduction into the corporative system (and into the *futuwwa*) of new professions (such as those involving coffee and tobacco, the permissibility of which had been long debated) clearly shows that the corporative organisation was not totally immovable.

These corporations were profoundly affected by the political, economic and social changes experienced in the Arab world during the 19th century: their disappearance was, in general, gradual and was not the result of formal decisions (such as, in France, the Le Chapelier law of 1791). Economic changes (decline of traditional activities, appearance of new professions, competition from western products, emergence of national industries) played a decisive role in the decline of the corporations. Rapid urban growth in the second half of the 19th century led to the installation in cities of populations having no place in the corporate framework, while modernised states took charge of the administrative functions traditionally exercised by corporations (raising of taxes, administration of central zones) and organised genuine public services, substitutes for the services formerly supplied by the corporations. Colonisation accelerated this process with the imposition of free enterprise and the installation of a foreign population engaged in the most modern economic activities.

However, this evolution was slow. In Egypt, the industrialising efforts of Muḥammad ʿAlī did not put an end to the activity of the corporations: in 1868, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, organising the development of the modern city of Cairo, used the services of the building workers' corporations. But the process was inevitable. In Damascus in 1927, according to a survey conducted by L. Massignon, only 10% of the working population still belonged to corporations (*La structure du travail à Damas*). The retention, here or there, of a few corporations and a few corporative practices constitutes nothing more than an anachronistic survival, of only folkloristic significance. There is no evidence to suggest that the emergence of modern trade unionism [see NIḲĀBA] represents an element of substitution: the work of J. Gaulmier in Hamāt (1932) seems to show that this was an independent process.

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(A. Raymond)

2. In Persia.

(a) *The pre-Islamic period.* In Sāsānid Persia, groups of artisans existed, which formed distinct groups (*tegme*, *teg̲h̲mē* in Syriac), paying taxes and some even having a festival peculiar to them. Their chiefs were called (in Syriac) *ḳas̲h̲s̲h̲ē* or *rēs̲h̲ē*. There was even a chief of all artisans known (in Middle Persian) as *ḳarugbed*. However, the chiefs were appointed by the emperor and the artisans concerned worked in the royal workshops and were not representative of the other artisans and traders present in the cities. See N. Pigulevskaya, *Les villes de l'état iranien aux époques Parthes et Sassanides*, Paris 1963, 160-1; eadem *et alii*, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Īrān az dawrān-i bāstān tā pāyān-i sada-i hid̲j̲dahum*, tr. K. Kis̲h̲āwarz, Tehran 1352/1973, i, 90, 141-4).

(b) *The Islamic period.* For the pre-Tīmūrid period, there are scattered data that indicate that artisans groups existed, but little is known about them. Some scholars have identified these groups as guilds without any evidence. The earliest confirmation of the existence of organised urban labour is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, writing that in S̲h̲īrāz and Iṣfahān "the members of each craft appoint one of their members as headman over them, whom they call *ḳolu*". He also relates that they were taxed as a body and that they had an active social life in Ṣafawid Persia, each *ṣinf* elected its own chief or *kadk̲h̲udā*, who settled disputes and distributed the guild tax burden known as *bunīča*. See Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. M.T. Dānis̲h̲pazhūh, in *MDAT*, xvi/5-6 (Tehran 1347/1968), 121; Minorsky, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-mulūk*, 81-3. Any person who wanted to set up shop had to receive permission from the guild chief. He had, however, to keep a certain distance between his own and already existing shops outside the central bazaar (Chardin, iv, 93, vi, 119-24).

In the 19th century, the *kadk̲h̲udā*'s power had been considerably diminished (Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Taḥwīldār, *D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sutūda, Tehran 1342/1963, 93). Due to their loose organisation, guilds were unable to fix minimum prices or to guarantee the standard of workmanship. Certain guilds had the *ḥaḳḳ-i bunīča*, a right to exercise a trade, a right which was transferable. The number of shops in every quarter was therefore fixed as a function of the number of households. New shops could only be started outside the restricted area (*gud̲h̲ār*) already served and then only after the guild gave its permission (A.K.S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, London 1954, 24; de Rochechouart, *Souvenir d'un voyage en Perse*, Paris 1867, 180-3; J. Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des persischen Staates*, Berlin 1904, 145).

Notwithstanding a widespread idea that guilds were part of the *futuwwa* organisation [*q.v.*], there is no shred of evidence for this supposition in the Persian context (Floor, *Guilds and futuwat in Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxiv [1984], 106-14). Many guilds had their own habitual location (*patuk*), or festivals peculiar to them, but guilds seldom provided for mutual assistance. During the period of the Constitutionalist Movement (1905-6), guilds acquired some political influence, which resulted in their receiving 32 seats in the first *Madjlis*. However, they lost all their seats in 1909 and reverted to their traditional role.

During the Pahlavī period, guilds were strictly controlled and basically became trade organisations and an extension of the state, membership of which was compulsory. The guilds themselves were in the hands of wealthy members, who had links with the prevailing political power. Rather than being voluntary organisations with social and other functions, guilds became amorphous intermediaries, haggling over taxes and price policies. Despite the fact that the guilds and other *bāzārīs* helped finance the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9, their situation has not much changed under the Islamic Republic. As in previous times, the Islamic government, by using financial, economic and other instruments, has a fair control over the *aṣnāf*.

Bibliography: See also Floor, *The guilds in Iran: an overview from the earliest beginnings till 1972*, in *ZDMG*, cxxv (1975), 99-103; idem, *EIr* art. *Aṣnāf*; M. Keyvani, *Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period*, Berlin 1982 (to be used with caution).

(W. Floor)

3. In Turkey.

Trade guilds (*eṣnāf londjaları*) were first established in Anatolia during the later 13th century and were called *Akhilik*, and continued until the beginning of the 20th century [see AKHĪ, AKHĪ BABA, AKHĪ EWRĀN, FUTUWWA]. In Arabic, *Akhī* means "my brother", but the resemblance to Tkish. *akī* is fortuitous; in old and middle Turkish, *akī* means "generous, brave, stout-hearted".

The *Akhīs* were typically a Turkish trade guild, arising from economic and social necessity, which aimed to regulate the relationship between the producer and the consumer. Within the organisation they had several meeting places, called *zāwiyes*, where they taught morals, good manners and ceremonial behaviour to the young members of this organisation. The members of a *zāwiye* had different tasks: they acted as religious leaders, teachers, preachers, poets and dancers. These members ranked in nine categories: (1) *Yigitler* (apprentices) were the lowest category; (2) *Akhiler*, divided into six divisions: the first three divisions were *aṣḥāb-tark*, the experienced, and the last three, *nakībler*, inexperienced; (7) *Khalīfeler*, who could not function outside the *zāwiye*; (8) *Sheykhler*, heads of the previous seven categories; and (9) *Sheykh ül-meshāyikhler* (the heads of the *Sheykhs*).

Akhīs did not like yellow and red colours in their costumes, but preferred turquoise, white, black and green. Teachers, judges and nobles wore green; white was for the writers, poets and preachers; and black for the apprentices.

Each apprentice had two comrades, one master teacher, and one *pīr* (founder of his order). The apprentices learned their craft and trade under the supervision of a master. When an apprentice, after several years of work, was qualified in his craft, a ceremony, called *teferrüdj*, was held, where the master awarded his pupil an apron. In such ceremonies, and also in various other festivities, these guilds—whatever their field was—organised amusements and performances. Apart from the actors' guilds, called *ḳol*, most of the trade guilds were interested in spectacles. Skilful members of a guild entertained guests in the ceremonies by verbal and musical recitals of poems, songs and epics, dances; and jugglers, rope dancers, sword-swallowers, conjurers, acrobats, etc. showed their skills. They also entertained those watching a procession by various shows [see MAWĀKIB. 4]. What they achieved was something like a carnival, or a preliminary form of today's street theatre. Each guild played a representative scene relating to its profession, exhibited mostly on carts pulled by horses or oxen. Apart from these scenes, these corporations demonstrated clowning, with giant marionettes with dazzling costumes, pennants and flags. Each guild had its own pennant. In the festival of 1539, for instance, one of the guilds showed a dragon with seven heads. The festival of 1582 witnessed a sea monster which could plunge into the sea and come up again with three dancers on board. The guild of feather merchants caused giant birds to fly. The miniatures painted by ʿOthmān, in his *Sūr-nāme-yi humāyūn* (reign of Murād III, 1582) show big fans on sticks, which could be used in several ways. Some of these corporations had instrumental groups, giant whirligigs, and corpulent puppets which could be set in motion. In the festival of 1675, in Edirne, the actor's guild carried huge phalluses.

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SINGAPORE (literally, "the lion city" in Hindi), a diamond-shaped island which lies 137 km/85 miles north of the equator at the southern tip of the Malay

Peninsula [*q.v.*]. The island itself is 544 km²/210 square miles in extent and there are a further 50 islets, many of which are uninhabited.

Singapore was an important Malay city in the Middle Ages, acting as a port of call between India and China. Singapore's fortunes declined in the 14th century following its sacking by the Majapahit Javanese, and in the following century it was superseded by the port of Malacca [*q.v.*]. The modern history of Singapore can be dated from 6 February 1819, when Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles of the East India Company secured from the titular sovereign, Sultan Ḥusayn of Johore, cession of the island. Britain's position was consolidated five years later when the Dutch recognised Britain's claim to Singapore.

When Raffles arrived on the island, it was inhabited by a mere two hundred or so Malay fishermen. The island's rapid economic expansion, which followed Raffles' intervention, witnessed profound demographic and social changes. By 1824, the population had risen to over 10,000, 30% of whom were Chinese immigrants. By the 1830s and 1840s, Chinese were arriving at the rate of 2,000-3,000 a year, with the Malays [*q.v.*] soon assuming the position of a minority community. Nevertheless, Singapore became a centre for Islamic reformism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Not only did it stand on the pilgrimage route from South-East Asia to the Middle East, but it also enjoyed a large measure of religious freedom under the British colonial régime. Moreover, the presence of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] Arabs, Indo-Malays descended from Indian Muslims, and Indonesians, enriched the Islamic community of Singapore. These groups maintained links with Islamic centres in the Middle East and encouraged the spread of new ideas through writing and journalism.

British colonial rule in Singapore came to an abrupt end on 15 February 1942, when the island fell to the invading Japanese. Despite suffering dislocation during the Japanese occupation, Singapore soon recovered. The post-war period has been characterised by rapid and sustained economic growth, the island becoming one of the most prosperous countries in South-East Asia. In 1963 Singapore became formally independent from Britain and on 16 September of that year entered the new federal state of Malaysia [*q.v.*]. The constitutional experiment, however, proved unsuccessful. The large Chinese majority in Singapore radically affected the racial composition of the new country and challenged traditional Malay supremacy on the Peninsula. Indeed, politics assumed the appearance of a struggle between Malays and non-Malays. Relations with the federal capital, Kuala Lumpur, became increasingly strained and in 1965, just two years after the inauguration of Malaysia, Singapore seceded from the federation.

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ṢĪNĪ (a., p. *čīnī*), a generic term for Chinese ceramics including porcelain. High-fired Chinese wares were exported to South-East Asia, India and the Islamic world from at least as early as the ʿAbbāsid period. T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) white wares have been found at Sāmarrāʾ, as well as their local imitations. Similar T'ang sherds have been discovered at Daybul, Sīrāf, Fusṭāṭ, ʿAḳaba and Antioch; and much material from Mantai (a trading emporium in northern Sri Lanka, which ceased commercial activity in the early 4th/11th century), including white wares, Changsha painted stoneware, *yue*, *sancai* sherds, and "Dusun" storage jars, suggesting the Chinese exports were largely sea-borne.

Amongst the earliest references to Chinese ware is that of the author of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, who recorded in 243/851 that "[The Chinese] have a fine clay, from which they make drinking cups as fine as glasses, through which you can see the gleam of water, though they are made of clay" (ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 16). Ibn Khurradādhbih, his contemporary, mentions that the port of Lūḳin was well stocked with Chinese wares, *al-ghaḍār al-djayyid al-ṣīnī*. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 256/869) refers to coloured Chinese pottery, *awānī ṣīniyya mulammaʿa*, probably Changsha ware. Ibn al-Faḳīh (*ca.* 291/903) notes pottery as a Chinese craft, *al-ghaḍāʾir al-ṣīniyya*. According to al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), "The Arabs used to call any delicately or curiously-made vessel and such like, whatever its real origin, 'Chinese' (*ṣīnī*), because finely-made things are a speciality of China ... They also have translucent pottery (*al-ghaḍāʾir al-mustashiffa*), used for cooking purposes; a piece of this may be used equally for boiling things, for frying or simply as a dish for eating from. And the best of these are the delicate, evenly-pigmented, clearly-resounding, apricot-coloured (*mishmishī*) and after that, the cream-coloured (*zabādī*) ware with similar characteristics" (*Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 141). As al-Thaʿālibī was writing at the beginning of the Sung dynasty (349-678/960-1279), he must be referring to such wares as *yue* and *qingbai*. Al-Bīrūnī (363-440/973-1048) saw no less than thirteen different types of Chinese ware in the house of a merchant from Iṣfahān, who lived in Rayy; these included bowls, dishes, bottles, trays, jugs, drinking vessels, ewers, hand basins, baskets, incense-burners, lamps, lamp standards and other objects. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (after 656/1258) mentions cups, mugs, plates and dishes of Chinese ware, and is one of the first to repeat the popular fallacy that poison is detectable when served on it.

Chinese blue-and-white porcelain was developed in the first quarter of the 7th/14th century. The cobalt blue was imported from Persia, probably by Persian merchants living on the China coast. Initially, blue-and-white ware was largely exported to India, Central Asia and the Islamic world, with massive and highly decorated bowls and dishes representing a complete break with the more delicate and plain wares of the Song period. Evidence of early blue-and-white, whether sherds or complete specimens, has been found at Karakhoto in Inner Mongolia and on the Central Asian trade routes, and at Samarḳand; in Dihlī, South India, Hurmuz, Fusṭāṭ, East Africa, Ḥamāt, Damascus and Aleppo; and specimens exist in the two great royal collections of Persia and Turkey, now housed in the National Museum in Tehran and the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul (see Pls. VIII and IX, 6).

A most important authority for the early 7th/14th century is the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] who not only remarks on the technique and manufacture of fine wares when he was in China (*ca.* 749/1348), *al-fakhkhār al-ṣīnī*, made in Zaytūn (Quanzhou) and Ṣīn-i Kalān (Canton/Guangzhou), and exported to India and other

countries including his own, the Maghrib, as well as to Yemen. Twenty years earlier, when he was in Damascus (727/1326) he witnessed an incident in the *sūḳ* when a slave-boy dropped his master's Chinese dish, *ṣaḥfa min al-fakhkhār al-ṣīnī*, and was advised that there was a *waḳf* for broken utensils, which would provide funds for a new one (*Riḥla*, i, 238, iv, 256, tr. Gibb, i, 149, iv, 889). The date corresponds to that of the very earliest blue-and-white, (see Pl. VI) and a number of whole or almost intact early dishes and bowls have been recorded from Syria during the past two decades. Another famous traveller, Marco Polo, was responsible for the introduction of the term *porcelain* into the European language: in French *porcelaine*, derived from the Italian *porcellana* "[*concha*] *porcellana*" in both Latin and Italian = "cowrie shell", and a cowrie shell was the closest Marco Polo could think of to characterise china. The cowrie shell was thus called because of its resemblance to the female vulva, Latin *porcus* or *porcella*, itself a calque from Greek χοῖρος ("pig" and "vulva").

From the earliest times, the secret of the composition and fabrication of Chinese stonewares and porcelain remained a mystery to Islamic potters (and indeed to most of the world until the 12th/18th century). This did not prevent the Islamic craftsmen from imitating the Chinese wares in humbler materials, such as the so-called "Sāmarrā'" pottery of the ʿAbbāsid period. From the 9th/15th century onwards, imitations of blue-and-white were made in Central Asia, Persia, Syria, Egypt and Turkey, often with Chinese-inspired designs; celadon was also replicated. Chinese designs also inspired a whole series of blue-and-white hexagonal tiles, examples of which occur in Syria, Egypt and Turkey; the craftsmen were originally from Tabrīz (see Pl. VII, 2). In Persia, in the Ṣafawid period, the influence of Chinese blue-and-white on the indigenous pottery was so marked that a legend arose that Chinese craftsmen actually worked in Persia. The influence of Chinese wares continued in Turkey until the 12th/18th century, and in Persia throughout the Ḳādjār period in the 13th/19th century.

At the same time, the influence of Mamlūk glass and inlaid metalwork can be clearly discerned in the shapes of Chinese blue-and-white, and even on occasion in its decoration as well, as for instance a porcelain stand in the British Museum (1966.12.15.1) (Pls. VII, 3 and IX, 7) with imitation Mamlūk ornament and a pseudo-Arabic inscription. Chinese porcelain made specifically for Muslim patrons in the early 10th/16th century, with Persian or Arabic inscriptions, and frequently with the mark of the Emperor Zhengde (912-28/1506-21), has been attributed to the period when the influence of Muslim eunuchs was particularly strong at the Chinese court (Pl. VIII, 4).

Nor should one underestimate the influence of Chinese blue-and-white on other decorative arts in the Islamic world. It frequently appears, with celadon (Pl. IX, 6), in Persian and Turkish miniature paintings, often in scenes of feasting and festivities. Individual Chinese motifs such as the lotus, and the cloud-scroll, became an integral part of the répertoire of decorative motifs throughout the Islamic world. It is evident that Muslim merchants and traders played a major part in the export of Chinese ceramics, both by sea and by land.

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(J. Carswell)

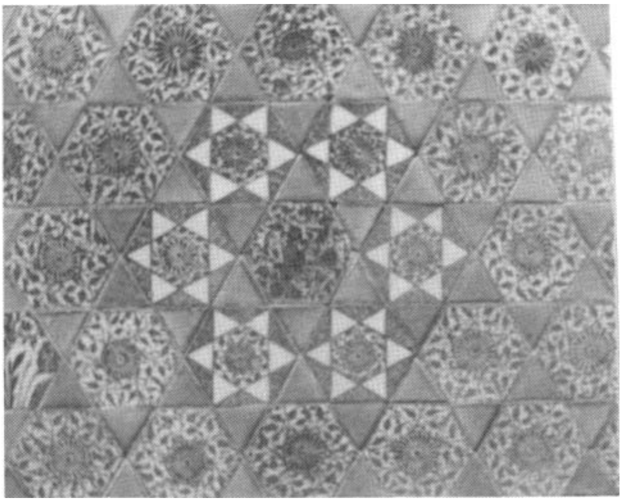
SINKIANG, Sin-Kiang (also spelt as Hsin-chiang in the Wade-Giles system), the largest province (area *ca.* 620,000 sq. miles) of the People's Republic of China.

It is situated in the north-west of the country, and is also known as "Chinese Central Asia", "Eastern Turkestan" or "Chinese Turkestan". Sin-kiang in Chinese means "new dominion" or "recently pacified territory". Geopolitically, it is important as it holds a pivotal position between China, Central Asia, Russia and India. Sin-kiang is divided by the T'ien-shan range into two main regions, the Tarim Basin in the south and Dzungharia in the north, and two lesser regions of economic importance, the Ili Valley and the Turfan Depression. The T'ien-shan range runs roughly eastwards from the Pamir massif, and forms a natural wall between Dzungharia and the Tarim Basin, making communication between the two regions difficult. The Ili Valley, isolated from the rest of the province, was cut off by the northern spur of the T'ien-shan, and is only accessible from the western fringes of the province, while the Turfan Depression is closely linked with Kansu province [*q.v.*] and China proper. Sin-kiang is a multi-national province whose population is composed of the following main ethnic groups: Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tatar, Tadjik, Mongol, Tongkan, Sibo, Manchu, Solon, Tafur, Han, Slavic and others. The total population of the province is approximately 12,500,000.

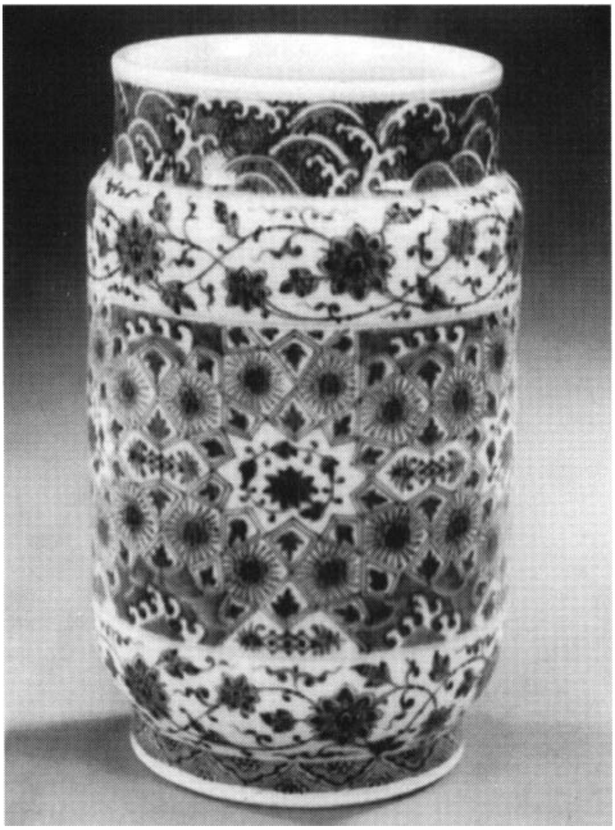
From the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) until the middle of the 17th century, Sin-kiang was always mentioned in Chinese sources as part of Hsi-yü (the Western Territory) referring to Central Asia, and was intermittently under Chinese control or sovereignty. By 60 B.C. after the Hsiung-nu (the Huns) had been expelled from Sin-kiang, the Han imperial court exerted its authority there by setting up *Hsi-yü T'u-hu Fu* ("The Commandery of the Western Territory"). Many city-states in the region thus became vassals of the Han Empire. Sin-kiang has been regarded as the



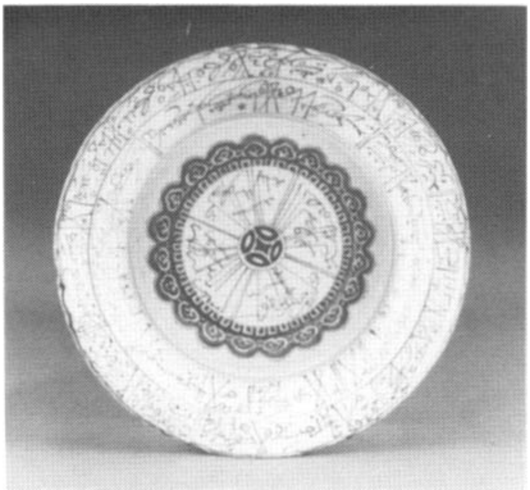
1. A broken Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish, found in the *sūḳ* in Damascus. 7th/14th century. Private collection, Hong Kong.



2. Blue-and-white, and turquoise, Syrian pottery tiles. 9th/15th century. In the mausoleum of Ghars al-Dīn al-Tawrīzī (d. 826/1423), in Damascus.



3. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain *albarello*. Early 9th/15th century. With Islamic-inspired motifs. Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait.



4. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish, with Ḳur'ānic inscriptions. 10th/16th century.
Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/3168.



5. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain flask. 7th/14th century.
Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/1391.



6. A Chinese celadon dish, with unglazed red motifs. 7th/14th century. Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, TKS 15/239.



7. A Chinese blue-and-white porcelain stand, of Mamlūk form, with pseudo-Arabic inscriptions. Early 9th/15th century. Found in Damascus; British Museum, London.

crossroads of Chinese and Central Asian cultures. Historical evidence proves that Buddhism from Central Asia travelled along the Silk Road and entered China via Sin-kiang during the Han period, and other religions subsequently. By the end of the Han dynasty, Chinese Han influence in this region had gradually died away. At the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries, Indian, Persian, Near Eastern and Tibetan influences prevailed. As a result, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Buddhism flourished in this region. These religious elements were carried to Tibet after the Tibetan invasion to Sin-kiang (*ca.* 670 A.D.), and contributed to shaping of the syncretic Lamaistic Buddhism.

During the T'ang period (618-906 A.D.), the political situation in Sin-kiang region was complicated by the movement of Turkish nomadic peoples, such as the Uyghurs, Ḳarluḳs, Ḳirghïz [*q.vv.*] and others, from the northern steppe fringe of Inner Asia and the southern edges of the Siberian forests into this region. These nomadic peoples competed with the Chinese and Tibetans for dominance over this region. Amongst them, the Uyghurs, who adopted Manichaeism as their state religion between 744 and 840, later became the new masters of Sin-kiang.

Although Islam might have entered Sin-kiang before the Arab invasion to the region of Ṭarāz [*q.v.*] (or Talas) around 750-1, it was not widely spread there until the establishment of the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK KHĀNS] (382-607/992-1211). Muslim sources mentioned that Satūḳ Bughra Khān's devotion to Islam instigated mass conversion of the Ḳarakhānids to Islam. However, Ṣūfīs from Bukhārā may equally have played an important role in it. The earliest establishment of Islam as a state religion in Sin-kiang probably took place during the reign of Yūsuf Ḳadïr Khān (417-24/1026-32), and practice of Islam was most likely limited to the area of Kāshghar and to the Khotan area in south-west of Sin-kiang. The Ḳarakhānids survived until the beginning of the 7th/13th century, and control of Sin-kiang then fell into the hands of the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*] (the Western Liao dynasty in Chinese history). The Sinicised Khitans favoured the Confucian-Buddhist culture. Therefore, according to Muslim sources, the Ḳara Khitay rulers were hostile to Islam and to Arabo-Persian culture, so that the spread of Islam in Sin-kiang under their rule was probably slowed down.

After the great Mongol conquests in Asia, Sin-kiang was then under the authority of the Čaghatay Khānate (624-771/1227-1370 [*q.v.*]). Despite a good relationship between the Mongol rulers and their Muslim subjects, the practice of Islam in Sin-kiang was apparently not encouraged. Most of the Khāns inclined rather to their native religious practices and to their nomadic tradition and customs. Throughout the Čaghatayid period, compared with the Ḳarakhānid times, the process of conversion of Uyghur Turks to Islam in Sin-kiang is not clear, except during the reign of Tughluḳ Temür (760-4/1359-63). By the middle of the 14th century, the Čaghatay Khānate began to disintegrate. The eastern branch based on the Tarim Basin and the Turfan region survived under the protection of the Turkish Dughlat state based in Kāshghar until the late 17th century. By then, they had already become Islamicised. They paid homage to the Chinese Ming authority (1368-1644). However, Chinese influence was not exerted there, just as it had never been exerted under the Ming Chinese mandate. According to contemporary Muslim sources, Perso-Turkish Islamic rather than Chinese culture was flourishing in the region during the 16th century, possibly due to the Tīmūrids' influence in the region.

From the 17th century onwards, the history of Sin-kiang becomes more complicated. Various peoples such as the Uyghurs, Mongols, Tibetans and the Sino-Manchu were contending for dominance of the region. By the early 17th century, the surviving Čaghatay Khānate's authority was undermined by the rising Khʷādja family originating from the Naḳshbandiyya order of the *Silsilat al-Khʷādjagān* in Samarḳand. The Khʷādja family who were *de facto* Islamic missionaries, activated Islamisation in the region. In the second half of the 16th century, descendants of the family were involved in political strife and split up into two lines called Aḳtaghliḳs (people of the White Mountain) based in Kāshghar, and Ḳarataghliḳs (people of the Black Mountain) based in Yarkand respectively. They were called "White-cap Hui" and "Black-cap Hui" in Chinese sources. In 1678, with the help from the Kalmuck Mongols in Dzungharia, the Aḳtaghliḳ Khʷādja Ḥaḍrat Apak defeated his rival faction and reunited Kashgharia. An Islamic theocratic state was thus formed, but functioned as a protectorate of the Mongol Empire of the Dzunghars. This indirectly challenged the Sino-Manchu authority in the region, and caused serious conflicts between the two powers throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

By the middle of the 17th century, Dzungharia was still under a Mongol khānate's domination. The Tarim Basin was then called Hui-p'u ("Islamic or Muslim region") by the Sino-Manchu government. In 1757 Dzungharia was annexed to the Chinese territory. In order to keep firm control, the Manchu government deliberately repopulated this region with various peoples of Altaic stock, including Muslims from the Tarim Basin, from Kansu province and from other parts of China proper. Two years later, Kashgharia was also annexed, and then the Hui-p'u and Dzungharia were renamed as Hui-chiang ("Muslim or Islamic dominion"). Throughout the 19th century, several Muslim rebellions against Manchu rule took place in Hui-chiang. In 1884, six years after the suppression of Yaʿḳūb Beg's [*q.v.*] rebellion (1864-77), the Manchu government re-organised the region by placing it under a form of Chinese provincial administration, and designated it Hsin-chiang. From then onwards, Eastern Turkestan became an official Chinese province.

During the Nationalist Republican period (1911-49), Sin-kiang continued to be a nominal province of China, but was in a chaotic state. The provincial governors acted in reality as independent warlords, conducting their own foreign relations with neighbouring countries. Chinese rule has always been regarded by the local Muslims as that of a foreign power. Nationalism amongst the Turkish Muslims grew strongly since the fall of Yaʿḳūb Beg's emirate, and eventually resulted in secession movements. In 1931 Khʷādja Niyāz Ḥādjdjī led a rebellion trying to liberate the country by establishing a "Turkish Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan". However, with Soviet intervention in support of the Chinese governor, the movement was put down in July 1934. A cruel campaign of massacres against the Muslims was launched. Nevertheless, these killings did not stop Muslims from taking up arms against Chinese rule and Russian pressure. In 1937, another rebellion broke out under the leadership of ʿAbd Allāh al-Niyāz, but again failed. In 1940 ʿUthmān Batūr led another rebellion, and succeeded in defeating the Russians. It lasted until 1943, but was eventually suppressed by the Chinese Nationalist Government armies.

Despite the failures of previous rebellions, Turkish nationalism and a secession movement continued to grow. In November 1944, another rebellion took place in the Ili Valley region, which led to the establishment of the "East Turkestan Republic" (*Sharḳī Türkistān Djumhūriyyati*), whose first president was an Uzbek *'ālim*, 'Alī Khān Türe. Although this movement was basically conducted by the Kazakhs and Uyghur population, it later gained considerable support from non-Muslims. According to the declaration of 5 January 1945, the main aim of the republic was to create a multinational democratic state with religious freedom. It seems that Islam was not adopted as the official religion, probably due to the failure of the fundamentalists to Islamicise the republic in the course of the movement. The nature of the movement was nevertheless in actuality Turko-Islamic, because Islam provided the basis for unity within the republic's three-fourths of Muslim population. The East Turkestan Republic lasted only three years and then collapsed due to various factors. Nevertheless, the spirit of Turkish nationalism which its promoters advocated continued, and continues at the present time.

In 1949 the Communist party took over from the Nationalist government. The situation of Muslims in Sin-kiang did not become any better. According to eyewitness reports, persecution of Muslim secessionists by the new régime was conducted in the 1950s. In 1966 all religions in China were banned. This was part of the Cultural Revolution's campaign of destroying the old traditions. There was no exception for Sin-kiang. Muslims suffered a great deal from it; Ḳur'āns and Islamic books were burned, mosques were devastated or closed, and religious leaders were persecuted by the Red Guards. As a result, thousands of Muslims were driven into exile in Muslim countries in Central Asia, Middle East and the Indian Subcontinent.

The Communist government adopted previous Sino-Manchu policy on national minorities. Mass waves of Han settlers were sent to the province from 1953 onwards in order to Sinicise the region and keep firm control of it. Before 1953, the population of the Han Chinese there was only 4.94% (the Uyghurs being 75.42%). However, according to the 1982 census, the Han population had increased to 41% (the Uyghurs down to 45.48%). This indirectly produced an effect of de-Islamisation in Sin-kiang. Possibly due to the central government's policy on birth control (the Han are allowed to have only one child, but the minorities two), the population of the Han Chinese by 1986 dropped to 39%, and the Uyghurs increased to 46% (Muslims of other races, 14%). In 1955, the Sin-kiang Uyghur Autonomous Region was set up under the guidelines of the 1949 constitution which provided that all the national minorities should have the right to use their native languages in daily life, to keep their traditions, and to have religious freedom. However, in the 1970s, by a constitutional amendment, minorities' rights for the preservation of their cultures and religious freedom were eliminated. In spite of this, Islam is still practised in Sin-kiang. Nowadays it is rather a matter of personal belief and practice. Under the policy of economic reform in early 1980s, mosques were re-opened, and Muslims have been allowed to run their own religious schools. As a result, Islamic revivalism has been growing gradually there.

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(Chang-Kuan Lin)

SINNA, Senna [see sanandadj].

SINNĀR, a town in the modern Sudan Republic, often rendered as Sennar.

Modern Sinnār is now a modest Sudanese provincial town on the west bank of the Blue Nile about 170 miles above its confluence with the white Nile. During the 19th century it was a regional centre of commerce and administration under the Turco-Egyptian colonial régime and as such attracted the special wrath of the Mahdist movement [see al-mahdiyya], which destroyed the town in 1885 and transformed the demography of the surrounding district. For much of the period 1500-1821 Sinnār served as eponymous capital to the Islamic Nubian kingdom of the Fūndj [*q.v.*], which embraced much of the northern Nile-valley Sudan.

The early Fūndj kings, like their contemporary Ethiopian counterparts, kept a mobile court to distribute among the provinces the burden of the royal presence. Sinnār entered the historical record in 1523 as the fixed seat of the treasury of the first Fūndj sultan, and the site was later chosen as permanent capital when kings of the second quarter of the 17th century brought their roving court to rest. Foundations for a mosque were laid by Rubāṭ I (1025-54/1616-44) and the building was completed by Bādī II (1054-92/1644-81). These kings and their immediate successors Ūnsā II (1092-1103/1681-92) and Bādī III (1103-28/1692-1716) began to sponsor royal caravans that opened a flourishing trade with Egypt and the Red Sea; by 1700 Sinnār had become a large and cosmopolitan city.

Accounts of European visitors during the reign of Bādī III afford an image of Sinnār at its apogee. At the heart of the capital lay a broad plaza or *fāshir*, which served as a bazaar on market days, an occasional mustering-ground for soldiers, and a setting for periodic state ceremonies such as the delivery of tribute by the governors of the eight provinces. On one side of the *fāshir* was the mosque of fired brick, graced with bronze window gratings imported from India. On the other stood the royal gate, before it a bench where the king appeared on occasion to render justice to petitioners, and beyond a vast walled palace complex of adobe dominated by two lofty towers.

Those who lived within the palace were surrounded bv the finest luxuries known to the age, but were bound by a strict régime of conduct, not all of which may now be discerned. The palace housed the royal family, construed by Nubian custom in matrilineal

terms. The sons of a king lived there in captivity until their father died; the high courtiers then elected one his successor and executed the rest. A king throughout his life was answerable to his electors, and if repudiated should be executed by his maternal uncle, entitled *sīd al-ḳōm*. Princesses, the sole transmitters of noble status, were given in marriage to the far-flung Fūndj vassal lords; a king, in turn, accepted wives—normally several hundred—from among the female offspring of his noble subordinates. Male children of vassal lords also lived in the palace, serving as pages and as hostages for the good behaviour of their distant fathers. Each provincial governor was assigned quarters in the palace from which to conduct his affairs while in the capital. The palace also housed many other titled officials, some of them slaves, who supervised the assessment, collection, storage, and disbursement of tax-goods collected in kind, who organised the royal caravans and conducted exchanges with foreign merchants, and who arranged the stockpiling or manufacture of arms and munitions and commanded the royal slave corps of cavalry and infantry.

Surrounding the public edifices of the capital lay the homes of lesser courtiers, holy men and craftsmen enjoying royal patronage, and the residential quarters of traders from every province and many foreign lands, each answerable to a patron at court. Beyond the town inland lay cemeteries for Muslims and non-Muslims, and along the river royal gardens for rustic court outings and the cultivation of lemons and roses. Within a 40-mile radius of the town proper lay an unusually densely-populated district directly responsible to the palace and not part of any province. West of the river were estates assigned to members of the royal family such as the Queen Mother, and to prominent holy men with their followers. If the inhabitants of these estates resembled their counterparts at better-documented provincial capitals, in addition to farming they invested much labour in the weaving of long strips of white cotton cloth that provided customary garments and served as market place currency. East of the river lay widespread permanent village encampments of slave soldiers and their families; they preserved some of the culture of their native homes in the Nūba Mountains and the Ethiopian borderlands. When travellers of 1700 assessed the population of Sinnār at 100,000 souls, it is probable that the estimate also embraced this wide semi-rural conurbation.

As the 18th century advanced, the opening of Sinnār to influences from the Islamic heartlands eroded institutions vital to Fūndj government, notably matrilineal succession and state control over trade. With the collapse of Fūndj kinship discipline, the family hierarchy of landed nobility fragmented into bellicose patrilineages, while some twenty new towns arose as a rising middle class of private merchants defied royal prerogative. In 1762 a clique of base-born (*Hamadj*) warlords seized power, and at the death of their leader Muḥammad Abū Likaylik in 1775 the kingdom lapsed into half-a-century of civil strife that brought ruin to the capital. In 1202/1787-8 the *Hamadj* commander Nāṣir b. Muḥammad Abū Likaylik, having crushed an abortive royalist counter-coup, avenged himself by systematically firing the highly combustible city and its west-bank suburbs. In February 1804 factional fighting left the palace complex for two months in the hands of a provincial governor, who sacked it thoroughly; the capital was then abandoned and all factions fell back upon armed camps in the countryside. Of these, the slave settlements on the east bank were among the most important until they in turn were devastated by campaigns of the decade to follow. At the Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1821 the *fāshir*, surrounded by ruins, witnessed the ceremony of surrender that ended the sultanate of Sinnār.

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SINNAWR (A.) (in rare instances *sunnār, sunār*) (pl. *sanānīr*), masculine substantive denoting the cat, and synonym of *hirr* (pl. *hirara, hirar*) and of *ḳiṭṭ* (pl. *ḳiṭāṭ, ḳiṭaṭa*) (cf. Latin *catus*). These three equivalent terms which have the feminine in *-a* for the female cat make no distinction between wild and domestic species. Among the former, at least four were known in the lands of Islam: (a) *Felis sylvestris lybica*, European wild cat, of the Libyan subspecies, with the names *ḳiṭṭ al-khalā, ḳiṭṭ al-barr, kadīs*, in Kabyle *amshīsh boudrar*; (b) *Felis margarita*, Sand cat, which has become quite rare in Morocco and the western Sahara and is known as *barrān, mushsh al-khalā*; (c) *Felis ocreata*, Fettered cat, its name, *ḍaywan*, also applicable to the two preceding species; (d) *Felis chaus*, Jungle cat, peculiar to Nubia and Egypt where it is known as *tufah, tuffa, tifā* and, in Morocco, *sabsab, zabzab*.

There are many species of Domestic cat (*Felis domestica*) produced by interbreeding; two varieties are typical in the Orient, *Felis maniculata* or Egyptian cat (*sinnawr miṣrī*) and *Felis angorensis* or Persian cat (*sinnawr shīrāzī*). The Arab lexicographers have supplied a copious list of names given to the cat, each evoking a particular feature of the diminutive feline; thus, in alphabetical order: *azram, bass, biss, dam, dimma, hars, haris, hārūn, harrūn, hizdj, ḳalaṭi, kayʿam, khaydaʿ, khayṭal, khizbāz, māʾiyya, mishsh, mukhaddish, mukhādish nuwwa, shabrama* and *shunārā*. The kitten is called *dirṣ* (pl. *adrāṣ, durūṣ*) and *shibriḳ* (pl. *shabāriḳ*). Alongside all these terms, which currently appear somewhat archaic, the cat was furthermore endowed with nicknames with *abū* or *umm* according to its sex, such as *abū ghazawān, abu ʾl-haytham, abū khaddāsh* and *abū shammākh*. In addition, the dialects peculiar to each Muslim region have their own names for the cat. Berber-speaking groups call it *emmashīsh, mushsh* (pl. *mushshiten*), fem. *tamushshit* (pl. *timushshītīn*), in Tamahaḳḳ *tikurash*. In Tunisia, the only term in use is *ḳaṭṭūs/gaṭṭūs* (pl. *ḳaṭāṭīs*) (Low Latin *cattus*) with the diminutives *ḳṭiyyet, ḳṭīṭes* for the kitten, while in Syria it is *busayn* and, in ʿIrāḳ, *bazzūn*; the Turkish *kedi* and Persian *gurba* are not related to Arabic. The sounds typically uttered by the cat, mewing, purring, wailing, are represented in Arabic, as in most other languages, by onomatopoeia; such words are derived from artificial verbal roots, usually triliteral. Thus mewing is denoted by the roots *m-ʾ-w* (*muwāʾ*), *ʾ-m-w* (*ʾumāʾ*), *m-ʿ-w* (*muʿāʾ*), *n-ʿ-w* (*nuʿāʾ*), *m-w-gh* (*muwāgh*), *n-w-w* (*tanwā*). According to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 22) the cat is capable of modulating its mewing in five different ways to express its moods and its needs (hunger, distress, appeals for attention, etc.). Purring, an utterance peculiar to felines and an expression of contentment, is imitated by the terms *khurūr, kharīr, kharkhara* and *harīr*. Finally, to drive a cat away, the appropriate cry is *ghiss*! or *ghasghas*!

It is through Egypt that the Arabs, like the Hebrews, seem to have become acquainted with the domestic cat. It had been venerated there since the Pharaonic period and enjoyed the privilege of being embalmed as a sacred animal (Herodotus, *History*, ii, 66). On the other hand, there is no mention of it either in the Bible or in the Ḳur'ān; it is only later that certain Muslim commentators invented the legend according to which a pair of cats was produced, on board Noah's Ark, by a sneeze of the lion, as a means of destroying rats and mice which swarmed there and were causing considerable damage to the provisions of the travellers (*Ḥayawān*, i, 146, v, 347-8).

Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ is the first, indeed the only, scholar to have spoken extensively and knowledgeably of the cat, in his valuable *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, and later naturalists such as al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī only repeated his statements. This remarkable polygraph mounts a vigorous refutation to the assertion of Zoroaster/Zarathustra (Zarādus̲h̲t) and of the Mazdaeans, who claimed that the cat is a diabolical animal, while they saw as divine creatures the mouse, the weasel and fishes (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 298, v, 319-20); a similar idea existed among the ancient Arabs, for whom a fanciful superstition held that the *ḳuṭrub* [*q.v.*] (pl. *ḳaṭārib*), one of the categories of demons, took on the form of the female cat (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj̲*, iii, 320-1 = § 1204). Similarly, he castigates those who eat the flesh of the cat; they belong, he says, to two categories, one consisting of depraved youths, the other of keepers of doves who thus eliminated the predatory cats threatening dovecotes. He also denounces the ancient legend according to which eating the flesh of a black cat gives protection against spells and enchantments. In fact, Islamic law forbids the consumption of the flesh of the cat, a prohibition applying to every carnivore equipped with canine teeth. Also forbidden were the sale and purchase of cats, in deference to an opinion of the Prophet Muḥammad who was fond of these beasts; but some jurists reckoned that this applied only to the wild cat and that the domestic cat, in commercial terms, was of the same status as the ass, the mule and the dog (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii, 382). Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, v, 339) describes a kind of aversion therapy by means of which cat owners weaned their pets from catching pigeons.

In the 4th/10th century, the "Brothers of Purity" (*Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafā'* [*q.v.*]), as a part of their indictment of the cat, proposed in one of their Epistles (*Rasā'il*, ii, 247), a curious, but very logical explanation of the domesticity of the cat and the dog, which attach themselves to mankind as a means of ensuring their subsistence. The phenomenon dates back to the time of the murder of Abel (Hābīl) by his brother Cain (Ḳābīl); this was followed by a fratricidal struggle between the two lines, and the descendents of Cain, gaining the upper hand, set about the systematic slaughter of all the livestock of the vanquished, sheep and cattle as well as camels and horses. For a long time they feasted on these beasts, and this resulted in an accumulation of carcases which attracted hordes of wild dogs and cats, competing over this abundant and easy source of food; henceforward, they remained close to men, whose discarded material was sufficient to satisfy their daily needs. This interpretation is not devoid of reason, since scholars of prehistoric times have shown that since the Neolithic period, there has been a symbiosis between man and certain species of animal, including the dog, which were soon domesticated, becoming accustomed to a reliable source of sustenance and to protection from their enemies.

Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, *passim*, esp. v) describes the cat in glowing terms, admiring its instinctive cleanliness, its agility, its vigilance, its efficiency in the hunting of rodents, its attachment to the home of its master, its visual acuity in darkness and the affection which the female shows towards its offspring, sometimes inducing it, he says with a degree of exaggeration, to devour them. Furthermore, in spite of its small size, the cat, like other much larger felines, the lion, the tiger, the panther, has the ability, simply by showing itself, to strike fear into camels and elephants [see FĪL]; the latter, on seeing it, are seized by panic and this phenomenon gave rise, according to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj̲*, iii, 13-16 = §§ 855-6), to a tactical stratagem employed by the kings of Persia, that of releasing cats in the path of the elephants forming the vanguard of an attacking army. The enemy, trusting in the invulnerability of these pachyderms, saw them suddenly turn and flee, charging in the opposite direction and causing panic in the ranks. This stratagem was used successfully by Hārūn b. Mūsā, valiant warrior of Islam and poet, against a king of India who used elephants when attacking him in his fortress of Multān, and the victor recounted the episode himself in a score of verses (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 76-8). This fear which the cat, like the larger felines, is capable of inspiring in the largest mammals, has given certain poets the notion of comparing it to the lion. On this theme there are a number of verses of Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Riyās̲h̲ī, a contemporary of al-Dj̲āḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 59, v, 272), and most worthy of note is a fine composition in eight verses by al-Ṣanawbarī [*q.v.*] (*al-Madj̲ānī al-ḥadīt̲h̲a*, iii, 222) in which he expresses (metre *k̲h̲afīf*, rhyme *-ābi*) his affectionate admiration for the cat, declaring "It is a veritable lion of the thicket both in body and in temperament!" He concludes with this magisterial declaration "What an agreeable companion, for, when in good mood, it is more loyal than all other friends!" In addition, al-Dj̲āḥiẓ relates that cats were the object of attentive care and petting on the part of women of the harems; they painted their paws with henna, adorned them with collars and jewels and were in the habit of kissing their muzzles.

The atavastic hostility of the cat in relation to the rats and mice on which it preys has, among all peoples, been a theme much exploited in fables and moralising tales; the "game of cat and mouse" has served as a metaphor for denouncing the law of the strongest and for opposing oppression and tyranny exercised over the weak, while drawing attention to the caution, the ingenuity and the guile which, often, the latter demonstrates in escaping and even getting the better of his persecutor. This is the theme of nights 900 and 901 in *The Thousand and One Nights* with the story of "the cat and the mouse" (*al-sinnawr wa 'l-fa'r*); the mistrustful mouse, besieged in his refuge by a cat, invokes the Most High and is saved by the unexpected arrival of a hunter whose dog loses no time in settling accounts with the feline. Similarly, in the Book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], the philosopher Bidpāy illustrates for the king Dabs̲h̲alīm the theme of true and false friendship with the fable of "the rat and the cat" (*al-dj̲urad̲h̲ wa 'l-sinnawr*) in which the cat, trapped in the meshes of the hunter's net, implores the rat to free him by gnawing through the threads, with a thousand oaths and promises. The rat, very wisely, sets about the task, but without haste, and waits until the arrival of the hunter before severing the last thread; on seeing the man, the cat has no option other than rapid flight and the rat, rid of this false friend, disappears safe and unharmed into his burrow.

The predatory nature of the cat has given rise to a number of metaphorical adages; by comparison with the wild cat, it is said *adabb min ḍaywan*, "a more skilled stalker than a wild cat", and *aṣyad, anzā min ḍaywan* "more predatory, more agile than a wild cat". Among expressions relating to the domestic cat are *athkaf min sinnawr* "more lively than the cat" and *abarr min hirra* "more gentle to its little ones than a female cat". On the other hand, the origin of the expression *ka-anna-hu sinnawr ʿAbd Allāh* "he is like the cat of ʿAbd Allāh", used to say of somebody that, the older he becomes the less he is worth, is unknown; in this context, al-Djāḥiẓ indicates (*Ḥayawān*, v, 315) that in the illegal trade in cats, kittens commanded a much higher price than adults, respectively a *dirham* [*q.v.*] and only a *ḳīrāṭ*. Finally, a fairly widespread contemporary image defines the fool in these terms: *lā yaʿrifu hirr^an min birr* "he cannot tell a cat from a mouse".

The specific qualities attributed to the different bodily parts of the cat are as varied as they are fanciful. Al-Ḳazwīnī (7th/13th century) and al-Damīrī (8th/14th century) supply a list of them (*ʿAdjāʾib*, in the margins of *Ḥayāt*, ii, 232 and *Ḥayāt*, ii, 35, 251, 382). Thus the brain of a wild cat blended into a hot infusion of rocket (*djirdjir, Eruca sativa*) drunk on an empty stomach in the public baths, is beneficial for testicular ailments and the retention of urine. The two eyes of the cat, dried and burned for purposes of fumigation, ensure the success of any enterprise. To carry on one's person a cat's tooth suppresses all nocturnal fears, and carrying the heart of a cat in a bag made from the skin of this feline guarantees victory over any enemy. The gall of a cat mixed with an eyewash induces nyctalopia and, blended with half a dirham of oil of jasmine, cures buccal paralysis. The gall when dried, pulverised and mixed with kohl constitutes an eyewash which enables one to see the djinn and put them to one's service; mixed with salt and wild cumin (*kammūn kirmānī, Lagoecia cuminoides*) and applied to sores and ulcers, it is an efficacious ointment. The blood of the cat is drunk to cure scurf, and that of the black cat is a love-potion; applied to the sexual organs, it has an aphrodisiac effect. The spleen of a black cat attached to a woman suppresses menstruation. Finally, the excrement of the cat has a smell which dispels mice and in addition, when diluted in oil of myrtle (*duhn al-ās, Myrtus communis*) and used as an ointment, it cures any fever; pulverised in water, it alleviates the pains of gout when smeared on the affected areas.

In botany, a score of plant names refer to the cat. Thus the term *ḥashīshat al-sanānīr* "herb for cats" is applied to Balm (*Melissa officinalis*, labiate), the smell of which appeals to cats. Cat's foot (*Antennaria dioica*, composite) is called *ridjl al-ḳiṭṭ/al-hirr*, "cat's foot" and *ẓufr al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's claw", while the Corn crowfoot (*Ranunculus arvensis*, ranuncular) and the Asiatic crowfoot (*R. asiaticus*) correspond to *kaff al-hirr* "cat's paw". The term *ʿayn al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's eye" is applied to five plants, including three which belong to the family of compositae: (a) Corn camomile (*Anthemis arvensis*); (b) Camomile (*A. nobilis*); (c) Wild camomile (*Matricaria chamomilla*); (d) Water speedwell (*Veronica anagallis aquatica*, scrofular); and (e) Minor phalaris (*Phalaris minor*, graminaceous). The "cat's head" (*raʾs al-hirr*) is the Hemp nettle (*Galeopsis*, labiate), while the "cat's tail" (*dhanab al-ḳiṭṭ*) denotes both the Bugloss (*Anchusa italica*, boraginaceous) and the Goldylocks (*Chrysocoma*). As for the "long cat's tail" (*dhayl al-ḳiṭṭ*), this can be either Cat's tailgrass (*Phleum pratense*, graminaceous) or Alfagrass (*Lygeum spartum*, graminaceous). Among papilionaceous plants the genus Milk vetch (*Astralagus*) has borrowed three names referring to cats: (a) *zubb al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's penis" for the variety *A. cahiricus*; (b) *khuzām al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's mignonette" for the varieties *A. Forskallii* and *A. cruciatus*; and (c) *bayḍ al-ḳiṭṭ* "cat's testicles" for the variety *A. sieberi*.

It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that in zoology the term *sinnawr al-zabād* "civet cat" is also found, denoting the Civet cat (*Viverra civetta*) of the family of Viverridae, but in Arabic as in English, this small carnivore of Africa and Asia is more often known in the abbreviated form *zabād, sinnawr* being omitted.

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(F. Viré)

SĪNŪB, Sinope, modern Turkish Sinop, a town and seaport on the north coast of Asia Minor, in the classical Paphlagonia, between the mouths of the Saḳarya [*q.v.*] and the Ḳîzîl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*] and about equidistant from the ports of Ṣamsūn and Ineboli, 120 km/75 miles to the north-east of Ḳasṭamūnī [*q.v.*] (lat. 42° 05' N., long. 35° 09' E.). It is the celebrated Σινώπη of the ancients and has retained this name. Muslim authors know it by the name of Sanūb (Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, 392, and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Quatremère, in *NE*, xiii, 361), Ṣanūb (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 348), Sināb (Anon. Giese, 34; Urudj Beg, ed. Babinger, 73) or Sīnūb (ʿĀshîḳ-Pasha-zāde, and, following him, all the Turkish historians and other writers). The town lies on an isthmus running north-eastwards from the mainland, to which it joins the peninsula of Boz Tepe Adasî. This position gives the town two harbours, but only that on the south, the safer of the two, has remained in use since ancient times. The strip of coast behind Sīnūb is bounded by the great Pontic range which borders the Central Anatolian plateau, and is particularly difficult to cross directly south of the town.

1. Pre-Ottoman history.

The history of Sinope goes back to a remote period. It was already an important port for trade with caravans from Mesopotamia and Cilicia, before it became a Greek colony of Milesians, in the 8th century B.C. Herodotus, Xenophon and Strabo describe it, but in the time of the latter it was no longer the great

terminal port for continental trade (cf. Sir W. Ramsay, *Historical topography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, 27). The town however retained its importance; in the 2nd century B.C., it was the capital of Mithridates of Pontus and after its capture by Lucullus in 70 B.C., it knew several centuries of prosperity as a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Julia Felix. When, under the Byzantine empire, the interior of Asia Minor gradually lost its Hellenism, Sinope remained a commercial city of the first rank. The invasion of Asia Minor by the Saracens in 217/832 had as one result that Theophobos, commander of the "Persian" auxiliary troops of the emperor, was proclaimed king of Sinope for a brief period; this episode is related by the Byzantine sources Symeon Magister and Theophanes Continuatus.

As the conquest of Asia Minor by the Rūm Saldjūḳs was confined for the first century to the interior of the peninsula, Sinope remained Byzantine, but also served as a port for the merchants of the Saldjūḳ empire, who embarked there for the Crimea (Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, i, 298). At the beginning of the 13th century the town passed into the hands of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond. The Saldjūḳ sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh took the town from them. Ibn Bībī, who gives a detailed account of its capture (in *Recueil des historiens des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, iv, 54 ff.) gives as the date of the capture 26 Djumādā II 611, corresponding to 2 November 1214. The Saldjūḳ sultan had taken advantage of the discord between the two Greek empires, but the immediate pretext for attacking the town was the raids which the lord of Sinope (in Ibn Bībī and Barhebraeus, *Chronicon*, ed. Bedjan, 429, called Kīr Aleks, i.e. Kyr Alexis Comnenos, cf. Fallmerayer, *Gesch. des Kaisertums Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, 94) had made into Turkish territory. Abu 'l-Fidā' seems also to allude to this conquest (*Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1286, iii, 122 under 611/1214-15, cf. Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, 96); in any case, Barhebraeus is wrong in saying that Alexis was killed by the Saldjūḳs. The Byzantine historians do not mention the taking of Sinope.

The town was given a Saldjūḳ garrison and the church turned into a mosque. Some time afterwards, the town was given as a hereditary fief to the celebrated vizier Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parwāne [*q.v.*], who built a fine mosque there which is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. It was about the same time that William of Rubruck passed through the town, which he calls Sinopolis, on his way to Russia. According to Münedjdjim Bashī, *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, Tkish. tr., iii, 31, the Parwāne was succeeded at Sīnūb by his son Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad (676-96/1277-97) then by his other son Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Masʿūd, on whose death in 700/1301 his lands passed to the lords of Ḳasṭamūnī. But another authority (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 22, quoting Rūḥī) says that, after the deposition of the last Rūm Saldjūḳ (in 707/1307), the Il Khānid Ghazan Khān granted all the lands in the north and northwest of Asia Minor to Ghāzī Čelebi, son of the Saldjūḳ sultan Masʿūd. This Ghāzī Čelebi is well-known in history, especially for his bravery in his acts of piracy (for example, he dived under the water to destroy the keels of enemy vessels) which he committed against the Genoese and the Greeks of Trebizond, whose ally he had sometimes been. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*loc. cit.*) and probably Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 393), however, make Ghāzī Čelebi a descendant of the Parwāne. After his death, Sīnūb was taken by Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Sulaymān Pasha, lord of Ḳasṭamūnī [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU]; it was shortly after this event that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town (*ca.* 740/1340). During the 14th century, the town retained its importance as a commercial port, connected with the interior by a road to Iznīḳ and Bursa (Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i, 196). Trade was mainly in the hands of the Genoese, who probably had a consulate there since 1351; there was also a Genoese colony (Heyd, *op. cit.*, i, 550). Sīnūb was the last refuge of the Isfendiyār Oghlu when the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I had attacked them, and in the end, they abandoned the town to him in 797/1394-5, according to the old Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshïḳ-Pasha-zāde, 72; Anon. Giese, 34). After the restoration of this dynasty by Tīmūr in 805/1402-3, Sīnūb again passed under their rule; it was the seaport by which the rebels against the Ottomans, like Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (cf. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi, 60), were able to escape under the protection of the Isfendiyār Oghlu. It was, however, only in the year 862/1458 that Meḥemmed II definitely incorporated the town in his territory by a treaty with the Isfendiyār Oghlu Ismāʿīl Beg, who received in exchange fiefs in Rūm Ili. This event is recorded by all the Turkish historians and by the Byzantine Ducas and Chalcondylas; the latter mention the formidable defences that had been erected in the town.

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2. The Ottoman and modern periods.

Sinop's importance in the reign of the Saldjūḳs and Isfendiyār-oghullarï, as well as in the Ottoman period, lay in its two harbours. In addition, the forests of northwestern Anatolia provided the timber needed for shipbuilding. In Ḳānūnī Süleymān's time, peasants from the surrounding countryside supplied the Ottoman navy's shipyard, which could build at least fifteen ships in a year, with timber in exchange for a tax rebate. At this period, activity in the shipyard appears to have been seasonal, and moreover, linked to the probability or otherwise of naval warfare. The high point of construction activity was apparently reached in 979/1571, when 25 galleys were built for the Cyprus war.

The first surviving Ottoman tax register dates from 892/1487. At this time, the town had a tax-paying population of 773 adult males, of whom 176 were Christians; the latter were excused from the payment of the *ispendje* [*q.v.*] and paid a standard sum of 34 *aḳčes* as *kharādj*. This means that with 5 people to a household, the town should have contained over 3,500 inhabitants. At the end of the 9th/15th century, Sinop was divided up into 13 Muslim and 6 Christian quarters; there was a single Friday mosque, probably the Ulu Djāmiʿ (Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu Tahrir 23 m, pp. 335-47).

A tax register from 937/1530 records Sinop as a *ḳaḍā* centre in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳasṭamōnū. This source records a total of 21 town quarters, with two Friday mosques and a *medrese*, inhabited by 611 taxpaying households; 378 were Muslims and 233 Christians. A further register dated 968/1560-1, which records 1,003 taxpayers, gives a more detailed overview of the Sinop population (Tapu Tahrir 327, 454 ff.). Among the

fourteen Muslim town quarters, the most populous was that surrounding the mosque of Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. Another mosque still in existence today, the Mesdjid-i Ulu Beg, also formed the centre of a small quarter (inscription dated 760/1358-9). The Christian population lived in seven quarters; all except the Tersāne (naval dockyards) and the ʿArabpînarî quarters had a church for a centre. The "Büyük kilīse" may have been the sanctuary of St. Phocas; but few people lived here, the largest Christian quarter being that of ʿArabpînarî.

The last extant *taḥrīr* documenting Sinop dates from the reign of Sultan Murād III (Ankara, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyudu kadime 200, fol. 90b ff., 990/1582), and differs from its predecessor only in a few details. Among the Muslim inhabitants, we find 13 garrison soldiers recorded; but in a sense the entire population did guard duty. From the times of Meḥmed the Conqueror, they had been rewarded for this service by an exemption from many other dues and obligations. As confirmed by all sultans up to Murād III, the inhabitants of Sinop could not be called upon to work on fortress construction, nor could they be obliged to serve as rowers or imperial falconers. In addition, they could not be forced to move to any other location, that is, they were exempt from the deportations known as *sürgün*. In addition, the inhabitants of Sinop were excused payment of the *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye*. 1,677 adult males benefited from these exemptions, among whom 940 were recorded as single. Christians numbered 233 households and almost 300 bachelors. The total population should have numbered between 3,700 and 4,700.

At the end of the 10th/16th century, economic activity seems to have been modest; our tax register records a small dyehouse and fishing weirs (*dalyān*). Bidding for the farm of the Sinop customs in the second half of the 10th/16th century seems to have started at 27,000 *aḳčes*; these dues were earmarked for the pay of the garrison soldiers. Polish merchants occasionally passed through the town on their way to Aleppo, and slaves were imported from the northern shores of the Black Sea. By the next century, the town seems to have been in difficulty, partly due to the damage caused by Cossack attacks. In one instance, a band of raiders even occupied the town for a short while. An account dated 1049/1639-40 documents repairs to the fortifications: the foundations of the citadel were strengthened, the tower over the gate known as Orta Ḳapu was repaired. Quite possibly these repairs were undertaken to guard against another Cossack raid.

Two accounts of Sinop as in the mid-11th/17th century stem from Ewliyā Čelebi and Kātib Čelebi. According to Ewliyā, the town possessed 24 quarters and eight gates; one of the gates was located near the dockyards. After the Cossack raid, the fortress commander was obliged to remain in the town at all times. The Christians lived outside the walls; Ewliyā thought that they numbered 1,100 families, with one hundred of them assigned to the upkeep of the fortress.

Among public buildings, both Ewliyā and Kātib Čelebi noted the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque. According to the first, this building boasted a fine *miḥrāb* of carved marble, and he praised it highly, comparing it to the *miḥrāb* of the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Bursa; but it had disappeared by the 13th/19th century. Ewliyā also noted the existence of an Ayaṣofya mosque, known from 10th/16th century sources as "Küčük Ayaṣofya", and which he described as an "ancient building". There seems to have been a notable increase in the number of pious foundations, possibly in connection with the strengthening of the town's defences after the Cossack raid. The *medrese* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (today the Sinop Museum) was functioning at the time, in addition to numerous Ḳurʾān schools.

Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied Patriarch Macarius on his travels to Russia, gives another fairly full description of Sinop in 1069/1658. This writer claims that the *pasha* of Ḳasṭamonu, in whose district Sinop was located, was not permitted entry into the town, and even *ḳapudjus* from the sultan's palace, bringing an order from the ruler, were only allowed in three to four at a time. The Christians, whose *djizya* served to pay the soldiers, still lived outside the walls, where they possessed seven churches. In the event of Cossack attacks they were allowed to seek shelter within the walls. As slaves were still being imported in large numbers, even the Christian inhabitants of the town owned them.

Later visitors paint a less optimistic picture. Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Sinop in 1112-13/1701, describes a much neglected fortress manned by a few Janissaries, while the Greek quarter *extra muros* was unprotected. Bernard Rottiers, who visited Sinop before 1829, noted that the naval shipyard at Sinop was small, but the ships turned out were of excellent quality, so that merchants sometimes purchased permission to have their own vessels constructed there. At this time, Sinop exported rice, fruit, skins and hides as well as timber.

According to the count of taxpayers undertaken in 1831, the district of Sinop, still a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Ḳasṭamōnū, was inhabited by 7,137 Muslim males. Since it was the aim of this count to assess military potential, Christians, women and presumably small children were not counted. Von Moltke passed by Sinop on his way to Samsun, and was favourably impressed by the durability of the houses and the activity of the naval arsenal. Collas and Texier, whose books were published in 1864 and 1862 respectively, mention the recently-instituted steamship connection to Istanbul; but both felt that Sinop was declining, According to Collas, this was due to the successful competition of İnebolu for the exportation of the region's principal products, namely nuts, skins and hides. However, the unwalled parts of Sinop had suffered severe damage in the Ottoman-Russian naval engagement 1853, which began the Crimean War.

Reconstruction must have followed fairly soon, for Cuinet, whose data concern the years around 1890, paints a much more hopeful picture. Sinop at this time contained a mere 1,790 houses, that is, only about 100 more than the number of households registered in 990/1582; this figure corresponded to a total population of 9,749, of which 5,041 were Muslims. However, he gained the impression that Sinop was small but active, growing not only by virtue of its expanding trade, but also because the summer season attracted holiday makers to the seashore. As to the agricultural hinterland, it produced mainly wheat, maize and tobacco.

Due to the relative isolation of Sinop, the town was first used as a place of banishment during the reign of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, a tradition which was continued under the following governments. As a result, the town is frequently mentioned in short stories and memoirs dealing with the late Ottoman and Republican periods. Refīḳ Khālid (Karay [*q.v.*]) wrote a story (*Shaḳā*ʾ) set in this town in 1915, while the journalist Zekerya Sertel describes the atmosphere of

the middle 1920s in his *Hatırladıklarım* (Istanbul 1968). After the Republican government had transformed the inner fortress into a prison, the novelist and short story writer Sabahattin Ali [*q.v.*] spent several months there, reflected in the tragic short story *Duvar.*

Up to the present time, the district of Sinop has remained agricultural (82.5% of all economically active persons in 1980). Apart from grain agriculture, forestry is significant, while fishing is much less so. Some agricultural growth was achieved after 1950, when roads were constructed and Sinop became accessible not only by sea but also from the Anatolian mainland as well. The road connection to Samsun has come to be of economic importance, but the port of Sinop has not been able to keep up with that of its larger competitor only a short distance away.

Sinop is now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name. The population of the town in 1970 was 45,800, and that of the *il* 265,000.

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SIPĀHĪ (p.), from the Persian *sipah, sipāh* "army", hence basically meaning soldier. It has given such European words as English *sepoy* (see below, 2.) and French *spahi* (see below, 3.).

1. In the Ottoman empire.

Here, *sipāhī* had the more specific meaning of "cavalryman" in the feudal forces of the empire, in contrast to the infantrymen of the professional corps of the Janissaries [see yeñi čeri]. Such feudal cavalrymen were supported by land grants (*dirlik* "living, means of livelihood") at different levels of income yield. Below the *khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] lands granted to members of the higher echelons of the administrations and army, the mass of the *sipāhīs* were supported by *tīmārs* [*q.v.*] or, giving a superior income, *ziʿāmets* [*q.v.*], the revenues from such land grants being known in general as *māl-ı̊ muḳātele* "fighting money". As an encouragement to *sipāhīs* to perform their military duties properly, as well as the inducement of promotion from holder of a *tīmār* to one of a *ziʿāmet,* bonuses might be granted (*teraḳḳī* "advancement").

The *sipāhīs* of a province were under the supreme command of the provincial governor (*beylerbeyi* [see beglerbegi]), who called them to the colours when need for a campaign arose, although in later times, at least, it was possible to compound for absence by a financial payment. Conditions of service varied; some were always obliged to turn out (the *eshkindjis* "those who ride out to war"), whilst others turned out in rotation (*bi-newbet*). The lowest category of *tīmār*-holding *sipāhīs* merely served personally, with their mount, but those with higher incomes had to bring with them at least one fully-equipped and mounted man-at-arms (*djebeli* "dressed in a mailed coat"), up to a maximum of five; *ziʿāmet*-holding *sipāhīs* might have as many as eighteen men-at-arms in their train.

There was no formal system of training, as had been the case e.g. amongst the Mamlūks of Egypt [see furūsiyya; maydān], but since the land grants could only descend hereditarily to the sons or descendants of *sipāhīs* or *djebelis*, who had normally been brought up to the profession of arms and were capable of performing military service, a level of competence could be maintained. On a *sipāhī*'s death, his land grant usually passed to his son, although if the latter was still a minor, his required military service had to be performed by a *djebeli* substitute. If there was no heir at all or no capable heir, the grant reverted to the state, with its revenues collected *ad interim* by the *mewḳūfātčī* [*q.v.*], and it could then be granted out subsequently to some other deserving warrior.

There are no reliable figures for the total number of *sipāhīs* and their *djebelis* in the empire during its heyday, and neither the sultans nor the administration probably ever knew the exact number anyway; a possible figure is *ca.* 150,000, spread over both Anatolia and Rumelia. Before the Ottomans came up against trained, professional armies of the European powers, the feudal forces probably formed the most numerous and formidable part of the Ottoman army, since the élite force of the Janissaries was a numerically restricted one. But as with their mediaeval European counterparts, the feudal knights, there was always the disadvantage that land-grant holders might be reluctant to leave their sources of income and local power and go to fight on distant frontiers. To counter this, at a general call to arms, the Ottoman state allowed one in ten *sipāhīs* to remain at home, and if a summer campaign turned into a prolonged one requiring winter quarters in the field, some *sipāhīs* were allowed to return home and collect the revenues from the estates which supported the fighting forces.

When in later times the Ottomans had to face the European professional armies, their feudal forces were at an obvious disadvantage compared to troops paid to remain in the field as long as money could be found to support them. Hence by the early 19th century, the *sipāhīs* had become an obsolete element in the Ottoman forces, which were themselves from the times of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II [*q.vv.* and niẓām-i djedīd] beginning to evolve into a more modern, uniformed and professionally-trained army. Hence during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, in 1263/1847, all *tīmār* and *ziʿāmet* holders were required to exchange these for a monetary payment equivalent to half the income from the land grant.

The term *sipāhī* was also applied to one of the six cavalry divisions of the Ottoman standing army, whose creation may date back as far as the reigns of Murād I (761-91/1360-89 [*q.v.*]) or even Orkhan (724-61/1324-60 [*q.v.*]), and which took up the favoured position in battle on the sultan's right; the term was, indeed, applied in a general sense to the whole of the cavalry in the standing army.

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Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 98-105; Pakalın, iii, 230-5; Gibb and Bowen, i, 46-53, 69-70; *İA* art. *Sipâhî* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). See also HARB, iv.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In North Africa.

The term was used in late, pre-modern North Africa, in which, from the time of the Ottoman conquest (or, from the very beginning of the 17th century for Tunis), *Sbā'ihiyya* (sing. *Sibāhī*), denoted a corps of mounted gendarmerie. It was then used in the 19th and early 20th centuries for troopers of the corps of locally-raised cavalry organised by the French army there, with the term passing into French as *Spahi*.

A corps of 600 Moorish "Espahies" are already recorded at Tunis in 1614. Ḥammūda Bey (1631-59) is said to have created three other corps (*odjaks*) of Sipāhīs in the interior of the country, at Ḳayrawān, al-Kāf and Bādja. At the side of these *odjaks* of "Arab" Sipāhīs, recruited from the local people, there existed an *odjak* of Turkish Sipāhīs, recruited from amongst the Janissaries. Each Sipāhī *odjak* was commanded by an Agha. The Tunis *odjak* was the most important in the Regency, being commanded by a Bāsh Agha recruited from the leading commanders of the army, assisted by a lieutenant (*kātriya*) and a secretary (*khūdja*). This number of *odjaks* remained constant up to the 19th century, when under the government of Ahmad Bey, three new corps were raised in the Sāḥil, the Djarīd and the A'rāḍ (Ḳābis, Gabès). If, at the outset, the number of Sipāhīs was 600, *ca.* 1788 there were as many as 2,000 (Arab) ones, comprising one-tenth of the Beylical forces. From 1830 onwards, after the creation of a regular army, the Sipāhī *odjaks* lost some of their importance; *ca.* 1840 the *odjak* of the Turks disappeared, being incorporated into the regiment of cavalry.

Within the Regency of Tunis, the Sipāhīs' task included accompanying the Bey on his progresses and the maintenance of order in the interior of the country; some were permanently stationed at the Bardo (the Bey's palace), the rest resided in their own tribes. The Sipāhīs acted as escorts for the tax collectors, and in time of war, were required to mobilise and participate in the movements of the army encampments. They levied an annual honorarium, received their mount, allotments of fodder and forage, and benefited by exemptions from taxes and duties.

In the Regency of Algiers, the Sipāhī *odjaks* appear at around the same time as in Tunis; there were likewise Turkish ones recruited from the Janissaries, and indigenous ones from the local population. At the end of the 18th century, the Agha of Algiers could count on 700 Sipāhīs, not counting those of the Bey. Their duties were similar to those of their colleagues at Tunis.

In 1789, Venture de Paradis was struck by the importance of this corps in the social hierarchy at Algiers. The position of a Sipāhī was especially sought by rich persons; in order to have a chance of entering their ranks, the Bāsh Agha of the Sipāhīs who, as at Tunis, was recruited from amongst the Janissary officers, had to be bought over. The Sipāhīs in the Algiers Regency received neither honoraria nor salaries, and the cost of mounts and of fodder and forage was at their own charge. But in both Regencies, they could profit from handsome windfalls, pots of wine and allowances.

In Tripolitania, Sipāhī *odjaks* are recorded from 1580 on the occasion of their interference in the political affairs of that Regency, at a time when they were commanded by Ḥaydar Pasha (see Başvekalet Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defteri no. 62, dated 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 990/8 December 1580). These troops had the same role and the same duties as the Sipāhīs in the other Regencies.

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(ABDELJELIL TEMIMI)

3. In India.

In India both the French and the British adopted the word, which seems to have reached them through the Portuguese, the former writing it *cipaye* or *cipai*, and the latter *sepoy, seapoi, seapoy, seapy, cephoy, sipoy*, etc., but there both nations have applied it since the beginning of the 18th century to natives of India trained, armed and clad after the European fashion as regular infantry soldiers. Regiments of sepoys were first raised and employed by the French. In 1748 Dupleix raised several battalions of Muslim infantry, armed in the European fashion, and in 1759 Lally wrote to the Governor of Pondicherry: "De quinze mille cipayes, dont l'armée est censée composée, j'en compte à peu près huit cens sur la route de Pondichéry". Stringer Lawrence soon imitated Dupleix in forming regular battalions of sepoys in Madras, and in 1757 a force of sepoys accompanied Lord Clive when he left Madras in order to recover Calcutta. The military establishment of Bengal had consisted of one company of artillery, four or five companies of European infantry, and a few hundred natives armed in their own fashion, but after the recovery of Calcutta from the Nawwāb Sirādj al-Dawla a force of Madras sepoys was used to form the nucleus of an army for Bengal, and 2,000 sepoys fought at the battle of Plassey in June, 1757. About the same time, sepoys were raised and employed in Bombay, and European adventurers in native states raised and drilled battalions of sepoys for their masters.

In 1795 the infantry of the three Presidency armies was organised in regiments of two battalions each, each battalion consisting of eight battalion and two grenadier companies. Of such regiments Bengal possessed twelve, Madras eleven, and Bombay four, with an additional marine battalion. Henceforward the three armies grew on divergent principles and with different organisations. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8 shattered the old Bengal army and seriously affected that of Bombay, but both were reconstituted and remodelled. Early in the 20th century Lord Kitchener, then commander-in-chief in India, formed the three Presidency armies into one Indian army, which fought with distinction in the two World Wars until it was divided between Pakistan and India in 1947. The Native States within British India also had their own armies prior to 1947.

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(T.W. Haig*)

SIPAHSĀLĀR [see ispahsālār].

SIPIHR, "celestial sphere", nom-de-plume (*takhallus*) of the Persian historian and man of letters, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī of Kāshān (d. Rabīʿ II 1297/March 1880). After a studious youth spent in his native town, he settled definitely in Tehran, where he found a patron in the poet-laureate (*malik al-shuʿarāʾ*) of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. On his accession (1250/1834), Muḥammad Shāh appointed him his private panegyrist (*maddāḥ-i khāṣṣa*) and secretary and accountant in the treasury (*munshī wa-mustawfī-i dīwān*). The same Shāh entrusted him with the composition of a universal history. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh also encouraged him in this enterprise and in 1272/1853 conferred on him the title of *Lisān al-Mulk* ("Tongue of the State"). De Gobineau, who had known him, speaks of his "gravité docte et administrative" in contrast to the "façons légères et riantes" of his colleague Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat.

The book entitled *Barāhīn al-ʿAdjam* finished by Sipihr in 1251/1835 deals with Persian prosody; it is illustrated by examples from the Persian classical poets. His own verses are cited in anthologies, e.g. the *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* of Riḍā Ḳulī Khān [*q.v.*], ii, 156-81; they show technical skill but lack originality and taste. Sipihr's universal history, pretentiously called the *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* "Effacer of chronicles", was continued, for the early Islamic period, by his son ʿAbbās Ḳulī, and then Sipihr himself took up the history of his patrons the Ḳādjārs; this is the only part of the work of any originality and importance, and goes up to 1273/1857. It was much used by early chroniclers of the Bābī movement [see bābīs], such as de Gobineau, Kazimbek and Browne, with the latter paying tribute to Sipihr's candour and accuracy (most recent edition by M.B. Bihbūdī of the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳādjāriyya*, 4 vols., Tehran 1385/1965).

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(V. Minorsky*)

SIPIHRĪ, Suhrāb (1928-80), Iran's most famous 20th-century painter and a leading modernist Persian poet. Born in Kāshān, where he finished elementary and high school, Sipihrī received a college degree from the College of Fine Arts at Tehran University in 1953. His first exhibition of paintings took place that same year. His first book of poems had appeared in 1951. Other volumes of poetry followed, with his collected poems appearing in 1977 in *Hasht kitāb* ("Eight Books").

In 1957 Sipihrī made his first trip abroad, mainly to London and Paris, participating in a lithography course at l'Ecole des Beaux Arts. To subsequent trips to Tokyo, India, Europe, the United States, Greece and Egypt can be traced influences in his paintings. In the mid-1960s began a period of many Sipihrī exhibitions in Iran and abroad, which brought him to the forefront of Iranian painting. From that period also, Sipihrī's productivity as a poet established him as a leading modernist. Sipihrī never married and was a retiring, private and gentle person, much liked and loved by people who knew him well. He died of leukemia in April 1980 and was buried at a Muslim religious shrine in a village near Kāshān.

Simplicity is a quality of Sipihrī's art. His paintings, mostly inspired by nature, mainly landscape and some village scenes, exhibit splashes of hopeful colour in scenes of brown and other earth colours. The same simplicity in Sipihrī's poetry communicates appreciation of life's individual moments. Sipihrī is the Iranian nature poet *par excellence*. His work recalls that of European Romantics in its love of nature and sometimes child-like wonder, while its communication of belief in the unity of existence and the presence of divine creativity in nature seem rooted in Eastern gnosticism. Unlike other modernist Iranian poets, who are mostly secular-minded, anti-clerical with respect to Iran's Twelver Shīʿī heritage, and not inclined to find inspiration in Islamic imagery, Sipihrī uses images from religion, including allusions to the Ḳurʾān. Some readers consequently find his poetry neo-Ṣūfī. But these lines from his most famous poem, *Ṣidā-yi pāy-i āb* (1964), suggest a personal and individual poetic outlook and philosophy other than Ṣūfī religiosity: "I am a Muslim. My Mecca is a rose. My mosque is a spring. ... My Kaaba lies by the water."

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(M.C. Hillmann)

ṢĪR BANĪ YĀS, Djazīrat ("the ultimate place of destination of the Banū Yās" [see yās, banū]), the name of an off-shore island in the western half of the embayment in the Gulf, between the Abū Ẓaby coast and Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*], belonging to Abū Ẓaby. The island is mentioned in 1580 as "Sirbeniast" by the Venetian traveller Gasparo Balbi (Slot, *The Arabs of the Gulf*, 37-9, 50). Some of the islands in this part of the Gulf, including Ṣīr Banī Yās, Ghāgha, al-Yāsāt and particularly Dalmā, were inhabited during the winter months by groups of the Banū Yās, while during the summer they became overcrowded by the influx of pearl fishermen coming usually from what are now the United Arab Emirates [see al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida in Suppl.], Ḳaṭar and Baḥrayn, the majority of the inhabitants being acknowledged as belonging to Abū Ẓaby. The oil con-

cessions of the 1930s necessitated the precise demarcation of the frontiers, the ownership of some of the islands becoming a matter of dispute between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓaby. A decision was reached in 1961 and again in 1969. The islands of Ḥalūl, al-Asḥāt and Shirā'ūh were considered as belonging to Ḳaṭar, and those of Dayyīna and Ṣīr Banī Yās to Abū Ẓaby.

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(E. van Donzel)

SÎR DARYĀ, conventional form Syr Darya, a river of Central Asia and the largest in that region. The Turkish element in the name, *sîr*, is not actually found before the 10th/16th century; in the following century, the Khīwan ruler and historian Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān [*q.v.*] calls the Aral Sea "the Sea of Sir" (Sîr Teñizi).

1. In the early and mediaeval periods.

The Sîr Daryā flows through the present republics of Kirgizia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan down from the northwestern slopes of the Tien Shan Mountains to the Aral Sea [*q.v.*]. It is formed by the confluence in the eastern part of the Farghāna [*q.v.*] valley of the Narîn/Naryn and Tar or Ḳara Daryā rivers and has a length of 2,200 km/1,370 miles from that confluence and one of 2,900 km/1,800 miles from the source of the Naryn. Its water capacity is fed by melting snow in the Tien Shan and, to a lesser extent, by glaciers there and by rain. The lower reaches are frozen over from December to March/April. In the high-water period March/April to August/September it carries down vast quantities of silt, which used to push out its delta at the Aral Sea (before the present disastrous shrinkage and salinisation of that Sea) by a considerable amount each year (see 2. below). The river has numerous tributaries into its upper and middle reaches before it starts to skirt the northeastern fringe of the Ḳîzîl Ḳum desert, the last significant one being a right-bank affluent, the Arys.

The Sîr Daryā thus has its origin in that region of modern Kirgizia known in mediaeval Islamic times by the Turkish name Yeti Ṣu "[land of] the seven rivers", Russian Semirečye. The indigenous population in mediaeval times always regarded the Ḳara Daryā as the upper source of the Sîr Daryā. The district between the Narîn and the Ḳara Daryā has for long been known in Persian as Miyān rūdān and in Turkish as Iki ṣu arasî. Whether there were any significant irrigation canals led out from it in mediaeval times, as was certainly the case from the lower Āmū Daryā [*q.v.*] or Oxus, is unclear; al-Muḳaddasī's mention of a *khalīdj* or canal 140 farsakhs long between Khudjand in Farghāna and Usrūshana [*q.vv.*] (22 n. *m*, only in the Istanbul ms.) is unconfirmed by other sources.

In Western Europe, the Sîr Daryā is still frequently called by its old Greek name of Jaxartes; a Pahlavī form Yakhšārt is assumed and explained by J. Marquart (*Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 6) as *yakhsha arta* "true, genuine pearl". Against this explanation is the fact that in the numerous personal and geographical names compounded with *arta*, this component is always found at the beginning of the word. Yet the word *yakhsha* "pearl" seems actually to be contained in the name; the Chinese (*Čin-ču-ho*) and Old Turkish (*Yinčü ügüz*) names of the river have the same meaning. The Chinese transcription of the native name is given as *Yao-sha* (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 75), *Yau-sha* (F. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, 81, in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2nd series, St. Petersburg 1899) or *Yo-sha* (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903). In the Muslim period the initial *y* seems to have disappeared in the land itself; the Arabic (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳanūn al-Mas'ūdī*, in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, etc., Leipzig 1864, 32) and Persian (*Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 118) manuscripts have *Khashart*: this form and not as Marquart assumes (*Die Chronologie*, etc., 5), *Yakhshart* was probably in Ibn Khurradādhbih, 178, l. 2. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 178, l. 4, mentions the name *Kankar* which also appears in Chinese transcription (*K'ank't*) and was used probably on the central course of the river only: cf. *Daryā-i Gang* from Firdawsī, in *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 445. The Arabs introduced the name *Sayḥūn* for the Sîr Daryā like *Djayḥūn* for the Āmū Daryā (cf. the names Djayḥān and Ṣayḥān in the southeastern frontiers of Asia Minor). In the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (ed. Le Strange, 217, 16, tr. and n., *ibid.*, ii, 210) appears the *Gul Ẓaryūn* which seems to occur nowhere else. Blochet explains this word (in Le Strange, *loc. cit.*) as the Mongol *gul serikūn* = "cold river", probably wrongly, as the order of words should be reversed. The river is usually called in Arabic and Persian sources after towns and districts on its banks, most frequently "river of Khudjand" (Khudjand is now the only town situated immediately on the bank of the Sîr Daryā). This name also was adopted by the Mongols (Bretschneider, *loc. cit.*, in Chinese transcriptions *Ho-shan-mu-lien*, for Mongol *müren* "river"). Also occasionally found, since the Ḳara Daryā flowed past the mediaeval town, important under the Ḳarakhanids [see ilek khāns], of Özkend [*q.v.*] or Uzkend, is the name "river of Özkend" (e.g. in *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 72). Other names include: river of Banākat, or Fanākat (in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 740: Banākit), after the town on the right bank near the mouth of the Angren said to have been destroyed by Čingiz Khān (this destruction is not recorded by contemporaries); river of Shāhrukhiyya after the town built by Tīmūr in 794/1392 on the site of the destroyed Banākat (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1888, ii, 636); river of Akhsīkat (*ibid.*, i, 441) or Akhsīkath [*q.v.*]; and river of Čāč or Shāsh, after the great oasis of Čirčik.

There were many towns along the course of the Sîr Daryā, especially numerous in the fertile Farghāna valley. On the middle course lay such provinces as Usrūshana and Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and the frontier towns of Utrār [*q.v.*] and Isfīdjāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], for it was here that the river valley entered the lands of the pagan Turks. At the mouth of the river three towns are mentioned in the geographers of the 4th/10th century, including the Oghuz foundation of Yangi-kant (Ar. al-Ḳarya al-ḥadītha, Pers. Dih-i Naw; see C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963, 212-13), Djand and Khuwāra [see on these, djand, in Suppl.].

In the 4th/10th century the Sîr Daryā is mentioned as a navigable river along with the Āmū-Daryā (al-Muḳaddasī, 323, 1); in "times of peace or of truce", food supplies were brought to Ḳaryat al-Ḥadītha by water (Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 489). Navigation is now interrupted by the rapids of Begovat which begin at the village of Ḳosh-Tegermen, 15 miles below Khudjand. These rapids seem to be nowhere mentioned in Muslim sources; Djuwaynī's story (*Ta'rīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, tr. Boyle, i, 92-4) of the siege of Khudjand by the Mongols in 1220, and the

adventurous flight of the commander Tīmūr Malik, presupposes an uninterrupted passage by water from Khudjand to the towns on the lower course of the Sīr Daryā (cf., e.g. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 225-6). After the foundation of Russian rule on the lower course of the Sīr Daryā (since 1847) an attempt was made to introduce steam navigation on the river; the steamers of the Aral fleet went up the Sīr Daryā also and had their most important anchorage at the town of Kazalinsk founded by the Russians. After this service ceased in 1882, no further such attempts were made, although several times proposed; traffic on the Sīr Daryā was maintained solely by boats of native construction (*kayïk*).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], London 1968, 155-79; idem, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, repr. in *Sočineniya*, iii, Moscow 1965, 210-33; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 433-4, 476-89.

(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. The colonial and modern periods. With the submission of the Kazakh steppes in the 1830s, at a time when Anglo-Russian rivalry was becoming strong, the Tsarist armies formed a fortified line along the Sīr Daryā which allowed them to occupy without difficulty in 1864 the towns of Čimkent, Turkestan and Aulie Ata, and then Tashkent in 1865. The Russian government thus inherited the system of water distribution according to Ḳur'ānic law, to which was added the question of agricultural lands for the colonial interests. Despite some innovations, the area of irrigated land remained limited (35,000 ha in the Hunger Steppe) and dependent on the small and medium-sized water courses.

The installation of the Soviet régime was accompanied by a specific policy of irrigation involving the maximum use of the waters of the Āmū and Sīr Daryās, until then neglected in favour of lesser streams. Apart from the introduction of agricultural reform and a new irrigation water law between 1925 and 1929, the Five Year Plans of the Stalinist period gave a large part to the large-scale (numerous water barrages) and a spectacular increase in the network (more than 50 canals which were led off) between the years 1938-40. Because of this, the water flow of the Sīr Daryā progressively dried up as the surface of irrigated land increased (some 2,286,000 ha in 1965 and 4,109,000 in 1987). This process accelerated after the 1960s. It reduced almost to nothing the supply of water to the Aral Sea, whose decrease, already noted by 19th-century travellers (Meyendorff, 1826; Ujfalvy, 1872), has led to a present-day ecological disaster without precedent: wastage of water for intensively irrigated agriculture on the lower course, salinisation of the land and of the Sīr Daryā's waters (456 mg/l I 1912, 1844 g/l in 1985 at Kazalinsk), pollution of the Sea itself, unrestrained use of fertilisers and a deterioration of health conditions for the populace. The middle and lower courses formed, over the long scale of history, a line of political demarcation which also had, in the complex history of contacts between the Siberian and Middle Eastern worlds, an important cultural dimension. Thus in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. the Sīr Daryā had marked the northern limit of Islam and the southern limit of the Turkicised domain (see 1. above). More generally, the middle reaches of the river, the most populated zone, was regarded as the frontier of urban civilisation and its learned culture vis-à-vis a nomadic civilisation based on orality.

The Sīr Daryā, like other great rivers of the world, ran through various states which, during the Russian and Soviet periods formed part of the same political unit. During 1924-9 its course watered a part of the autonomous Tajik republic (transformed into a federated republic in 1929), the Uzbek federated republic and the autonomous Kirghiz republic, which became the federated Kazakh republic in 1925. Today, these republics have, since the winter of 1991, become independent, but the economic and ecological crisis ravaging the region places the river in the position of a hostage in the fragile inter-ethnic and political equilibrium which is emerging there. The Farghāna valley, where the Islamic revival seems most marked, is at the intersection of a bundle of economic and social problems in which a strong hand on the utilisation of the river and the canals running off it will be decisive. The possible deflection of the river's waters in favour of some republic, region or population group is a weapon often used in history.

Bibliography: G. de Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhara fait en 120 à travers les steppes qui s'étendent a l'Est de la mer d'Aral et au delà de l'ancien Jaxartes*, Paris 1826; Ch.E. Ujfalvy de Mezo-Kovesd, *Le Syr Daria, Expédition scientifique française en Russie, en Sibérie et dans le Turkestan*, ii/5, Paris 1879; B.L. Shultz, *Reki Sredney Azii*, Moscow 1949; V.N. Fedshina, *Kak sosdavalas' karta Sredny Aziii*, Moscow 1967; *BSE* (1976), xxv, 139; D. Oreshkine, *La Mer d'Aral menacée de disparition*, in *La Recherche*, no. 226, vol. xxi (1990), 1380-8; *Aral, segodnya i zavtra*, Alma Ata 1990; M. Mainguet, *L'Aral: erreurs et leçons d'un développement inadapté*, in *Version Originale*, no. 2 (1993), 177-87. (C. Poujol)

SĪRA (a.), a genre of early Islamic literature: *Sīra* means "way of going"; "way of acting", "conduct", "way of life" (in these meanings it is almost synonymous with *sunna* [*q.v.*]); also "memorable action" and "record of such an action". In *ḥadīth* collections and books on Islamic law, the plural *siyar* is also used for "rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims" (which are sometimes headed elsewhere under *djihād*). Furthermore *sīra* means "epistle", "pamphlet", "manifesto", and last but not least: "biography", "the life and times of ...". Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (102-39/720-56 [*q.v.*]) translated a Pahlavi history of the Persian kings under the title *Siyar mulūk al-ʿadjam*. ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam (d. 147/764 [*q.v.*]) wrote a *Sīrat Muʿāwiya wa-banī Umayya*. Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiḳī (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]) wrote *Sīrat Ardashīr* and *Sīrat Anūshirwān*. For later popularised biographies of kings and heroes, see sīra shaʿbiyya.

"The *sīra*", *sīrat rasūl allāh* or *al-sīra al-nabawiyya*, have been the most widely used names for the traditional account of Muḥammad's life and background. Martin Hinds (Maghāzī *and* Sīra, in *La vie du Prophète Mahomet*, 57-66; see also maghāzī) has argued that the biographical material on the Prophet was transmitted during the first two centuries of Islam exclusively under the name of *maghāzī*, whereas *sīra* was applied only since Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828 [*q.v.*]). This view has been challenged by Maher Jarrar (*Prophetenbiographie*, 1-59), who claims that *maghāzī* is only part of the *sīra*, the designation being used occasionally as a *pars pro toto*, and that the biography was already called *sīra* by al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742 [*q.v.*]), a central figure in the transmission of materials on the Prophet.

History of the *sīra*. In maghāzī, Hinds discussed not only the designation of the prophetic biography but wrote also its early history. For that stage

the present contribution has little to add. However, the most archaic layer of the biography, that of the stories of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḲĀṢṢ; ḲIṢṢA. 1], deserves a little more emphasis. An early 3rd/9th century papyrus, whose *isnād*s go back to Wahb b. Munabbih (34-110/654-728 [*q.v.*]), contains a large *sīra* fragment of the early *ḳiṣṣa* type. Its narrative is lengthy, no less entertaining than edifying, more often interrupted by poetry than by *isnād*s; it has an outspoken pro-ʿAlī ring, and it contains a wealth of miracle stories (e.g. the Prophet practicing sorcery: Wahb 142, 20; Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 426).

A renewed study of Ibn Isḥāḳ has been stimulated by the publication of part of Ibn Isḥāḳ's *maghāzī* in the *riwāya* of Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/815; *GAS*, i, 289), which has been preserved in ms. Fās Ḳarawiyyīn 202, and in the *riwāya* of Muḥammad b. Salama al-Ḥarrānī (d. 191/807; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb* ix, 296) (Damascus Ẓāhiriyya madj. 110, fols. 158-174). These texts, which contain many fragments which were hitherto unknown or deviate from the familiar versions, shed new light on the transmission of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work. Comparisons of Yūnus' versions with those of al-Bakkāʾī (as preserved by Ibn Hishām), Muḥammad b. Salama and several others have led Sellheim, Samuk and Muranyi to the conclusion that there has hardly been any written standard text by Ibn Isḥāḳ himself and that we depend on his transmitters, whose texts should be studied synoptically, in all their variants.

Furthermore, Muranyi has pointed out that Yūnus b. Bukayr transmitted materials which do not go back to Ibn Isḥāḳ at all. Yūnus was a *sīra* compiler in his own right, whose *Ziyādāt al-maghāzī* was quoted by al-Bayhaḳī, Ibn Kathīr and several others.

After Ibn Isḥāḳ, a limited, but interesting *maghāzī* collection was composed by Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770; *GAS*, i, 290-1), which is preserved in the *Muṣannaf* by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām (d. 211/826; see AL-ṢANʿĀNĪ). Several other *ḥadīth* collections have a *maghāzī* section, e.g. Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* and al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

The fame of Ibn Hishām, whose *sīra* is considered the most prominent, rests mainly on his selection from Ibn Isḥāḳ's work. The latter, by means of his *Mubtadaʾ* section, had placed Muḥammad in the tradition of the earlier prophets, and had indeed made him the pivot of world history by adding a history of the caliphs. Ibn Hishām, however, narrows the perspective down to Ancient Arabia. A chain of works with a limited focus on prehistory are al-Wāḳidī's (130-207/747-822 [*q.v.*]) *K. al-Maghāzī*, which concentrates on the life and times of the Prophet only and displays a great interest in the chronology; the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), in which the *sīra* section is preceded only by a brief survey of the prophets, and al-Balādhurī's (3rd/9th cent.) *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, which outlines Muḥammad's ancient Arabian origins. Al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/922 [*q.v.*]) *Taʾrīkh* puts Muḥammad once again in the perspective of the history of the prophets and even the kings of Persia.

The numerous later *sīra* works are mainly commentaries or compilations, although they contain important material from early sources. Of the late authors, the most interesting are al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185), who wrote a commentary on the *sīra* of Ibn Hishām, and his critic Mughulṭāy (d. 689/1290). Other compilers are Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1333); Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; in *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*); Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 942/1536; Brockelmann, II, 304-5); and Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (975-1044/1567-1635; see AL-ḤALABĪ).

For a survey of early *sīra* works, see *GAS*, i, 275-302; for late works see Kister, *The* sīrah *literature*, 366-7.

Characteristics of *sīra* texts. Be it under the heading *maghāzī* or *sīra*, in the prophetic biography very heterogeneous materials are brought together. Various intentions seem to prevail: to build up the image of Muḥammad in rivalry to the prophets of other communities, to depict him as a statesman of international stature, to elaborate on Ḳurʾānic texts and create a chronological framework for them, to record the deeds of the early Muslims, to continue the genre of *ayyām al-ʿarab* [*q.v.*] and to set standards for the new community. These intentions are striven after in a great variety of text types, of which the following survey is by no means exhaustive:

(1) Stories about the military expeditions of Muḥammad and his companions (*maghāzī* in the strictest sense). They form a continuation of the profane accounts of *ayyām al-ʿarab*, with raids, battles, challenges, examples of bravery, exchanges of poetry and single combats. Islamic elements are, e.g., the intervention of angels in battle and the (often merely ornamental) addition of Ḳurʾānic passages. In later centuries, the *maghāzī* were continued in their turn by would-be historical popular stories in which Muḥammad is venerated, while ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib develops into a military hero of supernatural stature. These popular stories, which were studied by Paret, can be reckoned with the *sīra shaʿbiyya*. The 7th/13th century author Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī [see AL-BAKRĪ] played a central part in this genre, but he may well have had predecessors.

(2) Accounts of *faḍāʾil* and *mathālib*, which form the record of the merits and faults of clans and individual Companions of the Prophet, as well as their genealogies. Various lists are incorporated in the *sīra*: of the first converts, of the Emigrants, the fighters in various battles, representatives of the Anṣār, etc. A specific type of text, to which also monographs were dedicated, is that of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], in which is recorded who did something for the first time, e.g. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ was the first to shed blood in Islam (Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 194). The deeds of the Companions also became recorded in separate works, such as the *Ṭabaḳāt* by Ibn Saʿd; *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (368-463/978-1070), *Usd al-ghāba* by Ibn al-Athīr (555-630/1160-1233) and *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (773-852/1372-1449) [*q.vv.*]. These works show many overlaps with *sīra* texts and should be read in combination with them.

(3) Pieces of Ḳurʾānic inspiration: *tafsīr*, *asbāb al-nuzūl* and Midrash. Large parts of the *sīra* are inspired by the Kurʾān. They have been recently studied by J. Wansbrough.

Some texts merely paraphrase a Ḳurʾānic passage, e.g. sūra XCIII in Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 166.

Typical for the *sīra* are the accounts of the occasion for the revelation of certain Ḳurʾānic passages (*asbāb al-nuzūl*). When the Prophet was mocked, for example, the verse "Apostles have been mocked before you ..." (VI, 10) was revealed (Ibn Hishām, 262; cf. *ibid.*, 272, and Ibn Isḥāḳ, no. 418).

Many *sīra* texts elaborate on a Ḳurʾānic passage, in the manner of a Jewish midrash. The episode of the Satanic verses (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1192-4), for example, was evoked and foreshadowed by XXII, 52: Satan casts something on the tongue of a prophet; God abrogates it and establishes His verses. In one version, this episode is presented as a *sabab al-nuzūl*.

The relationship between a Ḳurʾānic passage and the story which pivots upon it may be quite loose.

The long narrative of how Ḳuraysh conspired at the eve of Muḥammad's *hidjra*, and how Allāh outwitted them by making them unable to see him, is built on VIII, 30: "and when the unbelievers were plotting ... but God plots also, and God is the best of plotters", and elegantly incorporates XXXVI, 8: "... and We covered them, so that they could not see" (Ibn Hishām, 323-6; see also Wahb, 132-6). This story does not give the occasion for the revelation of the verses, but playfully talks about them together.

The verse which forms the inspiration of a story need not even be quoted. The story about the reception of Muslim emigrants by the Negus of Abyssinia is built on Ḳur'ān, III, 191, without any literal correspondence (cf. W. Raven in *JSS*, xxxiii [1988], 201).

(4) Prophetic legend. As the Ḳur'ān had done before, the *sīra* aims at establishing the place of Muḥammad among the prophets, and that of Islam among the other religions. The numerous stories which dwell upon the characteristics of prophethood react on the narrative repertoire of Judaism [see ISRĀ'ĪLIYYĀT], Christianity and Manichaeism.

Some examples: The twelve "leaders" (*nuḳabā'*) appointed by Muḥammad from the Anṣār at al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] are put on a par with the disciples of Jesus or the representatives of the tribes of Israel during the Exodus (Ibn Hishām, 299; Wahb, 130).

In the Ascension story, the rank attributed to the prophets is reflected by their places in one of the seven heavens: Muḥammad finds Ibrāhīm in the highest heaven, but Mūsā and ʿĪsā in the lower ones (Ibn Hishām, 270).

Even the physiognomies of the various prophets were subjected to comparative descriptions (Ibn Hishām, 266, Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 125).

The *sīra* sometimes recapitulates prophetic characteristics in general statements, which are exemplified by Muḥammad: there is no prophet but has shepherded a flock (Ibn Hishām, 106); a prophet does not die without being given the choice (*ibid.*, 1008); no prophet dies but he is buried where he died (*ibid.*, 1019); the eyes of prophets sleep while their hearts are awake (*ibid.*, 266; Ibn Saʿd i/1, 113). In *ḥadīth* this generalising tendency becomes more frequent; cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 196-7.

The *sīra* contains stories about numerous miracles wrought by God through His Prophet, or by the Prophet himself, which served as the proofs of his prophethood, often with the intention of comparing him to the other prophets. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, these stories developed into the independent genre of *dalā'il* or *aʿlām* or *amārāt al-nubuwwa*. Well-known authors in this field are ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025), Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066), Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), and al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) [*q.vv.*]. For a longer enumeration of such works, see Kister, *The* sīrah *literature*, 355.

(5) Written documents, including:
- letters from the Prophet to foreign rulers, governors and to the Arabian tribes (e.g. Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, xiv, 336-46);
- treaties, as for instance that of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] (Ibn Hishām, 747-8);
- the "Document (*kitāb*; wrongly called 'Constitution') of Medina" (Ibn Hishām, 341-4; Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, ed. M. ʿAmāra, Beirut 1989, 291-4) is a category in itself. It is an agreement between "Muḥammad the Prophet" and "the believers and Muslims of Ḳuraysh and Yathrib, and those who follow them, join them, and strive alongside them", including Jewish groups (see MUḤAMMAD, at vol. VII, 367b, and the updated bibliography here below);
- the lists which were mentioned above under *faḍā'il* and *mathālib* should in some cases be classified as documents. Lists of the first Emigrants, or of participants in certain battles, may have been taken over by the story-tellers from government registers.

(6) Speeches and sermons by the Prophet, e.g. his first addresses in Medina (Ibn Hishām, 340-1); his speech at the Farewell Pilgrimage (*ibid.*, 968-9).

(7) Poetry. Story-tellers often interspersed their *maghāzī* narratives with poetry. This has a function similar to that of speeches; it underlines a point or emphasises a dramatic moment by changing to another mode. Battling heroes exchange improvised poetry, as was the case in *ayyām al-ʿarab*. This poetry is generally of poor quality. Serious poetry occurs as well, e.g. by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (his *Bānat Suʿād* is the only *ḳaṣīda* in the *sīra*) and Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.vv.*]. A new kind of panegyric praises the Prophet, emphasising his mission, his spiritual qualities and those of his new religion. Certainly not all poetry ascribed to Ḥassān was composed by him, as Arafat has pointed out.

Ibn Hishām tends to place all occasional poetry on a certain event together, e.g. after his accounts of the battles of Badr, Uḥud and Ḥunayn, possibly because he took the narratives which he transmitted too seriously to contaminate them with doubtful verse.

The simple, sometimes banal character of the poetry in the *sīra*, as well as the often unlikely ascriptions may have led early critics to the verdict that much of it is "inauthentic", i.e. not composed by the poets it is ascribed to. Ibn Hishām expresses his doubts about authorship in many places. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī [*q.v.*] censures Ibn Isḥāḳ's unfamiliarity with poetry and his uncritically taking over of whatever poetry he found, be it ascribed to men who had never said a line of verse, to women or even to ʿĀd and Thamūd (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarā'*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo 1974, 7-8, 11). Ibn al-Nadīm accuses Ibn Isḥāḳ of having inserted poetry on request (*Fihrist* 92).

"Authenticity". The question of the authenticity of the poetry has also been discussed by modern scholars (Kister, Monroe, Arafat), although it seems less urgent if one does not start from the assumption that the surrounding prose texts date back to the time of the Prophet. There is indeed no reason why some *ḳāṣṣ* would not have included pieces of verse in his narrative, in order to comment on past events, or to make propaganda for certain factions of his own days. The poetry turns out to be easily interchangeable in different versions of a story.

The *sīra* materials as a whole are so heterogeneous that a coherent image of the Prophet cannot be obtained from it. Can any of them be used at all for a historically reliable biography of Muḥammad, or for the historiography of early Islam? Several arguments plead against it:

(1) Hardly any *sīra* text can be dated back to the first century of Islam.

(2) The various versions of a text often show discrepancies, both in chronology and in contents.

(3) The later the sources are, the more they claim to know about the time of the Prophet.

(4) Non-Islamic sources are often at variance with Islamic sources (see P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism*).

(5) Most *sīra* fragments can be classed with one of the genres mentioned above. Pieces of salvation history and elaborations on Ḳur'ānic texts are unfit as sources for scientific historiography—except, of course,

for the historiography of the image of the Prophet in the belief and doctrine of his community.

The "Document of Medina" is generally considered authentic, i.e. dating back to the Prophet, but there is disagreement about the unity of the text and its attitude towards (certain groups of) Jews, because the well-known Jewish tribes of Medina are not mentioned.

Scholars, driven perhaps by a *horror vacui*, continue deriving historical facts from late sources. The last scholarly biography of Muḥammad is that by W. Montgomery Watt (*Muhammad at Mecca* and *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1953, 1956), and a new one is unlikely to appear. G. Schoeler has recently published a monograph on the character and authenticity of Islamic tradition about the Prophet's life.

To Muslims, the *sīra*, which in the first centuries of Islam had been taken less seriously than *ḥadīth*, gradually became almost a holy writ, whose reliability was accepted almost without asking questions. In reaction to the rise of historical criticism in the west, which often struck a patronising, if not resentful, note towards Islamic beliefs, some Muslims have felt the need vigorously to defend the veracity of the *sīra*. *The Life of Muḥammad* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1935) is an example of an apologetic biography.

A striking illustration of the attitude of modern Muslims towards the *sīra* is the scandal around the British author Salman Rushdie, who in his novel *The Satanic verses* (London 1988) has alluded to both traditional and self-invented details from the life of the Prophet, and has been subsequently severely attacked and threatened all over the Muslim world, notably in Iran.

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(W. RAVEN)

SĪRA SHAʿBIYYA (or "popular *sīra*"), the modern Arabic designation (coined by Arab folklorists in the 1950s) for a genre of lengthy Arabic heroic narratives that in western languages are called either "popular epics" or "popular romances" (*Volksroman*). These narratives, which in their manuscript corpus refer to themselves equally as either *sīra* or *ḳiṣṣa* [*q.vv.*], are works of adventure and romance primarily concerned with depicting the personal prowess and military exploits of their heroes. Pseudo-historical in tone and setting, they base many of their central characters on actual historical figures or events. Nevertheless, details of history are soon transcended by the imaginative improvements that fiction provides, with the result that history is usually reflected only along general levels of setting, atmosphere and tone.

The written versions of popular *sīras* are composed in rhymed prose (*sadj*ʿ [*q.v.*]) frequently interspersed with poetry, and they tend to be exceedingly long, often taking a year to narrate fully in oral form and with the longest manuscript and printed versions running to between two and six thousand pages, depending upon page and script size. Arabic literature produced a rich harvest of these popular epics that, taken together, cover almost the whole of recorded pre-Islamic and Islamic history. Early Persian history is represented by *Sīrat Fīrūz-Shāh*, whose protagonist is the son of the Achaemenid King Darius II; the Sāsānid dynasty figures in the *Story of Bahrām Gūr* [see BAHRĀM GŪR], and in between falls *Sīrat Iskandar* [see ISKANDAR], the *geste* of Alexander the Great. Pre-Islamic South Arabian history forms the backdrop for *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf ibn Dhi 'l-Yazan* [see SAYF B. DHĪ YAZAN] while pre-Islamic North Arabian history is dealt with in *Sīrat ʿAntar* [see ʿANTAR, SĪRAT], as well as in the story of *al-Zīr Sālim* and other accounts of the War of Basūs [*q.v.*] between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. Early Islamic history is broached with *Sīrat Amīr Ḥamza*, which narrates the adventures of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], uncle to the Prophet Muḥammad. *Dhāt al-Himma* [*q.v.*], *Ghazwat al-Arḳaṭ*, and *al-Badr-Nār* deal with the tribal feuds and holy wars (*al-djihād*) of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphates; while Fāṭimid and Mamlūk history are treated in *Sīrat al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh* [see AL-ḤĀKIM] and *Sīrat al-Mālik al-Ẓāhir Baybars* [see BAYBARS]. The protagonists of the cycles of *Aḥmad al-Danaf* and *ʿAlī Zaybak* are not martial heroes but rather *ʿayyārūn* (rogues [*q.v.*]), who rely on craft and guile to achieve their aims. Finally, there is *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, along with *Sīrat ʿAntar* the most famous and beloved cycle of this genre, which gives a legendary account of the history of the tribe of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] from their pre-Islamic days until their conquest of much of North Africa in the 5th/11th century.

Although the genre of Arabic popular epic probably began to develop in the early period of the Islamic empire, references to specific works occur only in the early 6th/12th century. The formulaic character of their rhymed prose, the episodic structure of their story-lines, their continual repetition of a limited number of narrative patterns and motifs, the lack of any identifiable authors and their great length all indicate that these narratives originated and developed within a flourishing tradition of oral compositional public storytelling. This tradition of oral composition (either with or without musical accompaniment) has diminished significantly in the last century in the face of competition from modern entertainment technology, although some transfer has been made and these stories now occasionally appear in the Arab world as radio dramas, television series, films, and in modernised book and storybook form. Despite their primary existence as an oral popular art form, *sīras* also have a substantial manuscript and printed tradition. The earliest manuscripts date from the early 9th/15th century, whilst in the last century printed versions of these manuscripts have been continually reproduced in various Arab countries.

There are significant differences in style, content, and historical origin among members of the genre. *Sīrat Fīrūz Shāh*, for example, is Persian in origin, while *Sīrat al-Zīr Sālim* is based on pre-Islamic *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] sources. *Sīrat al-Malik Sayf ibn Dhi 'l-Yazan* is full of sorcery and demons, while *Sīrat ʿAntar* is practically devoid of magic. *Sīrat al-Mālik al-Ẓāhir Baybars* is cast mainly in unadorned prose, while other *sīras* use rhymed prose (*sadj*ʿ) and poetry. Nevertheless, these works form a cohesive genre by reason of their shared emphasis on heroes and heroic deeds of battle, their pseudo-historical tone and setting, and their indefatigable drive towards cyclic expansion; one event leads to another, one battle to another, one war to another, and so on for hundreds and thousands of pages.

Viewed from a wider cultural perspective, these popular epics are Arabic examples of a larger body of vibrant popular literature that existed in most parts of the Islamic world. Pre-modern Persian and Turkish literatures also developed strong traditions of popular epic, and there is convincing evidence that, despite their linguistic differences, neighbouring traditions of popular storytelling borrowed and translated from and mutually influenced one another. *Sīrat ʿAntar*, for example, exists in an Ottoman Turkish translation, and many of these epics exist in multiple versions across disparate linguistic borders. Renditions of *Sīrat Amīr Ḥamza*, for instance, exist in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Georgian, Urdu and Malay, while versions of *Sīrat Iskandar* are even more widely disseminated.

Furthermore, Arabic and other Islamic popular epics constitute only one portion of a vast tradition of multilingual Islamic popular literatures that also encompasses non-epic pseudo-historical narratives (*maghāzī* [*q.v.*] and *futūḥ*), religious literature of various types (popular biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions, saints' legends, accounts of miracles, etc.), numerous genres of popular poetry, song, proverb and humour, and tales of wonder and fantasy, the best known being *Alf layla wa-layla* [*q.v.*]. The history and nature of this large corpus of literature is still largely uncharted, as are the ways in which different genres, whether within single linguistic traditions or across them, influenced or impacted one another. Nevertheless, no single example of these popular literatures should be considered without at least an awareness of the existence of this larger literary and social context.

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(P. Heath)

SIRĀDJ (A.), lamp (synonyms *miṣbāḥ, ḳindīl*, etc., from Pers. *čirāgh* via Syriac *shrāgā* or *shrāghā*). In the Ḳurʾān, the word *sirādj* occurs four times, and *miṣbāḥ* three times, in the sense of lamp or beacon. In LXXI, 15/16, the sun is characterised as a *sirādj*, and XXXIII, 45/46, the Prophet is called a "shining lamp", *sirādj munīr*. The most famous reference is, however, in the "light verse", XXIV, 35, where God's light is compared with a niche in which is a lamp [see NŪR. 2.]. Later in Islam, Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] interpreted the allegory of the Ḳurʾānic "fourfold light", expressed by *mishkāt, miṣbāḥ, zudjādja* and *zayt*, as referring to the Four Holy Books, sc. the Ḳurʾān, the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Gospels.

The use of lamps in Arabian Islamic society was perhaps not widespread. Among the earliest references to lamps in the domestic life of Islamic society, we learn from a tradition narrated by ʿĀʾisha that there was no lamp in the Prophet's household in the early years of his life at Medina (cf. Malik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, i, 106). In early Islamic society, there are indications that Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, among their contemporaries, owned lamps. In the social life of Medina, the introduction of a lamp (*ḳindīl*) in the life of the community was associated with the Prophet's Mosque, which was adjacent to Muḥammad's own house. The lighting of a lamp (*ḳindīl*) at the Prophet's mosque is said to have been the work of one of his disciples, namely, Tamīm al-Dārī [*q.v.*]. According to records, Tamīm, a wine merchant before his conversion to Islam, brought a *ḳindīl* with lamp oil and a wick from his native Syria to Medina. His lighting of a lamp in the mosque was an important social event which was not only approved but also commended by the Prophet who, allegedly, gave him the nickname of *sirādj*. Prior to the use of lamps, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, palm leaves (*saʿaf al-nakhl*) were burnt for lighting the interior of the mosque. After the event of lighting a lamp in the *Masdjid al-Nabawī*, the use of lamps at night in mosques became a universal practice among Muslims.

The growing popularity of lamps in Islamic society is reflected in the records of trade in lamps. By the time ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb assumed the caliphate and the Islamic conquests of older seats of civilisation such as Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Egypt were accomplished, the use of lamps became widespread among the Arabs. ʿUmar is portrayed as a pious and scrupulous head of state, who, it is said, once extinguished a state-owned lamp at the time of his supper and said, "I do not eat in the lighting of a lamp owned by the public (*sirādj al-ʿāmma*)." (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1961, iv, 412).

During al-Walīd's reign (86-96/705-15), the Umayyad mosque was built in Damascus and the Prophet's mosque was enlarged at Medina. Chandeliers were hung from chains to illuminate these mosques (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, Beirut 1971, ii, 519). Al-Djahshiyārī portrays the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr (nicknamed *Abu 'l-Dawāniḳ* "father of farthings" for his austere fiscal policy) as having instructed his servants not to keep lamps burning in his palace in daylight hours because it was an unnecessary waste of oil (*K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1938, 139).

Al-Djāḥiẓ records in his *K. al-Bukhalāʾ* that there were several types of lamps in use in his time, such as pottery lamps (*masāridj al-khazaf*) and stone lamps (*masāridj al-ḥadjar*) and glass lamps (*ḳindīl al-zudjādj*). The prototypes of such pottery and stone lamps are ancient, and have been found at Ur in ancient Mesopotamia in the Sumerian civilisation (cf. W.T. O'Dea, *The social history of lighting*, London 1958, 15). Al-Djāḥiẓ in his social satire on the misers portrays a certain Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Marwazī who, one evening, paid a visit to the house of a Khurāsānian *shaykh* who had just lit a green pottery lamp in his house. Their subject of conversation turned to lamps and the most economic way of using them; it emerged that the glass lamps were cleaner and more economical than pottery lamps because those did not absorb oil (ed. Ḥādjirī, Cairo 1958, 17-21, tr. Pellat, Paris 1951, 27-31). In the social and domestic life of Arab society in early Islamic centuries, lamps were an essential tool for lighting in the life of average people, although the wealthy and notables could afford and showed a preference for candles and glass lamps. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī also took up the theme of the misers in his shorter version of the *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, echoing the belle-lettrist's social satire of a class which disregarded and made a mockery of the Arab social value of generosity (*sakhāʾ*). An ʿAbbāsid poet, Marwān b. Ḥafṣa, who received largesse from al-Mahdī (d. 169/785), was accused of being a miser because he did not spend money to buy a lamp for lighting his house (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 142-3).

We also find in Arabic and Persian travel accounts frequent references to the use of lighting at night in many parts of the mediaeval Islamic world. Lamps made of silver, brass and other materials, as well as wax candles, were widely used for lighting in centres of social and religious significance such as mosques, markets and tombs of holy personages. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*ca.* 1045) reported a widespread use of lamps, made of brass and silver, in the holy places of Hebron, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. He further noted that the lamp oil, called *zayt ḥārr*, was derived from turnip

seed and radish seed. He also wrote that in the mosque of Fusṭāṭ there was a huge silver lampholder or chandelier with sixteen branches, which could hold as many as seven hundred odd lamps on holiday evenings. More than a hundred lamps were kindled in the Fusṭāṭ mosque every night. In Cairo, according to Nāṣir-i Khusraw again, there was also a Market of Glass Lamps (*Sūḳ al-Ḳanādīl*) which was on the north side of the mosque. Yāḳūt also mentions a *Zuḳāḳ al-Ḳanādīl* ("Lamps' lane") in Cairo. There are some rare instances of people who had the surname of *al-Miṣbāḥ* in Islamic society of the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid periods. Al-Thaʿālibī noted that all places of worship, Zoroastrian temples, Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, had a means of burning fire or lamps for interior lighting (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 459-60). Although Ibn al-Ukhuwwa speaks of an Islamic prohibition of the use of vessels like lamps, and of candlesticks made of gold or silver, al-Samhūdī records the existence of lamps made of silver and gold given as gifts by Muslim kings and potentates for the Prophet's sacred house (*al-ḥudjra al-sharīfa*) (cf. *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ii, 584-7).

In Cordova during the Arab period, according to some sources, there were not only household lamps but also street lamps. In his travels to the eastern Islamic lands, the Andalusian traveller Ibn Djubayr witnessed, among other things, candlebearing chandeliers of different styles. He saw lamps lighted, torches kindled and candles lit and censers burning fragrant aloes wood in the sacred mosque in Mecca in the blessed night of the middle of Shaʿbān in 579/1183. He also found the use of torches, glass lamps and thick candles in brass candlesticks burning near the tomb (*maḳām*) of Muḥammad in the Prophet's Mosque of Medina on the blessed night of 27 Ramaḍān 579/1184. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes some brief references to night lighting during his time. He once stayed as a guest in a Ṣūfī lodge (*khānḳāh* [*q.v.*]) in Cairo where the residents were given rations of soap, sugar, the cost of bathing in the *ḥammām*, and oil for their lamps. During his visit to Antalya in Asia Minor, he was invited to dine with a cobbler, who was also the *Shaykh* of the local *futuwwa* (*akhī*) movement in a hospice, which was handsomely decorated with Turkish rugs and an ʿIrāḳī glass lamp which radiated light at the hospice's dinner (*Riḥla*, i, 72, ii, 263, tr. Gibb, i, 44, ii, 420).

The use of lamps was more widespread than that of expensive candles, but both were used during feasts and festivals, depending on the user's economic circumstances. The relative merits of these two sources of light inspired Tādj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Madjīd (d. 744/1343) to write a literary debate or *munāẓara* [*q.v.*] between the chandelier and the lamp, see *Zahr al-djinān fī 'l-mufākhara bayn al-ḳindīl wa 'l-shamʿa-dān*, *apud* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i, 124-9.

In Islamic lore, knowledge was described as light (*al-nūr*) and the scholars as lamps. Scholars used lamps for studies at night, as it is illustrated in the biography of Ibn Sīnā and others, and al-Tanūkhī mentions that there were some Baghdādī residents who played chess for hours at night in a room lighted by a lamp (*sirādj*), see *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, Beirut 1971, ii, 270. In the literary world of Arabic folk lore, fiction and imagination, the *Arabian Nights* (*Alf Layla wa-Layla*) refer to lamps and candles incidentally, including the surreal story of a "wonder lamp" (or, Aladdin's lamp), with its genie.

The *muḥtasib*, as a municipal official [see ḤISBA], had amongst his functions supervision of the town's major mosques to see that the *muʾadhdhins* called the faithful to prayer on time, that mosque employees like attendants swept the floor of the mosque on Fridays, and that the mosque's lamps were thoroughly washed and cleaned at least twice a month and the wicks of the lamps were snuffed and cleaned every night.

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(M.A.J. BEG)

SIRĀDJ AL-DAWLA, Mīrzā Maḥmūd b. Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad, Nawwāb of Bengal, d. 1170/1757.

The Nawwāb Nāẓims of Bengal arose, like local ruling families of this time in Ḥaydarābād and Awadh (Oudh) [*q.vv.*], from provincial governorships of the declining Mughal empire of the first half of the 12th/18th century. Sirādj al-Dawla was the grandson and heir of ʿAlīwirdī Khān Mahābat Djang, *ṣūbadār* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the Mughal emperor. On ʿAlīwirdī Khān's death in 1169/1756, he himself became governor of Bengal and Bihar, Orissa having fallen into the hand of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], against the opposition of his cousin Shawkat Djang.

At this same time, relations between Sirādj al-Dawla and the British East India Company in Bengal became strained, but these relations of the Company with the rulers in Bengal had been unstable for some thirty years; the Company sought long-term advantageous conditions for trading, but found the Nawwābs' behaviour unpredictable. The Company's representative in Calcutta, Drake, refused to dismantle the defences of Fort William and to surrender an offender against Sirādj al-Dawla. In spring 1756 the Nawwāb marched with his army, captured the Ḳāsim Bāzār factory and besieged Calcutta against stiff resistance from the small British garrison. Fort William and the town were occupied, and it was the prisoners taken there who were incarcerated in the notorious "Black Hole of Calcutta".

Sirādj al-Dawla's army had meanwhile fought off and killed Shawkat Khān, who had secured from the Mughal emperor a *farmān* for the governorship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But Robert Clive and Admiral Charles Watson arrived from Madras with troop reinforcements, and their forces easily seized Hūglī (Hooghly). The Nawwāb opened negotiations, and a treaty of February 1757 confirmed for the Company all its trading privileges in the Mughal emperor's grant of 1717 plus the right to mint coins at Calcutta. Clive, however, plotted against Sirādj al-Dawla with the latter's ambitious commander Mīr Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], and warfare broke out. At the Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757, Clive, with some 3,000 men and eight cannon, defeated a vastly superior but less trustworthy force of infantry, cavalry and an artillery battery under the French officer Saint-Frais. Sirādj al-Dawla fled the field, but was captured by the partisans of Mīr Djaʿfar and killed on 2 July 1757; he had made the mistake of taking on the British before assuring himself of the loyalty of his own subjects, alienating such elements as the Hindu bankers of Bengal. Mīr Djaʿfar now became Nawwāb of Bengal [see further DJAʿFAR, MĪR], and British involvement in North Indian politics henceforth became large-scale.

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(I.H. Siddiqui, shortened by the Editors)

SIRĀDJ AL-ḲUṬRUB (A.), lit. "the werewolf's lamp", a name for the mandrake, i.e. the plant species of *Mandragora officinarum L.* (family *Solanaceae*) indigenous to the whole Mediterranean area.

Sirādj al-ḳuṭrub, a loan translation from Syriac *shrāgā dh-ḳanṭropos* (the latter term < λυκάνθρωπος), may refer to the whole plant, yet commonly and more specifically denotes its forked root which resembles the human form; synonyms include *mandrāghūras* (< μανδραγόρας, thence *mandragora*), *yabrūḥ* (< Aramaic *yabrūḥā*), *shadjarat al-ṣanam*, and *luffāḥ*. The turnip-shaped root is thickly covered with fibres and often consists of two parts which bear a clump of large, sinuate, egg-shaped leaves between which grow the axillary petiolated, bell-shaped, strong-smelling, whitish or purple flowers; the globular yellow fruits are about the size of cherries. The anthropomorphism of the root about the digging of which curious stories are told even by classical authors (Plinius, Flavius Josephus), gave rise to many superstitions. Thus the mandrake has been used from ancient times for medicinal, and in particular, for magical purposes, i.e. as an analgesic, anesthetic, hypnotic, cathartic and, most importantly, aphrodisiac. The mandrake was known in ancient Egypt, it seems to occur in the Old Testament (Gen. xxx, 14) under the name of דודאים lit. "the two lovers", and Dioscorides [see DIYUSḲURIDĪS] gives a detailed account of it. For the Arabs, it is the queen of the seven (!) mandragoras, the herb which Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR] held in his hand during his expeditions, and which according to Hermes [see HIRMIS] gave Solomon [see SULAYMĀN], who wore it under his signet, power over the *djinn* [*q.v.*]; therefore, the mandrake is regarded as particularly useful against all those diseases which are caused by evil spirits, like paralysis, spasms, epilepsy, loss of memory, *et al.*

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(O. Kahl)

AL-SĪRADJĀN, Sīradjān, one of the principal cities of mediaeval Persian Kirmān and that province's capital during the first three Islamic centuries. Only from Būyid times onwards (4th/10th century) did Bardasīr or Guwāshīr (perhaps originally a Sāsānid foundation, *Weh Ardashīr) become the administrative capital, known in the sources also as *shahr-i Kirmān* [see KIRMĀN, at vol. V, 150].

Sīradjān now exists as the name of a district in the western part of Kirmān province and as a name recently revived and given to the present town of Saʿīdābād on the Shīrāz-Kirmān City road (lat. 29° 28' N., long 55° 44' E.). The exact site of mediaeval Sīradjān seems to be the modern village of Tādjābād-i Ḳalʿa-yi Sang (the *ḳalʿa* being the citadel mentioned by authors like Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī), 9 km/5 miles south-south-east of Saʿīdābād (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 300, who based himself on P.M. Sykes' identification of a ruined urban site there, see the latter's *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 431). At all events, Sīradjān flourished in early Islamic times, and the Arabic geographers describe it as having houses built of mud brick, with a town wall pierced by eight gates, two markets and a water supply from *ḳanāts* built by the Ṣaffārids ʿAmr b. al-Layth and his grandson Ṭāhir (al-Muḳaddasī, 464). This same author characterises the people there as being in his time mainly Muʿtazilīs, although Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers 312, tr. Kramers-Wiet 307, states that they were orthodox *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

Despite the Būyids' transfer of the capital elsewhere, Sīradjān continued to be populous and flourishing, and the resort of merchants. Yāḳūt makes it the second city of Kirmān province, and also says, without explanation, that it used to be called al-Ḳaṣrānⁱ "the two fortresses/palaces" (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 295-6). During the following two centuries, it was important from its position not only on the Shīrāz-Kirmān route but also because it lay on the north-south route to Hormuz and the Gulf coast. In the early 6th/12th century, the Shabānkāraʾī chief Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz [see SHABĀNKĀRA] managed to detach the Sīradjān district from Kirmān and attach it to his own principality in Fārs; only later was it recovered by the Ḳutlugh-Khānid [*q.v.*] governors of Kirmān, but possession of it remained a subject of dispute amongst various representatives of the Il-Khānids (see J. Aubin, *La question de Sīrgān au XIIIᵉ siècle*, in *St. Ir*, vi [1977], 285-90). In 744/1343 the city passed to the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] of Yazd and Kirmān. Later in the later 8th/14th century, the city maintained its allegiance to the Muẓaffarids and held out during a long siege against the armies of Tīmūr's son ʿUmar Shaykh; but it fell in 798/1396 and was devastated. Even so, it must have been rebuilt, for in 814/1411 it was again besieged and captured, this time by Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, Tīmūrid governor in Fārs, and it is often mentioned in accounts of the politics and campaigns of later in the century (see Aubin, *Deux Sayyids de Bam au XVᵉ siècle. Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran timouride*, Wiesbaden 1956, 35 and index). Only in the Ṣafawid period does Sīradjān fade from mention.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see for the information of the geographers, Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 300-2, Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 230-3, and Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 137, to which may be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 124 (follows al-Iṣṭakhrī). See also D. Krawulsky, *Īrān—Das Reich der Īlḫāne*, Wiesbaden 1978, 146.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SĪRĀF, a port of the Persian Gulf which flourished in the early Islamic centuries as one of the main commercial centres of the Gulf, rivalling Baṣra. It lay on the coast of Fārs, near the modern village of Ṭāhirī, some 200 km/125 miles to the southeast

of Bushire (Bū Shahr [*q.v.*]), in the *garmsīr* or hot region of the *sīf* or coastland.

Excavations carried out at the site of Sīrāf 1966-73 by a team sponsored by the British Institute of Persian Studies have shown that there was a Sāsānid port there, probably serving the inland centre of Ardashīr Khurra, the latter Islamic Gūr or Djūr [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD], to which it was connected by road, and protected by a massive fort which may have been built *ca.* 360 by Shāpūr II [see SHĀPŪR].

The early Islamic geographers expatiate on the prosperity of Sīrāf, "the merchants' haunt and the emporium of Pārs" (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 127) and the splendour of its buildings. The Friday mosque was begun, according to archaeological investigation, in the 3rd/9th century. There were richly-decorated, multi-storey houses built from teak (*sādj* [*q.v.*]) imported from East Africa and from fired brick, although the town's situation suffered from earthquakes, with a particularly devastating one lasting seven days in 366 or 367/976-8. Provisions for the town had to be brought in from outside, as had also water, apart from one small *ḳanāt* of sweet water (al-Muḳaddasī, 326-7). The sources state that Sīrāf began to decline after the earthquake, and with the political enfeeblement of the Būyid dynasty in Fārs and the ascendancy there of the rapacious and violent Shabānkāra Kurds [*q.v.*], whilst pirates based on the island of Ḳays [*q.v.*] or Kīsh further down the Gulf caused ships to bypass Sīrāf and the other Sīf ports and go directly to Baṣra. But this decline can only have been relative, since we know that Sīrāf was in the early 6th/12th century the centre of operations, with ramifications stretching as far as China, of a great tycoon, the *nākhudā* or ship-owner Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Rāmisht (d. 534/1140) (see S.M. Stern, *Rāmisht of Sīrāf, a merchant millionaire of the twelfth century*, in *JRAS* [1967], 10-14).

Sīrāf was certainly partly ruinous in the early 7th/13th century when Yāḳūt was there, for he describes it as a small place (*bulayd*) inhabited by wretched people (*ṣaʿālīk*) and with only vestiges visible of its ancient fine buildings (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 294-5; *Irshād*, ed. Beirut, viii, 145). It was by this time known as Shīlāw. However, the evidence of archaeology and an examination of later sources by Jean Aubin have demonstrated that Sīrāf was by no means commercially inactive, but enjoyed a modest, continuing trading life. It served as the outlet for the hinterland region of Khundj u Fāl and as a port of departure from this hinterland across the Gulf to Ḳaṭīf [*q.v.*] and Arabia. Shīlāw was known to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who may have visited it in 748/1347, crossing the Gulf in this fashion from "Khundju Pāl" (ii, 244, tr. Gibb, ii, 407-8). Shīlāw is still mentioned by European travellers of the 16th century, e.g. by António Tenreiro as Chilaão (1528) and Gasparo Balbi as Silaú (1590), but subsequent references are to a simple harbour only at the modern village.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-SĪRĀFĪ, the *nisba* of two mediaeval Arabic scholars.

1. ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-MARZUBĀN, judge and grammarian, b. at Sīrāf [*q.v.*] between 279/892 and 289/902, d. at Baghdād on 2 Radjab 368/3 February 979, according to some reports, at 84. In biographical literature, he appears as a scholar versed in all the traditional sciences and as a man of exemplary life style; today, he is best-known for two basic works on grammar and for his part in a public controversy over Arabic grammar and Aristotelian logic.

The oldest notice on him is in the *Fihrist*, 62, who derived information from al-Sīrāfī's son (see 2. below) and perhaps from al-Sīrāfī himself, whom Ibn al-Nadīm cites some twenty times and whom he calls on occasion *shaykhunā*. The other most original biographical notices are by al-Khaṭīb, *T. Baghdād*, vii, 341-2, and by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 84-125. According to his son, al-Sīrāfī first studied in his home town and then in ʿUmān, where he studied law, then to al-ʿAskar for study with Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṣaymarī. Finally, he ended up at Baghdād and perfected his studies with Ibn al-Sarrādj [*q.v.*] and Mabramān in grammar; Ḳurʾānic sciences with Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid; and lexicography with Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*]. In one, sometimes two of the quarters of the city he acted as deputy for the judge Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf. Al-Khaṭīb is the first to mention that he had two *madjlis*: one in which he exercised the duties of a Ḥanafī judge and *muftī* and the other in which he taught the traditional sciences.

Later sources describe how al-Sīrāfī taught a wide range of subjects for fifty years, living entirely on the fruits of his own work, including the copying of ten or so manuscript leaves each day, which brought him ten dirhams for his living expenses. In his long, forty-page notice, Yāḳūt moves from traditional biography to a genre near to that of the literary séances, his main informant here being Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*]. He notes al-Sīrāfī's international reputation during his own lifetime, and that prominent persons frequently sent queries to him for answer (*masāʾil*), addressing him with prestigious titles (cf. Krenkow, *EI*¹ art.; Brockelmann, S I, 175). He also mentions (iii, 105) that certain *warrāḳūn* claimed that al-Sīrāfī falsely gave his name to manuscripts he had not really copied personally, these being sold for higher prices than would otherwise have obtained. Finally, Yāḳūt is the sole biographer to mention (iii, 105-25) the story given by al-Tawḥīdī in his *Muḳābasāt*, 68-86, cf. *Imtāʿ*, i, 107-33, about a controversy on logic and grammar, taking place in 320/932 when al-Sīrāfī was some forty years old, which has became famous in the West since Margoliouth translated this in his *The discussion between Abū Bishr Mattā and Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī on the merits of logic and grammar*, in *JRAS* (1905), 79-129. It took place in the presence of many leading figures, and was convoked by the vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*], and was a response to Mattā's claims on the superiority of Aristotelian logic. The debate, as Versteegh has clearly shown, revolved essentially round two questions: are meanings and significations the same for all nations, the words alone differing according to languages, or are the meanings and significations closely linked to the words and the

language, hence different for each nation? Hence is a grammarian competent or not to pronounce on meanings and significations? The other question was that of the capacity of logic to judge between the true and the false, especially in regard to correct or incorrect speech. For Mattā, logic was independent of language, and the true and the false were universals; hence only the logician was competent to judge on meanings and significations, whilst the grammarian's task was simply to study the words and their function in a given language. Thus the logician has no need of grammar, but logic is indispensable for the grammarian. For al-Sīrāfī, however, meaning was intimately linked with words, and these differ for all languages, thus falling within the domain of grammar. Also, grammarians have rules for recognising correct (Arabic) language. In his view, there was no place for an independent discipline of logic. In combatting Mattā's position, he claimed that the latter could not comprehend all the subtleties of Arabic since he was of Syriac-speaking origin; moreover, Greek was a dead language, hence it was impossible to learn it correctly. The grammarian seems to have participated in further controversies, according to Yāḳūt, including with regard to the theses of the philosopher Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

For specialists on Arabic grammar, al-Sīrāfī shares with his contemporary Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī the fame and originality of work on Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* during the 4th/10th century.

1. His most famous work is his commentary on the *Kitāb* (ed. in progress at Cairo since 1986), a lengthy text in 6 vols., of which 5 are extant in a Cairo ms. According to Yāḳūt, al-Sīrāfī made the first copy himself in 3,000 leaves. Extracts from the commentary have often appeared previously in print, such as in the margins of early editions of the *Kitāb*, from the Calcutta 1887 one onwards, and Jahn, in his translation, studied and commented on these extracts. These may have come through the intermediacy of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and the glosses of his personal copy of the *Kitāb* (see G. Humbert, *Les voies de la transmission du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, 72-7). Yāḳūt says that al-Fārisī and his friends long tried to get a complete text of al-Sīrāfī's work in order to denounce and expose its alleged deficiencies. The commentary is certainly of prime interest for studying the history of Arabic grammar, showing amongst other things that the *Kitāb* was in actual use during the commentator's time.

2. A little work on the Baṣran school of grammarians, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn* (*al-baṣriyyīn*), first ed. Krenkow, 1936, also Cairo 1955, one of the oldest works extant on the biographies of grammarians. Al-Sīrāfī was also, as noted above, a direct informant for the section of Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* on grammar.

The other works attributed to al-Sīrāfī are not extant:

3. A *Sharḥ abyāt/shawāhid Sībawayhi*, possibly recast by his son, from whom a work of this name has come down to us.

4. *K. al-Iḳnāʿ fi 'l-naḥw*, not mentioned in all mss. of the *Fihrist*, but whose existence is confirmed by Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa* (312).

5. Yāḳūt (iii, 86-8) also mentions several times, in the field of grammar, the *Mudkhal ilā Kitāb Sībawayhi*.

6. In Ḳur'ānic philology, a *K. Alifāt al-waṣl wa 'l-kaṭʿ* is mentioned in the sources.

7. In lexicography, a *K. sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Durayd*.

8. In geography, a *K. Asmā' djibāl al-Tihāma wa-makānihā*, and 9. a *K. Djazīrat al-ʿArab*.

Other titles also lost but only rarely mentioned are: 10. *al-Waḳf wa 'l-ibtidā'*, and 11. *Ṣanʿat al-shiʿr wa 'l-balāgha*.

The biographers do not mention the commentaries on the verses in Ibn Durayd's *Djamhara fi 'l-lugha*, signed "al-Sīrāfī" in the 2nd and 3rd vols. of the Leiden ms. (discovered by Krenkow and edited by him in the margins of the Ḥaydarābād edition of the *Djamhara*, 1925-32). For other titles or anonymous texts possibly attributable to al-Sīrāfī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 99-100.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): The main modern studies on al-Sīrāfī's commentary and on his controversy with Mattā are listed in the bibl. of C. Versteegh's *Logique et grammaire au Xᵉ siècle*, in *HÉL*, ii (1980). See also Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 161-3; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya*, 145-50, 244; M.M.E. Hegazi, *Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, der Sībawaih-Kommentator als Grammatiker*, diss. Munich 1965, unpubl. On the controversy with Mattā, see Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, *Maḳāla fī tabyīn al-faṣl bayn ṣināʿatay al-manṭiḳ al-falsafī wa 'l-naḥw al-ʿarabī*, ed. G. Endress, 141-93.

2. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD YŪSUF, son of the preceding, d. at Baghdād in 385/995 aged 55 years.

He studied with his father, and probably completed the latter's *K. al-Iḳnāʿ*. Whilst working as a *sammān*, he specialised in commenting on the verses cited by famous philologists and lexicographers. His works included: 1. The *Sharḥ abyāt/shawāhid Sībawayhi*, possibly begun by his father (ed. M.ʿA. Sulṭān, Damascus 1976). 2. A ms. copy of his *Sharḥ abyāt al-Iṣlāḥ*, commentary on the verses cited in Ibn al-Sikkīt's [*q.v.*] *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* (ms. Köprülü 1296). 3. There are attributed to him a *Sharḥ abyāt al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, i.e. on those in the work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām [*q.v.*]; 4. a *Sharḥ abyāt al-Madjāz*, on those in the work of Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*]; and 5. a *Sharḥ abyāt Maʿānī al-Zadjdjādj* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Biographical notices in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 187; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, vii, 82-4. Other more recent sources (e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, ii, 355), given in the ed. of the *Sharḥ abyāt Sībawayhi*, 11).

(GENEVIÈVE HUMBERT)

SIRĀIKĪ [see LAHNDĀ; SIND. Language].

SIRAḲŪSA, the mediaeval Arabic form of the name of the city of Syracuse in Sicily.

Founded by men of Corinth in 734 B.C., it was the most powerful of the Greek colonies until the Roman conquest. Belisarius captured it for Byzantium, and in 663 Constans II fixed his seat there. In Byzantine times, it was frequently raided by Arabs from Ifrīḳiya. The name of the city also appears in Arabic sources as Saraḳūsa, with vars. Sarḳūsa, Surḳūsa, etc. According to Amari, the Arabic transcription may be from an older form than the Greek Συράκουσαι used before Yāḳūt's time.

The most exact geographical description is that of al-Idrīsī in his *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, in which he stresses the city's reputation as a resort of merchants and travellers, and he describes the islet of Ortigia, linked to the mainland by an isthmus, in mediaeval times the exclusively inhabited part of the city, mentioning its two ports, its buildings, gardens and fertility. This was the main source for al-Ḥimyarī's *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, with a passage also from al-Bakrī and other items of unknown provenance.

The story of the Arab conquest of Syracuse is essentially given by Yāḳūt, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Nuwayrī and Ibn Khaldūn. In 212/827 Asad Ibn al-Furāt, sent by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh to con-

quer Sicily, marched from Mazara del Vallo, on the northern coast of the island, as far as Syracuse and concluded a treaty with the city, in exchange for payment of the *d̲j̲izya*. According to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Asad expected resistance and besieged the city. But the besieged were supplied by sea from Venice, and Asad died of plague in 213/828. His successor Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-D̲j̲awārī was driven away with severe losses. Raids on the suburbs of Syracuse resumed in 248/862 and the following years, and there was a siege by K̲h̲afād̲j̲a b. Sufyān b. Sawādan in 259/872-3. In 263/877 the governor of Sicily D̲j̲aʿfar b. Muḥammad devastated the environs of the city, destroyed the port fortifications and besieged the inhabitants for 30 days. In the absence of aid from Byzantium, the city was about to surrender when the Arabs raised the siege. But they returned in the spring, and conquered it on 27 Ramaḍān 264/21 May 878. All the Christian soldiers were massacred, and the population carried off to Palermo as slaves, with an enormous plunder of precious metal weighing over 5,000 pounds. It was not till seven years later that the Byzantine Emperor was able to ransom the Syracusan captives.

Under Arab rule, Syracuse was the capital of the Val di Noto, one of the great territorial divisions of Sicily. In the 10th century, the Byzantines managed to recapture the city for three years, but lost it again. After the end of the Kalbids in 442/1050, local lords disputed power in Sicily. In 452/1060 one contender, Ibn al-T̲h̲umna, lord of Catania and Syracuse, called in the Normans to his aid, opening the way for the Norman conquest. After a naval battle, the Normans captured Syracuse in 479/1086, and the city became a county governed by Roger I's son, Jordan. Arabs and Jews continued to be able to practise their faiths and regulate their community affairs, in return for annual tribute, whence the survival of bi- or tri-lingual documents in the languages of the various communities, Latin, Greek and Arabic. After the death of Prince Tancred, Syracuse became a crown possession. There were serious earthquakes and a raid from Ifrīḳiya in retaliation for an expedition of Roger II. The succeeding Swabian domination pressed hard on the population, which tried fruitlessly to rebel. In the infancy of Frederick II (acceded to the throne in 1197), Pope Innocent III acted as regent. During this period, factional fighting was frequent, and Genoese and Pisans were at times in control of the city. Under Frederick, the city was eventually entrusted to the governorship of Gualdo Torenabene.

No monument from the Arab period survives at Syracuse. We have no proof that the Byzantine cathedral was ever transformed into a mosque, nor the temple of Apollo and Artemis on the islet of Ortigia, where some Arabic graffiti were discovered *ca.* 1624. But there are two Arabic gravestones in the Galleria Regionale of the Palazzo Bellome. The first is of marble with a Kūfic inscription dated by Amari to the end of the 3rd/9th or end of the 4th/10th century, which would make it one of the oldest Arabic inscriptions of Sicily. The second is a fragment of a slab with floriated Kūfic writing, the basmala and Ḳur'ān, LIV, 54-5. Workshops of potters, ironworkers and goldsmiths functioned at Syracuse until the first half of the 12th century and after. Fragments of pottery have been found, including a type of green ware in relief or with sgraffito with a decoration pressed on a thin bed of enamel. Much of the pottery has floral lines and motifs as decoration. Of bronzeware, there is a small ewer preserved in the Archaeological Museum, studied by P. Orsi and published by U. Scerrato in the volume *Gli Arabi in Italia*. There are also preserved in the same museum and in the Palazzo Bellome many glass jetons of Syracuse and 36 of other provenance, used in the first place as weights; P. Balog thinks that they were made *ca.* 950 as small money to fill the lack of copper coinage. There is a collection of some 600 coins in the Palazzo Bellomo, essentially from the Norman and Swabian periods, but a certain number, including the *taris* [*q.v.*], merit examination.

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(Vincenza Grassi)

ṢIRĀṬ (a.), a religious term which has two quite distinct meanings. It is first of all a common noun "way", which is encountered 45 times in the Ḳur'ān. This metaphorical word is almost always introduced by the verb *hadā* "to guide" or by its *maṣdar hudā* "guidance", where God is the subject. Of the 45 Ḳur'ānic instances, *ṣirāṭ* is 33 times qualified by the word *mustaḳīm* "the/a right way", meaning the religion, or the Book, of Islam. Only once does *ṣirāṭ* denote an evil way, i.e. one which leads away from the will of God (XXXVII, 23). The word has a neutral and concrete meaning in VII, 86 (and XXXVI, 66 ?). The substantive *ṣirāṭ* derives ultimately from the Latin *strata*, via Greek and Aramaic, then Syriac (Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary*, 195-6). This foreign origin was recognised at an early stage by scholars, including Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naḳḳās̲h̲ (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān, nawʿ* 38, Beirut 1407/1987, 437). On the other hand, the word is derived from the root *s-r-ṭ* according to some philologists, and this conclusion is accepted by Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, vii, 313b, 340a).

The other meaning is the proper name of a bridge which dominates Hell, *al-Ṣirāṭ*, always with the definite article. The Ḳur'ān makes not the slightest allusion to it, and has nothing to say about this or any other bridge. On the other hand, this conception is attested in Prophetic traditions, whence the important *ḥadīt̲h̲* regarding the vision of God on the Day of Resurrection and the intercession of the Prophet, going back to Abū Hurayra—ʿAṭā' b. Yazīd—Ibn S̲h̲ihāb—Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ad̲h̲ān, bāb* 129, and *Tawḥīd, bāb* 24/4; Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 299).

According to this tradition, when God makes himself known to men as their Lord, they will follow him *wa-yuḍrabu 'l-Ṣirāṭ bayna ẓahray* (or *ẓahrānay*) *d̲j̲ahannam* "and the Ṣirāṭ will be erected above Gehenna". In al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Riḳāḳ*, *bāb* 52, Ibn S̲h̲ihāb and Ibrāhīm are absent from the *isnād*, and the key-phrase has a different form: "and the Ṣirāṭ will be erected, the bridge of Gehenna".

Another well-known *ḥadīt̲h̲* on the same subject (but with a list of prophets asked in vain to intercede for men) goes back to Abū Saʿīd al-K̲h̲udrī—ʿAṭā' b. Yasār—Zayd b. Aslam (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Tawḥīd*, *bāb* 24/5; Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 302). The key-phrase here is: "Then they will bring (or, will erect) the bridge (*al-d̲j̲isr*)". The latter, bristling with hooks and thorns, is "narrower than a hair and sharper than a sword" (Muslim, *Īmān*, no. 302, *in fine*). The believers will cross it in the winking of an eye, with the speed of lightning. However, the wicked will fall into the fire of Gehenna.

Other traditions are attributed to different Companions and supplement the fundamental data: thus e.g. Muslim, *Tawḥīd*, nos. 316, 320, 329. They support the theses developed by authors such as al-G̲h̲azālī (in the "Book of the remembrance of death and of that which follows it", towards the end of the *Iḥyā'*).

This bridge of Muslim eschatology closely resembles that of Iranian religion, to such an extent that the two are definitely related. The bridge of Činwad, "traditionally thought to mean 'the bridge of the separator' but recently shown to be 'the bridge of the accumulator/collector' ... is mentioned already in the Gathas", then in a number of Middle Persian texts (Tafazzoli). For the virtuous, it is enlarged considerably. For the wicked, it becomes like the blade of a razor or the cutting-edge of a sword, and they fall into Hell. In its name, written as Činwat in Pahlavi, the Arabs recognised their word *ṣirāṭ* (but the utilisation to this effect of Ḳur'ān, XXXVI, 66, and XXXVII, 23, has no justification and is disregarded by the major Muslim commentators).

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(G. Monnot)

SĪRAT ʿANTAR [see ʿANTAR].

ṢIRB, the Ottoman Turkish name for Serbia.

1. The Ottoman period to 1800 [see Suppl.].

2. The modern period.

The end of the 12th/18th century saw the first serious Ottoman attempts at improving the situation of the Serbian *reʿāyā* [see RAʿIYYA. 2]. After the treaty of Sistova (Zis̲h̲towa, 12 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1205/12 August 1791) between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg monarchy had secured a general amnesty even for the active supporters of the enemy (§ 1), Selīm III appointed Ebūbekir (Abū Bakr) Pas̲h̲a as governor of Belgrade (1793) to put an end to the oppressive régime of the local *yamaḳs*, i.e. self-appointed Janissary leaders outside the regular Ottoman hierarchy. In order to curb the financial power of the *yamaḳs* of Belgrade in particular, they were ordered to relinquish their landholdings in the province, while the Serbian *knezes* (lit. "princes"; in fact, local strongmen) were given the right to apportion and collect taxes and provisions in their districts. In spite of fierce opposition (kindled by Paswānog̲h̲lu ʿOt̲h̲mān of neighbouring Vidin [see PASWAN OG̲H̲LU]), the reforms continued, with additional privileges being granted to the Serbian *knezes* and their peasants by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, the new governor of Belgrade. To allow the country to be effectively defended against *yamaḳ* aggression, Muṣṭafā encouraged the *knezes* to recruit, arm and train a modern native Christian army, a move which aroused strong opposition among the *ʿulamā'*. Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a was killed late in 1216/1801 when the *yamaḳs* of Serbia succeeded in re-establishing their rule under the leadership of K̲h̲alīl Ag̲h̲a and four of their chiefs bearing the title of *daḥi* (derived from *dayi*, the title of the Janissary rulers of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli in North Africa). Fearing that an Ottoman campaign led against them under the command of Ebūbekir Pas̲h̲a would encourage a general revolt of the population, the *daḥis* executed hundreds of Serb leaders. Serbian resistance against the *yamaḳs* now had to be organised largely from the hills and forests, in particular the district of Shumadija, where the scattered *hayduḳ* bands accepted the military leadership of Djordje Potrović, known as Karageorge (*ca.* 1768-1817). It was he who was to co-ordinate the First Serbian Uprising and to become the founder of the Karadjordjević dynasty of Serbian rulers. The details of the Serbian Revolution and the gradual emergence of a sovereign Serbian state cannot be retold here. Instead, an outline is given of the developments in Serbo-Ottoman relations in the period from 1804 until 1878, when Serbia gained full independence from the Ottoman Empire.

Until 7 May 1805, when an Imperial decree to lay down all arms and rely on the regular Ottoman troops alone for their protection against *yamaḳ* attacks was ignored by the Serbian leadership, the revolt, called on 14 February 1804, was not directed against the Ottoman sultan, but was aimed primarily at the restoration and enlargement of such privileges and internal autonomies as had been granted to the Serbs by Ebūbekir Pas̲h̲a and later governor-reformers of Belgrade. This is reflected in the early Serbo-Ottoman negotiations which took place at Zemlin around 10 May 1804, mediated by the Austrian governor of Slavonia. It is still reflected in the Serbian proposals of May 1805 for a modified régime of administrative and fiscal autonomy under a Grand Prince at Belgrade representing the people in all dealings with the Ottoman authorities, in particular the *muḥaṣṣil*, with all taxes to be collected by special agents of the *knezes* in the country's twelve districts. Fief-holders were to reside in Belgrade only and receive their revenues through the *muḥaṣṣil*. Security matters were to lie jointly in the hands of the Grand Prince and the *muḥaṣṣil*, each being allowed to maintain an army. *Yamaḳs* would no longer have the right to settle on Serbian soil. In all this, the payment of an annual tribute to the sultan was never disputed. Only when the Porte, represented by Ebūbekir Pas̲h̲a, refused to have a foreign power-guaranteed Ottoman fulfilment of the Serbian demands, and the Serbs refused to lay down their arms, did Serbo-Ottoman relations reach a turning point. Henceforth, the sultan considered the Serbs as rebels (*ʿāṣī*). The Serbs, on the other hand, intensified their links with enemy powers, above all Russia and Austria. Opposition against the concentration of power in the hands of the Serb leader and his centralising policies led to the establishment of a Legislative Council (1805) with Matija Nenadović as

its first president (L.F. Edwards (ed.), *The Memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadović*, Oxford 1969). In January 1811 Karageorge swore that he would rule in accord with the council, and in turn was recognised as the Supreme Leader. The formerly semi-autonomous districts were reduced in size and placed under increased centralised control, while leading opposition figures were exiled. When, because of the danger from Napoleon, Russia, the Serbs' main ally, concluded the Peace of Bucharest in 1812, the Treaty's provisions (§ 8) for an amnesty, for limited Serb autonomy under Ottoman rule and for the stationing of Ottoman forces in the country's fortresses (clauses the sultan was only reluctantly prepared to ratify), the Serbian leadership decided to continue fighting without Russian help, with disastrous consequences. By mid-October 1813 Serbia was under Ottoman control once again, and Karageorge had become an exile in Austria. It was left to Milosh Obrenović (1780-1860), military leader and rival of Karageorge (and the founder of the Obrenovići dynasty of Serbian rulers) to proclaim the beginning of the Second Serbian Uprising (on Palm Sunday 1815). On 6 November 1815 he reached a (verbal) agreement with Marʿashlī ʿAlī Pasha (confirmed by the Porte in the following year) about Serbian participation in the internal administration of the *pashalik* of Belgrade, under his leadership. His murder of Karageorge (25 July 1817) soon made Milosh the Serbian Supreme Leader (elected Hereditary Prince on 6 November 1817, but not finally confirmed by the Porte until 1830). In the convention of Aḳ Ḳermān (7 October 1826) between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Porte promised (§ 6) fulfilment of clause 8 of the Treaty of Bucharest; at the same time, the limited rights of autonomy enjoyed by the Serbs were specified in greater detail (additional *Note* to § 5 of the Convention). The peace treaty of Edirne (14 September 1829) demanded that the Ottoman government immediately implement the measures required by the Convention and hand back to Serbia all six districts outside the *pashalik* of Belgrade which had been liberated in the course of the First Uprising (provisions put into practice by the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of 30 September 1829). Negotiations with the Porte about Serbian autonomy commenced early in 1830, resulting in the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of August 1830 in which the autonomy rights for Serbia were laid down one by one, and in which Milosh Obrenović was officially confirmed as Hereditary Prince. Serbia had now developed into a principality under Ottoman suzerainty. Disturbances in Serbia during the spring of 1833 necessitated new comprehensive legislation. In November of the same year, a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* defined the new borders of the country which now included the Six Districts (*ca.* 38,000 km^2 as opposed to *ca.* 24,000 previously), the amount of the annual tribute as a pay-off for all remaining fiscal and feudal obligations towards the Ottoman state and Muslim landowners (2.3 million piastres per annum), the modalities concerning the resettlement of Muslims from Serbia, and the stationing of Ottoman troops in the country. The *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* was read out in the National Assembly in Kragujevac on 13 February 1834. It marked the end of the Ottoman land régime in Serbia. The new constitution of 10 December 1838, which was to replace the liberal "Sretenjski ustav" of 1835 (which was modelled along French and Belgian lines), was worked out in Istanbul by a Serbian delegation and was promulgated in the shape of another *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* (hence "Turski ustav"). In 1862, after clashes between Serbs and Ottoman soldiers had led to the firing of Ottoman cannon into Belgrade, the Ottoman garrisons were restricted to fortifications along the Danube and Sava rivers (Belgrade, Šabac, Semendire and Gladova: Protocol of Istanbul of 8 September 1862). In April 1867 the sultan was forced to withdraw all troops from Serbian soil. Belgrade was handed over to the Serbs by ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha, its last *muḥāfiẓ*, on 18 April. The final end of Ottoman suzerainty over Serbia and the proclamation of Serbian independence was one of the results of the Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878).

In 1815 Serbia was divided into twelve *nāḥiyes*: (1) *Belgrade*, (2) Cuprija, (3) Jagodina, (4) Kragujevac, (5) Požarevac, (6) Požega, (7) Rudnik, (8) *Šabac*, (9) *Smederevo*, (10) *Soko*, (11) *Užice* and (12) Valjevo. The six additional districts added in 1833 were Krajina (Negotin), Crna Reka (Zaječar), Gornji Timok (Gurgosovac), Aleksinac with Kruševac, part of Stari Vlah (Ivanijica) and the Loznica region (only the italicised district capitals had town (*grad*) status before 1833). Population in 1804: *ca.* 478,000; in 1815: *ca.* 473,000 (war losses estimated at *ca.* 133,000); in 1834: *ca.* 678,192; in 1874: 1,353,890 (these and the following figures are from H. Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens*, Munich 1989). The first population census, still largely fiscal in character, was carried out in 1834 (in the Ottoman Empire, in 1830-1); for detailed figures see Sundhaussen, Tabelle 2a). The population of Serbia, although in its vast majority consisting of Serbs (86.85% in 1866), was largely immigrant (*ca.* 75,000 arrived 1820-34; *ca.* 150,000 1834-74). Only a small minority was autochthonous: *ca.* 20% in Valjevo district, less than 1% in Takovo and Shumadija. Literacy (1866): 4.2%. Characteristic of Serbian agriculture during most of the 19th century was the clearance of arable land by fire, extensive cultivation of corn and (from the late 1830s) wheat, large flocks of sheep being driven by Vlach herdsmen, and, for a (former) Ottoman possession, exceptionally large numbers of pigs (165 pigs per 100 inhabitants in 1859; main export article). The agricultural unit continued to be the "house" (*kuća* < *khāne*) with *ca.* 10-30 (in the earlier period), later (1863) *ca.* 5.5-8.3 inhabitants. The first survey of all agricultural lands (details in Sundhaussen, Tabelle 51) was carried out in 1834 (in the Ottoman Empire proper, the first *taḥrīr-i arāḍī* was begun in 1838). The woodlands of Serbia remained an important economic factor; the first decrees for their protection date from the 1820s. Urban crafts were initially largely restricted to Muslims and foreigners; their "Serbianisation" had long been under way by 1830, when there were 18 recognised *eṣnāf* in Belgrade. This figure rose to 40 in 1838 (detailed lists of *eṣnāf* in Branko Peruničić, *Uprava varoši Beograda 1820-1912*, Belgrade 1970, 133-4, 142-3, 428-68, 693-7). The Muslim pious foundations (*ewḳāf*) outside Belgrade were sold or transferred into property of the Orthodox Church within five years of the Law of 28 July 1839 which regulated the return of non-Serb held lands into Serbian possession, in accordance with the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*s of 1830 and 1833 (for *waḳf* property supporting several Belgrade mosques as late as 1862, see Peruničić, *op. cit.*, 480-1). What immovables remained in Belgrade in the hands of individual Muslims until 1863 is shown in an official survey published by Peruničić (*op. cit.*, 540-59). The Ottoman tax régime remained in force for about 20 years until the comprehensive tax reform of 1835 ended the system of division into (1) payments to the Ottoman state or the sultan, (2) rents and services due to the Muslim landowners and (3) taxes for the benefit of the Serbian state. The reform introduced a single monetary tax

amounting to *ca.* 12 "Taler" (5 gold ducats) per taxpayer per annum. But as in the Ottoman period (see the account in Edwards, *Memoirs*, 28 ff.), the community leaders continued to fix each taxpayer's contribution by taking into account his ability to pay. The metric system of measurement was introduced in 1873, coinciding with similar Ottoman attempts under Midḥat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*].

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SIRDĀR [see sardār].

SIRḤĀN (A. "wolf"), the name of a wadi in North Arabia, which runs southeastwards from the fortress of al-Azraḳ, at the southern end of Ḥawrān [*q.v.*], to the wells of Maybūʿ (see Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 167). It has a length of about 140 km/187 miles and a breadth of 5 to 18 km/13 to 11 miles. Musil (*ibid.*, 120-1) calls it a depression and "a sandy, marshy lowland, above which protrude low hillocks". Al-Azraḳ is known for its large, permanent pond. Since ancient times, the wadi has been used as an important trade route. Already King Esarhaddon (699-680 B.C.) undertook a campaign against the Bazu and the K̲h̲azu (the Buz and the Hazo of the Bible, cf. Gen. xxii. 21-2, Job xxxii. 2 and Jer. xxv. 23), who were living in the wadi Sirḥān. The Muslims conquered the region after the battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*] in 13/634, and the wadi became the much-contested frontier between the Banu 'l-Ḳayn [*q.v.*] and the Banū Kalb [see kalb b. wabara], two tribal groups of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*]. The wadi was also known as Baṭn al-Sirr (al-Muḳaddasī, 250; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 666). It served as the natural route of communication between al-Ḥīra or al-Kūfa [*q.vv.*] and Syria. The area is inhabited by the Banū Ruwala [*q.v.*]. In 1926, the *amīr* Nūrī b. S̲h̲aʿlān (Musil, *op. cit.*, index) signed the Treaty of Ḥadda, by the terms of which al-D̲j̲awf [*q.v.*] and the greater part of the wadi Sirḥān were handed over to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*], the northeastern corner of the wādī being assigned to Transjordan.

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SIRHIND, a town of India in the easternmost part of the Pand̲j̲āb, situated in lat. 30° 39' N. and long. 76° 28' E. and lying some 36 km/24 miles north of Patiāla city.

In the mediaeval Islamic Persian chronicles, the name is usually spelt *S.h.r.n.d*, and the popular derivation from *sar-Hind* "the head of India", from its strategic position, is obviously fanciful. The town must have had a pre-Islamic, Hindu past, but became important from G̲h̲ūrid times onwards and was developed by the Tug̲h̲luḳid sultan Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (III) at the behest of his spiritual mentor Sayyid D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Buk̲h̲ārī. It was at Sirhind that Bahlūl Lōdī, the founder of his line of sultans [see lōdīs], assumed the crown in 855/1451. It flourished under the Mug̲h̲als, but during the period of Mug̲h̲al decline, in the 18th century, it was several times attacked by the Sikhs [*q.v.*]. It eventually passed under the control of the Mahārād̲j̲ās of Patiāla, and the region came under British protection in 1809 by a treaty with Rand̲j̲it Singh, remaining till 1947 within the Princely State of Patiāla. It is now in the Pand̲j̲āb State of the Indian Union.

Sirhind is also famous as the birthplace in 971/1564 of the religious revivalist and reformer S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*].

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SIRIUS [see al-s̲h̲iʿrā].

SIROZ, the Turkish form (Greek Sérrai, conventionally Serres), for a town of eastern Macedonia, now in Greece (lat. 41° 03' N., long. 23° 33' E.). In Ottoman times it was the capital of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Siroz and also the seat of a Greek Orthodox metropolitanate. It is situated on seven hills to the southeast of Mount Ménoikon, in the centre of a fertile plain and near to various mineral resources which supplied metal for the local mint.

In Classical antiquity it was called Siris (Herodotus) and Dirra, and in Byzantine times one finds Serrai and Ferrai in various forms and orthographies. It is mentioned in Justinian I's time as a fortified town of Macedonia Prima, and surviving parts of the citadel may date from before the 10th century. In 803 Nicephorus Phocas implanted a strong military garrison and rebuilt the town against Slav invasions. In 1204 it surrendered without a fight to Boniface of Monferrat, who abandoned it to the Bulghars in 1206, who destroyed it totally. But it revived in the course of the 13th century and became the capital of the theme of Serres.

Its citadel was rebuilt for the last time after Stephen Dušan captured the town in 1345, and he was crowned Emperor of the Serbs there. Retaken by Manuel Palaeologus in 1371, it fell temporarily to the Ottoman

Turks in 1371 and definitively in 1383. Ewliyā Čelebi alone of the Ottoman sources describes this definitive conquest by Ghāzī Ewrenos and Djandarli Kara Khalīl Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, although this is unmentioned by the Byzantine chroniclers. According to oral sources, the surrender terms allowed the Turks to install themselves outside the Byzantine enceinte and guaranteed to the Greeks their quarters and churches. The enceinte's walls must have been demolished at this time as a precaution against revolts. The town soon regained its old importance. Even before the arrival of the Ottomans, it had spread beyond the enceinte, to the west of the Phoros Gate, as the presence of some Byzantine churches shows. The Ottomans established new quarters, bearing the names of their military chiefs, for themselves further to the west and to the south. Nomads (*Yürüks*) were planted in the adjacent countryside, whilst the town received immigrants from Anatolia. At the end of the 15th century there arrived the first Jewish families from Sicily and Spain.

Notable events included Murād I's using it as a base for campaigns against the Serbs (1385). In 1412 the revolt of Sheykh Bedr al-Dīn [see BADR AL-DĪN] ended at Serres with his defeat and hanging there. In 1571 there was a Greek revolt there after the Ottoman naval defeat at Lepanto. At Serres was the tomb of the town's *ḳāḍī*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "Ḥibri" (d. 1676), author of a work, the *Enīs ül-müsāmirīn*, important for the history of Adrianople. The consolidation of Ottoman power was marked by the building of the Eski Camii, with a foundation inscription, now destroyed, by Djandarli Khayr al-Dīn Pasha in 787/1385, who also built the Eski Hammam; and Bāyezīd II's vizier Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha built further public and charitable buildings. The Bezesten seems to date from 859/1454-5.

According to the 15th and 16th century registers, Serres had a population estimated at 6,200 in 859/1454-5 (see Table for later figures). The Muslim proportion grew steadily, doubtless through conversions. In the 15th century, according to the *Chronicle* of Synadinos, there were 25 Muslim quarters and 45 Christian ones, whose names indicate the various commercial and industrial activities carried on in this important town of the Empire's European provinces, as the presence of a Bezesten and of a mint show (earliest known coins from 816/1413-14).

Of numerous 17th century descriptions of the town, the most important are those of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Ewliyā, Robert of Dreux and the rich cloth merchant Papa Synadinos, after 1642 a priest and author of a *Chronicle of Serres* covering the years 1598-1642. Ewliyā describes a flourishing town, with 10 Christian quarters with 2,000 fine houses in the old town, and 30 Muslim quarters in the new town, totalling 4,000 houses, 12 Friday mosques, 91 other mosques, 26 *medreses*, 2 *tekkes* and 5 *ḥammāms*. Its market was, with those of Salonica and Skopje, among the greatest of

Table
Evolution of the population of the town

Year	Total		Muslims	Christians	Jews	Others
1454/55	6,200		2,750	3,450		
1478/79	4,896		3,190	1,706		
1494/1503*	8,599		4,830	3,489	280	
1519	7,034		3,420	3,149	270	195 Gypsies
1528/30	5,755		3,360	2,065	330	
1569/70	6,000		4,165	1,555	280	
1660	4,000	houses (Ewliyā)				
1800	30,000	(Beaujour)				
1854	25,000	(Boué)				
1870	30,000	(Reclus)				
1886	28,000	(Schinas)	11,000	14,000	2,000	1,000
1905	42,000	(Ḥilmī Pasha)				
1913	18,668	(Greek administration)				
1916	20,700	(Loukatos)				
1920	14,564	(ESYE)*				
1928	29,640	(ESYE)				
1940	34,630	(ESYE)				
1951	36,769	(ESYE)				
1961						
1971	39,897	(ESYE)				
1981	45,213	(ESYE)				
1991						
Kaza (after Karpat, 1985, 136-7)						
1881-82-93	83,499		31,000	31,000	1,000	19,500 Bulgarians 650 various

*ESYE = Greek National Statistical Office.

Sources:
Karanastasis, 1991, 220-3*
Barkan, 1977, AISEE
Sokoloski, 1977, AISEE

the region, with 2,000 shops and 17 *khāns*. The area of the town increased vastly under the Ottomans, whilst at the same time, 31 churches remained by the mid-19th century, but most were lost in the fire of 1849, the worst of a whole series of conflagrations, which only ended with the 1913 one, which destroyed several quarters of the old Byzantine town and of the Turkish one, plus a large number of religious buildings. The reports of the French consuls give much information on commercial activity in the 18th and 19th centuries. Several of them, plus travellers, note the importance of the annual Kervan fair at Serres, part of a chain of great fairs all through Rumelia. By the 19th century, the town had 25-30,000 people and was, with Monastir and Salonica, the most important town of Macedonia; in Ḥilmī Pasha's 1905 census, 42,000 inhabitants were counted.

After 1870, the importance of the fairs diminished, with the development of railways and highways for the speedy transport of goods to the ports. Commerce declined at Serres, especially when steamship lines passed by the ports of Epirus and Albania, but the town recovered its importance when the Istanbul-Salonica railway line was opened in 1896. The cultivation of cotton there, formerly dominant, was now eclipsed by that of tobacco, which gave a new economic impetus to the region.

The Greek Colonel N. Schinas gave a precise description of Serres in 1886. It had 28,000 inhabitants (see Table), 26 churches, 22 mosques, 2 Greek schools and 6 Turkish ones, 24 spacious *khāns* and a fine market separate from the residential areas and closed by gates. At the same period (1881-93), Ottoman censuses give a figure of 83,499 for the *ḳaḍā* of Serres, including 31,000 Muslims, 31,000 Greek Christians, 19,500 Bulgarian Christians, 1,000 Jews, etc. In the First Balkan War, the town was occupied first by the Bulgarians, who fired the ancient Byzantine town and the Muslim quarters as far as the market when the Greeks advanced and took it (July 1913). It was definitively incorporated in Greece in 1918 and entirely reconstructed. By 1991 it had a population of 45,213, having received a large number of refugees in 1922 and after. Amongst the monuments still preserved, the Bezesten is now an Archaeological Museum, but the Ottoman monuments are reduced to a fine double *ḥammām* and three mosques, that of Meḥmed Bey being the oldest (898/1492-3) and also one of the largest in the Balkans, that of Muṣṭafā Bey (925/1519) and the Zincirli Camii (estimated date, 985/1577-8).

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(ALEXANDRA YEROLYMPOS)

SIRR [see Suppl.].

ṢIRWĀḤ, the name of two pre-Islamic archaeological sites in northern Yemen.

1. Ṣirwāḥ Khawlān, an important Sabaean site 90 km/50 miles west of Mārib [*q.v.*], at lat. 15° 27' N., long. 45° 01' E., on a small plain at altitude just under 1,500 m/4,900 feet. The site preserves the name of the ancient town of the inscriptions, *Ṣrwḥ*, and near its ruins is now a modest little town, with a *sūḳ* and small number of inhabitants, the modern Ṣirwāḥ.

The site was discovered in 1843 by the French scholar Joseph Arnaud, and again explored in 1870 by Joseph Hálevy and Hayyim Habshūsh. E. Glaser had some inscriptions copied for him. Since the 1962 revolution in Yemen the site has become more accessible, and excavations have been undertaken since 1990 by the German Archaeological Institute in Ṣanʿāʾ. Though of modest size, and though we still do not possess a systematic description of the ruins, the quality of its monuments show that it was an important Sabaean centre. The main monument is the great temple, built, according to the inscription CIH 366, by the Sabaean *mukarrib* (literally, "unifier", a title borne by South Arabian princes of some eminence) Yadaʿʾīl Dhariḥ son of Sumhūʿalī, written in a style from the 7th-6th centuries B.C. Apparently, in later antiquity, it was transformed into a fortress. The temple was dedicated, according to its inscriptions, to the main god of the Sabaean pantheon, Almaḳah, with the temple apparently having the title of *ʾwʿl*, sc. Awʿāl (or Awʿalān) Ṣirwāḥ. There is also the monument of the Dār Bilḳīs, probably the palace of the *ḳayls* of the Banū Dhū-Ḥabāb, with one inscription mentioning a decree in their favour by the Sabaean king Nashaʾkarib (third quarter of the 3rd century A.D.). But there are large numbers of inscriptions from the whole site. The origins of this Ṣirwāḥ are certainly old, but the oldest inscriptions seem to date from the second half of the 8th century B.C. It ceased to play any notable role after Ḥimyar annexed Sabaʾ in *ca.* A.D. 275. It was clearly a royal site under the *mukarribs*, and probably directly under a king.

It subsequently became the centre of an homonymous tribal group, the $s^{2c}b^{n}$ *Ṣrwḥ* (the same process which we find in Nadjrān and several towns of the Djawf of Yemen), though the extent of the group's power is unknown. It was enlarged in the 3rd century A.D. by other groups such as the Khawlān [*q.v.*], known in Islamic times as Khawlān al-ʿĀliya, and the Haynān, the ensemble under the *ḳayls* of the Dhū-Ḥabāb. The inscriptions last mention the Ṣirwāḥ in the period 4th-6th centuries A.D., when, like other Sabaean tribes, it must have been supplanted by the Ḥimyar.

The town of Ṣirwāḥ seems, on onomastic evidence, to have early contained speakers of Arabic. Administratively, a *kabīr* is mentioned who was presumably the representative there of royal power. The region had in antiquity palm trees, now totally absent, probably from the decay of irrigation works.

The town played no role in Islamic times, but its site became a great mythic one for Islamic historians (cf. Grohmann, *EI*[1] art.), and al-Hamdānī mentions it regularly (*Iklīl*, viii, Ar. text 24, 45, 49, 75), also with frequent citations of poetry mentioning it. The historians regarded Dhū-Ṣirwāḥ (all knowledge of Dhū-Ḥabāb having been lost) as one of the eight most

noble lineages of ancient Yemen, the Mat̲h̲āmina [*q.v.*] (the *ad̲h̲wā'* being the landed aristocracy of the great oases of interior Yemen).

2. Ṣirwāḥ Arḥab, a Sabaean site of upland Yemen, 45 km/25 miles north of Ṣan'ā', at an altitude of 2,500 m/8,200 feet. Visited for the first time by Glaser in 1884, it was not until 1971 that another scholar, the Russian P. Gryaznevič, was able to visit it.

It is the site of an ancient town called Madar^{um} (Mdr^{m}), the name surviving in a nearby village, Madar. Inscriptions mention a temple Marbad̲ān of the town of Madar^{m}, which can be identified with the building with columns discovered by Glaser. Its lords towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. were the Banū G̲h̲aḍab^{um} and D̲h̲aramat. The Islamic antiquarians and geographers (al-Hamdānī and Yāḳūt) knew the site as Madar, with the name Ṣirwāḥ ("large building") being comparatively recent. The former author visited the site, and describes fourteen palaces there, some ruinous, some still inhabited (*Iklīl*, viii, 95, Eng. tr. 61); but it is hardly ever mentioned in poetry.

A third Ṣirwāḥ, amongst the Banū Bahlūl, to the southeast of Ṣan'ā', is mentioned by the modern author al-Had̲j̲rī, but this has now disappeared.

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SIRWĀL (A.), trousers. Trousers are not originally an Arab garment but were introduced, probably from Persia. From quite early times, other people have copied the thing and the name from the Persians and it almost looks as if Persia were the original home of trousers (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 136, n. 3). The Greek σαράβαρα or σαράβαλλα, Latin *sarabala* (perhaps also Aramaic *sarbālīn*, Daniel, iii, 21; cf. Syriac *s̲h̲arbālīn*) and the Arabic *sirwāl* are all derived from old Persian *zārawāro*, the modern Persian *s̲h̲alwār* (which is explained as from *s̲h̲al* "thigh", with a suffix *-wār*); to *sirwāl* in turn may be traced the corresponding word among the Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Tartars, Siberian peoples and Kalmucks in the east and the Spanish and Portuguese in the west. The form *sirwāl* has probably been influenced by the word *sirbāl* meaning garment in general (explained as a development of the root *s-b-l* and an originally Semitic word). This occurs in the early Arabic poetry and in the Ḳur'ān, but not *sirwāl*.

The Arab grammarians retained a memory of the Persian origin of the word. As frequently with loanwords, *sirwāl* shows several formations in Arabic, sing. *sirwāl(a)*, *sirwal(a)*, *sirwīl*, dialectic *s̲h̲irwāl*, modern also *s̲h̲arwāl*, and the question is continually discussed whether it is triptote or diptote; pl. *sarāwīl* and double pl. *sarāwīlat* both also with *s̲h̲īn* and dialectic *sarāwīn*, diptote only but usually (like the word for trousers in many other languages) used with singular meaning and varying in sex between masc. and fem.; dimin. *surayyīl*, plur. *surayyīlāt*; *(ta)sarwala* has been formed as a denominative verb.

When the word entered Arabic and the garment was adopted by Muslims is not exactly known, but the Muslims must have become acquainted with trousers in the very early days of Islam, at the latest during the conquest of Persia. Tradition usually traces them to the Prophet Muḥammad, and even credits pre-Islamic prophets with wearing them. A *ḥadīt̲h̲* says, "the first to wear trousers was the prophet Abraham, wherefore he will be the first to be clothed on the day of judgment". Another *ḥadīt̲h̲* tells us that Moses was wearing trousers of wool on the day on which God spoke with him. It is related in one tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad that he bought trousers from the clothiers, but it is uncertain whether he actually wore them; on one occasion he replied to the question whether he wore them, "Yes, when travelling and at home, by day and night; I was commanded to cover myself and I know no covering really better than these". According to another *ḥadīt̲h̲*, he recommends the wearing of trousers in the words, "be different from the people of the book, who wear neither trousers nor *izār*". But other stories deny positively that he wore them, and it is also disputed whether the caliph 'Ut̲h̲mān wore them. The intermediate view is that it is permitted to wear trousers, *ubīḥa, lā ba'sa bihi*.

In contrast to men, to whom all that has been said so far applies, the wearing of trousers is recommended for women in all *ḥadīt̲h̲*s. It is said, for example, "Put on trousers, for they are the garments that cover one best, and protect your women with them when they go out", or "God has mercy upon the women who wear trousers" (*yarḥamu 'llāhu 'l-mutasarwilāti min al-nisā'*); or "a woman came past riding one day and fell off. The Prophet turned aside in order not to see her, and was only put at his ease when he was told that she was *mutasarwila*". Other *ḥadīt̲h̲*s fix the length of the trousers as being to the ankles, not longer; as a concession, as a protection against insects, they may be a little longer but must not trail on the ground.

The pilgrim who is *muḥrim* is forbidden to wear trousers (along with certain other garments). But even the *ṣalāt* in trousers was *makrūh* according to the strictest view, and must be repeated; trousers are also considered unfitting for the *mu'ad̲h̲d̲h̲in*.

In actual practice, little attention has been paid to all such restrictions, and numerous passages in historical and geographical literature, in books of travel and in *adab* literature, show that trousers have probably been worn in most Muslim lands since the early centuries of the Hid̲j̲ra. It is quite exceptional to find the statement that in one region a so-called *fūṭa* was worn in place of trousers (e.g. in India). The word *fūṭa* is of Indian origin, and means a simple cloth

with a seam, which was fastened in front and behind to the girdle. A *fūṭa* of this kind—those from the Yemen were particularly noted—was also worn in regions, where trousers were usually worn, by women in negligée in the house instead of trousers (cf. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Mudkhal,* Cairo 1320, i, 118).

Oriental trousers differ very much in different countries. They are of all possible widths, from wide pantaloons, which are only drawn together at the bottom over the feet, to close-fitting shapes which look more like drawers and indeed are so-called by European travellers. They are also of very different lengths, from knee-breeches, especially for soldiers, to long trousers coming to below the feet. Colours were dependent not only on fashion (at times, only natural colours were considered chic, and artificial colours not at all) but also on political considerations; the ʿAbbāsid colour, for example, was black and that of the Fāṭimids white. As regards material, a famous Persian speciality was silken trousers; in Egypt and the adjoining lands, the white Egyptian linen was popular, trousers of red leather are mentioned as the dress of the women in the market of lights at Cairo, and so one.

In contrast to the European fashion, trousers in the East are worn next to the bare body under the other garments (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Tādj*, ed. Zeki Pacha, 154 below; the shirt and the trousers are *shiʿār*, the other garments, *dithār*, are worn above) and are supported not by braces but by a special girdle tied round the body, called the *tikka* (modern *dikka*). Although the *tikak* were covered by the other garments and could not be seen, they were the objects of a particular extravagance, being adorned with inscriptions, usually of an erotic nature; the most famous and valuable were the *tikak* made in Armenia of Persian silk. The prohibition against wearing them issued by the *fuḳahāʾ* had scarcely any effect. A thousand pairs of trousers of brocade with a thousand trouser bands of silk from Armenia (*alf sarāwīl daybaḳīya bi-alf tikka ḥarīr armanī*) were, according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 4, part of the estate of an Egyptian noble (cf. Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 110); a thousand jewelled *tikkas* were given to the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] on her wedding; the *tikka* was also used as a love-token sent by a lady to her admirer.

For practical reasons, trousers formed part of a soldier's dress. Al-Ṭabarī records that even the Umayyad soldiers already wore *sarāwīl* made of a coarse cloth called *misḥ*. Under the latter, they wore very short drawers called *tubbān,* which were made of hair. When Islam adopted the old Oriental custom of granting robes of honour (*khilaʿ*; see KHILʿA), trousers were included among them; indeed, they were sometimes regarded as the most valuable part of the gift. Originally the garments of honour given were not new, but had been worn by the donor; he ought to have worn them at least once.

As a kind of uniform and a garment of honour, the trousers play a very special part in the Muslim *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] organisations. In the ceremonial reception of a new member into the gild, an essential feature of the initiation ceremony (*shadd* [*q.v.*]) is the putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa*, often briefly called *futuwwa*. Here also stress is laid on the point that the *kabīr* or *shaykh* must have either previously worn them himself or at least gone into far enough to touch them with his knees. The *sarāwīl* had occasionally a similar importance for the *fityān*, as had the *khirḳa* [*q.v.*] for the Ṣūfīs. An oath was taken on the *sarāwīl* (this oath is, however, invalid according to Ibn Taymiyya); they could also be put on a coat of arms [see RANK] with a cup, *kaʾs*.

The putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* acquired a certain political significance under the "reformer of the *futuwwa*", the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225 [*q.v.*]), about whose grants of *sarāwīl* a few stories have been preserved by the historians. He sent embassies to the petty dynasts of Syria, Persia and India with the demand that they and their nobles should put on the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* for the caliph. This was done with solemn ceremonial and they thereby placed themselves under the protection of the caliph as overlord of the *fityān*. The same al-Nāṣir seems to have limited the right of investiture to a very few, and his successors also claimed the right for themselves. But others did it, for example the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Nāṣir al-Dīn (764-78/1363-76) of Egypt two centuries after al-Nāṣir.

When the *futuwwa* gilds declined, other organisations with political or other aims adopted their external ceremonies, and laid special stress on the putting on of trousers; thus the gild of thieves in Baghdād, for example, under the caliph al-Muktafī, and a secret Sunnī association in Damascus called the Nabawiyya with anti-Shīʿa tendencies, mentioned by Ibn Djubayr. But with the disappearance of the *futuwwa*, the original significance of the *sarāwīl* as a badge of chivalry was no longer understood, and they became combined with the *khirḳa* of the Ṣūfīs into the *khirḳat al-futuwwa*.

For the expression *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* we also find *libās al-futuwwa* with the same meaning "trousers" and in Egyptian Arabic, *libās* (see Lane) acquired the general meaning of "drawers" (i.e. for men; for those of women there is a new foreign word, *shintiyān*, for which see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). This circumstance is a criterion for ascertaining the Egyptian texts in the 1001 Nights; they replace the word *sarāwīl* of the non-Egyptian texts without exception by *libās*.

In many expressions *sirwāl* is used metaphorically. Thus *musarwal* is a pigeon with feathered legs, a horse with white legs or a tree with branches down on the trunk. *Shirwāl al-ʿāʾiḳ* "rogue's trousers" and *sarāwīl al-ṭukūk* (cuckoo-trousers) (*linaria elatine*) are the names of plants (on the other hand, *sarwal* or *serwēl* or *serwīl* for "cypress" is formed from the well-known word *sarw* with the article after it and has nothing to do with *sirwāl*).

Bibliography: In addition to the general dictionaries, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. Sirwāl and Futuwwa; idem, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, s.v. *sirwāl, libās, tikka, fūṭa*, cf. also *miʾzar, tubbān, djakshīr, ḥizza, ḥikw, sīkān, shintiyān, nukba, kalṣa*, and also Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s.v. *s-r-b-l*; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iv, 83.—Philology and *ḥadīths*: see the special work on the subject *Muntakhab al-aḳāwīl fī-mā yataʿallaḳ bi ʾl-sarāwīl* by Djaʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī, 10 pp. lith., Fās n.d. Bukhārī has a *Bāb al-sarāwīl*, ed. Krehl, iv, 77; also Suyūṭī wrote a book *Fī ʾl-sarāwīl*, cf. the Berlin ms. Ahlwardt, no. 5455.—References from historians and geographers have been collected by Dozy, *Vêt.*, and by Mez, *Renaissance*, 96, 314, 368-9, 399, 436.—On inscriptions on *tikak*, see al-Washshāʾ, *K. al-Ẓarf wa ʾl-ẓurafāʾ*, Cairo 1324, 102, 141.—On the different colours of clothing, see al-Ṭabarsī, *K. Makārim al-akhlāḳ*, Cairo 1311, 35.—Military: N. Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omaijaden*, diss. Kiel 1921, 30.—*Futuwwa*: H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islāmischen Vereinswesens*, 49-50, 162, 187, 198-9, 204 ff.; E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Egypte de Makrizi*, 297.—19th

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SĪS, a town of Cilicia in southern Anatolia, also called Sīsiyya (as in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 297-8), mediaeval Latin Sisia and Sis; in mediaeval French sources the forms Assis and Oussis are also found. In later mediaeval times it became the capital of the Christian kingdom of Cilician Armenia, and subsequently, the Turkish town of Ḳozan, modern Kozan. It lies in lat. 37° 27' N. and long. 35° 47' E. at an altitude of 290 m/950 feet against an outlying mountain of the Taurus range, on a river which eventually flows into the Djayḥān [*q.v.*]/Ceyhan.

Before the Middle Ages, nothing is known about this town; the attempted identifications with antique localities (some have thought of Flavias, others of Pindenissus) are very doubtful.

In the Byzantine period we hear of the Arabs besieging in vain τὸ Σίσιον κάστρον in Cilicia, in the sixth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius III Apsimarus = 703 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, i, 372).

In ʿAbbāsid times however, Sīs belonged to the Islamic empire: it was reckoned among *al-thughūr al-Shāmiyya*. It was rebuilt during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, under the direction of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī, but afterwards laid waste by the Byzantines (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 170). There is also a tradition, going back to al-Wāḳidī, of an emigration of the inhabitants of Sīs to the *aʿlā al-Rūm* in the years 193 or 194/808-10, which event may be connected with the loss of the locality by the Greeks, in the interval between the times of Apsimarus and al-Mutawakkil (al-Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*; cf. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, where the years erroneously are given as 94 or 93). A further mention of Sīs is found during the wars of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] with the Byzantines. That prince, after rebuilding ʿAyn Zarba (Anazarba), sent his *ḥādjib* with an army, which ravaged the Byzantine territory; the Greeks, in revenge, then took the stronghold of Sīs (*ḥiṣn Sīsiyya*), in the year 351/962 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 404). It appears, then, that in the early Middle Ages Sīs has been a fortified frontier town.

The continuous history of Sīs begins about the end of the 12th century of the Christian era, when it had become the royal residence of the Armenian kings of Cilicia (the Rubenids and the Lusignans). But already before that time it is sometimes mentioned in the annals of the Cilician kingdom. It is numbered among the places conquered by the Armenian princes Thoros and Stephanos (*Chronicle* of Kirakos of Gandjak under 562 Armenian era = 1113-14); moreover, Sīs belonged to the towns which suffered from the earthquake of the year 1114 (Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa under 563 Armenian era). Nerses of Lambron, writing in the year 1177, complains that in the royal residence (*ishkhananist*) Sīs, there is no bishop, nor are there suitable churches. It is surprising to find the town mentioned as a royal residence as early as 1177, for it must have been Leo II (1187-1219), who transferred the royal residence, for strategic and political reasons, from Anazarba to Sīs. Since the time of this ruler, the kingdom of Cilicia is called, by Muslim authors, not only *bilād al-Arman* but also *bilād Sīs*; an Armenian geographer (13th century?) cited by Saint Martin, ii, 436-7, also identifies the names Cilicia and Sīs.

Leo II caused many new buildings to be erected in the town. In 1198 he was crowned king (he himself before, and the older Rubenids only wore the title of baron) and transferred, as stated above, the royal residence to Sīs. His coronation must have been at Tarsus (a later chronicler, Jehan Dardel, erroneously pretends that it was at Sīs), but the town of Sīs is already called the "metropolis" of Leo in a poem on the taking of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, written by the Catholicos Grigor IV (d. 1189; in this poem the form Sisuan is to be noted: *Rec. des hist. des Croisades. Doc. arm.*, i, 301). In the year 1212 it was at Sīs that the coronation of Leo's grand-nephew and co-regent Ruben took place. This ceremony was witnessed by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who in his *Peregrinatio* gives a short account of the town.

It is surprising that, according to this traveller, the town had no wall; it seems that the stronghold was deemed sufficient for defence. Still in 1375, when Sīs was taken by the Mamlūks, there was no town wall. The royal palace, together with some other buildings, were enclosed with a wall; it seems to be this complex which is called by Jehan Dardel the *bourg*, and it must be distinguished from the castle on the mountain.

The kings of Cilicia, moreover, had a summer-residence in the Taurus, to the north of Sīs, Barjirberd, which was also their treasure-house. Likewise, in modern times, the inhabitants of Sīs, during the summer, have tended to leave the unhealthy town, to take summer habitations (*yaylaḳ*) in the mountains.

The political history of Sīs is, of course, intimately connected with the general history of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom. The chief feature of that history consists in the struggle for existence which that kingdom had to carry on against the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt; it is therefore not surprising that the chief events connected with the town are attacks of the Mamlūk armies and ravages wrought by them. Other foes were of minor consequence; an attack of a Turkoman chief in the year of the accession of Leo II (1187) was repelled by that prince, but the Turkomans, during the reign of the following kings, remained a menace to the Cilician kingdom. These nomads, whenever a strong government was lacking, availed themselves of the opportunity to seize pasture-grounds; we shall find them, under the Ḳozan-oghullarï (see below) in the actual possession of the territory of Sīs in the first half of the 19th century. On the occasion of the Egyptian attack of 1266, the town of Sīs, with its cathedral, was burnt down and the royal tombs were desecrated. Other Egyptian incursions in the district of Sīs occurred in the years 1275, 1276, 1298 and 1303; in the last-named year, the city itself was plundered by the enemy. In 1321 the environs again suffered from hostile attack; this time it was the Il Khānid Mongol governor of Rūm, Tīmūrtāsh, who, on the instigation, as it seems, of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, carried out his ravages in the district of Sīs. A similar incursion was made by the then officiating governor of Aleppo, by order of the same sultan in the year 1340; the incursions from the *amīr* of Aleppo were repeated in 1359 and 1369; both times the town was taken. In the meantime, Sīs had suffered from the great epidemic, which in Europe, during that same time, is known under the name of the "Black Death" (1348).

However, the end of the Cilician kingdom was imminent. The last king, Leo VI (de Lusignan), was reduced to his capital, Sīs; after the retreat of the Egyptians, the Turkomans fell upon the land; then, in the years 1374 and 1375 came the catastrophe. The sieges of Sīs during these years by the Mamlūk army of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān II, and the final taking of the town, wherein the enemy was assisted by the treason of some nobles and of the Catholicos, are described in detail in the chronicle of Jehan Dardel, who had been chaplain to king Leo VI since 1377, Leo being then a prisoner at Cairo.

From the ecclesiastical history of Sīs during the time of the Cilician kingdom, only the following facts may be mentioned.

The patriarchs of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom fixed their seat at Sīs in 1292. On 29 June of that year, Rūm Ḳalʿesi [*q.v.*], which was the former seat of this patriarchate, had been taken by the Egyptians; so the new patriarch (Grigor VII) came to reside at Sīs. There his successors have remained even after the fall of the kingdom, and after the renovation of the patriarchal see of Echmiadzin in Transcaucasian Armenia (1441), which caused, of course, a schism in the Armenian church not healed until 1965. The chief relic preserved by the patriarchs of Sīs was the right hand of St. Grigor, the apostle of the Armenians, which, in 1292, was redeemed, with other relics, from the infidels by king Hethum II.

After the Mamlūk conquest, the patriarchs, at first, had no fixed residence; they came only to the town of Sīs to perform some ecclesiastical duties, e.g. the benediction of the sacred oil (*myron*). Under the rule of the Rubenids and Lusignans, the habitation of the patriarchs had been within the circumvallation of the royal dwellings. After the period of their wandering, the patriarchs obtained from the Mamlūk authorities permission to reside in the town. First, this residence of the patriarch was an ordinary house; in 1734, long after the Turkish conquest, a monastery was founded by the patriarch Lucas, which seems to have been the seat of the patriarchate until 1810, when the patriarch Kirakos founded another monastery, in which the patriarchate was established when V. Langlois visited Sīs (1853). A little before 1874, the patriarch was expelled from Sīs and migrated to ʿAyn Ṭāb, the present Gaziantep.

But if the ecclesiastical history of the town continued until modern times, politically Sīs soon became insignificant. Immediately after the Egyptian conquest, Sīs remained the capital of a new province, which included Ayās, Tarsus, Adana, Maṣṣīṣa and Ramaḍāniyya, the whole being dependent on Aleppo. In 893/1488 Sīs was taken by the Ottomans, during the war between Bāyezīd II and the Mamlūks. Afterwards, the town belonged to the realm of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ramaḍān Oghullarí [*q.v.*], whose members, however, since the time of the fifth prince, Khalīl b. Maḥmūd, were vassals to the Porte. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, in his *Djihān-nümā* contrasts the once flourishing condition of the district of Sīs with its uncultivated state in his time.

Under Ottoman administration, Sīs belonged to the *wilāyet* of Adana and the *sandjak* of Ḳozan. When Langlois visited the locality, he found it to be a village, consisting of *ca.* 200 houses, inhabitated by Turks and Armenians. There was a *masdjid* and a *bāzār*; the Turkoman beg of the Ḳozanoghlu tribe was virtually the ruler, for the *wālī* of Adana had no authority whatever in Sīs. The village, moreover, paid no tribute to the Porte. The mountain-stronghold of Sīs, built by Leo II (*Sīs Ḳalʿesi*) was in a tolerable state of preservation.

According to a statement of 1894 (Sāmī Bey Frasherī) Sīs then had *ca.* 3,500 inhabitants, 2 *masdjids*, 3 churches and 3 *medreses*. Its territory, though fertile, was insufficiently cultivated, but in its neighbourhood there were many gardens.

For further details on Sīs/Ḳozan in Ottoman and recent times, see the arts. ḲŌZĀN and ḲŌZĀN-OGHULLARÍ

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 597, 621-2, 916, xix, 67-96; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 141; J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, 1818-19, i, 198, 200, 390, 392, 397, 400 etc., 446, ii, 436-7; V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, 1861, 380 etc.; C. Favre and B. Mandrot, *Voyage en Cilicie*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie*, série 6, xv (1878), 116 etc.; *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, index; J. von Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*, ii, 292, 298, 601, iii, 70-1; *Peregrinatores Medii aevi quattuor*, rec. J.C.M. Laurent, Leipzig 1864, 177, 179; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, i, 100, 264, tr. 100, 258; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 602; Sāmī Bey Frasherī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2759; S. Der Nersessian, *The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia*, in Setton and Baldwin (eds.), *History of the Crusades*, ii, Philadelphia 1962, 630-59; M. Canard, *La royaume d'Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamelouks jusqu'au traité de 1285*, in *Rev. Ets. Arméniennes*, iv (1967), 217-59; T.S.R. Boase, *The history of the kingdom*, in idem (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, Edinburgh 1978, 1-33.

(V.F. BÜCHNER*)

SISĀM, the Turkish name for Samos, an island in the south-eastern Aegean alongside the Turkish coast, from which only 1.8 km/1.2 miles separate it at the narrowest point of the Dar Boghaz/Stenon Samou.

With an area of 468 km^2, Samos is one of the larger islands in the Aegean, and today forms, with Ikaria and a few other islands, one of Greece's 52 *nomoi*. The capital and main port city is situated on the north-eastern coast inside the bay of Vathy, and was known by this name until outgrown by a suburb called Samos. The nearest important port on the Turkish coast is Kuşadası [see AYA SOLŪḲ], and there is frequent boat service between the two.

Samos was a Byzantine possession in the early Middle Ages. There were two raids by the Arabs of Crete in 889 and 911, and in 1090 it was incorporated in the short-lived maritime principality of the Saldjūḳ prince Čaḳa or Čaḳan (1089-92). In the first half of the 14th century, Aydín-oghlu Ümür Bey raided it, but in 1420 Börklüdje Muṣṭafā, the leader of a popular revolt with proto-socialist overtones on Urla peninsula, established friendly contacts with Orthodox prelates on Samos. Subsequently the Genoese of Chios gained control of the island, but soon abandoned it after having transferred some of its population to their chief possession. The first Ottoman occupation occurred under Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ in 884/1479, and an effort was made to repopulate the island; a fort was erected on the site of the ancient port of Tigani on the southern coast, but was abandoned under Bāyezīd II, and the island was left to its own devices. It was in that period that the Turkish mariner and corsair Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] recorded certain salient features of Samos: the sparsely populated island had splendid growths of tall trees which the Hospitallers of Rhodes [see RODOS] used to harvest as timber for their shipbuilding and for export; there were large herds of gazelles (*āhū*; perhaps deer) and boars, both of which the visitors hunted for consumption and sale.

By the time Pīrī Re'īs wrote the 1526 version of his portolan, Rhodes had fallen to the Ottomans, and the anchorage on Samos's southern coast served as a convenient stopover for Turkish warships sailing from Istanbul, providing shelter and drinking water for 200 ships.

In 969/1562 Ḳîlîdj ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [see ʿULŪDJ ʿALĪ] re-established the Ottoman presence on Samos while holding it as his own revenue-bringing fief, and increasing its population through transfers from other places (chiefly from other islands and mainland Greece, but also from Albania; Turks or other Anatolians were seemingly excluded); upon his death in 1587, it became a *k̲h̲āṣṣa* property of the sultan, yielding 400,000 *ḳurūs̲h̲* annually; out of this amount, 101,000 *ḳurūs̲h̲* remained reserved as *waḳf* income supporting a mosque which the Pas̲h̲a had built at Tophane in Istanbul. From then on, and until the 1820s, the only visible tie with Istanbul was a civil servant called *ag̲h̲a* residing in Khora; he was seconded by a deputy called *nā'ib* who also supervised judicial matters as *ḳāḍī*; a metropolitan was the head of the Greek Orthodox population. There was no Turkish military garrison, a fact symptomatic of the islanders' loyalty or contentment, but whose price was defencelessness against frequent depredations by corsairs of all hues and faiths (fleeing to the island's wooded mountainous interior was the only recourse). The uneventfulness of this period was broken by Venetian invasions during the Habsburg-Ottoman war (1683-99) and by Russian occupation (1771-4) during the Russo-Turkish war.

A unique sequence of events occurred as a result of the Greek War of Independence (1821-9). The Samiots, who possessed a small merchant marine, not only joined the cause but sent an expedition to Chios exhorting that important island to rebel (for the consequence there, see ṢAḲÎZ). Samos, although invaded by a Turkish expeditionary force, emerged from the turbulence unharmed and thanks to the intervention of Britain, France and Russia, obtained an autonomy that surpassed that of Chios. From 1833 until 1913, it was governed by an Orthodox *wālī* (*hegemon* in Greek; "prince" in western renditions) and an assembly of 37 deputies, from among whom a committee of four was chosen as the island's government; the laws were those of mainland Greece, and Greece was the only country to maintain a full-fledged consulate on Samos. The *wālī* was appointed by the Porte, and from 1851 until 1913 he was always chosen from among the Phanariot Greeks of Istanbul. Samos, located on one of the busiest shipping lanes of the Aegean, had a thriving economy (above all, in the export of wine and olive oil), and its population was Greek Orthodox except for a garrison of 150 Turks. The ties with Turkey were definitively severed as a result of the Balkan War, and Greek sovereignty was ratified by the treaty of London (1913).

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SĪSAR, a town of mediaeval Islamic Persian Kurdistān, in the region bounded by Hamadān, Dīnawar and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. The Arab geographers place Sīsar on the Dīnawar-Marāg̲h̲a road 20-22 farsak̲h̲s (3 stages) north of Dīnawar (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 119-21; Ḳudāma, 212; al-Muḳaddasī, 382). According to al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 310, Sīsar occupied a depression (*ink̲h̲ifāḍ*) surrounded by 30 mounds, whence its Persian name "30 summits". For greater accuracy it was called Sīsar of Ṣadk̲h̲āniya (*wakāna Sīsar tudʿā Sīsar Ṣadk̲h̲āniya*), which al-Balād̲h̲urī correctly explains as Sīsar of the hundred springs. *K̲h̲ānī* in Persian (*kānī* in Kurd) does mean spring; on the other hand, the geographers (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 175; Ibn Rusta, 89) locate the sources of the Safīd Rūd (Ḳîzîl Üzen) "at the gate" or "in the ravine" (*bāb*) of Sīsar (al-Masʿūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 62: in the *nāḥiya* of Sīsar). Finally, al-Masʿūdī (*ibid.*, 53), speaking of the Diyāla [*q.v.*], makes it come from the mountains of Armenia (?) and talks of Sīsar as belonging to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān.

These quotations show that the site of Sīsar lay near the watershed between the Ḳîzîl Üzen (southern arm) and the Gāwarūd (Diyāla) i.e. near the col of Kargābād, where numerous streams rise flowing in different directions. According to the ingenious hypothesis of G. Hoffmann, the name of the town of Sinna or Senna [see SANANDADJ] might be a contraction of the old form Ṣadk̲h̲āniya. There is not sufficient evidence, however, to show that the site of the modern Sinna/Sanandad̲j̲ is identical with that of the town of Sīsar.

In the district of Sīsar (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 130), there were at first only the grazing-grounds of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). This intermediate zone (*ḥadd*) between three great provinces soon became a refuge for outlaws (*al-ṣaʿālīk wa 'l-d̲h̲uʿʿār*) and the caliph ordered his superintendents to build a town. These lands formed a separate district (*kūra*) which was extended by the addition of the following cantons (*rustāḳ*): 1. Māypahrad̲j̲, detached from Dīnawar; 2. D̲j̲ūd̲h̲ama (?), detached from the *kūra* of Barza in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān; and 3. K̲h̲ānīd̲j̲ar (?). Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd stationed a garrison of 1,000 men at Sīsar. Sīsar was later the scene of battles between a certain Murra al-Rudaynī al-ʿId̲j̲lī and rebels and perhaps outlaws under ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Awdī (Yāḳūt, iii, 216). The caliph al-Ma'mūn made Humām b. Hāni' al-ʿAbdī governor of Sīsar, which became a crown domain.

In the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt was able to add very little to the information given by al-Balād̲h̲urī. In the 8th/14th century Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī no longer mentions Sīsar. On the other hand, he talks of the "mountain of Sīnā" forming the boundary of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and the "pass of Sīnā" in the mountains of Kurdistān in which was the source of the Tag̲h̲atū. The *D̲j̲ihān-nümā* of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, while marking correctly on the map the exact site and correct name of Tag̲h̲atū, gives in the text the wrong reading *n-f-t-w* which Norberg in his translation (Lund 1818, i, 547) rendered by Neftu. Quatremère introduced the reading Nag̲h̲atū found in an edition of Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd. G. Hoffmann admitted the identity of this river with the K̲h̲ork̲h̲ora (a right bank tributary of the D̲j̲ag̲h̲atū). But there is no proof of the actual existence of the name Nag̲h̲atū, and the text of Mustawfī may simply indicate that in his day the frontier between Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and Sīnā was marked by the watershed between the Tag̲h̲atū [see SĀWDJ BULĀḲ] and Bāna. This last district had long been a dependency of Sinna. In this way since the 8th/14th century, the name Sīnā (Sinnā, Sīna) has become substituted for that of Sīsar and its later history will be found in the article SANANDADJ. As to the date of origin of this town, it may be noted that in 1039/1630

Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] destroyed Ḥasanābād which was the capital of the princes of Ardalān (von Hammer, *GOR*², iii, 87). Only forty years later, Tavernier (*Les six voyages*, Paris 1692, i, 197) speaks of his visits to Sulaymān Khān at *Sneirne* (= Senna).

Bibliography: Besides the Arab geographers and Balādhurī, see Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 85, 224; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145, 388; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, i, *ad* fol. 297b; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 255-6; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 18; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 190; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, 479. (V. Minorsky*)

SISḲA, the Ottoman Turkish form for the Croatian town of Sisak (lat. 45° 30' N., long. 16° 22' E.). It is situated in a wide plain at the confluence of the Odra, Kupa and Sava (Save) rivers some 50 km/30 miles southeast of Zagreb, hence in the 16th-18th centuries on the edge of Krajina, the "military frontier" of Austria, facing the Ottoman empire.

It was founded in the 4th century B.C. by the Scordisci, a people of Celtic origin established on the Save and Danube, where they mingled with the Illyrians, then passed under Roman domination (as Segestica, and then Sciscia), then under that of the Avars, Croats, Hungarians (as Sziszek), Austrians and Austro-Hungarians before being included (with Croatia as a whole) in 1918 in the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then becoming the kingdom of Yugoslavia. During the Second World War, Sisak came within the fascist Croat state of Ante Pavelić, then the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and finally, in the Croatian Republic. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Sisak has been best known as an important river port and an industrial centre (blast furnaces, heavy metal industries and petroleum refining).

In fact, the history of Sisak is only relevant for us during a brief period of four years, 1591-4. At the time of the Ottoman campaigns of the 10th/16th century, Sisak was a strategic point in the last line of defences for Zagreb, which is on the Kupa. Between 1544 and 1550, a solid, triangular fortress, comprising three fortified towers, was built, using the remains of the old Roman town, and this played a great role towards the end of the century, especially when the town was successively attacked by Ḥasan Pasha ("Predojević"), *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, who first besieged it, in vain, in 1591. In the next year, Ḥasan conquered northwestern Bosnia, with the town of Bihać, after having taken the fortress of Petrinja (Yeñi Ḥiṣār) in Croatia, not far from Sisak, which he rebuilt. He again besieged Sisak, unsuccessfully in July 1592, devastated the vicinity and carried off many slaves. A year later, he came back for a third time, with an army which certain sources number at 25,000 men, and on 15 June 1593 began the siege once more. This ended a week later in the famous battle on the left bank of the Kupa, in a triangle formed with the Odra and Save, on 22 June 1593, in which the Turkish army suffered a terrible defeat. Most of its troops perished, either in battle or by drowning (as Ḥasan Pasha himself), with only a small part (2,500 is the often-cited figure) escaping.

This event unleashed the "Long War" between Turkey and Austria, which lasted until 1606 and the peace treaty of Zsitvatörök. Since the battle involved one of the first great victories of Christendom over the Ottomans in this part of Europe, it was hailed with great joy in the West (cf. the main references to pamphlets, articles and archival documents, in K.M. Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the seventeenth century*, Philadelphia 1991, 6-7), and also gave rise to a popular Croatian poetry celebrating the victory. Nevertheless, hardly two months later, on 24 August 1593, Sisak was taken by assault by the *beylerbeyi* of Greece and Thrace, Ḥasan, who installed a garrison in the fortress (where naturally, a mosque was now built) commanded by a certain Ibrāhīm Beg. But this conquest was in turn of brief duration, since in autumn 1594, faced by the advance of Christian troops, the Ottomans evacuated Sisak and its fortress definitively, so that it never subsequently came within the *Dār al-Islām*.

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SĪSTĀN, the form usually found in Persian sources, early Arabic form Sidjistān, a region of eastern Persia lying to the south of Khurāsān and to the north of Balūčistān, now administratively divided between Persia and Afghanistan. In early Arabic historical and literary texts one finds as *nisbas* both Sidjistānī and Sidjzī, in Persian, Sīstānī.

1. Etymology.

The early Arabic form reflects the origin of the region's name in MP Sakastān "land of the Sakas", the Indo-European Scythian people who had dominated what is now Afghānistān and northwestern India towards the end of the first millennium B.C. and the first century or so A.D. Earlier designations of the region had been the Avestan one "land of the Haētumant", i.e. land of the Helmand river, appearing in the early Greek geographical sources as Erymandus; and the OP Zara(n)ka or Zra(n)ka of the Behistun inscription of Darius I and the Persepolis one of Xerxes, appearing in Herodotus as the land of the Sarangai, the Drangiana of the time of Alexander the Great and the Zarangianē of Isidore of Charax (probably 1st century A.D.). This latter form survived into early Islamic times as the name of the capital, Zarang [*q.v.*], current up to Saldjūḳ times. The oldest MP text with the form *Sakastān is the Naḳsh-i Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I (239 or 241 to 270 or 273 [see shāpūr], *Skstn*, indicating Sakastān or Sagastān.

But already in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī one finds the region also called Nīmrūz, lit. "midday", i.e. the land to the south of Khurāsān, "the eastern land", and this appears in the Ghaznawid sources (5th/11th century) detailing the component provinces of the empire of Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd. From Saldjūḳ times, it becomes frequent for the region, at the side of Sīstān, and the local rulers there were, from the 5th/11th century onwards, known as the Maliks of Nīmrūz; the geographical term Nīmrūz has been revived in Afghānistān during the 20th century (see below, 3. History). See on these topics C.E. Bosworth,

The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3), Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York 1994, 30-8.

2. Topography and climate.

Geographically, Sīstān forms a shallow basin at an average altitude of 482 m/1,580 feet above sea level, with its lowest point in the southernmost depression of the Gawd-i Zirih, some 12 m/40 feet lower. The highest elevation is the Kūh-i Khwādja, so-called after a local saint, which rises 120 m/400 feet above the level of the region between the Hāmūn-i Puzāk and the Gawd-i Zirih (see below), and in times of inundation rises out of the water as an island. There is a large, central sheet of water, fringed with marshes, which is only filled in May when rivers like the Helmand [*q.v.*] and the northern feeders like the Khwāsh Rūd and the Farāh Rūd bring in water from the melted snows of the mountains of Ghūr [*q.v.*] in central Afghānistān; the feeders from the west are insignificant. The lake may then cover over 140 sq. miles, and it straddles both of the modern countries of Persia and Afghānistān. The rising summer temperatures and the "wind of 120 days" (see below) reduce this sheet of water in summer to three separate, permanent sheets, the Hāmūn-i Sābarī and the Hāmūn-i Puzāk in the north and the Hāmūn-i Hilmand in the south. Only the last is completely within Persian territory, and forms the largest sheet of permanent water on the Persian plateau. When the water level is particularly high, the Hāmūn-i Hilmand discharges its surplus water into a channel, the Shēla or modern Shaylak Rūd, leading to the depression of the Gawd-i Zirih (the Aria palus of the classical geographers; it is also mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma*, in which Kay Khusraw sails across the Āb-i Zirih when pursuing Afrāsiyāb, the Helmand appearing there as the Hīrmand). Natural drainage into the Gawd-i Zirih helps to keep the waters of the central lake clear and fresh. Feeder waters like the Helmand bring down with their spring flooding vast quantities of silt, which seem to be redistributed around the basin by action of the winds, since the general level of the basin does not rise. Western travellers have noted one of the features of the climate of Sīstān, described by the Arabic geographers of a thousand years before, the notorious *bād-i ṣad u bīst rūz* "wind of 120 days", which blows from the northwest from May to October and may reach 120 k.p.h./70 m.p.h. The wind carries dust and sand particles, which have a powerful abrasive effect on the terrain, stripping vegetation and light soil covering away, eroding buildings and causing intense evaporation from the stretches of water. Hence whilst the winters can be cold, they are usually healthy, whereas the summers are hot, humid and febrile, with a host of noxious insects and snakes (in mediaeval Islamic times, Sīstān was known for its poisonous vipers, *afāʿī*).

The alluvial soil of Sīstān allows the cultivation of crops, the greater part of them being winter ones like wheat, barley and beans, with legumes, melons and fodder crops as summer ones. There are few trees—C.E. Yate noted only the decayed remains of date palms—except tamarisks along the banks of the watercourses and canals; Sir Percy Sykes described them as forming one of the few jungles he had seen in Persia.

The effects of climate and water-supply have meant that the topography of Sīstān has been constantly changing all through history. River channels have regularly changed their course, making the restoration of the historical geography of mediaeval Sīstān extremely difficult. Conservatism in building techniques and the almost universal use of sun-dried brick [see LABIN] as a construction material have meant that very few ancient buildings have survived the effects of the eroding winds; there are few inscriptions and there have been few coin finds, so that the buildings that remain are accordingly difficult to date. These processes of weathering have been aggravated by earthquakes; thus the Mīl-i Ḳāsimābād, an imposing, free-standing minaret or tower with Kūfic inscriptions describing its construction by a 6th/12th-century Malik of Nīmrūz Tādj al-Dīn Ḥarb b. Muḥammad (*r.* 564-610/1169-1213) was 23 m/75 feet high when the Seistan Boundary Commission was at work in the first decade of this century, but collapsed totally *ca.* 1955 in an earthquake. The effects of wind and of moving sands have meant that whole villages and tracts of agricultural land may disappear or, conversely, be revealed. All these factors have made the interpretation of the region's history, when written sources fail, arduous.

The population of Sīstān is substantially Tādjīk, with some Balūč and other outside peoples settled there by Persia rulers, such as Kurdish nomads brought thither by Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*], and some Balūč and Arab nomads who appear there from Ḳuhistān in the summer. An indigenous element noted by all the travellers in Sīstān is that of the *ṣayyāds* or hunters and fishers of the lakes and marshes, on which they travel in *tutins*, cigar-shaped rafts of reeds, making a living by fishing and shooting waterfowl; it has been speculated that they may represent the aboriginal inhabitants of the region. A class of cattle-raisers, *gāwdārs*, has also been noted. See on these topics, *EI*[1] art. *Sīstān* (V.F. Büchner); Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 116-18; *Camb. hist. of Iran*, i, 78-81.

3. History.

Sīstān had formed part of the Sāsānid empire after the disappearance of the Sakas and other earlier conquerors in the region. Under Shāpūr I, it became a province (*shahr*), with its full name given in the inscriptions as "Sakastān, Tūrestān (sc. Tūrān [*q.v.*] in what is now northern Balūčistān) and Hind, to the edges of the sea", and was often given as an appanage to sons of the emperors (see V.G. Lukonin, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/2, 729-30, and map at 748-9). In the "quadrant" (*kust*) of the east, it comprised both the Achaemenid Zranka/Dragiana and Haraxwat/Arachosia, with Zarang as its administrative capital (C.J. Brunner, in *ibid.*, 773-4). The state church of Zoroastrianism was, naturally, firmly established there, as appears from what we know of the arrival of the Arabs in Sīstān in the 1st/7th century, when the incomers encountered a Mōbadh Mōbadhān [see MŌBADH] and a chief Hērbadh, whilst the important fire-temple of Kārkūya remained intact after the Muslims came (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 5-6). The Nestorian Church was, however, represented there also, with a bishop of Sīstān mentioned at the Synod of Dādīshōʿ in 424 and Christian congregations in Bust and Arachosia as well as in Sīstān proper; these Christians persisted into the Islamic period, and a bishop in Sīstān is mentioned for 767 (see *ibid.*, 6-10).

The Arabs first appeared in Sīstān in ʿUthmān's caliphate, pushing eastwards from Kirmān during the governorship in Khurāsān of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. Hence in 31/652-3 Zarang surrendered peacefully, although Bust resisted fiercely, and immediately after this, coins of Arab-Sāsānid pattern begin to be minted at Zarang. From a base in Sīstān, governors like Muʿāwiya's appointee ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura

undertook campaigns eastwards into al-Rukhkhadj (sc. the earlier Arachosia) and Zamīndāwar [*q.vv.*] against the local rulers, the Zunbīls, and towards Kābul against the Kābul Shāhs. Zoroastrianism was of course toppled from its position of primacy, the higher levels of the official hierarchy collapsed, but the sacred fires apparently remained; an item in a late 4th/10th-century survey of the revenues of Sīstān mentions the *māl-i ādharūy*, which may refer to some rent paid for fire-temple premises or land (see *ibid.*, 13 ff.; Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 56, 294-5).

Arab governors were sent out during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, and continued to be involved in raiding into eastern Afghānistān, with the object of gathering plunder in the form of slaves and herds. But the Zunbīls and the Kābul Shāhs proved tenacious foes, and were not subdued till the Ṣaffārid period, after some two centuries' strenuous resistance (for a detailed account of one particular Arab débâcle, see Bosworth, *ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 268-83). The Arab settlers in Sīstān were rent internally by the tribal feuds of Tamīm and Bakr b. Wā'il, carried over from those raging in Khurāsān, and there seems to have been a general resentment over the years on the part of the indigenous Iranian population against Arab financial exactions, which contributed to the strong growth, especially in the countryside of Sīstān, of support for the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] who had fled eastwards through Kirmān after defeats by the Umayyad governors. The Arabs of Bakr b. Wā'il also appear to have had sympathies for the Khāridjite Azāriḳa [*q.v.*]. Hence Sīstān was, with Khurāsān, one of the epicentres of the great, prolonged rebellion in the eastern Persian lands of Ḥamza b. Ādharak or ʿAbd Allāh (d. 213/828, himself a native of (?) Rūn u Djūl in southern Afghānistān. For some 30 years, Ḥamza defied the armies of the ʿAbbāsids, requiring the personal presence in Khurāsān of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who died however at Ṭūs in 193/809 before he could take up arms against Ḥamza. The Arab governors sent by the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] of Nīshāpūr were no more successful against the rebels. Khāridjism continued to be vigorous and militant in the small towns, villages and countrysides of Khurāsān and Afghānistān until the time of the Ṣaffārids (see below) and, in a more quiescent form, till the later 4th/10th century (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 33-107).

It was out of the bands of local enthusiasts for the defence of Sunnī orthodoxy in the towns of Sīstān and Bust, the *ʿayyār*s and the *mutaṭawwiʿ*s [*q.vv.*], who were exasperated at the inability of the Ṭāhirid governors to protect their towns from the Khāridjite attacks, that there arose *ʿayyār* leaders like Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naḍr or al-Naṣr and Dirham b. al-Naṣr. From their entourages, there soon attained power at Zarang, in 247/861, as *amīr* of Sīstān, the local commander Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, most glorious of those who ruled Sīstān in pre-modern times (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 112-33; idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 67-83). Over the next 150 years, Sīstān was to become the centre of a vast military empire built up by Yaʿḳūb and his brother ʿAmr [*q.vv.*], and even when the Khurāsānian provinces were lost at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the Ṣaffārids still had a century before them of not inglorious existence. This history can now be followed in detail in the art. ṢAFFĀRIDS, and see especially, Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 67-361. It should further be noted that it is from these times, sc. the later 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, that we possess detailed descriptions of Sīstān from the Arabic and Persian geographers (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 334-45, to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 110, comm. 344-5; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 65-73; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 39 ff.).

Sīstān was in 393/1003 incorporated into the mighty Ghaznawid empire of Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*], and was then governed by nominees of the court in Ghazna. It was out of these last that there arose, in the person of Tādj al-Dīn (I) Abu 'l-Faḍl Naṣr (d. 465/1073), a line of local *amīrs* in Sīstān which became in effect autonomous, though at first under Ghaznawid, and then Saldjūḳ, suzerainty. These *amīrs* became in the last decades of their power caught up in the struggles over control of the eastern Iranian lands between the Ghūrids and Khwārazm Shāhs [*q.vv.*], until the appearance of the Mongols in Sīstān (Sack of Zarang in 619/1222) reduced the province to chaos and anarchy and brought about the end of their line. It is these rulers who figure in such sources as Djūzdjānī and the two local histories of the province, the anonymous *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān* and Malik Shāh Ḥusayn's *Iḥyā' al-mulūk*, as the Maliks of Nīmrūz; the first line of the Maliks (421-622/1030-1225) may conveniently be called the Naṣrids (the so-called "third dynasty" of Ṣaffārids in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 200; but it must be emphasised that there is nothing to connect these Naṣrid Maliks, nor the succeeding Mihrabānid ones, with the Ṣaffārids, and the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān* categorically states that the Ṣaffārid line ended with the deposition of Khalaf b. Aḥmad by Maḥmūd of Ghazna).

The Naṣrid Maliks flourished under the light suzerainty of the Saldjūḳs, and especially during the long reign of Tādj al-Dīn (II) Abu 'l-Faḍl Naṣr (499-559/1106-64), who was married to Sultan Sandjar's sister Ṣafiyya Khātūn. On various occasions, he supplied troop contingents for the Saldjūḳ army, including for Sandjar's expedition of 510/1116-17 against Ghazna with the aim of setting his protégé, Bahrām Shāh, on the throne there, and at the battle of the Ḳatwān steppe in Turkestan in 536/1141 against the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*]. Within the Naṣrid amīrate, the Maliks defended their lands against periodic incursions by the Ismāʿīlīs of Ḳuhistān (see Bosworth, *The Ismāʿīlīs of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nīmrūz or Sīstan*, in F. Daftary (ed.), *Essays in mediaeval Ismāʿīlī history and thought*, Cambridge 1995), but could not protect Sīstān against the Mongols. See on these Maliks, Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 365-410.

After an interim of rule in Sīstān by the Khwārazmian *amīr* Tādj al-Dīn Inaltigin (622-32/1225-35), ended by a fresh Mongol onslaught on the province, there came to power the second and last line of Maliks of Nīmrūz, that of the Mihrabānids (633-mid-10th century/1236-mid-16th century), also from one of the local families of notables in Sīstān. For their history we depend almost wholly on the *Iḥyā' al-mulūk* and scattered references in the sources for Il-Khānid, Tīmūrid and early Ṣafawid history, plus very sparse information from coins. Sīstān was during these three centuries very much squeezed between the surrounding Turco-Mongol powers, as their satellite, and the Maliks also had to defend the frontiers of their realm against the rival local power of northern Afghānistān, the Kart dynasty [*q.v.*] of Harāt. Although the threats to the internal stability of the province from the Ismāʿīlīs had by now disappeared, these were replaced by the raids of virtually independent, freebooting Turco-Mongol marauding bands, such as the Ḳaraw-

nas and their component, but distinct, group of the Negüders or Nīkūdārīs. The land was devastated also by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 785/1383, when the Malik Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (II) b. ʿIzz al-Dīn was deposed, Zarang and Bust sacked (to such effect in the latter instance that the old city of Bust, whose site is marked by the modern Ḳalʿat-i Bist, had to be abandoned), and the Band-i Rustam, the weir or barrage across the Helmand river behind which water was stored for diversion into irrigation channels, destroyed. In the later 9th/15th century, internal disorder in Sīstān compelled the Maliks to withdraw for several years into the Sarḥadd [*q.v.*] or mountainous borderland of Sīstān and Makrān.

After the Özbeg Muḥammad Shībānī Khān had secured Harāt from the last Tīmūrids (913/1507), a Shībānid expedition against Sīstān followed, but three years later the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*] crushed the Özbegs at Marw. The Mihrabānid Maliks rallied to Ismāʿīl's side, but Sīstān now acquired a permanent Ṣafawid military presence through the administrative oversight there (*wikālat*) of Ḳizilbash *amīrs*, and under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*] it came under the governorship of Khurāsān exercised by his younger brothers such as Sām Mīrzā. The last Mihrabānids were increasingly drawn into the Ṣafawid administrative and military defence system of the east, as warfare with the Özbegs continued, and the last semi-independent Malik, Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Niẓām al-Dīn Yaḥyā, had to introduce the Shīʿī *adhān* or call to prayer amongst his Sunnī subjects. After his death, Ṣafawid *wakīls* took over in Sīstān, although scions of the Mihrabānids (including the local historian Malik Shāh Ḥusayn, *flor.* early 11th/17th century) lived on there after his time. See on the Mihrabānids, Bosworth, *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, 411-77, to whose references should be added, Barbara Finster, *Sīstān zur Zeit tīmūridischer Herrschaft*, in *Archaeol. Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F., ix (1976), 207-15.

Without the *Iḥyāʾ al-mulūk*, the history of Sīstān towards modern times becomes even more obscure than before. G.P. Tate included a narrative of the events of these three centuries or so in his *Seistan, a memoir on the history, topography, ruins, and people of the country*, 3 parts, Calcutta 1910-12, 71-99, based on such sources as Iskandar Munshī's *Taʾrīkh ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Mahdī Khān Astarābādī's *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy-i Nādirī*, and a *Shadjarat al-mulūk* (?), but with very few hard dates. Local Maliks continued in Sīstān, but closely under Ṣafawid control, and Sīstān served, for instance, as the Ṣafawid base for the struggles with the Mughals over possession of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*]. The names of various 17th and 18th century Maliks are known, and in the early 18th century, when the Ṣafawid dynasty was in its death throes, Malik Maḥmūd b. Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān seems to have made himself a semi-independent power in Sīstān and Ḳuhistān, with a substantial military force at his disposal. In the complex fighting in Khurāsān involving the Ghalzay Afghān invaders, Nādir Beg Ḳulī Afshār and the last Ṣafawid, Ṭahmāsp II, Maḥmūd in 1135/1723 had himself crowned and secured such towns of Khurāsān as Mashhad and Nīshāpūr, until Nādir procured his death in *ca.* 1139/1727.

After the death in 1160/1747 of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], Sīstān came under the suzerainty of the Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], who married the daughter of the then Malik, Sulaymān b. Ḥusayn Khān. Sīstān fell into an anarchic state, with the last Malik to exercise any effective power being Djalāl al-Dīn b. Bahrām Khān, deposed in the later 1830s by local Sarbandī and Shahrakī chiefs. Both the ruling powers in Persia and Afghānistān, endeavoured to draw Sīstān into their orbits, until the Sarbandī chief ʿAlī Khān definitely acceded to the side of Persia, marrying a Ḳādjār princess in Tehran, until he was killed in 1858. Many of the notables of Sīstān inclined to the side of Afghānistān, but the struggles for power within the ruling family of Bārakzays meant that the *amīr* Shīr ʿAlī Khān could give no direct help in Sīstān from Kābul. In 1865 a Persian army invaded Sīstān and a Persia governor, with the title of Ḥashmat al-Mulk, and dependent on Ḳāʾin in Ḳuhistān, was placed over the province. It was this Ḥashmat al-Mulk whom Lt. Col. C.E. Yate met when he was travelling in Sīstān in 1894. Yate also gives information on the state of the province at this time. He found it dire: "What with their debts to the cattle-owners for hire of bullocks, and their debt to the Kadkhudas who advanced them grain, the cultivators and people of Sīstān generally were in a wretched state of poverty. I do not think I ever saw a more miserable-looking lot." All the land belonged to the state, and there were no private landowners. There was no regular trade, merely an annual caravan with skins and wool to Quetta in Balūčistān or to Bandar ʿAbbās on the Makrān coast which brought back items for consumption like tea and sugar. The revenue of the province amounted to 24,000 *khārwars*, each of 649 lbs. of grain, per annum; from this, 6,850 *khārwars* were retained for the salaries of officials and troops, and the rest was paid by Ḥashmat al-Mulk, as a fixed sum of 12,000 *tūmāns*, to the central government. In addition, there was a tax of 2,600 *tūmāns* levied in cash on sheep and cattle. (See Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 75-113.)

Border disputes between Persia and Afghānistān had caused a fear of an outbreak of war between the two states, leading therefore to the Seistan Boundary Mission of 1872 presided over by General Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid. It awarded much of Sīstān proper to Persia, but required the Persian forces' evacuation of the right bank of the Helmand; naturally, neither side was satisfied. The boundary was not, however, definitively delimited till the second Seistan Boundary Commission of 1903-5 under Col. (later Sir) Arthur McMahon. The absence of clear natural dividing features, beyond that of the Helmand river, made the tasks of these Commissions difficult (see the Hon. G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 229 ff.; G.P. Tate, *The frontiers of Baluchistan. Travels on the borders of Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1909).

Persian Sīstān today falls within the province (*ustān*) of Balūčistān and Sīstān, with its administrative centre at Zāhidān [*q.v.*] (Zahedan); whilst Afghān Sīstān has, since the administrative re-organisation of 1964, formed the province (*wilāyat*) of Nīmrūz, thus reviving the old name, with its chef-lieu at Zarang, again reviving an old name, adjacent to Nād-i ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Comprehensive bibls. are given in the two works of Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, and *The history of the Saffarids of Sistan*, and older bibl. is given in V.F. Büchner's *EI*[1] art. One may note additionally the following. For the older period, Pauly-Wissowa, new ed., arts *Sakai*, *Sakastane* (A. Herrman), *Drangai* (W. Tomaschek); Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, index, esp. 248 ff., 292 ff. On the present archaeological state of Sīstān, K. Fischer, D. Morgenstern and V. Thewalt, *Nimruz. Geländebegehungen in Sistan 1955-1973 und die Aufnahme von Dewal-i Khodaydad 1970*, 2 vols., Bonn 1974-6, and on some of the surviving buildings there, M. Klinkott, *Islamische Baukunst in Afghanisch-Sīstān, mit einem geschichtlichen*

Überblick von Alexander der Grossen bis zur Zeit der Safawiden-Dynastie, Berlin 1982. For the post-16th century history of Sīstān, up to the end of the 19th century, see Tate, *Seistan, a memoir*, part 1. For the situation towards the end of the 19th century see Sir F.G. Goldsmid (ed.), *Eastern Persia, an account of the journey of the Persian Boundary Commission 1870-1872*, 2 vols., London 1876; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*; P.M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Irán*, London 1902, 361 ff.; Tate, *The frontiers of Baluchistan*. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SISTOVA [see ZISTOVA].

SITI BINTI SAAD (*ca.* 1880-1950), a singer famed throughout East Africa. Born at Fumba, Zanzibar, her father was an Mnyamwezi subsistence farmer and her mother an Mzigua potter. As a child she was known as *Mtumwa* (slave), in accord with the Swahili custom of giving children pejorative names. Brought up in the village, she had no formal education, and was illiterate. She disappointed her parents in failing to learn the skill of pot-making. She had an unsuccessful marriage, and occupied herself in carrying pots made by her mother for sale in the town. Eventually she moved to the town, where she fell in with a lute-player, who taught her to sing and also Arabic. When she was about thirty-one she fell in with a band of professional musicians, who played the lute, the mandoline and the tambourine. She adopted the name *Siti*, ambiguously meaning "lady", or fife or whistle. The band added other instruments to their répertoire, but her skill as a singer gave them wide popularity, and she was praised for the sweetness and delicacy of her singing. She was spoken of as if she were some incarnation of a spirit from the tales of the *Thousand and one nights*. It was in this tradition that she was sent for by the Sultan of Zanzibar, Khalīfa b. Kharūb, when she sang a song that had been specially composed in his honour. Behind this popularity lay a long tradition of at least two centuries of Swahili bards, who included many women such as the famous Mwana Kupona, the wife of Bwana Mataka, Shaykh of Siu [*q.v.*] in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1927 Siti came to the attention of the Colombia Record Company, which made gramophone records of her singing with her band in Bombay. Her recordings were immediately popular in India, and her reception when she returned to Zanzibar was as if she were a queen. She travelled and sang in Pemba, and on the mainland in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. She was unspoilt by her success, and what, for those days, were the considerable sums that she earned. Shaaban Robert [*q.v.*], her biographer, first heard her sing in 1936, but only became acquainted with her in the last months of her life.

Bibliography: Shaaban Robert, *Wasifu wa Siti binti Saad*, Diwani wa Shaaban 3, London 1967 (in Swahili); Mwana Kupona, *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*, ed. A. Werner and W. Hichens, Medstead 1934 (in Swahili and English); L. Harries, *Swahili poetry*, Oxford 1962; J.W.T. Allen, *Tendi*, London 1971, and information kindly supplied.

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

SITR "veil", a curtain behind which the Fāṭimid caliph was concealed at the opening of the audience session (*madjlis*) and which was then removed by a special servant (*ṣāḥib/mutawallī al-sitr*) in order to unveil the enthroned ruler. The *sitr* corresponded to the *velum* of the Roman and Byzantine emperors. The holder of the function of *ṣāḥib al-sitr*, who also served as bearer of the caliph's sword (*ṣāḥib al-sitr wa 'l-sayf*), chamberlain and master of ceremonies, was mostly chosen from the Slav mamlūks (*ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]); al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ii, ed. M.Ḥ.M. Aḥmad, 30, 72, 106, 127.

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(H. HALM)

SITT AL-MULK, or SAYYIDAT AL-MULK, Fāṭimid princess, daughter of the fifth Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] and half-sister of al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*]. She was born in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 359/September-October 970 at al-Manṣūriyya near al-Ḳayrawān to the prince Nizār (the future al-ʿAzīz) by an anonymous *umm walad* [*q.v.*], who is referred to in the sources as *al-Sayyida al-ʿAzīziyya* (al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1978, 94, 111; al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ed. Dj. al-Shayyāl *et alii*, Cairo 1967 ff., i, 271, 292; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1981, 175). When her mother died in Cairo in Shawwāl 385/November 995, the daughter held a death-watch at her tomb for one month (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 288-9); she inherited her mother's slave girl Taḳarrub (d. 415/1025), who became her confidante and served her as a spy (al-Musabbiḥī, 111). Like the other daughters of Fāṭimid caliphs, Sitt al-Mulk never married, probably for dynastic reasons. Beloved by her father al-ʿAzīz, she was showered with gifts and provided with a lucrative appanage so that she was able to establish large charitable endowments, e.g. wells, reservoirs, baths, etc. (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 33; Lev, *The Fatimid Princess*, 321).

When her father al-ʿAzīz died suddenly in Bilbays on 28 Ramaḍān 386/13 October 996, the princess, then 26 years old, accompanied by the *Ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, the Bearer of the Parasol Raydān (or Zaydān) and other courtiers, hurried to Cairo with the palace guard (*al-ḳaṣriyya*) in order to occupy the palace; according to Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 44, she planned to take over and to hand the power to her cousin, a son of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿizz. But she was prevented from entering the palace and was brushed aside by the eunuch Bardjawān [*q.v.*], who placed her under house arrest and put her eleven-year old half-brother al-Manṣūr (al-Ḥākim) on the throne (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 291; Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Mughrib*, i/2, 54).

After Bardjawān's assassination by Raydān, the Bearer of the Parasol, in 390/1000, the princess seems to have exercised some influence on her young half-brother, to whom she made precious gifts and who, on his part, bestowed on her *iḳṭāʿāt* [*q.v.*] whose annual income was 100,000 dīnārs (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 15; 33). Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 60, mentions the Christian administrative personnel of her Syrian estates. During the last years of al-Ḥākim's sole reign, she seems to have become alienated from him, perhaps as a result of al-Ḥākim's desiguation of his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās as heir-apparent in 404/1013. It was Sitt al-Mulk who thereupon took al-Ḥākim's *umm walad* Ruḳayya and her son—the future caliph al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*]—to her palace in order to protect them; the young prince was brought up and educated in her household (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho *et alii*, 207, 235). In the following year, al-Ḥākim had his *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Mālik b. Saʿīd put to death because he suspected him to be in tacit understanding with the princess (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 106-7).

Sitt al-Mulk's alleged involvement in the murder of al-Ḥākim in 411/1021 is dubious; the only source for it is the Baghdādī court chronicler Hilāl al-Ṣābī [*q.v.*], whose anti-Fāṭimid bias is well-known; his report, preserved by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iv, 185-90, is pure fiction.

Neither the Christian al-Anṭākī nor the Shāfiʿī jurist al-Ḳuḍāʿī [*q.v.*]—both contemporaries and sources of the event—casts any suspicion on the princess.

After al-Ḥākim's disappearance, Sitt al-Mulk was instrumental in securing the succession to the throne of her protégé al-Ẓāhir, whom she kept under her tutelage, apparently in competition with his mother Ruḳayya (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 124-5). She had put to death the murderer of al-Ḥākim, Ibn Dawwās, a Kutāma [*q.v.*] chief (al-Ḳuḍāʿī, in Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iv, 191-2; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 125-8), and eliminated al-Ḥākim's designated heir-apparent ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās, who was serving as governor of Damascus (al-Ḳuḍāʿī, in Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iv, 194; al-Anṭākī, 236). She held the reins of government for her nephew al-Ẓāhir; in the contemporary sources she is referred to as *al-Sayyida al-ʿamma*, "the Princess-aunt" (al-Musabbiḥī, 43, 96), *al-Sayyida al-sharīfa* (*ibid.*, 110-11), or *al-Sayyida al-ʿazīza* (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 174; not to be confounded with her mother, *al-Sayyida al-ʿAzīziyya* who had died in 385/995; *ibid.*, i, 288-9). Sitt al-Mulk tried to restore order in state affairs following the mismanagement of al-Ḥākim's last years; she cancelled the *iḳṭāʿāt* and salaries which he had conferred on his favourites, and she re-imposed the illegal customs duties (*mukūs*) he had abolished (al-Anṭākī, 237). She died of dysentery, on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 413/5 February 1023 (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xxviii, 205; Ibn al-Dawādārī, vi, 346; cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 271; al-Anṭākī, 243-4; Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, repr. Beirut 1958, 180). Hence al-Maḳrīzī's statement (*loc. cit.*) that she reigned five years and eight months after al-Ḥākim's death is due to an obvious mistake.

Bibliography: H. Halm, *Der Treuhänder Gottes. Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Ḥākim*, in *Isl.*, lxii (1986), 11-72; Y. Lev, *The Fatimid Princess Sitt al-Mulk*, in *JSS*, xxxii (1987), 319-28. (H. Halm)

SIU, in some authors Siyu, is a small town 6 miles east-north-east of Pate [*q.v.*] on Pate Island. Its date of foundation is unknown. The Swahili *History of Pate* ascribes it to 903/1497; finds of Sāsānid-Islamic pottery suggest earlier occupation. The inhabitants claim Bajun origin, Bantu settlers from southern Somalia. There is a town wall, ascribed to 1843, but possibly earlier, and some houses believed by Kirkman to the 19th century. The Friday mosque has a minaret, a rarity in East Africa; the *minbar* has the earliest known inscription on wood in the region, 930/1523-4. It is no indication of the date of the mosque.

Siu is not mentioned in Arabic literature. The earliest account is that of Fra Gaspar de St. Bernardino's visit in 1606. Two Indian merchants accompanied him; they spoke the local language, presumably Swahili. They enabled him to have a conversation with the king about the Franciscan Order and the sights of the town, which the friar found had "nothing worthy of note." In 1589 Siu was attacked by the Ottoman Turks under Amīr ʿAlī Bey [see mombasa]. The king turned traitor against the Portuguese, who later imprisoned him, and destroyed 2,000 palm trees in reprisal.

Siu is not heard again until the 18th century. In 1187/1773 it was subject to Pate, but rebelled in 1190/1776. It was again subject in 1245/1829. The governor, Mataka, rebelled in 1249/1833 against Pate and against Sayyid Saʿīd of Zanzibar [see āl bū saʿīd]. He was defeated when he attacked with a force from Lamu, and again on a second attempt in 1259/1843. In 1263/1847 the erection of a fort was begun, which is known to have been occupied by Sayyid Madjīd's soldiers in 1857. Shortly, it seems, there was another rebellion, but from 1863 the town was independent, only to be recovered by Zanzibar in the mid-1860s. The fort still stands today.

Siu was not simply a fishing and agricultural community. There was a substantial material culture: cloth manufacture, embroidery, woodworking and furniture, silverware, leather-work, sandal-making, paper manufacture, book copying and binding. It was notable for its poets and poetesses, not least the celebrated Mwana Kupona, wife of Mataka. The ascription to Siu of a bound copy of portions of the Ḳurʾān in the Royal Asiatic Society's library, found at Witu, is based solely on the copyist's *nisba* of *al-Siwī*, an unwarrantable assumption.

Bibliography: Gaspar de St. Bernardino and Swahili *History of Pate*, in G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African coast: select documents*, Oxford 1962 (in English); Mwana Kupona, *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*, ed. and tr. A. Werner and W. Hichens, Medstead 1934; J. Strandes, *The Portuguese period in East Africa* (1899), Eng. tr. ed. J.S. Kirkman, Nairobi 1961; C.S. Nicholls, *The Swahili Coast*, London 1971: G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville and B.G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); R. Wilding, *A note on Siu Fort*, in *Azania*, viii (1973); [W.]H. Brown, *Siyu, town of the craftsmen*, in *Azania*, xxiii (1988) (with rich bibl.); S. Digby, *A Qurʾān from the East African coast*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, no. 7, London 1975; and information kindly supplied by Dr. M.C. Horton. (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

SIVAS [see sīwās].

SĪWA, an oasis in northwestern Egypt.

"A jewel, the most fascinating of the Egyptian oases": thus Nancy McGrath (*Guide to Egypt*, ed. 1983-4, 403) describes the renowned oasis which, in early 1995, was the site of a sensational event, the discovery of the alleged tomb of Alexander the Great, some 25 km/16 miles from the temple of Zeus-Amon. Sīwa, Ammonium in ancient times, is indeed a large and pleasant oasis, the most westerly of the five Egyptian oases, situated only some 50 km/31 miles (as the crow flies) from the frontier of Libya. A road 300 km/186 miles in length, entirely asphalted since 1983, links it to Marsa-Matrouh, the ancient Paraetonium, situated to the north-east on the Mediterranean.

1. *The site*

Sīwa and the oases grouped under this name are located in a depression some 80 km/50 miles in length lying on a west-east axis, the base of which is some 20 m/65 feet below sea-level. From this a number of holms emerge, two of them sheltering the localities of Sīwa and Aghurmī, separated by a distance of 3 km/2 miles. It is at the latter site, on a rocky plateau, as well as a few hundred metres away at Umm ʿUbayda, that the remains of the temple of Amon have been found; this was constructed by the Pharaoh Amasis (26th dynasty) probably during the period which also saw the restoration of the oracular temple of Apollo at Delphi, accidentally destroyed by fire in 548 B.C., with the aid of an international fund to which the Pharaoh had contributed. The humble appearance of the temple of Amon today does not reflect the reverence in which its oracle was long held in ancient times.

The population of the oasis, which—an unusual phenomenon for Egypt—is Berber-speaking, may be estimated at between 8,000 and 10,000 inhabitants, this figure including the village of Gara, or Ḳāret Umm al-Ṣaghāʾir, some 100 km/62 miles to the east on the edge of the depression of Ḳaṭṭāra, which is in

fact the eastern extremity of the Berberophone region. This depression, 300 m/985 feet below sea-level, cannot be crossed without risk of being stranded, trapped in the soft sand. In June 1964, five young Germans, attempting to trace in reverse the course of Rommel's advance on El Alamein, died of thirst there.

A curiosity of Sīwa is the ancient citadel, today in ruins, called Shālī (*šal-i* = "my country", cf. Laoust, *Sīwa*, 301), a fortified village built on a hill overlooking the "modern" town. In an interesting short work by Bettina Léopoldo (cf. *Oasis*) ample descriptions will be found, not only of the traditional architecture but also of the economy, crafts and professions, religious and secular customs. Furthermore, it should be stressed that the article by E. Laoust in *EI*[1] is still, more than two-thirds of a century after its composition, a mine of information.

The wealth of Sīwa derives fundamentally from its dates, renowned since ancient times. In second place, but a considerable distance behind the 200,000 or so date-palms, the 40,000 olive-trees contribute extensively to the revenues of the Īsīwān (people of Sīwa).

As for the ambitious irrigation and drainage scheme called "New Valley", which was inaugurated in 1954 and involved the five major Egyptian oases, it seems to have been pursued with less energy in the case of Sīwa than in that of Khārga. In the past, agricultural work was for a long time the preserve of the *zaggāla*, unmarried labourers, not allowed to live within the walls, even reduced, it is said, to practising marriage between men, supposedly legal until the visit of King Fu'ād I in 1923.

Currently, while young men may leave the region to pursue their studies, women are still confined to the oasis. Their role in the family remains, however, primordial: in her home, the wife takes the decisions, holds the purse-strings and brings up her children as she sees fit. "If our children speak Sīwī (*žlan n isīwān*)," it was said in early September 85 by a deputy mayor, "it is to our womenfolk that they owe it". Six months later, television made its appearance. It is hardly likely that that there will be a great deal of broadcasting in the Berber Language, but it must be hoped that, at the end of this first decade, the damage will not prove to be too great. Determined efforts must be made to preserve this language which, at the time of Alexander's visit to the oasis in 331 B.C., had perhaps been spoken there for as many centuries as have passed since then, although it must be admitted that this hypothesis has no more corroboration than that of the presence of the tomb of the "Son of Amon" at Ammonium.

2. *The language*

Regarded over the past two centuries by European travellers as related to Berber, the language of Sīwa has been the object of many studies, varying considerably in terms of the scope and the rigour of the description. Two of them may be considered thorough and comprehensive. That of E. Laoust (*Sīwa*), appearing in 1931, has constituted and still constitutes a work of great value, for its grammatical and syntactical analysis as well as for its ethnographical information, with however one serious error in the verbal system. That of Werner Vycichl (*Sketch*), the manuscript of which the present author read in 1989-90, is absolutely remarkable in terms of the detail, the rigour and the thoroughness of its descriptions. The question of the pertinence of vocalic quantity and accentuation could usefully be the object of further and deeper verifications.

The personal visit (September 1985) on the part of the author of this article had as its primary object study of the use of the verbal system, in particular that of the theme of the resultative perfect, that Berber peculiarity, then the syntax of relatives and focalisation.

First of all, some remarks on phonology; the consonantal system presents few difficulties. The affricative pronunciation [*ǧ*] of the fricative *ž*, since noted by W. Vycichl and transcribed by him as *j* (*Sketch*, 44-5), did not register with this writer. As for the opposition of emphasis *r-ṛ* in *ajrā* "small bottle" ~ *ajṛā* "frog", it is possible, bearing in mind the notation *ažraū*, pl. *ižrawən* of Laoust (*Siwa* 245), that the emphaticisation of *ṛ* may be owed to the vowel/consonant *u/w*.

The opposition *ə-ă* or *ă* which K.-G. Prasse has established for Tuareg (*Manuel*, i-iii, 13), referring to its discovery by J. Lanfry (*Ghadamès*, p. xxxiv), was not observed at Sīwa. As for the vocalic quantity which in Tuareg opposes the perfect *iγra* "he studied, he read" to the resultative perfect *iγrā* "he has studied, he has read", this seems to have no relevance in Sīwī. This dialect indicates the resultative otherwise, and opposes *iγra* to *iγraya*, where the length of the first *a* is definitely phonetic but not distinctive. In a brief and excellent recapitulation of the characteristics of Sīwī, based on Laoust's study corrected by that of A. Basset (cf. *Problème*), Prasse does not mention the vocalic quantity. The present writer only became aware of this article (cf. *Isiwan*) several months after returning from Sīwa.

When, some four years later, this writer read the text of W. Vycichl, it was to find recorded there not only the length but also the accentuation, which poses a problem with regard to the notations of Basset and of Prasse, to the texts of Laoust and to this writer's own observations. In fact, the author distinguishes here between four cases: for example for *a* he differentiates long and accented *â* from long and unaccented *ā*, from short and accented *â* and from short and unaccented *a*. But it is puzzling to read that long and unaccented vowels "are effectively short", as in *ā* of *terwāwên* "children" (*Sketch*, 43). Still more disconcerting is the fact that *e*, even when accented, can disappear: thus *ifessên* "hands" is heard as *if=ss=n*, = being simply "a space between consonants" (*Sketch*, 48). Particularly to be noted is another novelty represented by the change in position of the accent after a preposition. As opposed to *isīwân* "the Sīwīs" we have *jlān n isîwān* "the language of the Sīwīs". As opposed to *terwāwên* we have *i terwâwēn* "to the children" (*Sketch*, 35, 81, 82).

Finally, most interesting seems to be the combination of a change of accent and of length, or of timbre, with the suffixing, to an adjective of an *a*, the meaning of which remains mysterious. In this writer's personal judgment, to the adjective *akways*, fem. *tkwayst* (cf. Egyptian Arabic *kwayəs*, fem. *kwaysa* "good, well") there should correspond a plural *kwaysina* which, alongside the Arabic *kwaysin*, could be considered analogous with the resultative perfect of a verb, e.g. *yuṭnina* "they are (fallen) ill", as opposed to the perfect *yuṭnən* "they fell ill".

Vycichl says that his informants differ over the sense of the *a* termination. For ʿAbd Allāh Baghī (who was also consulted by this writer), *akwayyis* means "good, in my opinion" and *akwayyis-a* "good, as everyone should know" (*Sketch*, 89). For others, it is a case only of variants, which recalls the analysis of verbal themes by Laoust when he says for example that "an *a* sound, enigmatic in sense, lengthens all forms" (*Sīwa*, 63) or that "the paradigm of the conjugation of the

perfect presents *certain variants* (our italics) in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural". For him, *iflīna* is merely a variant of *ifən* (*Sīwa*, 56, 57), whereas in fact what we have is the resultative perfect "they have passed", as opposed to the perfect "they passed". What exacerbates the difficulty is the assertion by Vycichl of the lengthening, indeed the super-lengthening of the last vowel of an interrogative term; this leads to the distinction of three lengths, for example, *é*, *ê* and *êe*... (*Sketch*, 89); it would be interesting to check the phonological pertinence of this phenomenon.

In any case, the difference of form [*i*...]a, is determinant for the opposition of two verbal themes, the perfect *ilsən ikəbrawən ənnsən trarən* "they put on their new clothes" and the resultative perfect *ilsina*... "they have put on..., they wear..." It is surprising that Laoust should have called "passive" a form furnished with this "augmentation" [*i*...]a or [*a*...]a, given that he has occasion to use it with a direct object (A. Leguil, *Notes*, 16). It was R. Basset who drew attention to Laoust's error in four articles dated 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1940 (cf. *Problème*); and, in contesting the analysis of this original form of Sīwī, he identified it with an important verbal theme exclusive to Tuareg, discovered by de Foucauld. In 1948 he called this theme "intensive preterite", and labelled as "intensive aorist" the so-called "habitual form", which, to his credit, he had integrated into the tense/aspect system in 1929 (*Verbe*, p. L). It is to L. Galand that we owe the terminology that best describes the functioning of the latter (*Système, Continuité*, n. 193).

As regards the special theme, Basset had in 1952 concluded that the formal differences between that of Tuareg and those of Sīwa and of Awdjīla "are a case of dialectal innovation" (*Langue*, 14). Here there is effectively an instance of aspectual dynamic (doubling of the perfect and/or of the imperfect) remarkably described by D. Cohen for the most diverse languages (*Phrase*, ch. 6; *Aspect*, ch. 4). Consequently, it is particularly noticeable that to the aorist-perfect opposition, analysed by Bentolila (*Grammaire*, 156, n. 140), there corresponds at Sīwa a perfect-resultative perfect relationship. Thus in

(1) *af-ənni ammʷa-t-sən iləḥq-in* (*nətnən*) *iwnina* (resultative perfect) *i adrar* "when their brother joined them, they had (already) set out to climb the hill", if we substitute... *iwnən* (perfect)... we would have "... they climbed...". The justification of the term *resultative* seems particularly apt if in

(2) *nətta yuṭina* (resultative perfect) *g ifəḍ-ənnəs, bead yuṭa* (perfect) (*fəll-as*) "he has hurt his knee, because he fell (down)", we substitute ... *yuṭaya* (resultative perfect) "... he has fallen (and he is still on the ground)".

Another peculiarity of Sīwī is its residual *injunctive*, comparable to that of Kabyle (Chaker, *Kabylie*, 206). In

(3) *ga-ṛṛuḥwət ga-nẓərwət wən n ğəbbant* "Let us go to see those of the cemetery (the dead)"—there is a combination of *wət*, the imperative suffix, with *ga-ṛṛuḥ* "we shall go" and *ga-nẓər* "we shall see", where *ṛuḥ* and *ẓər* are in the "non-real" mode (terminology of F. Bentolila, *Grammaire*, 146).

At variance with Morocco, but as in Kabylia and in Tuareg (Galand, *Continuité* 302; Prasse, *Manuel*, pp. vi-vii, 37-8), a succession of unreals serves to denote a continuous recurrent series:

(4) *ga-nnkər əsrah, ga-nšədd lkarro, ga-ṛṛuḥ i lγeṭ*... "We rise in the morning, we take the cart, we make our way to the fields..." (Leguil, *Notes*, 63).

While the Sīwī verbal system shows remarkable fidelity to its Berber identity, the syntax of relatives, for its part, is in a process of powerful "contamination" by Arabic structures. As early as 1925, at the time of Laoust's visit, it had lost the participial subject-marker which permits a distinction, e.g. in Kabyle between *iğr iḵrzn* "the field (which is) worked" from *iğr iḵrz* "the field is worked", and the state of annexation which distinguishes *iḵrz yiğr*, lit. "it is worked, the field" from *iḵrz iğr* "he has worked the field". In addition, there used to be three supportive relative pronouns: *wən*, *tən*, and *wiyən*. In 1985 this last had disappeared. And above all, there is now the obligatory presence of a pronoun of recall. Thus the phrase of Laoust (*Siwa*, 119):

(5) *rədd-i lgruš wiyən səllfy-aka*, lit "Give me the moneys that I have lent you" has become

(6) *rədd-i lgruš wən səllfy-ak-tina*, lit. "... that I have lent them to you" (Laoust, *Notes*, 69).

Laoust (*Sīwa*, 119) has also asserted the absence of the particle of prominence *a*(*d*), *ay*, *i*, such a typical feature of Berber. In fact, this is not the only signifier of focalisation, especially in the negative, where Sīwī clearly opposes the focalising statement (7) to the neutral statement (8):

(7) *qəči ənkənum ukərəm* "It is not you who has stolen".

(8) *l ukərəm* "You have not stolen".

3. *Myths and history*

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the Berber language may already have been thousands of years old at the time of the visit of Alexander the Great to the temple of Amon. Alongside this astonishing antiquity, the existence in this remote oasis of a renowned oracle was another singularity. For Camps (in *Enc. berb.*, A196), whatever may be the origin of the Amon of Sīwa, it was through the Greeks of Cyrenaica that its reputation became supreme throughout the Mediterranean world under the name of Zeus-Amon, with a humanised effigy, showing the features of a bearded individual whose horns are barely visible in his curly hair. The cult enjoyed remarkable success in the Hellenistic world, especially after Alexander's sojourn in Sīwa; the coinage struck in honour of this effigy was to show it rendered divine with the ram's horns of Zeus-Amon and was perhaps to contribute, even a thousand years later, in the centuries following the Muslim conquest of the 640s, to bestowing upon the Macedonian "a sacred dimension from the moment that he is identified with Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn (the bicorn, or man with two horns) "to whom the Ḳur'ān attributes the conquest of all inhabited lands", in the words of Ahmed Siraj in *L'histoire* (May 1995), 41. The same issue, which contains an excellent study of Alexander (22-41), also quotes P. Briant who, three months before, was still dubious regarding the sensational announcement by the Greek archeologist Liana Souvaltzi of the discovery at Sīwa of the tomb of Alexander, as saying that "the balloon was soon deflated, through the expertise brought to bear by specialists" (36).

What became of the oracle of Zeus-Amon after the Macedonian had himself recognised there as son of the god and proclaimed, as shortly before at Memphis, Pharaoh of Egypt, the first of the 32nd dynasty? According to Cl. Savary, having become Jupiter-Amon under the Romans, the oracle, although in decline, continued to be consulted at least until the 6th century A.D. (Leopoldo, *Oasis*, 17). The fact is, however, that with the edict of 391 the Emperor Theodosius ordered the closure of all pagan temples and prohibited sacrifices. According to Vycichl, local traditions show traces of a Christian past to which the ruins of Beld er-Rum, a Greek or Christian village,

bear witness; but he challenges the "extravagant stories" related notably by the so-called *Manuscript of Siwa* (*Sketch*, 21). It is by the name *Santariya*, probably of Greek origin, that two Arab authors, al-Bakrī (d. 486/1094) and al-Idrīsī (d. 561/1166) refer to Sīwa; and it is al-Maḳrīzī (d. 846/1442) who gives it this last name and calls its language Sīwī, associating it with the Zenata group described by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 809/1406).

In a very recent work, Salem Chaker reckons that "no historical fact later than the establishment of Pharaonic Egypt could explain the appearance of the Berbers and of their language in North Africa". In his estimation, on the basis of the common Hamito-Semitic stock, "Berber was constituted in the form of a distinct group between the 8th and the 7th millennium B.C." (*Ling. berb.*, 209).

In Vycichl's excellent work (*Sketch*, 26-34) will be found a thorough survey on the studies, of varying importance, contributed by a score of authors who have documented Sīwa and/or its language from Brown (1799) to Aḥmad Fakhrī (1973, cf. *Oases*). It seems that for centuries the oasis was independent, threatened only by Bedouins. In 1820, it was subjugated by Muḥammad ʿAlī, whose representative was however assassinated in 1838. Laoust (*Islam*) indicates that Muḥammad al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*] spent several months here and acquired disciples here. Some decades later, the chief of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] engaged in conflict with the Anglo-Egyptians, using Sīwa as a base (1915-17). Finally, during the Second World War, Rommel, a fervent admirer of Alexander the Great, paid a visit to Siwa and was received there by Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥayda (Léopoldo, *Oasis*, 23-4). During the present writer's brief stay (1-4 September 1985), the oasis was occupied by a large force of Egyptian troops; there was suspicion of predatory intentions on the part of the Libyan "big brother". However, in March 1988, the frontier, closed since July 1977, was re-opened, as a result of the diplomatic efforts of Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Tunisia, although Gaddafi (Ḳadhdhāfī) has still refused any restoration of normal relations with Egypt.

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(A. Leguil)

SIWĀK [see miswāk].

SĪWĀS, the form found in Islamic sources from the 6th/12th century onwards for the Turkish town of Sivas, a town of north-east central Anatolia, lying in the broad valley of the Kızıl Irmak [*q.v.*] at an altitude of 1,275 m/4,183 feet (lat. 39° 44' N., long. 37° 01' E.). It is now the chef-lieu of the *il* or province of the same name in the modern Turkish Republic.

There may well have been a Hittite settlement there, but the site only emerges into history as the Roman city of Sebasteia, the capital of Armenia Minor under Diocletian. It was a wealthy and flourishing city in Byzantine times. In 1021, the Armenian king Senekʿerim Hovhannes of Vaspurakan ceded his dominions to the Emperor Basil II, and he and his successors became the Byzantine viceroys of Sebasteia until the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in 1071. Thereafter, it became the capital of the main branch of the Türkmen Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] until it was taken by the Rūm Saldjūḳ Ḳilič Arslan II in 570/1174, becoming, with Konya, one of the Saldjūḳ capitals.

It then acquired an upper and a lower citadel, with the lower one completed in 621/1224, according to an inscription. There were also mosques and *medreses* from this century; the oldest building extant in the town today, the Ulu Djāmiʿ, may conceivably go back to Dānishmendid times, though its minaret has been assigned, on stylistic grounds, to the 7th/13th century. Only four of the numerous *medreses* survive today, the oldest being the hospital of Sultan Kay Kāwūs I, founded in 614/1217 and transformed into a *medrese* in Ottoman times; all the other three date from 670/1271, when the Saldjūḳs were vassals of the Il Khānids, including that of Muẓaffar Burūdjirdī or Ḥādjdjī Masʿūd, which now houses the Sivas Museum.

Sivas early became the centre of the Anatolian caravan trade, with merchants travelling northwards to Sinop, Samsun and the Crimea and east-westwards between Tabrīz and Constantinople. Genoese notaries occasionally functioned in the town, and in 700/1300 they established there a consul. The roads to the town crossed the Kızıl Irmak on important bridges, three of these still standing, including one built by Mubāriz al-Dīn Ertokush, Atabeg to one of the sons of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh I, and there were numerous *khāns* along the roads to the town, several endowed by the Saldjūḳ-Il Khānid vizier, Muʿīn al-Dīn Parwāna [*q.v.*]

(cf. K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1961, i, 79-80).

With the decline of Il Khānid power in Anatolia during the 8th/14th century, local lines appeared in the Sivas region, of varying extent and durability. One of these was Eretna Beg (d. 753/1352 [*q.v.*]), whose capital was Sivas, and then in 783/1381, the *Ḳāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad [*q.v.*], formerly vizier and *nā'ib* of Eretna's grandson. Before this time, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had visited Sivas, which he thought was the largest town of the Il Khānid dominions in Anatolia. The local *akhīs* [*q.v.*] were strong in the town, and may have played a role in the internecine struggles for the succession of Eretna Beg, able to take over power in the absence of a recognised ruler (*Riḥla*, ii, 289-92, tr. Gibb, ii, 434-6).

Sivas was plundered several times, but was able to recover. However, the end of the 8th/14th century brought a cataclysm. The town surrendered, after the death in battle in 800/1398 of *Ḳāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn, to the Ottoman Bāyezīd I Yïldïrïm, and thus became a prime target of Tīmūr's onslaught. It had to surrender in 803/1400; the garrison and many inhabitants were massacred, and the fortifications dismantled. Even in 859/1455, the date of the first Ottoman *taḥrīr* recording the tax-paying population of Sivas, it apparently lay largely in ruins. It had 560 tax-payers, 214 Muslims and 346 non-Muslims: at most, a total population of 3,000. Only a number of *zāwiyas* seem to have been active, possibly providing the core around which Sivas gradually revived.

The 10th/16th century was likewise troubled. During the war with Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, Selīm I killed large numbers of real or suspected Shī'ī sympathisers. During Süleymān's reign, in 933-4/1526-7, there was a rebellion of the rural population of the region, and even after its suppression, other outbreaks occurred, in one of which, it appears, the poet Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl was involved, leading to his death. In *ca.* 1008-9/1600, the town and its hinterland were ravaged by the Djelālī leader Ḳarayazïdjï [see DJALĀLĪ, in Suppl.].

In Ottoman times, Sivas was the administrative centre of the *eyālet* of Rūm, the core of which consisted of the *sandjaks* of Sīwās-Tōḳad, Niksār, Čorum, Amāsya, Djānīk (Samsun) and Ḳaraḥiṣār-ï Sharḳī. Apart from these *sandjaks*, sometimes known as Rūm-ï ḳadīm, there was a second division, known as Rūm-ï ḥadīth, which encompassed the *sandjaks* of Diwrigi, Kemākh, Bāybūrd and Malaṭya. In 982/1574-5, a *taḥrīr* of the city counted 3,386 taxpayers, of whom 1,987 were Christians. Only 311 unmarried men were listed, probably an undercount. If we make the conventional assumption that a household contained five members, the tax-paying population should have amounted to slightly over 15,000 persons. Even if we make a generous allowance for tax-exempt and therefore non-registered soldiers and officials—who were probably numerous, given the rank of Sivas as a provincial capital located in a troubled area—it is unlikely that total population was much higher than 20,000.

The text also mentioned a *ḳal'e-yi köhne*, presumably in contrast to the more recently constructed fortress (re)built by Meḥmed Fātiḥ in 861/1456-7, according to an inscription published in 1840 but since lost. At the end of the 10th/16th century, Sivas possessed a covered market and at least two tanneries, in addition to a dyehouse and a brewery for millet beer (*boza*); it also functioned as a market for the salt produced in the surrounding villages. Different mosques owned a total of 170 shops, and the 10th/16th century mosque of Ḥasan Pasha drew a yearly income of 12,400 *aḳčes* from the tenants of its 74 shops. As usual all over Anatolia, Sivas was surrounded by vegetable gardens; but that the latter could also be found within the old fortress may indicate the population losses which the town had suffered since its apogee in the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods.

For the 11th/17th century, two major sources are the reports of Kātib Čelebi and Ewliyā Čelebi. Kātib Čelebi and his collaborators describe Sivas as constituting the centre (*pasha sandjaghï*) of the *wilāyet* of Rūm, which now consisted of Amāsya, Bozoḳ, Djānīk, Čorum, Diwrigi and 'Arabgīr. Ewliyā Čelebi's description is far more explicit: he distinguishes the town walls from the Ič Ḥiṣār, which consisted of two parts. The town walls, 10,500 paces in circumference, still showed traces of their former strength, but many sections lay in ruins, probably since Tīmūr's time. The upper fortress possessed a small garrison, but the cannons were out of order. This citadel was not much frequented, and mainly used for the storage of valuables. More lively was the lower fortress which Ewliyā also calls the Pasha ḥiṣārï, the administrative centre of the *wilāyet*, where the governor held his *dīwān* four times a week. Within the walls of the town, Ewliyā recorded 4,600 houses in "forty" *maḥalles* (possibly intended as a synonym for "many"), the Christians, both Greek and Armenian, living in two quarters close to the Kayseri gate. Among the mosques he mentions the Ulu Djāmi' and Ḳodja Ḥasan Pasha Djāmi'i, the latter with its associated shops, already known from the 10th/16th century *taḥrīrs*. Among the *medreses*, Ewliyā especially praises a structure which he calls the Ḳïzïl *medrese*. He also mentions the existence of 18 *khāns*, and the *bedestān*, probably with some exaggeration, is credited with a thousand shops. Apart from tanneries there were many shoemakers' workshops. A variety of cotton fabrics was manufactured. Not too long before Ewliyā's visit, a dignitary at the court of Sultan Murād IV had had the *sipāh bazārï* rebuilt in stone. Ewliyā noted that both Turkish and Kurdish were spoken in the town. Where agriculture was concerned, he commented that the cold weather prevented fruit from ripening, but that grains, lentils and chickpeas did very well.

Two authors of the same period provide information on the Christians of Sivas: the Polish Armenian Simeon, who travelled in Anatolia 1017-28/1608-19, and the Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, describing the mid-11th/17th century travels of his father, the Patriarch Macarius. Simeon claimed that the Armenian population recently had declined from 2,000 to 600 households. Many of the surrounding villages were also deserted, probably due to the Djelālī rebellions. Paul of Aleppo also thought that the local Christian community was very small. This author mentions a new church with a high cupola, dedicated to St. George and built in the reign of Sultan Murād IV. An *āyāzma* commemorated the martyrs of Sebasteia, while the former church of St. Philasius was now in Turkish hands.

At the end of the 12th/18th century, Domenico Sestini experienced Sivas in the throes of a rebellion of both Turks and Armenians against the high taxes demanded by the local *mütesellim*. It is unlikely that he saw much of the town itself, but he thought that it held 15,000 inhabitants. In the 19th century, Sivas was visited by several European travellers. V. Fontanier mentions a register, according to which Sivas consisted of 8,000 houses, or 40,000 inhabitants, including about 3,000 Armenians. Among Armenian merchants

operating in Sivas, he encountered some who traded in nut galls from Mawṣil, tobacco from Malaṭya, and particularly, copper; apparently Sivas, Kayseri and Tarsus had taken over the copper trade from Tokat. Andreas Mordtmann, Sen., visited Sivas in the middle of the 19th century, but although he paints a rather pessimistic picture, he estimated the population at approximately 50,000.

For the late 19th century, Cuinet and Shems al-Dīn Sāmī provide fairly detailed information, which can be completed from the *sāl-nāmes* of this period. At this time, the *wilāyet* of Sīwās was much smaller than it had been in the 10th/16th century, and consisted merely of the *merkez sandjak* of Sīwās, in addition to Tokat, Amāsya and Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Sharḳī (modern Şebinkarahısar). Urban population consisted of about 43,000 persons, 32,500 of whom were Muslims. Quite a few crafts mentioned in older sources were still being practiced, such as the work of local gold- and silversmiths, while tanneries were active and the salt-pans of the *ḳaḍā* were also in productive use. High-quality rugs and carpets were being manufactured, in addition to the elaborately-adorned socks for which the area is still known today. However, agriculture produced exclusively for the local market, as transport over poor roads to the ports of the Black Sea was prohibitively expensive.

During the Turkish War of Independence, Sivas was the site of one of the major congresses of the Müdāfaʿa-yi Ḥuḳūḳ Djemʿiyyeti, which organised national resistance against the partition of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. This congress met from 4 to 11 September 1919; apart from 31 provincial delegates, it was also attended by a number of civil and military authorities. The congress members announced their determination to defend Turkish territory by military force if necessary, and confirmed the election of Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) as chairman of the executive committee of the national resistance movement (see E. Zürcher, *Turkey, a modern history*, London 1993, 156-7). However, even though Sivas had originally been selected as a meeting-site because it was considered one of the safest places in Turkey, in the end Ankara with its rail connections, became the seat of the National Assembly. In 1927, the first census conducted by the Republican government showed the lack of dynamism due to a decade of war; Sivas was still a modest town of about 30,000 inhabitants.

Public investment was soon to modify this picture. Between 1930 and 1936, Sivas became an important railway junction, as the city was linked to Kayseri, Samsun and Erzurum. The factory established in Sivas for the construction and repair of locomotives and waggons remains one of the major industrial enterprises of the province. A cement plant was also constructed, and by 1950, the town had acquired a population of over 50,000. According to the 1980 census, the population of Sivas had experienced an unprecedented growth spurt in the recent past, and now amounted to about 173,000 persons. But industrial investment has been insufficient, and local roads have remained underdeveloped to the present day, and continue to hamper the expansion of trade in agricultural produce, still the main wealth of the province.

Cultural life has drawn strength from a vigorous peasant culture, which expresses itself in village plays and games, kilims and, particularly, folk poetry and music. Beginning with a School of Medicine, a University began to function in the 1980s. But Sivas has not remained immune to the communal tensions of recent years, which culminated in the attack on a literary conference held in the city in 1993; amongst the 36 victims was the writer Asım Bezirci.

Bibliography: For full bibls., see the arts. *Swas* in *İA* (Besim Darkot) and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, ix, 6835-6963 (various authors). See also Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 622; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 195-207; D. Sestini, *Voyage à Bassora*, Paris 1798, 57-65; Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, *The travels of Macarius*, tr. A.C.F. Belfour, London 1836, ii, 443-4; V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient enterprises par ordre du gouvernement français de 1830 à 1833*, Paris 1839, 149-71; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*, Berlin 1876, 205-6; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, Paris 1892, 643-702; Shems al-Dīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1311/1893-4, iv, 2794-9; M. van Berchem and Halil Edhem, *CIA*, pt. iii, *Asie Mineure*, vol. i, Cairo 1917, 1-54 (excellent photographs); A.D. Mordtmann, Senr., *Anatolien. Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850-1859)*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 151-7; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris 1934, ii, 131-64; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *15. ve 16. asırlarda Eyâlet-i Rum*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iv (1965), 51-62; Hanna Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 156-7, 162-3, 172-83; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, rev. Fr. version, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Paris 1988; Aptullah Kuran, *Anadolu medreseleri*, Ankara 1969, i, 90-6, 115-16; Metin Sözen, *Anadolu medreseleri. Selçuk ve Beylikler devri*, Istanbul 1970, i, 49-63, 90-4; Yaşar Yücel, *Kadi Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970; M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*, repr. London 1977, 41-5; *Osmanlı yıllıkları (salnameler ve nevsaller)*, Istanbul 1982, 460-73; Zeki Coçkun, *Aleviler, Sünniler ve... oteki Sivas*, Istanbul 1996.

(Suraiya Faroqhi)

SIWRI ḤIṢĀR, also written Sifri Ḥiṣār, i.e. strong fortress (see Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje-yi ʿOthmānī*, 459), the early Turkish and Ottoman name of two small towns in northwestern and western Anatolia respectively.

1. The more important one is the modern Turkish Sivrihisar, in the modern *il* or province of Eskişehir. It lies on the Eskişehir-Ankara road roughly equidistant from each, south of the course of the Porsuk river and north of the upper course of the Saḳarya [*q.v.*] (lat. 39° 29' N., long. 31° 32' E., altitude 1,050 m/3,440 feet). Siwri Ḥiṣār is on the northern slope of the Günesh Dagh; the citadel of the town was built on this mountain. The town does not date beyond the Saldjūḳ period, and has no remains of archaeological interest. But it was already known as a strong place to al-Ḳazwīnī (*Geography*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 359) and to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 99). In the 9th/14th century it formed part of the possessions of the Ḳaramān-oghlu [see ḳaramān-oghullarî], who occupied it again after Tīmūr's conquest. The latter had his headquarters there for a time. But under Meḥemmed I, Siwri Ḥiṣār was annexed to the Ottoman dominions (see e.g. ʿĀshiḳ-Pasha-zāde, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese; ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 177). In the 11th/17th century the town belonged to the *sandjak* of Khudāwendigār (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 656), but in the new system of administrative division, it became the capital of a *ḳaḍā* in the *sandjak* of Ankara. Towards the end of the 19th century it had about 11,000 inhabitants,

of whom 4,000 were Armenians (Sāmī). There is a mosque there attributed to the Saldjūḳ vizier Amīn al-Dīn Mīkā'īl, with a library of 1,500 volumes.

Near Siwri Ḥiṣār there are relics of important centres of classical and Byzantine times. These are the ruins of Pessinus, near the village of Bālā Ḥiṣār, to the south-east of Siwri Ḥiṣār (Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, ii, pl. lxii); and towards the south, on the other bank of the Saḳarya, near Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza, the remains of the Byzantine town of Amorium, known in early Arabic historical sources as ʿAmmūriya [*q.v.*].

After the First World War, Siwri Ḥiṣār was occupied by the Greek army from July 1921 to September 1922. In 1965 it had a population of 7,414.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 153; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1858, ix/1, 525, 577; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 287; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2582; *Belediyeler yıllığı*, Ankara 1950, iii, 363-7; *İA*, art. *Sivrihisar* (Besim Darkot).

2. The modern Turkish Seferi Hisar lies near the Sığacık bay shore of the Aegean, 30 km/18 miles south-west of Izmir and is in the *il* or province of Izmir, being the chef-lieu of an *ilce* or district of this last (lat. 38° 10' N., long. 26° 48' E.). In pre-Ottoman times, it came within the *beylik* or principality of the Aydîn-Oghullarî [*q.v.*]. Under Bāyezīd II, it was the refuge of the corsair Ḳara Ṭurmîsh (von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 346). Ewliyā Čelebi passed through it in 1081/1670 (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 130-2). In the late 19th century, Sāmī gave its population as 3,640 (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 2582); in 1965 it was 5,259.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 493-6; *Belediyeler yıllığı*, iii, 272-8; *İA*, *loc. cit.*

(J.H. Kramers-[C.E. Bosworth])

ṢIYĀGHA [see ṣāʾigh].

SIYĀH-ḲALEM, Central Asian, Turkman or Persian painter of the 15th century.

Sixty-five paintings and drawings in two albums (Topkapı Saray Libr., Istanbul, H2153 and H2160) are inscribed *Ustād Muḥammad Siyāh-Ḳalem* "Master Muḥammad Black Pen". Neither the wording nor the calligraphy of the inscriptions is uniform, and the works on which they appear vary significantly in style. As a result, scholars disagree on the identity of the artist, whether the inscriptions containing his name are signatures or later ascriptions, and the context in which the works attributed to him were produced.

The most thorough examination of Siyāh-ḳalem and the albums containing his works are the proceedings of a Percival David Foundation colloquy, *Between China and Iran. Paintings from four Istanbul albums* (London 1980). Although albums H2153 and H2160 contain no patron's name or date of compilation, they have many calligraphies by scribes from the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkmen Yaʿḳūb Beg (r. 883-96/1478-90) and bear the seal of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I (r. 918-26/1512-20), found on the first and last folios of H2160. The latest calligraphies in H2160 and H2153 are dated 1512 and 1496, respectively. In addition to works inscribed *Siyāh-ḳalem*, the two albums contain 14th and 15th-century paintings and drawings in the style of Tabrīz, Harāt, Samarḳand and Baghdād, and Chinese paintings and European prints. Presumably, the albums were complete by 1512 and entered the Ottoman royal collection no later than 1520.

The works associated with Siyāh-ḳalem consist primarily of paintings of bare-chested demons and shamans, fully dressed, coarse-featured men and women, animals, and elegant princesses and angels. The most distinctive stylistic trait of these paintings is the treatment of drapery and bare flesh, which consists of wide, parallel bands of black or red with light pigment highlighting the creases of each fold. The large-scale and grotesque appearance of the figures and the unpainted ground diverge markedly from the court paintings of the major 15th-century schools of the Djalāyirids, Turkmens and Tīmūrids. While small-scale demons and grotesques are found in 15th-century manuscript illustrations, their visual impact and pictorial style bear little relation to the works attributed to Siyāh-ḳalem.

In addition to works inscribed with Siyāh-ḳalem's name, H2153 and H2160 contain 71 ascriptions to Shaykhī and three to Darwīsh Muḥammad, the two artists who added illustrations to a *Khamsa* (Topkapı Saray Libr. H762 and dispersed pages) for Yaʿḳūb Beg at Tabrīz in 886/1481. The imbalance in pictures assigned to one leading Turkmen painter and not the other has led B.W. Robinson to identify Muḥammad Siyāh-ḳalem with Darwīsh Muḥammad, on the assumption that Darwīsh Muḥammad was too important to be so under-represented in the Yaʿḳūb Beg albums. The teacher of Darwīsh Muḥammad, Shāh Muẓaffar, was known as Siyāh-ḳalem, and it is possible that the sobriquet passed from teacher to pupil.

While the subject-matter of the Siyāh-ḳalem paintings and drawings in the Istanbul albums is unconnected to that of Darwīsh Muḥammad's illustrations in the 886/1481 *Khamsa*, some of the Siyāh-ḳalem works share the intensity of palette, fineness of brushwork and wealth of detail of the illustrations. Yet the identification of Siyāh-ḳalem with Darwīsh Muḥammad presupposes the artist's ability and desire to work in markedly different styles, depicting a very broad range of subjects. Until more is learned of how Turkmen court artists worked and the circumstances under which the Siyāh-ḳalem works were produced, the identity of the artist will remain uncertain.

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(Sheila R. Canby)

SIYĀḲAT (a.), Ottoman Turkish form of the Arabic original *siyāḳa* (from *sāḳa* "drive, urge on, herd"), a technical term of ʿAbbāsid financial administration, certainly in use by the 4th/10th century with the sense of "accounting practice", "revenue bookkeeping practice" (*ʿilm al-siyāḳa wa 'l-ḥisāb*), and hence by extension the particular form of Arabo-Persian script which came to be utilised by financial bureaucrats of Turco-Islamic polities, e.g. that of the Ottomans, for the writing of both *defter*s and single documents of a financial nature (including the so-called *tapu we taḥrīr defterleri* [see daftar-i khāḳānī]. In Ottoman practice, for which alone original documentary evidence is of a comprehensive nature, it was also used for certain elements in documents such as the so-called *ḥükm-i māliyye* (cf. J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymāns des Prächtigen*, Wiesbaden 1974, docs. 2, 6) or *tewdjīh fermānlarî* (cf. Matuz, doc. 16), and for financial calculations made on incoming *ʿarḍ-u-ḥāl*s which would be used in drafting imperial orders or *buyuruldus*. These exceptions apart, *siyāḳat* was not used in legal docu-

ments, or in other documents (*hükm, nāme*) deriving from the chanceries of the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*].

A distinction has to be made between *siyāḳat* script, characterised by the prologation (alternately, the compression) of letter forms and by the virtual absence of diacritic points (cf. the examples given by A. Zajączkowski and J. Reychman, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej*, Warsaw 1955, 68-9), and *siyāḳat* numerals. The latter, the so-called *dīwān raḳamlarï*, were in effect the "written out" shapes of the numerals in Arabic, reduced to a skeletal and schematised form (cf. the useful tables in Salahettin Elker, *Divan rakamları*, Ankara 1953; actual examples in L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, 2 vols., Budapest 1955, i, 34-9 = ii, pls. i-iii). However, financial documents, the literary elements of which are written in *siyāḳat* script, frequently have the figures in whole or in part supplied in their normal "Arabic" forms. It is also perhaps worth mentioning that *siyāḳat* figures were used for the dating of Ilkhānid and late Saldjūḳ of Rūm coinage.

The *siyāḳat* script itself has been described as "squat and angular" (V.L. Ménage and M. Hinds, *Qasr Ibrīm in the Ottoman period. Turkish and further Arabic documents*, London 1991, 76), but the script in fact, in its best period, has a style and elegance which stands comparison with what are the commonly accepted more "aesthetic" forms of Perso-Arabic script (cf. the examples in Fekete, ii, *passim*). It has also been commonly regarded as difficult in the extreme to read, but in both indigenous Islamic and later western criticism there may be detected a certain amount of exaggeration. What should not be forgotten, however, is Fekete's observation (i, 9) that "no person, who is not competent to read *siyāḳat* script, is qualified to work on source-based research in [the field]".

The forms and ductus of *siyāḳat*, as used in the Ottoman financial bureaucracy, underwent a profound development from the 9th/15th to the 19th centuries. It reached its most elegant form early in the 10th/16th century; from the later 11th/17th century it becomes more stylised, with the distinction between "thick" and "thin" strokes greatly accentuated. By the era of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], Ottoman *siyāḳat* hands have in general become debased and, ultimately, before its abolition, decadent (see the later plates in Fekete, ii, *passim*). The standard manual on *siyāḳat* remains, after more than 40 years, the two-volume study by Fekete referred to above, which is unlikely ever to be superseded.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.J. Heywood)

SIYĀLKŪT, conventional rendering Sialkot, a town in the Pandjāb situated in 32° 30' N. and 74° 32' E., the foundation of which is attributed by legend to Rādjā Sālā, the uncle of the Pāṇḍavas, and its restoration to Rādjā Sālivāhan, in the time of Vikramāditya. Sālivahān had two sons, Pūran, killed by the instrumentality of a wicked step-mother, and thrown into a well, still the resort of pilgrims, near the town, and Rasālu, the mythical hero of Pandjāb folk-tales, who is said to have reigned at Siyālkūt. In A.D. 790 the fort and city were destroyed by Rādjā Narawt with the help of the Ghandauris of the Yūsufzāī country, and the fort was not restored until it was rebuilt by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām to overawe the turbulent Khokars, who preferred the feeble rule of the later Ghaznawids to the more energetic domination of their conqueror. Under the Mughal emperor Akbar, Siyālkūt became the headquarters of a *sarkār* or fiscal district, and in the middle of the 11th/17th century it fell into the hands of the Rādjpūt princes of Djammū. The mound in the centre of the town, crowned with the ruins of a fort, is popularly supposed to mark the site of Sālivāhan's stronghold, but it is in fact all that is left of the fort of Muḥammad b. Sām. Siyālkūt also contains the shrine of Bābā Nānak, the first Sikh *guru*, where an annual fair is held.

In 1799, the Siyālkūt district, and also Lahore, was acquired by the great Sikh leader Randjīt Singh [see SIKHS], and the town was planned on a rectilineal pattern by the Italian general in his service, Avitabile. In 1849 it passed, with the rest of the Pandjāb, under British control, and the old fort, now dismantled, was defended by a handful of Europeans during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. Within British India, Siyālkūt was the site of a large military cantonment, and the town itself grew in size to a population of 58,000 in 1901.

At the Partition of India in 1947, Siyālkūt came within Pakistan, and is now the chef-lieu of an intensively-cultivated District of the same name in the Lahore Division of the Pandjāb. It is now a significant manufacturing centre, including of sports equipment and surgical instruments, and in 1972 had a population of 212,000. It also has the renown, in contemporary Pakistan, of having been the birthplace of a figure regarded as one of the country's founding fathers, Sir Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: There are references in the historical sources, such as Djūzdjānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* and in Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. See also J.R. Dunlop-Smith, *Sialkot District gazetteer*, 1894-5; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 326-36.

(T.W. Haig-[C.E. Bosworth])

al-SIYĀLKŪTĪ, ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Shams al-Dīn (d. 1067/1657), counsellor of the Mughal emperor Shāh Djahān (*regn.* 1037-68/1628-58 [*q.v.*]), versatile scholar and well-known writer of glosses (*ḥawāshī*, sg. *ḥāshiya*) on a number of popular textbooks. Many of them exist in old prints and lithographs, of which a fair number have recently been reprinted. In non-Indian prints, his name often appears distorted as al-Siyalkūtī or al-Silkūtī (intended vowels unknown).

Works on which he wrote *ḥawāshī* include: (1) the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286 or later [*q.v.*]); (2) the commentary of al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389 or later) on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Nadjm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142 [*q.v.*]); (3) *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal* of al-Taftāzānī on the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]); (4) *R. fi 'l-Taṣawwurāt* of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī (d. 907/1501 [*q.v.*]); (5) the gloss of ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī (d. 912/1507) on *al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya* of Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [*q.v.*]), a commentary on the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]; (6) the commentary of al-Kulunbāwī on *al-R. al-Shamsiyya* of al-Kātibī al-Ḳazwīnī on logic.

Bibliography: Brockelman, G II², 550, S II, 613-14; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², iv, 55. (Ed.)

ṢIYĀM [see ṢAWM].

SIYĀSA (a.), verbal noun from the root *s-w-s* "to tend, manage", etymologically connected with Biblical Hebrew *sūs* "horse", originally used in Bedouin society for the tending and training of beasts, hence *sāʾis* "manager or trainer of horses, camels, etc." (this last appearing, via Hindi, in the Anglo-Indian word *syce* "groom", Fr. *çais*; see Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 885-6).

1. In the sense of statecraft, the management of affairs of state and, eventually, that of politics and political policy.

Here, the sense of training and managing animals passed early into the context of Islamic rulership, the conduct of state affairs and the management of the subject people, the *ra'iyya* [*q.v.*], doubtless influenced by the ancient Near Eastern idea of the ruler as the shepherd and director of his human flock, and perhaps also with the idea of the "man on horseback" as a symbol of authority. The semantic process at work here would appear to be parallel to that in the term *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*] "equitation" > "chivalry, knightly conduct". Hence the meaning in early Islamic usage is primarily that of "statecraft, the successful conduct of public affairs". Bernard Lewis has described this usage, with copious examples, in his exhaustive study *Siyāsa*, in A.H. Green (ed.), *In quest of an Islamic humanism. Arabic and Islamic studies in memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihi*, Cairo 1984, 3-14. He adduces examples attributing use of the word *siyāsa* to the Caliph ʿUmar and the Umayyads, and (more authentically) to the ʿAbbāsids, as when al-Masʿūdī credited al-Manṣūr with superlative *ṣawāb al-tadbīr wa-ḥusn al-siyāsa* "good administration and sound statecraft" (*Murūdj*, vi, 221 = § 2431). From Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. *ca.* 140/757 [*q.v.*]) in his *Risāla fi 'l-ṣaḥāba* comes the germ of an important future extension of meaning, that *siyāsa* is the discretionary authority of the ruler and his officials, one which they exercise outside the framework of the *Sharīʿa*, the authority conferred on the caliph and his delegates by divine sanction. There further develops from this an additional sense of *siyāsa* in Arabic, and thence in Persian and Turkish usage, that of punishment, extending as far as capital punishment, the violence which the ruler has to use in order to preserve his authority. Specifically, it implies punishment beyond the *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] penalties prescribed by the Divine Law. Lewis again quotes Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā's [*q.v.*] celebrated work on statecraft and history, *al-Fakhrī*: "*Siyāsa* is the chief resource of the king, on which he relies to prevent bloodshed, defend chastity, prevent evil, subjugate evildoers and forestall misdeeds which lead to sedition and disturbance" (ed. Derenbourg, 30, Fr. tr. Amar, 37, Eng. tr. Whitting, 20) and the fact that, in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, *siyāsat-gāh* means "place of torture or execution". In Mamlūk times, this distinction between *Sharīʿa* penalties and *siyāsa* led, as reflected in such contemporary authors as al-Maḳrīzī, to a fantastic etymological connection of *siyāsa* with the Mongol tribal law, the *yasa* (a view which was embraced by such an early Western orientalist as Silvestre de Sacy, see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 702). See further on this, 3. below, at the end.

In the more recent Arabic Middle East, sc. from the mid-19th century onwards, *siyāsa* and *siyāsī* became increasingly used in the sense of "politics, political"; the Egyptian traveller and translator Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] had used *siyāsa* as his translation for "loi, réglement" in his Arabic translation of the French constitution of 1830. Likewise, in Ottoman Turkish, whereas *siyāset* had been almost exclusively used in regard to physical punishment for offences against the state (as, e.g. in the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II), during the course of the 19th century it began to acquire the meaning of "politics", with Ottoman reformers of the mid-19th century now demanding *ḥuḳūḳ-i siyāsiyye*, so that the old sense of "punishment" rapidly disappeared.

Bibliography: See, above all, the study of B. Lewis mentioned in the text, and also his *The political language of Islam*, Chicago and London 1988, ii, 19, 122 n. 19. For various aspects of modern politics in the Middle East, see DUSTŪR, ḤIZB, IṢLĀḤ, MADJLIS, MASHWARA, etc.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In the context of political philosophy. Modern scholars such as Fauzi M. Najjar and Miriam Galston are agreed that such titles as al-Fārābī's *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya* should be rendered in English as *The political régime*. Najjar considers *siyāsa* to be "the art of ruling or managing the city in accordance with a principle or an end". In the hands of a philosopher, such principles and ends were clearly underpinned by philosophy. And in a philosopher like al-Fārābī, the intimate links between metaphysics and politics, or political science, have been stated many times. This is immediately clear in the alternative title given to *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, i.e. *Mabādi' al-mawdjūdāt* which Najjar renders as *The treatise on the principles of beings*. Not only was there that intimate link between philosophy and politics in al-Fārābī's writings but, whereas al-Ghazālī and Ibn Taymiyya subordinated *siyāsa* to *fiḳh*, the philosophers often elevated *siyāsa* above *sharīʿa* in importance. Furthermore Najjar stresses that "under the influence of classical philosophy, especially that of Plato and Aristotle, the *Falāsifa* regarded *siyāsa* as an important and *separate* branch of philosophy [my italics]. Accordingly, political life is susceptible to philosophical scrutiny, and its principles may be established by reason, independently of *fiqh* and *kalām*". It is al-Fārābī who is the arch-exponent of philosophical *siyāsa* in mediaeval Islam. In his *Kitāb Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm* he devotes an important fifth chapter to *al-ʿIlm al-madanī* (which has been translated as both "political science" and "civil science") together with *Fiḳh* and *Scholastic theology* (*ʿilm al-kalām*). Al-Fārābī notes that *al-ʿIlm al-madanī* "makes enquiry into the kinds of actions and intentional ways of behaviour and natural dispositions and character and traits and the natures from which those actions and ways of behaviour derive" (*Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*, 91 (Arabic) tr. Netton, 100 n. 44). Given the links in al-Fārābī's thought between *al-Madīna al-fāḍila* and *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, this definition of al-Fārābī's provides a useful philosophical substrate for the whole concept of *siyāsa*. In another work, his *K. al-Tanbīh ʿalā sabīl al-saʿāda*, which like the *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm* shows al-Fārābī's passion for division and sub-division, the author divides philosophy into the theoretical and the practical, and the latter is further sub-divided into ethics and *siyāsa*. It is thus no exaggeration to say, together with many other commentators, that *siyāsa* was an integral part of al-Fārābī's philosophical edifice, and, in particular, a distinctive and highly developed feature of his metaphysics.

Bibliography: Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm* (*Catálogo de las ciencias*), 2nd edn., Arabic text ed. and Spanish tr. Angel Gonzalez Palencia, Madrid 1953; idem, *K. al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, ed. Fauzi M. Najjar, Beirut 1964; idem, *K. al-Tanbīh ʿalā sabīl al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād 1927; compare with these works, R. Walzer, *Al-Farabi on the perfect state: Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's Mabādi' ārā ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, Oxford 1985. See also Miriam Galston, *Politics and excellence. The political philosophy of Alfarabi*, Princeton 1990; Fauzi M. Najjar, Siyāsa *in Islamic political philosophy*, in M.E. Marmura (ed.), *Islamic theology and philosophy. Studies in honor of George F. Hourani*, Albany 1984, 92-110; I.R. Netton, *Al-Fārābī and his school*, London 1992.

(I.R. NETTON)

3. In the sense of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*.

"Governance in accordance with the *sharīʿa*" is a Sunnī constitutional and legal doctrine emerging in late mediaeval times and calling for harmonisation between the law and procedures of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and the practical demands of governance (*siyāsa*). Most

responsible for crystallising the doctrine were the two Ḥanbalī scholars Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) (particularly in his *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, Beirut[?] 1966) and his student Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]). Ibn Taymiyya's view in his treatise is that, if the divine law or *sharīʿa* is duly observed, *siyāsa* of rulers (*imām, sulṭān, amīr* or *wālī*) will not conflict with *fiḳh* [*q.v.*] as elaborated by scholars (*fuḳahāʾ*). Earlier authorities had conceded that rulers had the need and the right to deviate from *fiḳh* in order to attain effective *siyāsa*, but Ibn Taymiyya claimed that such "deviations" are imaginary. If conflict between them appears, it is either because the *fiḳh* is understood too narrowly, neglecting the rich resources of the *sharīʿa* for attaining the public good, or because rulers disregard the divine will and act unjustly (*siyāsa ẓālima*). Indeed, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya claimed that true *siyāsa* (*siyāsa ʿādila*) is but part of the *sharīʿa* (*al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥukmiyya fi ʾl-siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, ed. A. al-ʿAsharī, Cairo 1961, 100; see also idem, *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn*, Cairo n.d., 373-4). If the rulers and the *ʿulamāʾ* (who, for Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Ḥisba*, ed. S. Ibn Abī Saʿd, Kuwait n.d., 117), collectively comprise the Ḳurʾānic *ulū ʾl-amr*, sūra IV, 59) uphold the revealed law not only in particular rulings but also in its general objectives or principles, they will lead mankind to good in the present world and the hereafter.

By this doctrine, Ibn Taymiyya advances both a more expansive vision for *fiḳh* (among other things, embracing disputed doctrines by which *fiḳh* draws on utility [see ʿĀDA; ISTIḤSĀN; ISTIṢLĀḤ; MAṢLAḤA; ʿURF]) and also a constitutional theory by which the excesses of rulers may be curtailed and *sharīʿa* legitimacy extended to actual states. In effect, his doctrine offers rulers *sharīʿa* legitimation in return for a greater share of power for *ʿulamāʾ*; it offers *ʿulamāʾ* greater *sharīʿa* efficacy at the cost of their being implicated further in affairs of state.

Ibn Taymiyya's view is only one understanding of the relationship between *fiḳh* and *siyāsa*, and between the roles of ruler and *ʿulamāʾ*, in upholding *sharīʿa*. Other formulations (by other names) appear in Islamic political and constitutional writings, some with greater historical influence. (They include some of the most thoughtful statements on state and religion in Islam: e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1415/1995, esp. 177-8; and see IMĀMA; KHALĪFA; MAHDĪ.) Indeed, Ibn Taymiyya's doctrine, and the context in which it arose, reflect only one stage in the course of Islamic constitutional history, a field demanding greater scholarly attention.

If we merely trace uses of the term *siyāsa*, we find that in early periods it appeared not as a technical term but as a common word for "governance" and "statecraft" (see 1. above), which was used in a manner betraying little sense of conflict with *fiḳh*. (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, imāra*, 46; B. Lewis, *Siyāsa*, in *In quest of an Islamic humanism* (see for this, above, 1). Early *sharīʿa* legitimacy being grounded in the office of the caliph, his discretion in the *sharīʿa*'s application was axiomatic. The *Rāshidūn* caliphs exercised extremely broad legal authority, taking many far-reaching legal actions with little apparent concern for the interpretative techniques of later *fiḳh*. By the early ʿAbbāsid era, despite self-conscious adoption of *fiḳh* as state law, caliphs still enjoyed a legal authority supervening *fiḳh*, as reflected in works by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 140/757 [*q.v.*]) and Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798 [*q.v.*]) in his *K. al-Kharādj* (ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1985). Abū Yūsuf often cedes to the caliph discretion in *fiḳh* matters and never mentions *siyāsa*. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the decline of the caliphate in favour of sovereign military-caste sultanates, and increased vitality and outreach in *fiḳh* and in *ʿulamāʾ* institutions, brought the two legitimacies of *fiḳh* and *siyāsa* into competition. Al-Māwardī's (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*]) classic statement in the mid-11th century, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, grants military and administrative officials, but not the learned *ḳāḍī*, powers under the *sharīʿa* to transgress particular *fiḳh* laws and procedures in their adjudications, as long as categorical rules are not offended (see particularly, discussions of *nāẓir al-maẓālim* "the enquirer into grievances," *Aḥkām*, Beirut 1410/1990, 148-70, e.g. *naẓar al-maẓālim lā yubīḥu min al-aḥkām mā ḥaẓarahu al-sharʿ*, *Aḥkām*, 160; and of the *wālī ʾl-djarāʾim* or criminal jurisdiction, *Aḥkām*, 361-3. See also MAẒĀLIM; SHURṬA; and cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Ḥisba*, 15-16, countering al-Māwardī with a claim that distinctions between the *ḳāḍī* and other judicial authorities have no basis in *sharīʿa* but are only customary). Al-Māwardī's system, to our eyes, makes large concessions to political authority, but in historical context it seems a bold assertion of political vision in *fiḳh*. For, with al-Māwardī and public law after him, even the political sphere is to be judged by standards set by *ʿulamāʾ*, *siyāsa* being valid only where the latter admit it. With such a theory in place, it becomes far easier to criticise various rulers' actions as illegitimate. And with the decline and extinction of the caliphate, *fiḳh* indeed accepted rulers, and their acts, as legitimate only by way of necessity (A.K.S. Lambton, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981, 103-29). Against this background, Ibn Taymiyya's theory represents a reaction, an attempt to restore some form of Islamic legitimacy in political circumstances which were by then understood as not only tragic but also permanent. The compromise which he proposed was largely ignored in his lifetime, but appears to have had a strong influence on Mālikī (see e.g. Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397 [*q.v.*]), *Tabṣirat al-ḥukkām*, Cairo 1884, i, 12-13, ii, 104-15, following Ibn Taymiyya and departing from the views of the Mālikī al-Ḳarāfī, d. 684/1285), and on late Ḥanafī and Ottoman law and practice (al-Ṭarābulusī, d. 844/1440, *Muʿīn al-ḥukkām*, Cairo 1973, and Dede Efendi (d. 972/ 1565?), both relying heavily on Ibn al-Taymiyya and Ibn al-Ḳayyim; see U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, ed. V.L. Ménage, Oxford 1973, 198). In modern times, Ibn Taymiyya's views have been adopted by the Wahhābī movement (Ḥanbalī in *fiḳh*) as the constitution for all Saudi states since 1745. For this and other reasons, his views have exercised immense influence on modern Islamic constitutional thought.

Although mediaeval *fiḳh* writings on *siyāsa* are varied and profound, in modern times there is often distilled from them a single doctrine of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* broadly accepted (see e.g. A. Khallāf, *al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1350). This recognises, in the state, authority to take legal acts (including legislating to supplement the *sharīʿa* and creating new courts) as needed for the public good (*maṣlaḥa ʿāmma*), provided that the *sharīʿa* is not infringed thereby (or, in another formulation, as long as the *sharīʿa* has "no text", *lā naṣṣ*, on the matter). How the latter provisos are to be understood and applied is, however, disputed in practice. One view excludes acting whenever *fiḳh* possesses a ruling, even if this is based on *idjtihād* and open to dispute. A more permissive view limits contradiction to indisputable *sharīʿa* tenets (*naṣṣ ḳaṭʿī*), overlooking mere *idjtihād* and *ḳiyās*. A still more liberal view is concerned only with contradiction with the "spirit" of *sharīʿa* or with its "principles" (*mabādiʾ*).

Returning to mediaeval writings, since *siyāsa shar'iyya* and similar theories deal with the relationship between *fiḳh* and *siyāsa*, both sources of legitimation for state power, they have often been called upon to allocate authority between state institutions deriving from the two sources. In many areas, there was little competition, as in undisputed *fiḳh* authority over ritual and family law or clear *siyāsa* jurisdiction over governmental organisation and administration. Other areas, however, were rife with conflict, and we find *fiḳh* writings preoccupied with them. We give here three major examples.

One of these is adjudication generally. *Fiḳh* writings on *siyāsa* deal extensively with non-*ḳāḍī* jurisdictions, such as those of the *maẓālim*, the *shurṭa*, and that of the Mamlūk *ḥādjib*, that employ *siyāsa* procedurally and substantively, concerned that such tribunals are oblivious of *sharī'a* (Ibn Taymiyya, *Ḥisba*, 16; Ibn Khaldūn, 206). *Fiḳh* works endorsing *siyāsa shar'iyya* seem dedicated to persuading *ḳāḍīs* to use *siyāsa*'s flexible methods of proof and investigation, particularly in criminal law, presumably with the object of expanding *ḳāḍī* jurisdiction against *siyāsa* competitors (Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmū' fatāwā*, ed. A. al-'Āṣimī, Riyāḍ 1382, xx, 388-93; Ibn al-Ḳayyim, *Ṭuruḳ*; Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabṣira*; al-Ṭarābulusī, *Mu'īn*).

As a second example, *fiḳh* writings on criminal law are preoccupied by *siyāsa*, since here *fiḳh* and *siyāsa* shared the field. First, apart from the small number of *ḥudūd* [*q.v.*] crimes extensively regulated by *fiḳh*, authors largely delegated substantive criminal law to the ruler's discretion under the heading of *ta'zīr* [*q.v.*]. Secondly, under a related concept, rulers claimed, and most *fuḳahā'* acknowledged, authority in certain circumstances to punish *siyāsat*[un], meaning that the ruler has authority to punish severely and peremptorily, without observing even the few general limits as to punishments and procedures imposed by *fiḳh* (Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa*, 98-100). Thirdly, *siyāsa* was invoked to justify police practices of imprisoning and beating accused persons to encourage confessions, practices of which, as al-Māwardī states explicitly, *'ulamā'* disapprove but nonetheless uphold (*Aḥkām*, 219-21). Indeed, because of practices under these various heads, *siyāsa* became so closely associated with discretionary penalties (and particularly with harsh punishments and torture) that it became the very name for them. This usage appears in al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) (*Ghiyāth al-umam*, Alexandria n.d., 150, 170) and even earlier, and by Ottoman times it is the term's most common meaning (Lewis; Dozy, *Suppl.*; Heyd, 192-207).

A third concern of *fiḳh* writings on *siyāsa* is legislation issued on the ruler's authority (see e.g. Ibn al-Ḳayyim, *I'lām*, iv, 372). This arose particularly after the advent of Mongol rule, when states adopted or imitated the Mongol practice of dynastic laws and customs called *yāsaḳ* or *yāsa* [*q.v.*], and often applied the term *siyāsa* to these rules. *'Ulamā'*, jealous of ruler's law as a potential competitor to *fiḳh*, portrayed respect for *yāsa* as a heretical placing of Čingiz Khān and his decrees alongside the Prophet Muḥammad and the *sharī'a* (al-Ba'lī, *al-Durar al-muḍiyya*, Beirut n.d., 394-5, citing Ibn Taymiyya). Al-Maḳrīzī went so far as to claim that "*siyāsa*" in Mamlūk military-class usage is not Arabic at all, but derives from *yāsa* (*Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1934, ii, 220; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Cairo, vii, 182-3; Ayalon, *The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan*, in *SI*, xxxiii [1971], 1-15; J.S. Nielsen, *Secular justice in an Islamic State. Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks*, Istanbul 1985, 104-9; D.O. Morgan, *The "Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan" and Mongol law in the Īlkhānate*, in *BSOAS*, xlix [1986], 163-76). In Ottoman practice, the institution of dynastic law overcame *'ulamā'* resistance to become a relatively ordered system of state legislation (called *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*] or *niẓām*) accepted as supplementary to the *sharī'a* and applied by the *ḳāḍī* courts.

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2. Secondary sources. M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history*, Chicago 1957, 232-84; F.M. Najjar, *Siyāsa in Islamic political philosophy*, in *Islamic theology and philosophy*, ed. M.E. Marmura, Albany 1984, 92-110; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 79-109.

(F.E. Vogel)

SIYĀSAT-NĀMA [see naṣīḥat al-mulūk].

SIYĀWUSH, a Kayanid prince of Persian legendary history and national epic, whose murder by the order of Afrāsiyāb, the arch-king of Tūrān, deepened the deadly feud between Īrān and Tūrān and led eventually to the destruction of Afrāsiyāb and the devastation of his land.

Siyāwush is mentioned several times in the Avesta as a holy prince, whose blood was avenged by his illustrious son Kavi Haosrauuah (Pers. Kay Khusraw [*q.v.*]), who slew Afrāsiyāb and destroyed his kin (*Yashts* 9.18; 13.132; 19.71,77). The *Bundahishn*, a major Middle Persian work, contains a brief account of the legend and from the *Dēnkart* we learn that a lost section of the Avesta, the Sutkar Nask, referred to the avenging of Siyāwush's blood.

Arabic and Persian histories that treat of ancient Iranian history generally give an account of Siyāwush's legend. The fullest account, however, is provided by Firdawsī's epic, the *Shah-nāme*, which is by and large a rendering in verse, through more than one intermediary, of the Pahlavi *Khwadāy-nāmag* or "Book of Lords", compiled in late Sāsānid times. The legend constitutes the longest and also the most moving episode of the *Shāh-nāma*.

Briefly, according to this account (ed. Khāliḳī-Muṭlaḳ, ii, 202 ff.), Siyāwush, King Kāwūs's favourite son, is accused by his stepmother, Sūdāba, who has fallen in love with him, of amorous advances towards her, an accusation of which he clears himself through an ordeal of fire. Later, he seeks refuge in the land of the enemy as a consequence of the unreasonable demand of his petulant father to break an honorable peace he had made with Afrāsiyāb. He is welcome and honoured by Afrāsiyāb, who later, however, following accusations by his wicked brother Garsīwaz, has the prince murdered. Siyāwush's death is subsequently avenged by his son Kay Khusraw, who hunts down and kills Afrāsiyāb. There are some variants in the legend as retailed by other Islamic sources, such as al-Tha'ālibī's *Ghurar al-siyar*, 171-222, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 598-602, tr. M. Perlman, iv, 1-5. See Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 111, for further variants, and on the tale in general, Yarshater, ch. *Iranian national history*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii/1, 374-6.

The religious dimension of the legend of Siyāwush, whose cult continued at least in Transoxiana well into the 10th century, is evidenced by a report in Narshakhī's *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Raḍawī, 32-3, tr. Frye, 117, 122, according to which the people of Bukhārā had many laments (*nawḥa-hā*) on the slaying of Siyāwush, which the minstrels had made into chants called the "weeping of the Magi" (*girīstan-i mughān*).

He reports further that Siyāwush was believed to have been buried in Bukhārā, and each year, on New Year's day, every man sacrificed a cock and poured its blood on his grave (*ibid.*), a fact confirmed by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (*Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rif'at Bey, iii, s.v. *Ḳāz*, tr. Atalay, iii, 150). Reflections of this cult, which appears to have had pre-Zoroastrian origins, is found in a number of other sources (see Miskūb, 82-6, and Yarshater, 90-3, where it is argued that the *ta'ziya* or Persian passion plays have a precedent in the pre-Islamic mourning rites of the martyrdom of Siyāwush). Siyāwush's significance as a venerated figure with spiritual dimensions beyond an exalted prince can be gauged also from the *Mudjmal al-tawārikh*, 29, which says that Persians believed Siyāwush was an apostle of God, and by al-Bīrūnī's report, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, tr. Sachau, 35, that the people of Khwārazm marked the beginning of their era with the entrance of Siyāwush in it, which occurred 92 years after the settlement (*'imāra*) of Khwārazm 980 years before Alexander. His myth seems to contain elements from the myth of the annual disappearance of a vegetation deity, current in ancient Mesopotamia and eastern Mediterranean world (Bahār, *Asāṭīr-i Īrān*, Tehran 1973, pp. l-lvii). It is said that when Siyāwush was killed, there sprang from his blood a plant, called *par-i siyāwushān* (see Pūrdāwūd, *Yasht-hā*, Bombay 1931, ii, 233, n. 2).

The Siyāwush episode in the *Shāh-nāma* represents the height of Firdawsī's poetic power, endowed as it is with rare psychological insights, apt characterisation, and careful structure. It has been ably translated into English verse by Dick Davis (*The legend of Seyavush*, Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth 1992), and has prompted a number of literary studies beside Miskūb's perceptive analysis (see *Bibl.*). Several historical figures in Persia and Armenia bear the name of the prince (see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 300, s.v. *Šiyāvaršan*).

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(E. Yarshater)

SIYĀWUSH PASHA, the name of two Ottoman Grand Viziers.

1. Kanizheli (i.e. from Kanizhe, modern Nagykanizsa in Hungary), of Hungarian or Croatian descent, b. at an unknown date, d. 1010/1602.

He was educated in the Istanbul palace and steadily followed a career through the posts of *mīrākhur*, *silihdār*, Janissary *agha* and *beglerbegi* of Rumelia. Having attained the rank of vizier in 988/1580, he was married to Fāṭima Sulṭān, a sister of sultan Murād III [*q.v.*], by whom he had two sons and a daughter. Three times he attained the highest state office as Grand Vizier, which he occupied for a little over five years in all during the reign of the same sultan, but he does not seem to have been involved in decision-making of any historical impact. Neither is he known as a patron of the arts and sciences or as a creator of great charitable works. He is described by Ottoman biographers as "moderate", "gentle" and "incorruptible". Three times he had to yield the Grand Vizierial signet ring and give way to the more influential personalities of Özdemiroghlu 'Othmān Pasha [*q.v.*] (in 992/1584) and, twice, of Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] during the serious military revolts of 997/1589 and 1001/1593. He had two public fountains built in the Ṭopkhāne quarter of Istanbul. He died in 1010/1602 and was buried in Eyüb (Eyyūb [*q.v.*]).

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(J. Schmidt)

2. Abāzā, Köprülü Dāmādī (*ca.* 1037-88/*ca.* 1626-88), Ottoman Grand Vizier.

Of Abkhazian origins, he began his career as a slave of Köprülü [*q.v.*] Meḥmed Pasha (1578-1661), and remained a client of the Köprülü family. Set free, he was given an income as a *gedikli za'īm*, and married a daughter of his master. After the latter's death he became *ḳapidjilar kahyāsi* of Köprülü Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha, participating in his campaigns against Uyvar (Nove Zamky) in 1073/1663, against Canea (Hanya) in 1076-80/1666-9, and against Kamenets Podolskiy (Ḳamaniče [*q.v.*]) in 1083/1672. Siyāwush Agha became acting *ḳapidjilar kahyāsi* of the sultan's court, and then, next year, *küčük mīr ākhūr* "Lesser Master of the Horse" of the sultan, but resigned to take part in the campaign against the Cossack stronghold of Čehrin in 1089/1677 led by the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], another son-in-law of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha. He was appointed commander of the *Silāḥdār* division of the "Sipahis of the Porte", the sultan's household cavalry, and served in the army before Vienna in 1094/1683 as *djebedji bashi*, i.e. commander of the Armoury troops of the Porte. Next year he was appointed commander of the *Sipāhī* division of the household cavalry, and two months later became vizier and *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr.

He continued serving in the army in Hungary, and successfully relieved the besieged fortress city of Buda (Budun [*q.v.*]). He was present at the defeat of the Ottoman army in the Second Battle of Mohacz (3 Shewwāl 1098/12 August 1687), and at the fighting around the famous bridge of Eszek as well as at the defeat at Siklös. After these events, the field army rebelled, proclaimed Siyāwush Pasha its commander and Grand Vizier and began its march back to Istanbul. At Nish [*q.v.*] he received the seal of office sent by the sultan upon the advice of the *Dīwān*. Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] was deposed, however, and succeeded by Süleymān II [*q.v.*] before Siyāwush Pasha arrived at Istanbul on 5 *Muḥarram* 1099/12 November 1687. Soon the Janissary and Sipāhī commanders rebelled again. The Grand Vizier failed to assert his authority; a mob of these soldiers besieged him in his residence, and he lost his life while defending his womenfolk (28 Rabī' II 1099/3 March 1688). His wife and daughter were grievously mutilated, and their female slaves were sold as booty. Siyāwush Pasha's grave lies in the Tūnus Bāghi section of the cemetery of Ḳaradja Aḥmed at Üsküdār. It is evident from the inscription that the vizier was spiritually affiliated to the Nakshbandiyya dervish order.

The afore-mentioned should not be confused with two of his predecessors carrying the same name. 1. Siyāwush Pasha, Kanizheli, Dāmād, (d. 1010-11/1602), was three times Grand Vizier: in the years 990-2/1582-4, 994-7/1586-9 and 1000-1/1592-3 (on him, see above, 1). 2. Siyāwush Pasha, Abāzā, Dāmād, (d. 2 Redjeb 1066/25 April 1656) was Grand Vizier under Sultan Meḥemmed IV in 1061/1651 and 1066/1656.

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SKOPJE [see üsküb].

SKUTARI [see ishkodra, in Suppl.].

al-**SLĀWĪ** [see al-nāṣir al salāwī].

SMĀLA [see zmāla].

SMYRNA [see izmīr, in Suppl.].

SŌBA, a town of the mediaeval Sūdān, situated on the right bank of the Blue Nile 22.5 km/14 miles above its confluence with the White Nile. While the city arose amidst the remains of older Meroitic or Napatan settlements, to the Islamic world Sōba was the capital of the mediaeval kingdom of Alodia [see ʿalwa]. Brief inscriptions in Old Nubian have been found in the area, while recent discoveries of texts in Greek, including a royal tombstone, suggest that this language also played an important role in the court culture of the very large and ethnically diverse Alodian realm. In A.D. 580 the Alodian monarch embraced Monophysite Christianity, and richly endowed ecclesiastical architecture graced Sōba when, no later than the 9th century, it became the Alodian capital.

Sōba at its 10th-century apogee was a sprawling city, its public buildings of red brick, set amidst a wide and fertile agricultural and pastoral hinterland. Its customs and usages were said to resemble those of Dongola [*q.v.*], which it exceeded in wealth and power, and its kings, through marriage diplomacy, sought with indifferent success to unite the two Nubian crowns. A large quarter of Sōba was inhabited by foreign Islamic merchants who supplied the court with imported luxuries, conspicuously glassware, in return for Sudanese products.

During the 12th century, Sōba began to decline as the authority of the Alodian monarch over his far-flung provinces faltered, yet the city remained a centre of regional power until its conquest by the Fundj [*q.v.*] at the close of the 15th century. Thereafter, Sōba enjoyed posthumous eminence as legendary ancestral home to the kings of Fāzūghlī [*q.v.*].

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SOCOTRI [see suḳuṭra. 3].

SOFĀLA, Ar. Sufāla, a district and former town in Mozambique, in lat. 18° 13' S., long. 14° 20' E., 48 km south-south-east of Beira, was the principal port for the regional gold export trade at least from the 10th to the 17th century. Materials are not available to construct an orderly history, which is recorded only in scattered Arabic, Chinese, Persian and Portuguese sources.

The name is generally connected with the Arabic root *safala* "to be low-lying". Thus al-Masʿūdī (i, 331-2 = §§ 362-3) says that "whenever a mountain stretches some distance below the sea, in the Mediterranean it is given the name *al-sufāla*". Prescinding from "underwater mountains", the coast here is low-lying. Nevertheless, the term is also used for the ancient Indian port of Surpuraka, near Bombay, which is by no means low-lying. For this reason G. Ferrand considered that a Bantu root may be preferable, but there is no evidence to support this.

Al-Masʿūdī is the first author to name it (i, 233 = § 246). There is, however, some earlier archaeological evidence. Slight evidence exists of gold digging in the region, *ca.* A.D. 100 in some authors, *ca.* A.D. 300 in others, the earliest source being Mapungubwe in the present republic of Zimbabwe. A recent archaeological survey by G. Liesegang disclosed nothing of antiquity. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) attests a Muslim presence and an established slave trade in Zanzibar and Pemba, without mentioning gold. Nevertheless, there, and on Tumbatu Island, remains of mosques have been found datable to the 8th or 9th centuries A.D. Their size indicates that they were built not simply for agricultural settlements but for substantial trading towns. The gold trade of Sofāla could not have sprung "like Venus from the waves"; it seems logical to rely upon these indications. The answer to the problem will lie in systematic excavation.

Al-Masʿūdī says that Sofāla lies at the utmost end of the land of Zandj. It adjoins the Wāḳwāḳ country, the name of this being possibly an onomatopoeic word which suggests click-speakers [see further, wāḳwāḳ]. At iii, 6-8 = §§ 847-9, he says that the Zandj settled in Africa as far as Sofāla, which is the extreme limit of navigation for vessels coming from ʿUmān and Sīrāf. This incidental remark refers not only to an established trade route; it explains the undoubted Sīrāfī influence in the architecture of the *miḥrāb*s in the mosques mentioned above. The Zandj Sea, he continues, ends at the land of Sofāla and the Wāḳwāḳ, and produces gold and other marvels. The climate is warm and the soil fertile. The Zandj have their capital there. With evident hyperbole, their king commands 300,000 cavalrymen. There is a sophisticated religion and a developed constitution. The kings are called *waḳaleme*, sing, *mḳaleme*—the text has wrongly وقليمى, for وفليمى, *wafalme*, *mfalme*, the ordinary words for kings, king, in current Swahili today. Clearly by this time the Bantu had already penetrated to this part of Africa.

In his *Book of the wonders of India*, Buzurg b. Shahriyār of Rāmhurmuz relates how an ʿUmānī shipmaster, Ismāʿīlawayh, was twice driven by storms to Sofāla, first in 310/922, the second a little later. Here he mentions huge birds that can seize animals in their beaks, evidently the giant *rukhkh* [*q.v.*]; there was a lizard whose male had two *penes* and whose female two *vaginae*, and whose bite was incurable (perhaps the monitor lizard, which is as big as a labrador dog); there were also numerous snakes and vipers. In 334/945 the Wāḳwāḳ attacked Sofāla, and destroyed many towns and villages. In Sofāla district "men dig

for gold, and excavate galleries like ants", phraseology almost identical with that of Diogo de Alcaçova in a letter to the King of Portugal in 1606.

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, written in Persian in northern Afghānistān in 372/982, mentions three towns in Sofāla: M.LDJĀN, possibly a corruption of *al-Unguḏja*, the ancient name for Zanzibar still current in Swahili; SUFĀLA, the seat of the Zandj kings; and HWFL, a name which so far has defied identification. *Ca.* 421/1030 al-Bīrūnī, in his *India*, mentions an animal, of which a man who had visited Sofāla told him that its horns were used to make knife-handles, clearly a rhinoceros. More importantly, he says that Somnāth in Kathiawar [see SUMANĀT] has become celebrated because it is much frequented by sailors, and is the port from which voyages are made frequently between Sofāla of the Zandj and China. At Sayūna there are settled Indian traders, plausibly what the Portuguese called Sena on the Zambezi river, an important town trading in gold and other local products. It has not been excavated.

Al-Bīrūnī's reference to China makes it no surprise that the Sung Annals for 1071 and 1083 have detailed accounts of envoys from the Zandj coast, from a ruler called A-mei-lo A-mei-lan, which may reasonably be taken as Persian *amīr-i amīrān*, a ruler of rulers such as al-Masʿūdī had also described. He had also mentioned a brisk ivory trade, of such dimensions as to have caused a shortage of ivory in Islamic lands. The Sung Annals give a glowing picture of trade in many items, and also speak of gold, silver and copper currency as in use by the Zandj. Of gold currency we have no evidence of minting at Kilwa [*q.v.*, and see below] before the 14th century. Of both silver and copper currency there is already evidence in Zanzibar and Pemba by the 10th century; there is some possible evidence of silver currency in the Lamu archipelago by the 9th century. Nevertheless, there was no immediate source of silver in eastern Africa, although it could have been obtained from India. The recorded present to the envoys from the Zandj court to that of the Sung, amounting to 2,000 *lieng* of silver, would have been a very handsome one indeed.

Al-Idrīsī, a century later in 549/1154, speaks of the famous iron mines, and of the abundance of gold in Sofāla. He also names two towns, Djabasta and Dāghūṭa. The readings are uncertain, and they have not been identified. For the end of this century the *Crónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*, from a lost Arabic source which can be dated to *ca.* 1506, and translated by João de Barros and published in 1552, gives us some rather questionable information. It alleges that, up to *ca.* 1190, the Sofāla trade had been conducted by merchants from Mogadishu, and that then, because a Kilwa fisherman was driven out of his course down to Sofāla, he discovered the Mogadishu trade with Sofāla. Thereupon he reported to the sultan of Kilwa, who then sent a governor there. It is difficult to assess the truth, for the standing mediaeval buildings in Mogadishu, two mosques, both have 13th-century dedication inscriptions. This would seem to point away from an earlier date for the prosperity of Mogadishu. As to Kilwa, the *Crónica* shows that, prescinding from the myth of the fisherman, Kilwa did certainly send governors to Sofāla, and one such from Kilwa was found there when the Portuguese built their fort there in 1506.

Be that as it may, Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii, 96) reports in the early 7th/13th century that Sofāla was the last known town of the Zandj, and that merchants traded with the inhabitants by the "silent trade", in the manner that Yāḳūt reports also in the Maghrib, and that Herodotus and later Cosmas Indicopleustes had reported centuries before in the Maghrib and in Ethiopia. A far more elaborate report was completed two years before in China, by Chao Ju-Kua in his *Chu-fan-chih*. He was commissioner for foreign trade in the Fukien province of China. Of Zanzibar (Ts'ong-pa) he says that the inhabitants are Muslim. It is an island of wooded hills and terraced rocks, a description more like Pemba, which is hilly, than Zanzibar, which is flat. "The products of the country consist of elephants' tusks, native gold, ambergris and yellow sandalwood." The Arabs send ships to this country with white cotton cloth, porcelain, copper, and red cotton. This gold could only have come from the Sofāla region, for other sources of gold far inland near Lake Victoria were not exploited before colonial times.

Ibn Saʿīd (7th/13th century) says that the names of the towns of Sofāla are not known but that the capital is Sayūna. Ferrand says that this is undoubtedly the Chiona of Barros (Decade ii, Bk. 1, ch. ii), which he locates between Malindi and Mombasa in lat. 2° 30' S., long. 99° E. Aḥmad b. Mādjid lists no such place on the eastern African coast, nor is there any philological connection with Sayūna apparent. As with al-Bīrūnī above, it would seem preferable to equate Sayūna with the market-town of Sena on the Zambezi. Ibn Saʿīd continues that Sayūna is the capital of the king of the Sofālians, a further pointer to the location. The Sofālians and the Zandj worship idols and wear panther-skins. (There are no panthers in Africa; presumably leopard or cheetah are meant.) Their principal resources are gold and iron. They have no horses, and only infantry. He speaks also of the straits of Ḳumr (Comoro Islands [see ḲUMR]), yet further confirming a southern location for Sayūna, as does the mention of the unidentified town of Dāghūṭa.

Al-Ḳazwīnī (*ca.* 600-82/*ca.* 1205-83) records Sofāla as the last town in the land of Zandj, which has gold mines, and practises the "silent trade". He mentions a bird called the *hawāy*, which "speaks better than a parrot". Presumably a mynah is meant (cf. A. Roberts, *Birds of South Africa*, 1940, pl. xlvii). Al-Ḳazwīnī mentions a similar bird in Sumatra, calling it *ḥawārī*, "smaller than a pigeon, with a white belly, black wings, red claws and a yellow beak". Sofāla, too, has white, red (or yellow) and green parrots (cf. Roberts, pl. xxii, but the white parrot would rather be a lourie). Men here eat flies, believing that this prevents ophthalmia, and he notes that they do not suffer from it.

Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (672-732/1273-1331) makes only the briefest mention of the location of Sofāla. Al-Dimashḳī (*ca.* 725/1325) mentions Sofāla three times, citing Aristotle for an "oil stone ... red with a bluish light; touched by oil, it is changed for the worse, the oil going right to the centre. It comes from Sofāla of Zandj. When it is rubbed over a garment stained with oil, it removes all traces immediately."

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kilwa briefly in 732/1331, after short stops at Zaylaʿ, Mogadishu and Mombasa. A merchant told him that Sofāla was half a month's march away. "Between Sofāla and Yufī in the country of the Līmīs is a month's march. Powdered gold is brought from Yufī to Sofāla." This is possibly a confused memory of Nupe in Nigeria, several thousand miles away, and unconnected by any known caravan route. Yufī and Līmīs have never been identified, nor is Līmīs recognisable as a Bantu root.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates a long anecdote about the generosity of a sultan of Kilwa, al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān,

known as Abu 'l-Mawāhib, and how he gave a beggar a present of his own clothes, together with slaves and ivory. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa comments with palpable acidity, as if his own hopes had been dashed: "In this country the majority of presents are of ivory: gold is very seldom given." This sultan, al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān (*ca.* 1310-33) is known from the *Akhbar Kulwa* (see below), from an inscription in the Husuni (sc. Ar. *ḥiṣn*) Palace in Kilwa, from many copper coins, and from five gold pieces in his name, the only gold coins so far known to have been minted at Kilwa. They were reported to the British Museum only in 1990. It has thus become possible to interpret Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *en passant* remark as referring to coin. Since much of Kilwa, and of other larger sites in eastern Africa, have not yet been fully excavated, the subject is one that must be treated with great caution. Nevertheless, this gold could only have come from Sofāla.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī related that Sofāla of Zandj has a cavern measuring 500 parasangs in every direction. Because of shifting sands and the heat and aridity, the country is not thickly inhabited.

Ibn al-Wardī (*ca.* 740/1340) says that "golden Sofāla" adjoins the land of Zandj. The inhabitants work vast iron deposits, which are sold to Indians, who make it into steel swords and tools. Gold is found under the soil in great abundance, with numerous nuggets weighing as much as two or three *mithḳāls*. Nevertheless, the people of the country only wear copper ornaments, esteeming copper more than gold. The land of Sofāla adjoins the land of the Wāḳwāḳ.

Ibn Khaldūn is very laconic. Sofāla lies east (sc. south) of Maḳdashū (sc. Mogadishu), adjoining Wāḳwāḳ. Bākuwī speaks of the land of Zandj, famous for its gold mines. He speaks also of a bird called *ḥawārī*, like al-Ḳazwīnī above, that speaks better than a parrot. The *muʿallim* or shipmaster Sulaymān al-Mahrī (early 10th/16th century) locates Sofāla at about 18° S., a very accurate observation, since correctly it is 18° 13'.

About 1490 Sofāla was visited by Pedro da Covilhã. His journeys, starting from Portugal, and travelling along the coast of Arabia to eastern Africa, back to Cairo, whence to India, and then returning to Ethiopia, where he was detained, have been related and traced in detail by E. Axelson. Before proceeding to Ethiopia he encountered a Rabbi from Beja in Portugal, who carried back—so it seems—an account of the intelligence which Covilhã had gathered to the king of Portugal. Covilhã's report, if it were written down, has not survived; it was perhaps destroyed like much else when the Torre do Tombo, the archives of Portugal, succumbed to the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Covilhã was never allowed to return to Portugal.

He was not the first European traveller to visit south-east Africa. Aḥmad b. Mādjid records in two verses of a nautical treatise dated 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 866/13 September 1462: "It is said that in former days the ships of the Franks came to Madagascar and to the coast of Zandj and Western India, according to what the Franks say." Ferrand considered that the verses seemed to allude to the voyage of Pseudo-Brocardus, who is probably William Adam O.P., in the first half of the 14th century. He recorded *mercatores vero et homines fide digni passim ultra versus meridiem procedebant, usque ad loca ubi asserebant polum antarticum quinquaginta* (sc. *triginta*) *quatuor gradibus elevari.* (The question is treated s.v. ZANDJ.)

On his first voyage, Vasco da Gama bypassed Sofāla and Kilwa, seeking a pilot to take him to India, without success at Mombasa, and then finding one at Malindi. He had learnt, nevertheless, of the gold of Sofāla, and this was the object of Cabral's voyage in 1500-4. He first visited India, and the visit to Sofāla amounted to no more than a reconnaissance. The attempt to found a *feitoria*, commonly factory, that is to say, a trading agency, failed. Vasco da Gama's second voyage in 1502 had as its main object the humiliation of Calicut, with the tapping of the riches of Sofāla as a subsidiary aim. Gama himself proceeded to Kilwa, and subjected the ruler to the payment of tribute. On his return to Lisbon in September 1503 he went in procession, first, some say, to the cathedral, others to the royal palace. Damião de Goes relates how a page walked before him, carrying in a water bowl the 1,200 *mithḳāls* of the tribute of Kilwa. With them were the jewels that he had also taken from Kilwa, and supplemented by a further 800 *mithḳāls* of gold from Cananor and Cochin. That the page carried them in a water-bowl suggests plausibly that he carried coin and not unminted gold. At the king's orders, these provided materials for a *custódia* or monstrance for the Jerónimos monastery at Belém, from which Gama had set out for the *descobrimento* of India, and where he and the poet Camōs are buried. It is now the most splendid exhibit in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon. The inscription on the base states:

> O MVITO ALTO PRIČIPE E PODEROSO SEÑOR REI DÕ MANUEL I A M̃DOU FAZER DO OURO E DAS FARIAS DE QILVA AQUABOU E CCCCCVI
>
> "The most high Prince and mighty Lord King Dom Manuel I ordered the making from the gold and tribute of Kilwa. Completed in 1506"

Thus gold from Sofāla is exhibited today far-off in Europe. The account also attests, it seems, that Cananor and Cochin were outlets for the Sofāla gold.

In 1505 Francisco d'Almeida was commissioned to set out with a fleet to set up fortresses at Kilwa and at Sofāla. He set out in March or April, but the vessel whose crew was to occupy Sofāla sank in the Tagus. Eventually Pero d'Anhaya reached Kilwa with six ships, carrying materials for building a fort similar to São Jorge de Mina, now Elmina in Ghāna. After suffering a series of misfortunes, they crept up the river. They were received by the Shaykh Yūsuf, the governor, a member of the royal family of Kilwa, who was eighty years of age and blind. His house was richly furnished, with Indian silks and cloth, ivory and gold, filling the Portuguese with cupidity. By November a fort had been built of local materials and houses for the factor and his staff. Vessels also had been seized at sea, and prisoners slaughtered. At first trade prospered, but the atrocities committed by the Portuguese resulted in an attack on the fort. The locals were aided by fever among the Portuguese, whose numbers were halved. In December 1506 Nuño Vaz Pereira was sent to restore peace and normalise relations.

In the meantime, Diogo da Alcoçova had sent a favourable report to the king. The gold, he said, came from an inland kingdom, Vealanga, 30-36 days' journey from the coast. There the miners dig out the earth in tunnels. They cook the earth in pots, separating it from the gold. Barros (*Dec.* i, Bk. x, ch. i) says that the kingdom of Sofāla is over 650 leagues in circumference. It is so thickly populated that the elephants are leaving it. The locals say that every year four or five thousand die, which explains how they can send so great a quantity of ivory to India. The gold mines are at Manica, some fifty leagues west of Sofāla. The gold is gathered in dust or in

nuggets. There are also more distant mines in the kingdom of Butua. It has a fortress built of hewn stones, laid dry, without cement. It had an inscription over the gate which educated Muslim merchants did not know how to read. (No inscriptions have so far been found in the area.) There are other similar erections, which the local call *symbaoe*, sc. *zimbabwe*, house of stone.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Sofāla was highly prosperous. There was, however, no room for the Portuguese in the equity, and slowly the gold trade, and that in ivory, declined or moved northward to a series of small ports. *Ca.* 1517-18 Duarte Barbosa summarised the coastal trade. Cotton cloth, silk, beads were brought from Malindi and Mombasa, and bought in Sofāla, being "paid for in gold at such a price that those merchants departed well pleased, which gold they give by weight".

In the 1950s the Central African Archives initiated a series which was published in Portuguese and English, *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840*. The first eight volumes reached 1589 only. There was then a hiatus in publication, until in 1989 a ninth volume appeared, taking the series up to 1615. This most valuable project was necessarily selective, containing as it does documents from Goa, Portugal, Rome and Spain. The first eight have very numerous references to local payments for salaries and goods in Sofāla, Mozambique and Kilwa. Mozambique superseded Sofāla as the main port of call in 1507. The ninth volume is more concerned with local affairs.

The payments are generally shown in gold *mithḳāls*, and even in half- or quarter-*mithḳāls*. One list of staff payments at Sofāla in 1508, expressed in *mithḳāls*, regrets the absence of *dinheiro* (ordinary coin) to discharge them. This would make one think that *mithḳāls* were still coined, but no pieces of this nature have so far been found other than those of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān mentioned above. Some payments are shown in two currencies, both *mithḳāls* and *reais* (commonly *reals*). One entry records a payment of 108 silver *mithḳāls*, of which no coined specimens have ever been reported. In 1513 gold was imported in square pieces from *Dalacca*. The toponym is unidentified, and it would be strange if the Dahlak Islands were meant. In 1515-16 a payment is recorded in *ouro por amoedar*, gold for coining, that is, in nuggets or uncoined gold. There are further references to uncoined gold, others where it is not specified whether the *mithḳāls* were minted or not. In 1536 Lisbon sent specially-made *mithḳāl* weights to Sofāla, which could suggest that a mint was established there. There is no mention of any such in the *Documentos*. The subject is veiled in mystery. It would seem strange that in the 17th century payment was made in *mithḳāls* if they were no longer minted, when the Portuguese were able to establish mints for Portuguese issues in Goa (1510), Malacca (1511), and Chaul, Diu and Bassein in the 17th century, of which the typology is well reported. A record of 1574, however, laments the decline of the Sofāla gold trade, stating that funds for the upkeep of Sofāla came from India.

Early Portuguese narratives, and some European scholars, have located at Sofāla the Biblical Ophir, from which the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram of Tyre brought back cargoes of gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (I Kings x. 22; II Chronicles ix. 21). In a well-known passage of *Paradise lost* Milton speaks of "Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,/ and Sofala thought Ophir ..." (xi, 399-400). Modern historians see no connection.

Ancient Sofāla was on an island, whereas the Portuguese fort was built on the mainland, with a village adjacent. In 1764 it was 252 fathoms long, and 60 broad; there were thirty-five houses, one of stone and lime, two of wood with tiled roofs, and thirty-two of wood with thatched roofs. The ancient site was visited and photographed by Professor Eric Axelson in 1958. All that was left was an islet a few metres long and wide, protruding from the sea. There was some débris of stone, but most of it had been taken to build Beira cathedral. It remains only as an adventurous opportunity for underwater archaeologists. In 1889 the authors of the *Elementos para un diccionario chorographico da provincia de Moçambique* wrote the melancholy words: "the district of Sofāla, so rich in historical memories, is now poverty-stricken and abandoned."

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(G. Ferrand-[G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville])

SOFIA [see ṣofya].

SOFTA (Greek Sukē; Armenian Siga, Sigui; Frankish Nessekin; Arabic Sukayn, a fortress (Softa Kalesi), on the border of Cilicia Tracheia with Pamphylia, in present-day southern Turkey, 16 km/10 miles east of Anamur [*q.v.*] near to the fishing-port of Bozyazı (ancient Nagidos), and the classical site of Arsinoē (Maraş Harabeleri). The fortress occupies the top of a conical feature about a mile from the Mediterranean Sea. The fortifications consist of an upper and lower bailey, enclosed by a single enceinte punctuated with round and square towers. The main entrance to the castle was via a gateway on the northern side of the upper bailey. The best-preserved features of the site are the keep in the highest part of the upper bailey, and the gateway and salients in the wall separating the two baileys. The latest of several distinct building programmes probably dates from the end of the 5th/11th century. The castle was in Byzantine hands from the end of the 2nd/8th century, when it was besieged by the Arabs, until the end of the 6th/12th century, after which there appears to have been at least one period of Armenian occupancy. Softa was probably one of several Pamphylian and Cilician castles which Ibn Bībī says were acquired in 621/1225 by the Rūm Sald̲j̲ūḳ atabeg of Antalya, Mubāriz al-Dīn Artuḳus̲h̲ Beg. In the 8th/15th century it was acquired by the Ḳaramānids with the help of the Venetians, who knew it as Sequin or Sechino. Thereafter it came under Ottoman control.

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(D.W. Morray)

ṢOFTA (t., orthography *ṣ.w.f.t.h*), a name given to students of the theological, legal and other sciences in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] system of Ottoman Turkey. A parallel form is *sūk̲h̲te*, in Persian literally "burnt, aflame (i.e. with the love of God or of learning)", which seems to be the earlier form; the relationship between the two words, if any, is unclear (see S̲h̲. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i turkī*, Istanbul 1318/1900-1, ii, 839 col. 3; Redhouse, *Turkish and English dict.*, 1087, 1192). The term *ṣofta* was applied to students in the earlier stages of their education; when a student became qualified to act as a *mu'īd* or repétiteur [see mustamlī], he qualified as a *dānis̲h̲mend*.

Ṣoftas from the Istanbul *madrasas* are frequently mentioned in Ottoman history from the 10th/16th century onwards as an unruly mob element in the capital, provoking or participating in several uprisings there. Thus their role is mentioned in the Rad̲j̲ab 1011/January 1603 revolt of the former *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Ṣun' Allāh Efendi and the Sipāhīs [*q.v.*] against the Janissaries and Sultan Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*]; in the Rabī' I 1115/July 1703 one against the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Feyḍ Allāh Efendi and Muṣṭafā III [*q.v.*]; in the Rabī' II 1293/May 1876 revolt against Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz and the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Nedīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.vv.*]; and the Rabī' I 1327/April 1909 counter-revolutionary mutiny of part of the army against the Committee of Union and Progress (the so-called *31. Mart waḳ'asî*) (see Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye tarihinde... medreseli isyanlari*, in *Ist. Üniv. Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, xi [1949-50], 361-87; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 156-, 21; S.J. and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976-7, I, 133, ii, 162-3, 279-82).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢOFYA, the Ottoman form for Sofia, the present-day capital of Bulgaria [*q.v.*].

It is situated in the southern part of the Sofia plain at an altitude of 550 m/1,800 feet, at the foot of the mountains Vitoša and Ljulin; it has a temperate continental climate; a number of affluents of the river Iskăr run through the city; there are many mineral springs; and it lies on the main road between Central Europe and Istanbul, and that between Vidin on the Danube and Thessaloniki.

Its successive names were Serdnopolis (Thracian population); Serdica (Roman name), Ulpia Serdica (from the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.); Triadica (Byzantine name); Sredec (Bulgarian name, from the 9th century); Atralissa (in al-Idrīsī); and Sofia (from the second half of the 14th century, after the name of the St. Sophia church).

It has been populated for seven millennia, and there are remnants dating from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and the Bronze Age. The Thracian tribe of the Serds fell under the rule of the Romans at the beginning of the first century A.D. The city was granted the rights of a municipality; it became the centre of a theme and was later included alternately in the provinces of Thrace and of Inner Dacia. Constantine the Great issued some of his edicts here. The Oecumenical Council of Serdica took place in 343. In 809 the city was conquered by Khan Krum (803-14) and incorporated in the Bulgarian state.

In 1385 (or 1382), following a siege, the city was captured by the Ottomans. Towards the middle of the 15th century, the Ottomans chose Sofia to become the centre of the Rumeli *beylerbeyilik*, which encom-

passed the majority of the Ottoman European possessions. At its head was the *beylerbeyi* (*mīrimīrān*, with the rank of a *pasha*; from the 16th century, a *wezīr*), assisted by his own *dīwān* which had judicial and administrative functions. Until the end of the 18th century, Sofia was the actual capital of the European territories of the Ottoman state, hence considered as such by both Ottomans and West Europeans at the time.

Sofia was the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ*. The wide prerogatives of the *ḳāḍī* are made clear by the records in the *sidjills* preserved in the Oriental Department at the National Library of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia (56 volumes dating from 1550 to the end of the 19th century).

Ewliyā Čelebi attributed special attention to the Ottoman functionaries residing in Sofia. First among them ranked the *sharīʿa* judge, a *molla* with 500 *aḳčes* daily payment, assisted by a *muḥḍirbashî*, scribes, a *muḥtesib* and a *pazarbashî*. Ewliyā also spoke of a *müftī*, a *naḳīb ül-eshrāf*, a *ketkhudā* of the *sipāhīs*, a *serdār* of the Janissaries and a *ketkhüdā* of the city. Over all these functionaries was the *Pasha*. Among the powerful Ottoman notables, the first *aʿyān* of Sofia come to the fore in the 17th century.

At the end of the 18th/beginning of the 19th centuries, the city suffered from the anarchy of internecine warfare and especially from the Kîrdjalî attacks of the horde of Ḳara Feyḍ. In the 18th century, Bitola became the usual place of residence of the Rumeli *beylerbeyi*, while Sofia was ruled by his *mütesellim*; from 1836 the seat of the *beylerbeyi* was moved to Bitola; after the Crimean War, 1853-6, the city decayed, and from 1864 was degraded to a *sandjaḳ* within the Danube *wilāyet*. Sofia was captured by the Russian troops on 23 December 1877/4 January 1878; on 22 March/3 April 1879 Sofia was chosen as the capital of the Principality of Bulgaria.

The varying fate of the thousand-year old city has laid its seal upon the composition of its population. The Romanised Thracian population was gradually replaced by a Bulghar one. After the Ottoman conquest, Muslims settled in the city for the first time: there was a garrison, Muslim religious functionaries and officials, as well as craftsmen and merchants. But according to Bertrand de la Broquière (1433), Sofia was still a Bulgarian town. The "Long Campaign" of John Hunyádi and Vladislav I, king of Hungary, in the autumn of 1443, brought real disaster to the local population. At their retreat, the Ottomans applied scorched earth tactics; at their recapture of the city, the population, and especially the Christian élite, suffered from severe punitive measures.

Tax registers from the 16th century recorded an already preponderant position for the Muslim population in Sofia, both in terms of numbers and in the economy of the city. This phenomenon was the result of a migration wave from the east and of Islamisation of local people. A clear tendency of population growth due to natural increase emerges with the Muslims gaining the numerical superiority. But the populous villages around Sofia remained largely Bulgarian. Until the 19th century, the correlation between the groups of the population in the entire region remained stable—the Muslims were 12%, but in the city they prevailed over the Christians. There appeared *Yürüks* in the region of Sofia (*Nadöken*). The economic and political decline of the city in the 19th century brought about a still further withdrawal of the Muslim population from the city. After the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8, virtually the entire Muslim population abandoned Sofia.

All travellers noted that in the 15th-18th centuries, Sofia was a well-populated city and they paid particular attention to the diversity in the ethnic and religious composition of its population. Apart from the Orthodox Bulgarians, they mention Greeks. The city was also inhabited by Jews, both Romaniot and Ashkenazim. Their numbers increased considerably in the 16th century after the influx of the Spanish Jews, the Sephardim. Sofia became then one of the cities with a significant Jewish community. There was a synagogue in the city from at least A.D. 967. The number of Monophysite Armenians in the city during Ottoman rule increased following several migrations of Armenians from Poland, Plovdiv, Nakhičevān, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire; in the 17th century there already existed a Georgian community. The sources identify also a small group of *ʿAdjem ṭayfe*, Armenians from the eastern provinces bordering on Persia, who were engaged in interregional trade within the Ottoman Empire. Sofia was one of the Balkan cities where, beginning with the 14th century, Ragusans settled. About the middle of the 15th century, they had a church and estates in the centre of the city, that is, something like a *maḥalle* of their own; towards the end of the 17th century, the community of the Catholic Ragusans declined. Gypsies, both Muslims and non-Muslims, are mentioned among the inhabitants of the city for the first time in the 16th century.

Following the established traditions in the Islamic and Ottoman town, all ethno-religious groups in Sofia lived in their separate *maḥalles* (at the end of the 16th century—25 Muslim and 14 non-Muslim *maḥalles*, 2 *zāwiyes* and 3 *djemāʿats*). Ottoman documentation shows, however, that from the 17th century onwards, the strict segregation of the population in separate *maḥalles* in Sofia was not infrequently violated. Muslim *maḥalles* were usually represented by the *imāms*, and from the 19th century by the *mukhtārs*. The functions of the *maḥalles* in Sofia were related to taxation, maintenance of the public security through mutual guarantees, observance of public and family morality, maintenance of the places of worship and the functionaries in them, and religious charities through the *maḥalle waḳīfs*.

The Orthodox Christians, Jews, Armenians and Catholics in Sofia were regarded by the authorities as internally independent autonomous communities grouped around their own religious leaders (an Orthodox bishop, subordinate to the Oecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople; a Catholic bishop, etc.), and they participated in taking decisions related to problems regarding the whole city.

Thus according to Ottoman *defters* from 930/1523-4, 915 Muslims (that is, ordinary tax-payers, low religious functionaries and some military men, bachelors and men with some form of disability) and 317 Christians had been registered in the city, which makes a total population of about 6,000; in 1544-5, 1,325 Muslims, 173 non-Muslims, as well as 88 Jews, that is, over 8,000 inhabitants; towards the end of the 16th century, 1,017 Muslims (without military men), 257 non-Muslims, 127 Jews and 37 Gypsies, that is, over 9,000 inhabitants. According to the Catholic Propaganda around 1580, there lived in Sofia about 150 Catholics, mainly Ragusans; in 1640 (according to Petăr Bogdan) there were 58. The same author indicated that there lived in the city 30,000 Muslims, 25,000 Orthodox Christians, 15,000 Jews, and 1,600 Armenians. A number of Western European observers point out that, in the 18th century, Sofia had about 70,000 inhabitants; at the beginning of the 19th century they were only 45-50,000. The *sālnāmes* of 1872-3 record 3,065 Mus-

lim households and 1,737 non-Muslim ones, that is, over 35,000 people. According to the first census of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1881, there lived in Sofia 20,501, including 535 Turks, 13,195 Bulgarians, 4,146 Jews, 1,061 Armenians and 778 Gypsies.

The high Sofia plain, surrounded by pastures and forests, is a densely populated agrarian countryside, with over 200 villages, where many categories of population with specific military and police duties, as well as production obligations, were represented—*woynuḳs*, *derwentčis*, *djelebs*, *ma'dendjis*. Agrarian production, cattle-breeding and metal production were directed mainly towards the big consuming and producing centre, Sofia, as well as towards the vast imperial markets and supplies for the army. The numerous population in the administrative and military centre and its position on the crossroad of two highways stimulated the economic development of the city, which was also stimulated by the emergence of a number of workshops during the Ottoman period.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Sofia was a *khāṣṣ* of the sultan. Local trade and production were regulated through the law of the *bādj* from the 16th century. Between the 15th and 17th centuries, Sofia was the largest import-export base for the caravan trade of Ragusa in Bulgaria. It was mainly crafts related to the processing of metals, wool and hides, that flourished. The famous red and yellow hides, called *kordovans* and *bugarins*, were produced here.

Craftsmen and merchants were a major element in the city. At the beginning of the 16th century, these were 294 Muslims and 78 non-Muslims; in the middle of the century, 347 and 130 respectively, and towards the end of the century, 474 Muslim craftsmen and 131 non-Muslims, belonging to 132 crafts. *Djelebs* had an important role in the city, too. The *eṣnāf* or trade guilds [see ṢINF] were established in the 16th century. Along with the representatives of the *'askerīs*, there were also *'ulemā'*: *mu'allims*, *khaṭībs*, *sheykhs* and dervishes from various *ṭarīḳats*, and, above all, *imāms* and *mü'edhdhins*. According to Ottoman registers, only in the course of the 16th century did their number increase from about 30 to over 110.

Sofia is one of the few living Late Antique cities. Some of the monuments of Late Antiquity have been preserved until today: the rotunda of St. George, the church of St. Sophia and parts of the fortress walls. After the city fell under Ottoman control, Sofia came under the influence of the Islamo-Levantine culture. The architecture of the city, however, preserved both the Antique and the Mediaeval heritage, which was enriched by another important element, the Islamic one.

Under the Ottomans, the city lost its fortification walls. The Ottoman city spread in width, the houses having large courtyards with lots of verdure, hiding the muddy mediaeval streets and plain houses. For a long time, however, the fortress wall marked the area and the established planning of Antiquity: the main streets were in fact the road-beds of the highways crossing Sofia in its centre, close to the mineral spring. Thus the ancient and mediaeval centre became the centre of Ottoman Sofia, too. It was locked between the imaginary triangle formed by the dome of the church of St. Nedelja, where the relics of the Serbian king Milutin are kept, the cupola of the synagogue, and the minaret of the monumental *Banābashī* mosque. These three sanctuaries symbolise the Levantine spirit of the Ottoman city in the Balkans, and delineate the Ottoman centre, which was only the new attire of the ancient and of the present centre of Sofia.

Being the centre of Rumeli in the 15th and 16th centuries, Sofia became the site of building activities of a number of high Ottoman officials and acquired the appearance of an Ottoman city. Most of the important religious buildings as well as of utilitarian premises, built by the Ottomans, were beyond the boundaries of old Sofia; they had become the nuclei of separate town parts, connected rather with the incoming and outgoing arteries.

In Ottoman Sofia, regular street planning was not followed; the domestic housing architecture was very poor. Considerable changes came about in the 17th century. Along with the more solid houses, and those with a more complicated structure, such as two-storeyed houses with tiled roofs, the number of the rich serails in Sofia grew, too. Ewliyā Čelebi mentions those of Ya'ḳūb Agha, Ḳodja Meḥmed Agha, Ḳodja Peltek Ya'ḳūb Čāwūsh, Ganat Efendi and Durganlî Agha; the splendour of the Pasha's *ḳonaḳ* (today part of the building of the National Art Gallery) is emphasised as well.

Following usual practice, the Ottomans converted some churches into mosques. It seems that the first was the church of St. Demetrius, converted into Fetḥi Djāmi' in the beginning of the 16th century; in the 16th century the church of St. Sophia was converted into the Siyāwush Pasha Djāmi'; and the church of St. George into the Gül Djāmi'. But the majority of the Muslim sanctuaries were the result of the activities of high Ottoman officials, local notables and zealous ordinary Muslims.

In the middle of the 15th century, Maḥmūd Pasha built the Büyük Djāmi' with 8 lead domes (today the National Archaeology Museum of Bulgaria). A century later, the great Ottoman architect Sinān [*q.v.*] planned the *'imāret* complex of Ṣofu Meḥmed Pasha, comprising a monumental stone mosque, the Black Mosque, with one of the largest domes in the Balkans (today the church of the Seven Saints), a *medrese* with 16 rooms, a library, a *ḥamām*, a caravanserai, a *mekteb* and a kitchen. According to Ottoman tax registers, towards the middle of the 16th century there were 4 Friday mosques and 31 *mesdjids* in Sofia, while towards the end of the century there were 8 Friday mosques and 37 *mesdjids*. The *sālnāmes* of the second half of the 19th century record 44 Muslim places of worship (mosques) in Sofia. There are data about 3 *waḳf* libraries in Sofia: of Ṣofu Meḥmed Pasha in the complex of the Black Mosque; one in the complex at the Banābashi Djāmi', belonging to Seyfullāh Efendi; and one more. Among the manuscripts from these libraries that are kept in the Oriental Department, the collections of the *müftī* Muṣṭafā b. Meḥmed and of 'Abd al-Fettāḥ stand out. In the middle of the 16th century, 8 *mu'allim-khānes* and 2 *medreses* were registered; according to the *sālnāmes* of the end of the 19th century, the *mektebs* were 20, while the *medreses*, the *mekteb-i rüshdiyye* and the *mekteb-i ṣabīyān* were 6 altogether. Official records provide information about four *türbes* and *zāwiyes* in the middle of the 16th century. Ewliyā Čelebi's travel account, however, contains detailed information about a number of other places of worship related to various *ṭarīḳats* situated in Sofia and its outskirts.

There were also places of worship of the non-Muslim population in the city. The churches were in the centre of the city and, according to Stefan Gerlach (16th century), were 12 in number; in the 19th century there were 8. The ring of small monasteries around Sofia (25) was praised as the Mount Athos of Sofia. The newly-built churches in the Ottoman period

were St. Kral and St. Nikola the Great; there is more information, however, on repaired and newly-painted churches. They had a modest appearance, small single-naved basilicas, an architectural type that was dominant even before the Ottoman conquest and which was very convenient in the conditions of limited financial resources of the Orthodox and of the *sharīʿa* restrictions. The lesser religious communities had their places of worship in the centre of the city as well: synagogues for the three Jewish communities from the beginning of the 16th century; the Armenian church of the Holy Virgin from the 17th century; and a Catholic church was established in the second half of the 15th century. The educational institutions of the non-Muslim communities functioned, too.

The Sofia bazaar, the heart of the city, was well-developed. The specialised *sūḳs* and markets formed a dense network in the central part of the city; in the course of time, it spread to the residential quarters as well and drew them into the common economic rhythm of the city in the modern times. The busiest among them were *Banābas̲h̲î čars̲h̲î*, where the Jewish one was situated too, the markets of the butchers, the cobblers, the saddlers, the goldsmiths, the S̲h̲eytān čars̲h̲î, the Yazîd̲j̲î one and the *Sungurlar* one; beginning from the 18th century, a Greek market is mentioned in the Ottoman documents. Specialised markets—the Salt Market, where salt from Wallachia was offered, the Honey Market, the Rice Market, the Horse Market, and others—also existed. According to Ottoman registers from towards the end of the 16th century, there were in the city about a thousand workshops, taverns and other industrial enterprises like a tannery, utilising the drainage from the hot mineral public bath, candleworks, the *waḳf* of El-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Bayram, water mills, a mint (from the middle of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century, and, occasionally, until the first quarter of the 18th century), a workshop for the fermented drink *boza*, ice works and an establishment for roasting and grinding coffee for the use of retail dealers.

In 1506 the *beylerbeyi* Yaḥyā Pas̲h̲a built the largest *bezistān* in the Balkans (44 workshops inside and 101 outside it), and a magnificent mineral bath, which Hans Dernschwam compared to the Pantheon. The big caravanserais are also indicative of the economic prosperity of the city. Foreign travellers describe the enormous caravanserai of *Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a*, the caravanserai at the *ʿimāret* of *Ḳod̲j̲a Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a*, the caravanserais of *Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Boga*, of *K̲h̲iḍîr Čāwūs̲h̲*, of *Ilyās Bey* and of *Mewlānā Alāʾüddin*. The *ʿimāret*s of *Ḳod̲j̲a Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a*, of *Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a*, and others also had an important role in economic life. After the 17th century, the functions of caravanserais were overtaken by the private *k̲h̲āns*, which were among the most impressive buildings of the time: the *Čelebi k̲h̲ān*, *Sliwniški k̲h̲ān*, *Eski k̲h̲ān*, *Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a k̲h̲ān*, *Küčük k̲h̲ān*, and *Čohad̲j̲î k̲h̲ān*, the largest civil building, with a mosque dating from the 18th century. The functions of the *bezistān* were assumed by private *mag̲h̲azas* (warehouses).

Even in Antiquity, Sofia had a very good water-supply and sanitation system. Water from the Vitosha mountain was taken into the city through a water-main, maintained in a very good condition by *waḳfs* throughout the Ottoman period. The famous mineral spring in the centre of the city was canalised in the 2nd century A.D. and the reservoir was used until 1912. On a large territory around it were built the city thermal baths, replaced by an impressive Turkish bath.

The construction and upkeep of all these religious and utilitarian premises, as well as those of education, culture, etc., were maintained through the *waḳfs* of both distinguished and ordinary citizens of Sofia.

Sofia declined in the 19th century. Terrible earthquakes in 1818, and especially in 1858, destroyed the city. Most of the houses, as well as mosques and caravanserais, were razed. Nearly all minarets fell down. Some reconstruction works were carried out under Rasin Pas̲h̲a and Esʿad Pas̲h̲a: new productions were started, the construction of the railway between Sofia and Plovdiv was begun, the minarets were raised again.

Eminent personalities related to life in Ottoman Sofia are the famous governors and *waḳf* founders Mesīḥ Voyvoda, Ḳod̲j̲a Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Ḳod̲j̲a Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a, Siyāwus̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a, El-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Bayram Pas̲h̲a, K̲h̲üsrew Pas̲h̲a. The city toponyms have preserved the name of Mewlānā S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ, *ḳāḍī* of Sofia, and founder of a *waḳf*, of the Sofia *ḳāḍī* Seyfullāh Efendi, who founded a *medrese* in Sofia in 1570/71 next to the Banābas̲h̲i mosque built by him, too; of Ṣaruk̲h̲ān Bey, Ḳara Dānis̲h̲mend and Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ḥamza. A number of Ottoman writers, poets and religious functionaries were born or lived in Sofia, thus turning it into one of the most important centres of Ottoman culture in the Balkans in the 16th century: Aḥmed Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī; ʿAbdī Efendi; Ḥekīm-zāde Ṣubḥī, son of the *wezīr* Sinān. Distinguished figures of the 17th century were Ibrāhīm Efendi, a scholar and judge, born and buried in Sofia; Pas̲h̲a Meḥmed Efendi, a native of Gelibolu, who wrote studies in the field of law, was a poet and a translator of Persian poetry; and the poet Ṣofyawī Wāḥid Meḥmed Čelebi.

Among the religious functionaries connected with Sofia stands out Bālī Efendi. According to his *vita*, he was "a scholar and a saint, expert in the hidden and the manifest, with perfect disciples", one who "created wonderful works and various noble books, *risāles* and precious commentaries" among which a commentary on the treatise of Ibn ʿArabī and one on the basic principles of the K̲h̲alweti order; and poems with a didactic content. This Ṣūfī mystic and preacher was also an outstanding and extreme supporter of orthodoxy, closely related to the central authorities, struggling against the heterodox sects in Deli Orman, Dobrud̲j̲a and Thrace. The *vita* describes him as a saintly man; from other sources, we know that he died in 1553. On his grave near Sofia, which is still equally revered by Muslims and Christians, the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd ül-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz constructed a mosque and a *zāwiye*, while the village which developed was named Bālī Efendi (now Knjaževo). Donors to the *waḳf* were the *mīrimīrān* of Buda, Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, Mesīḥ Voyvoda and other distinguished Muslims from the city of Sofia. Bālī Efendi himself founded a *zāwiye* in Sofia.

After Sofia became the capital of the Principality of Bulgaria, almost its entire Muslim population left, and only a few monuments of Islamic architecture, like the *Banābas̲h̲î D̲j̲āmiʿ*, still functioning as a place of worship, were preserved. Sofia is the seat of the *Müftülük* in Bulgaria; at different times, there have functioned also some educational institutions like the Turkish primary school at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and today, an Islamic Religious Institute. The majority of the Ottoman and Turkish newspapers in Bulgaria—about 25, including those of the religious institutions in the country—were published in Sofia; three private Turkish printing

houses functioned there. Today, the newspaper *Mjusjulmanin* is published here.

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SOGHDIA [see AL-ṢUGHD].

SÖGÜD, modern Turkish SÖĞÜT, a small town of northwestern Anatolia, in the classical Bithynia, now in the modern Turkish *il* or province of Bilecik [see BILEDJIK] (lat. 40° 02' N., long. 30° 10' E., altitude 650 m/2,132 feet). In Ottoman times it came within the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār or Bursa [*q.vv.*]. It lies to the south of the Saḳarya river [*q.v.*] between Lefke and Eskişehir, and is a day's journey from each of these places (*Djihān-nümā*). Sögüd lies at the mouth of a mountain gorge, very deep and very narrow, and is built in an amphitheatre. The country round the town forms part of the fertile region which forms the transition between the central plain of Anatolia on the south and the lands on either side of the lower course of the Saḳarya to the north. It was the country of Sulṭān Öñü, and is famous in Ottoman history as having been the cradle of power of the Ottoman dynasty. According to the unanimous tradition of the Turkish historians, Ertoghrul, father of 'Othmān, received this district as a fief from the Saldjūḳ sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn; the mountains of Ṭumānīdj and Ermenī were the *yayla* of the tribe of Ertoghrul and Sögüd was their *yurt* ('Āshıḳ-Pasha-zāde, 4; Urudj Bey, ed. Babinger, 7, 83). The *türbe* of Ertoghrul is at Sögüd; this tomb has a little cupola and lies two leagues from the town, a little to the left of the road to Lefke. Tradition still tells that one of the brothers of 'Othmān, Sarıyati or Sawdjı, is buried beside his father; 'Othmān himself is also said to be buried in this *türbe* and not at Bursa (Ritter).

As regards the pre-Ottoman period, we find in the *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa the legend that the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd conquered Sögüd in 181/797. The name Sögüd is pure Turkish and means "willow"; the oldest form seems to have been Sögüddjük or Sögütdjük (thus in the *Tewārīkh-i āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, Urudj Bey, and as late as the 18th century, Meḥmed Edīb, cf. also Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i, 101).

One of the four *djāmi'*s of Sögüd is attributed to Ertoghrul and another to sultan Meḥemmed I. After the capture of Constantinople, the town was situated on the main route of pilgrimage to Mecca. It was never large; in the 17th century Ewliyā counted 700 Turkish houses there, and at the beginning of the 19th century the number had hardly risen (cf. the traveller's records in Ritter). Towards the end of this century, Sāmī gave 5,000 as the population. After the First World War, Sögüd was occupied by the Greek army from August 1921 to September 1922. In 1965, it had a population of 3,004.

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(J.H. KRAMERS*)

SÖKMEN [see ALP; ARTUḲIDS; SHĀH-I ARMAN].

SOḲOLLU MEḤMED PASHA, called Ṭawīl "the tall" (*ca.* 1505-79), one of the most famous Ottoman Grand Viziers and the only to have held this office uninterruptedly under three successive sultans, from 27 June 1565 to 12 October 1579.

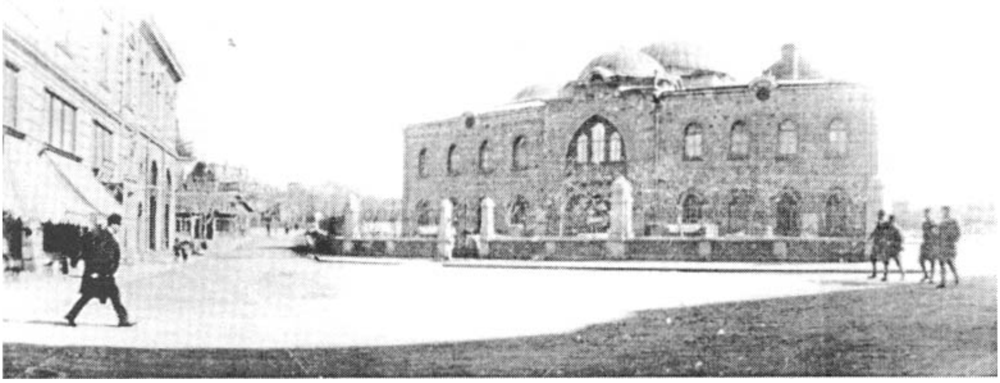
He was born in Bosnia in the village of Sokolovići (< *sokol* "falcon") near the little town of Rudo in the *ḳaḍā'* of Višegrad into a Serbian family of minor rural nobility deriving its name from the village (sc. that of Sokolović > Tkish. Soḳollu). It had several branches, one of them supplying the second vizier Deli Khosrew Pasha (dismissed in 1544) through the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*]. The son of one Dimitriye who eventually converted to Islam, his baptismal name was Bayo, and he had three brothers according to Serbian tradition, two according to the Turkish one. He was educated in the Mileševa monastery where an uncle was a monk.

His career in Ottoman service and his conversion (adopting the name Mehmed) was through the *dewshirme*, he being recruited by Yeshildje Mehmed Beg at the relatively late age of 16 to 18, perhaps a sign that the recruiting officer attached special value to his recruitment. Details about Soḳollu's youth appear in the eulogistic *Djewāhir ül-menāḳib* and in various legends accruing *a posteriori* because of his spectacular career (see O. Ziroyević, *Mehmed Pascha Sokolli im Lichte jugoslavischer Quellen und Überlieferungen*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, iv [1984], 56-67). Brought to Sultan Süleymān at Edirne, early in the latter's reign, he was educated in the palace there. According to Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, he allegedly took part in the campaign to the two 'Irāḳs under the *defterdār* Iskender Čelebi (von Hammer, *Histoire*, v, 224-5, 494). Then he entered the Topkapı palace and worked in the "interior treasury" (*ič khazīne*), rising in the hierarchy towards the sultan's own person to become *rikābdār* or groom, *čuḳadār* or valet-de-chambre and *silāḥdār* or sword-bearer. Using the nepotism which he would make a corner-stone of his career, he already exercised this in favour of his own family, through the intermediacy of the *djizyedār* of Bosnia, Aḥmed Beg, he had a brother and nephew, this last under the guise of Soḳollu's younger brother, the future Muṣṭafā Pasha, brought to Istanbul and enrolled as pages in the Ghalaṭa palace, and then his father, converted to Islam as Djemāl ül-Dīn Sinān Beg, who became administrator of a *waḳf* in Bosnia.

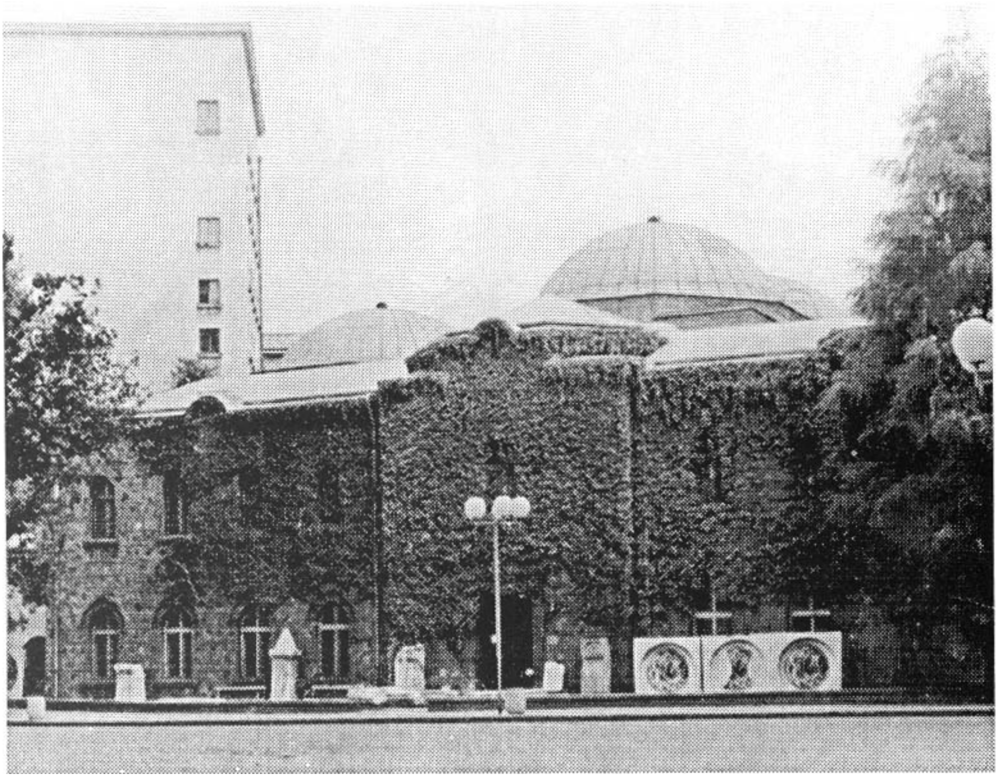
Soḳollu became chief taster (*čashnegīr bashī*) in the palace and head door-keeper (*ḳapudjı bashı*), this last title given to him by the sultan at the time of the 1541 campaign. It seems to have been in this last function that he received the king of France's envoy before the sultan's return from Hungary. In 1546 he received his first nomination as successor to Khayr



Banābas̲h̲ī or Molla D̲j̲āmiʿ built by Seyfullāh Efendi 978/1570-1, at present the only Muslim place of worship in Sofia (Photo: 1980s).



Great mosque, built by Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a, 9th/15th century (Photo: early 20th century).



Contemporary view of the same, now the National Archaeology Museum of Bulgaria.

al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] as *kapudan pasha* with the rank of *sandjak beg*. His work with the naval forces was primarily as an administrator, the organisation of the fleet, recruitment of sailors, financial resources and the arsenal, rather than the actual conduct of operations, this being left to the corsair chief Torghud Re'īs [*q.v.*].

In 1549 he became *beglerbeg* of Rūmeli in succession to Semīdh 'Alī Pasha, and in this function in 1551 reasserted the sultan's sovereignty and the rights of his protégé John Sigismund, the minor son of the deceased king of Hungary John Zapolya, over Transylvania against the ambitions of the Habsburg Ferdinand, who had sent an army under J.-B. Castaldo and who was to obtain a cardinal's hat for the alleged betrayal of the country by the Regent George Utješenović, called Martinucci (see A. Huber, *Die Erwerbung Siebenbürgens durch Ferdinand I. im Jahre 1551 und Bruder Georgs End*, in *Archiv für Österr. Gesch.*, lxxv [1889], 481-545; idem, *Die Verhandlungen Ferdinands I. mit Isabella von Siebenbürgen 1551-1555*, in *ibid.*, lxxviii [1892], 1-39; L. Makkai, *Hist. de la Transylvanie*, Paris 1946; M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, *L'Empire ottoman et les pays roumains, 1544-1545*, Paris-Cambridge, Mass. 1987, 17-46; S.M. Džaja and G. Weiss, *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, Munich 1995, index s.v. Martinuzzi). Sokollu was appointed *serdār* of this expedition to Transylvania and the Banat, with not only his own forces but also troops from the *sandjaks* of Semendire and Nigbolu, Crimean and Dobrudja Tatars, contingents sent by the Voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia and a force of 2,000 Janissaries. At Slankemen he was joined by the *akindjis* [*q.v.*] of Mīkhāl-oghlu 'Alī Beg [see MĪKHĀL-OGHLU] and the forces of the *beylerbeg* of Buda, Khādim 'Alī Pasha. The army crossed the Danube on 6 Ramaḍān 958/7 September 1551, then the Tisza, and entered Transylvania without resistance. During the campaign, at Csanád on the Maros and a dozen other fortresses, Sokollu benefited from the rallying to his side of local Serbian garrisons to whom he appealed by citing their common origin with him. At Lippa, the Habsburg garrison fled and the town surrendered, so that Sokollu could install a force of 5,000 *sipāhīs* [*q.v.*] and 200 Janissaries. He then besieged Stephen Losonczy in Temesvár [see TEMESHWAR], but with the approach of bad weather and of Castaldo's forces, retired to Belgrade for the winter, from where he sent letters to the three nations of Transylvania and the magistrates of leading towns there invoking their loyalty to the sultan. At the end of the year he was joined by the forces which had had to evacuate Lippa. At Belgrade he prepared the campaign of the following year. In February 1552, Michael Toth, with 5,000 hayduks, seized Szeged [*q.v.*], whose *sandjak-beg* Mīkhāl-oghlu Khiḍīr Beg was compelled to take refuge in the citadel, but this was recovered by the *beglerbeg* of Buda, 'Alī Pasha (see von Hammer, vi, 22-3). Given the seriousness of the situation, the campaign beginning April 1552 was given to a *serdār* of higher rank, the second vizier Kara Aḥmed Pasha, with Sokollu only in a subordinate role. The army captured Temesvár and other places in the Banat in July, but in the next months a new campaign was prepared against Persia, and Sokollu was ordered to cross with the troops of Rūmeli at Gallipoli and winter at Tokat.

The campaign was initially commanded by Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] but finally by the sultan himself, anxious to scotch rumours of his replacement by his rebellious son Muṣṭafā. This latter affair, ending with Muṣṭafā's execution, delayed events for a year, with Sokollu wintering at Tokat and the sultan at Aleppo. In June 1554, Sokollu's Rumelian troops, on the left wing, distinguished themselves on the march from Erzurum to Nakhčivān by the perfect state of their equipment, and Sokollu also took part in operations against fortresses in Georgia. On his return, Süleymān appointed him at Amasya third vizier, so that he became *ex officio* a member of the imperial *dīwān*.

His influence and high standing with the sultan could now only increase further. On returning to Istanbul, the sultan entrusted him in 1555 with the delicate matter of suppressing, with a force of 3,000 Janissaries sent in the direction of the Dobrudja, the revolt of a "false" (*düzme*) Muṣṭafā, who claimed to be the resuscitated executed prince; captured by the *sandjak-beg* of Nigbolu, the pretender was handed over to Sokollu for hanging. He was then closely involved in the aging sultan's measures to calm the situation of rivalry over the impending succession between the two *shehzādes*, Selīm and Bāyezīd, being sent in November 1558 to Selīm with messages from his father enjoining peace and harmony and their acceptance of the *sandjaks* offered to them. Sokollu succeeded here with Selīm (whose daughter he was to marry), whereas the fourth vizier Pertew Pasha [*q.v.*] failed to persuade Bāyezīd to exchange his governorate of Konya for that of Amasya. In the ensuing war between the two brothers begun by Bāyezīd, the sultan sent an army in support of Selīm into Anatolia, comprising 3,000 Janissaries and 40 pieces of cannon under Sokollu's command. In the battle on the plain of Konya on 21 Sha'bān 966/29 May 1559, Sokollu was the architect of Selīm's victory. Sokollu and Selīm then pursued the refugee Bāyezīd towards Persia, marching as far as Sivas, and with the prince's arrival in Persia, Sokollu was deputed to winter at Aleppo and watch for any moves by the rebellious prince, only returning to Istanbul in spring 1560 (S. Turan, *Kanuninin oğlu Şehzade Bayezid vak'ası*, Ankara 1961).

In the following year, on 10 July 1561, the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha's death brought about the promotion, by the strict rules of hierarchy, of the second vizier Semīdh 'Alī Pasha, with Sokollu in the latter's vacated place, in which his influence grew, even if still in a clandestine fashion. Then, on 'Alī's death on 27 June 1565, Sokollu succeeded naturally to the Grand Vizierate, thus crowning his career as a *dewshirme* convert.

During this period, the siege of Malta, begun by his predecessor, had received a severe check. The new Grand Vizier aimed at restoring Ottoman prestige in the eyes of the Austrians, using firmness against the new Imperial ambassador Hosszuthoty, on pretext of Austrian encroachments on several fortresses in Transylvania and non-payment of stipulated tribute. A campaign was decided upon, and Sokollu, with other persons activated more by religious than political considerations, insisted that the aged and sick sultan should participate; but since the latter had to travel in a carriage or even be borne on a litter, Sokollu was ultimately responsible for the conduct of operations. It was during the siege of Szigetvár [*q.v.*], begun on 5 August, one day before the fortress surrendered, that Süleymān died (7 September 1565). Sokollu now acted with a skill and mastery of the situation which later became proverbial. With the complicity of his secretary Ferīdūn, the *silāḥdār* Dja'fer Agha and the physician, the sultan's death had to be kept secret to avoid anarchy and the complete disarray of the army. The news of his father's death was sent secretly to Selīm at Kütahya, who then set out for Belgrade after securing his succession in Istanbul. In the army camp,

all sorts of stratagems were employed to perpetuate the idea of Süleymān's continuance in life, culminating in his setting off ostensibly in his coach. The news of his death was only revealed four stages out of Belgrade (detailed account of the campaign and the sultan's death in Selānikī; see also Ferīdūn Beg, *Nüzhet ül-akhbār*, Topkapı, Hazine ms. 1339; Āgāhī Manṣūr Čelebi, *Feth-nāme-yi ḳalʿe-yi Sigetwar*, Ist. Univ. ms. T 3884; ʿĀlī, *Heft medjlis*, Istanbul 1316/1898-9).

Selīm, under the influence of his favourites at Kütahya, refused to lend himself in Belgrade to a second investiture (*bayʿat*) before the troops and to award them the traditional accession gift (*djülūs bakhshīshi*). Soḳollu thought this attitude irresponsible, and was able to intervene when the new sultan's actions provoked the inevitable army revolt, persuading Selīm to give out some money. But a second revolt erupted when the army reached the Edirne Gate of Istanbul, on the grounds that it had not received the full amount demanded, and the alarmed sultan, whose access to his palace had been blocked by a hay cart, had to allow Soḳollu to concede everything.

Soḳollu now remained Grand Vizier all through Selīm's reign, making himself indispensable to the sultan, whose son-in-law he became in 969/1561-2 by his marriage to Esmakhan, a union for which he had to divorce his two previous wives, who had given him the two sons Ḥasan, the future Pasha, and Ḳurt Ḳāsim Beg, both present on the Szigetvár campaign, and Esmakhan was to give him various children, including a son Ibrāhīm Khān who became *ḳapudjï bashï* (see T. Gökbilgin, in *İA*, art. *Ibrahim Han*; genealogy of this son in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont *et alii*, *Stelae turcicae. II. Cimetières de la mosquée de Sokollu Mehmed Paşa à Kadırga limanı...*, Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft XXXVI, Tübingen 1950). Under Selīm, Soḳollu reached the apogee of his authority as the true head of the empire and maintainer of its power and grandeur. Even so, his authority was not unaffected by the whims of an intemperate sovereign and the intrigues of his enemies and potential rivals like his kinsman Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha ([*q.v.*] and see S. Turan, in *Belleten*, xxii [1958], 551-93) or the Albanian Sinān Pasha ([*q.v.*] and see Turan, in *İA*, art. *Sinan Paşa, Koça*). Moreover, he was unable to dislodge certain of the sultan's favourites, such as the same Lala Muṣṭafā, whom Selīm appointed sixth vizier in Radjab 976/January 1569 without reference to Soḳollu, and Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos, the most famous of the great Jewish financiers established in Istanbul and main advocate of the conquest of Cyprus (see NAḲSHE; PARA, and their *Bibls.*, and also A. Galante, *Don Joseph Nassi, duc de Naxos, d'après de nouveaux documents*; idem, *Hist. des Juifs d'Istanbul*, Istanbul 1942; J. Reznik, *Le duc de Naxos...*, Paris 1936; P. Grunebaum-Balin, *Joseph Naci, duc de Naxos*, Paris-The Hague 1968).

Nevertheless, Soḳollu was not a solitary figure relying purely on his own powers and skills to remain in power, but very early in his career one sees forming round him a network of protégés, a family base, or at least a regional and ethnic one. He frequently received visitors from his family in the capital, without requiring that they should become Muslim (testimony of Stefan Gerlach in 1577). Many of his relations achieved high positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Hungary. His cousin Muṣṭafā Pasha became *beglerbeg* of Buda in the course of the Szigetvár campaign, and a young brother of Muṣṭafā, Meḥmed, was *sandjaḳ-beg* of Bosnia until in 1573 he became tutor to a royal prince, as Lala Meḥmed Pasha, and eventually Grand Vizier (see above). Another cousin, Ferhād Beg, became *sandjaḳ-beg* of Klis in 1570, and then that of Bosnia. Ḳara Sinān Beg, *sandjaḳ-beg* of Bosnia and then of Herzegovina, of the Boljanic family of Herzegovina, was Soḳollu's brother-in-law. His own two sons, Ḥasan Pasha and Ḳurt Beg, attained high office.

As well as these kinship connections, Soḳollu had several trusty confidants, such as his secretary Ferīdūn, who saved his life at the siege of Szigetvár, *müteferriḳa* under Süleymān and then later *reʾīs efendi* and *nishāndjï*, and Süleymān's last *silāḥdār*, who had helped conceal the sultan's death, married a daughter of Soḳollu and became Agha of the Janissaries.

One is tempted to discern in the re-establishment of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1557, when Soḳollu was third vizier, a manifestation of Serbian solidarity and even of nepotism, since the holder, Makariye, former Archimandrite of one of the Mount Athos monasteries, was a nephew (Marino Cavalli) or possibly even a brother (Gerlach) of the vizier. After Makariye's death in 1574, the post eventually went to two more Sokolovićs, until the death of Savatiye in 1586, so that the family had held the patriarchate for thirty years since its restoration. But one may also see an additional factor at work here, a wider policy of conciliating the Serbs to make them a support of Ottoman policy in the Balkans, a role which they had actually played in the 1551 Banat campaign (see M. Grujić, *Pravoslavna srpska crkva*, Belgrade 1920, 180-96; M. Mirković, *Pravni položaj i karakter srpske crkve pod turskom vlašću (1454-1766)*, Belgrade 1965, 212-21; Sr. Petković, *Zidno slikarstvo na području Pećke patrijaršije 1557-1614*, Novi Sad 1965).

Soḳollu did not exercise his power with warlike intentions, and ceased personally to exercise military command, in which he had always, as we have seen, been mostly concerned with questions of organisation, arms and logistics. Nevertheless, and in despite of his own preferences, some important campaigns took place during his tenure of office. An expedition to Yemen was necessary after the revolt there of the Zaydī Imām al-Muṭahhar, who had occupied Ṣanʿāʾ and thrown off Ottoman authority. Soḳollu took this opportunity to play off and to arbitrate between two of his main rivals, with Lala Muṣṭafā appointed as *serdār* of the expedition coming into conflict with the governor of Egypt, Sinān Pasha, who refused Lala Muṣṭafā resources for the campaign; in the end, the latter was disgraced, and Sinān made *serdār* in his place. On the question of Cyprus, Soḳollu did not wish for a rupture of the peace with Venice, foreseeing an alliance of the Republic with Spain and the Papacy and a strong naval threat to the Ottomans, as in fact happened when Pius V brought about the *Sacra Liga*, the war party under Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] and Lala Muṣṭafā and the avidity of Joseph Nasi having prevailed against his advice. His old ally, the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*], this time failed him, and gave a *fatwā* in favour of violating the treaty with Venice, although he repented of this and promised Soḳollu never to issue any decree against him in future (on the Cyprus campaign, see the refs. in the *Bibl.* to ḲUBRUṢ). Even then, Soḳollu never broke completely, during the crisis, with the Venetian *bailo* Marc-Antonio Barbaro, with whom he developed a remarkable affinity (M. Lesure, *Notes et documents sur les relations vénéto-ottomanes, 1570-1573*, in *Turcica*, iv [1972], 134-64, viii/1 [1975], 117-56). Finally, he was able to get the best advantage out of what he could not avoid; immediately after the naval defeat of Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTÏ], he used the immense resources of the empire, together with his old experience at the arsenal, to have 150 galleys and 8

mahones built in the winter of 1571-2, providing the *kapudan pasha* Ḳilič ʿAlī, some months only after the disaster, with a war fleet stronger than ever (idem, *La crise de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1972). Also, after Cyprus was conquered, the fiscal revenues of the island fell to the Grand Vizier before these *khāṣṣ* revenues passed to the *wālides*, mothers of the reigning sultans.

Standing apart personally from the combats which he did everything to avoid, Soḳollu was nevertheless very active in diplomatic affairs, negotiating incessantly through dragomans, notably the renegade from the Polish nobility, originally Joachym Strasz, now called Ibrāhīm Beg (cf. A. Zajączkowski, in *RO*, xii [1936], 91-118; A. Bombaci, in *ibid.*, xv [1939-49], 129-44). It is from diplomatic reports by foreigners having business with him, especially the Imperial ambassador Verantius (cf. *Monumenta Hungaria historica. Scriptores*, vi, docs. VI, XXI), and the Venetians Cavalli, Ragazzoni and Barbaro (cf. Albèri, *Le relazioni...*) that we possess the most precise and lively physical and psychological portraits of the Grand Vizier, the "magnificent Bassa" that all could not but admire and respect. He is depicted as tall, well-proportioned, handsome and well-groomed, with (in 1573) a long gray beard. He was a courteous speaker, but an astute adversary, always on guard, venting on the sultan or his rivals the most brutal decisions, and capable of being haughty and inflexible. All emphasise his avariciousness for exorbitant presents, from within and without the empire. Some authorities detected a streak of vanity in him, seen in his pretensions to stem from the line of despots of Serbia; but none of them knew of the physical courage which he had evinced at the siege of Szigetvár or in the great Istanbul fire of 1569.

His diplomatic policy aimed at assuaging conflicts with the Porte's potential enemies: with the Emperor (hence the renewal of the treaty with Maximilian in 1568 and then, under Murād III, with Rudolf, as well as the nomination of very reliable governors on the Hungarian and Croatian frontiers); with the Shāh of Persia Ṭahmāsp I (hence the sumptuous reception of the Shāh's envoy at Selīm's accession); with the Doge of Venice (with whom good relations were renewed in 1573); and subsequently, Tsar Ivan the Terrible of Russia. At the same time, he endeavoured to strengthen links with the Porte's natural allies: with France (capitulations of 1569, apparently the first, since those of 1536 had never been ratified, see IMTIYĀZĀT, and I. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, i, Paris 1854, 90-140), and with Poland. He intervened in the election of the successor to Sigismund Augustus, and after first envisaging the candidature of the Voivode of Transylvania, who was first to have married Marguerite de Valois (embassy to France of 1569), he rallied to the cause of the Duke of Anjou, and finally to that of Stephen Bathory, by now the new Voivode of Transylvania (see A. Refīḳ, *Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha we Lehistān intikhābāti*, in *TOEM*, xxxv; de Testa, *op. cit.*, 113, 115; L. Szadecyk, *L'election d'Etienne Bathory au trône de Pologne*, Cracow 1935; letters of Soḳollu to Sigismund Augustus and Bathory in Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Warsaw 1959). When the demands of the sultan of Acheh [*q.v.*] in Sumatra became pressing, the Grand Vizier and the *dīwān* decided to send a squadron of 19 galleys under the *kapudan* of Alexandria, plus at the same time troops with supplies and pay for a year, weapons and artillery, from the resources of Egypt. These measures were held back by the Yemen campaign, but put into effect in 976/1568-9 (Ṣafwet, *Bir ʿothmānlī filosunun Sumatra seferi*, in *TOEM*, x [1912], 604-14, 678-83; A.J.S. Reid, *Sixteenth-century Turkish influence in Western Indonesia*, in S. Kartodjirdo (ed.), *Profiles of Malay culture*, Yogyakarta 1976, 107-25; D. Lombard, *L'Empire ottomane vu d'Insulinde*, in *Passé turcotatar, présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, Louvain-Paris 1986, 157-64; five large cannons, at least four of them cast in Istanbul, are preserved in the Home for Retired Servicemen from the Army of the Indies at Bronbeek near Arnhem in the Netherlands).

Such Pan-Islamic projects contrasted with the usual realism of Soḳollu, and are seen also in the Astrakhān campaign of 1569. The southwards Russian advance had led to the extinguishing of the Muslim khānates of Kazan [*q.v.*] (1552) and Astrakhān [*q.v.*] (1556). Information from a Circassian *defterdār*, Ḳāsim Beg, led the Grand Vizier to envisage the possibility of a canal connecting the Don and Volga, thus facilitating an expedition to recover Astrakhān, and Ḳāsim Beg was appointed *serdār* of this campaign. The ostensible reason for this was to protect pilgrims from Central Asia en route for the Ḥidjāz being threatened by the infidels in Astrakhān, since the sultan was Protector of the Two Sanctuaries, but there were probably wider strategic aims envisaged: perhaps to halt Muscovite expansion southwards, to strengthen Ottoman suzerainty over Shīrwān, Georgia and Ḳarabāgh; and above all, to outflank Persia and open up a new route of attack thither. In fact, climatic conditions, Russian attacks on the workmen involved, as well as the Crimean Khān Dewlet Giray I's ill-will, brought the project to nought, and exposed Soḳollu to blame from the sultan downwards; but at least he managed to patch up the damaged Ottoman-Russian relations after this. Amongst an extensive literature on this project, see Aḥmed Refīḳ, in *TOEM*, xliii (1917), 1-14; H. İnalcık, *The origin of the Ottoman-Russian rivalry and the Don-Volga canal (1569)*, in *Ankara Univ. Annals*, i (1946-7), 47-110, expanded Tkish. version in *Belleten*, xii, no. 46 (1948), 342-402; A.N. Kurat, *The Turkish expedition to Astrakhan in 1569 and the problem of the Don-Volga canal*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xl (Dec. 1961), 7-23; Bennigsen, *L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d'après des "Affaires importantes" des archives ottomanes*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, viii/3 (1967), 427-46; idem and M. Berindei, *Astrakhan et la politique des steppes nord-pontiques (1587-1588)*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, iii-iv (1979-80), 71-91; Gökbilgin, *L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569*, in *CMRS*, xi/1 (1970), 118-23; G. Veinstein, *Une lettre de Selim II au roi de Pologne Sigismond-Auguste sur la campagne d'Astrakhan de 1569*, in *WZKM*, lxxxii (1992), 397-420.

Soḳollu also wished to give help to the insurgent Moriscoes in Granada, and apparently even suggested to Selīm intervention in Spain rather than in Cyprus. He sent a *fermān* to the governor of Algiers in April 1570 instructing him to give all possible aid to the rebels and one to the Moriscoes themselves confirming the instructions to the *beglerbeg*. The two documents envisaged an expedition against Spain once the Cyprus campaign was over (A. Temimi, *Le gouvernement ottoman face au problème morisque*, in *Rev. d'Hist. Maghrébine*, xxiii-xxiv [1981], 258-9, text of the letter to the Andalusians at 260-2).

An enumeration of Soḳollu's military and diplomatic initiatives does not exhaust his work. He was at the same time, perhaps principally, a careful administrator concerned with the smooth functioning of existing Ottoman institutions. The historians say little about this more anonymous work, and it remains to be analysed in the light of the innumerable docu-

ments preserved in the Istanbul archives (reproductions of the grand Vizier in his council in the *Shehnāme-yi Selīm Khān* in the Topkapı Library, depicted in T. Artan, *The Kadırga palace shrouded by the mists of time*, in *Turcica*, xxvi [1994], 124). The most well known, as well as most durable, of his activities were those as builder. The Don-Volga canal and the dream of a Suez canal (cf. von Hammer, vi, 341) are in one sense the most visionary expressions of this activity. In Istanbul, he had built or rebuilt a sumptuous Grand Vizierial palace, partly occupying the site of the future Sultan Aḥmed mosque, but he had an even more magnificent palace at Üsküdar. It is now also clear that his patronage and the plans of Sinān [*q.v.*] were behind the Esma Sultan palace at Kadırga Limanı (see Artan, *op. cit.*, 55-124). In the same quarter, he entrusted to Sinān the building of the mosque which bears his name, to which a *medrese*, a fountain and a *zāwiye* were attached, and he also built so-called Azap kapı mosque. Finally, he likewise entrusted to Sinān the building of a small complex, completed in 976/1568-9, not far from the Eyüp mosque in the Camii Kebir Caddesi, including the Esma Sultan mosque, a *dār ul-ḳurrā'* and a mausoleum destined for his own remains (M. Cezar, *Le Külliye de Sokollu Mehmed Pasha à Eyüp*, in *Stelae turcicae*, ii, 29-41). But he established numerous pious benefactions all across the empire, especially in those regions particularly connected with his life and career: at Sokolović; in the Banat; at Belgrade, where his *waḳf* of 1566 comprised a vast caravanserai, covered market, etc., necessitating the destruction of three churches and some synagogues of the city (descriptions in Pigafetta, Gerlach and Ewliyā); at Edirne and Lüle Burgaz; and as far away as Aleppo and Medina. He was especially concerned with such utilitarian structures as caravanserais and bridges which would facilitate traffic and communications in Rūmeli, such as the bridge at Višegrad on the Drina and other lesser known ones, e.g. at Trebnišnjica in Herzegovina (Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 508-15; A. Bejtić, *Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini*, in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, iii-iv [1952-3], 229-87).

He seems to have had less renown as a patron of poets and painters, even if the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*] praised him in his *ḳaṣīdes* and if, according to the historian Loḳmān, when an album of portraits of the sultans was being prepared, he ordered the painters at the palace led by Naḳḳāsh 'Othmān to study Western portraiture (N. Atasoy, *Nakkaş Osmanın padişah portreleri album*, in *Türkiyemiz*, vi [1972], 2-12). In 1578 he commissioned a portrait of Murād III from a painter of Verona in the Venetian embassy and is said to have asked for portraits of the first sultans to be sent from Venice. He also sponsored the *Münshe'āt ül-selāṭīn* of Ferīdūn Beg, admittedly, more a historical than genuinely literary work (von Hammer, vii, 19-20).

Selīm II's premature death on 1 Ramaḍān 982/15 December 1574 threatened, as in all succession crises, the stability of the empire. Immediately informed of the death by the sultana Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*], Soḳollu for a second time successfully coped with this critical situation, sending secretly to the successor, Murād III, at Manisa. On his arrival, the grateful Murād wished to kiss the Grand Vizier's hand, but was stopped by the latter (Selānikī applies to Soḳollu here the title of *atabeg*). Accession money was agreed for the troops; nevertheless, Soḳollu had to placate part of the cavalry.

Under the new reign, he continued his diplomatic and administrative policies on the same lines as in the past, notably showing disapproval, without being able to make his views prevail, of the renewal of war with Persia in 1577, envisaging the conquest of Transcaucasia; as with the earlier Yemen expedition, Soḳollu had his enemy Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha made *serdār* (B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-Iran siyasi münasebetleri, 1578-1590*, Istanbul 1962, 37; M.F. Kırzıoğlu, *Osmanlıların Kafkas ellerini fethi (1450-1590)*, Ankara 1976, 272, 276-9). He also favoured the first trade treaty with England in 1579 (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Türk-Ingiliz münasebetlerine dair vesikalar*, in Belleten, no. 50; Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz münasebetlerinin başlangıcı*, Ankara 1953; Susan A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the trade with Turkey, 1578-1582*, London 1977).

However, his power was gradually decreasing through its attrition, the disappearing of his main supports and the growing boldness of old and new enemies, these last including four favourites of the new sultan: Ḳara Üweys Čelebi, the sultan's *defterdār* at Manisa, his *khodja* Shems ül-Dīn, his spiritual guide Shaykh Shudjā' ul-Dīn and the sultan's companion and poet Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha. But there was equal opposition from the *ḳāḍī 'l-'asker* Ḳāḍīzāde, the chief of the white eunuchs, of Hungarian origin, Ghaḍanfer, and the harem women, sc. the *wālide* Nūr Bānū, the favourite Ṣafiyye [*q.v.*] and the superintendent of the harem, *kahya ḳadīn*, Djānfidā, this last and Ghaḍanfer being old allies of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha.

Six months after Murād's accession, Soḳollu took the initiative in opening hostilities by ordering, in Shawwāl 982/February 1575, an enquiry into Ḳara Üweys's activities at Manisa (Gökbilgin, *Kara Üveys Paşa*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii [1952], 17-18), but Shemsī Pasha succeeded in rallying all the Grand Vizier's opponents, Ḳara Üweys was whitewashed and promoted third *defterdār*, and an extensive purge of Soḳollu's supporters followed. Thus Ferīdūn lost his place as *nishāndjī* and was exiled to the *sandjaḳ* of Belgrade, whilst his *ketkhudā*, and that of Soḳollu plus the latter's *ḳapudjī bashī*, were all executed, as was another of Soḳollu's favourites, Michael Cantacuzenus, called Sheyṭān-oghlu, "the devil's son", on the pretext of his exactions. On the pretext also of an explosion which had damaged the palace and arsenal at Buda, Soḳollu Muṣṭafā Pasha was executed and his property confiscated (October 1578), and replaced by Üweys himself, who now became Pasha. Soḳollu's position was further weakened by the deaths of two of his old supporters, the vizier Piyāle Pasha and the *muftī* Ḥamīd Efendi, now replaced by his enemy Ḳāḍīzāde. Finally, he came up against the sultan, who now wished to control all appointments personally, instead of delegating this task, as had done his predecessor.

Despite all these bad omens, Soḳollu carried on imperturbably when, on 20 Sha'bān/12 October 1579, a petitioner dressed as a dervish stabbed him in the heart whilst he was in his *ikindi dīwān* (P. Rycaut, *The Turkish history*, London 1687, 670-1). The assassin, of Bosnian origin, was aggrieved at the lowering of his *timār* [*q.v.*], but there are doubts over this. More recently, his action has been connected with the movements of the Bosnian Ḥamzawīs who wanted to avenge their master, Shaykh Ḥamza Balī, executed at Istanbul in 969/1561-2 after a *fatwā* from Abu 'l-Su'ūd (S. Başagić, *Znameniti Hrvati Bošnjaci i Hercegovci in Turskoj carvini*, Zagreb 1931, 48; M.T. Okić, *Quelques documents inédits sur les Hamzavites*, in *Trans. 20th Congress of Orientalists*, Istanbul 1951), Soḳollu was mourned as a martyr, and buried in the mausoleum he had built at Eyüp. He remains as the statesman who allowed Ottoman grandeur to throw out its last flashes of fire under the two unworthy successors of Süleymān the Magnificent.

Bibliography: The main Ottoman sources on his life and career are the chronicles of Selānikī, Pečewī and Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (of this last, especially his *Künh ül-akhbār*, whose analyses revealing the role of personal rivalries and the networks of clientage at this time are carefully rendered by C. Fleischer in his *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire. The historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, Princeton 1986), Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Tuḥfat ul-kibār*, and the panegyric from *ca.* 1570, the *Djewāhir ül-menāḳib* (Millet 1031) cf. ʿAbd ul-Raḥmān Sheref, *Soḳollï Meḥmed Pashanïñ ewāʾil-i aḥwāli we ʿāʾilesi ḥaḳḳinda baʿdī maʿlūmāt—Djewāhir ül-menākib*, in *TOEM*, xxix [1332/1914], 257-65). Amongst Western sources, as well as the travellers mentioned above, there are the Venetian *relazioni* (E. Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti durante il secolo decimosesto. Serie III. Le relazioni degli stati Ottomani al Senat*, i, Florence 1840, ii, 1844, iii, 1855); Gerlach's *Tagebuch, 1573-1578*, Frankfurt 1674; and the reports of the Imperial ambassadors; Marco-Antonio Pugafetta, *Itinerario*, London 1585, who was in the 1568 embassy of Vrancic and Teufenbach from Maximilian.

The biographies of Soḳollu include, apart from outdated ones, a study based on the Venetian documents, M. Brisch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Groswesire*, Gotha 1899, 3-70; and A. Refīḳ, *Soḳollï*, Constantinople 1924, but Von Hammer's history, with vols. vi and vii of the Fr. tr. by J.-J. Hellert covering the period in question, based on a wide span of Western and Oriental sources, remains the irreplaceable basic work, resumed by Kramers in his *EI*[1] art. and amplified for a number of points by the copious *İA* art. *Mehmed Paşa* of M.T. Gökbilgin, considerably used in this present article. The book of R. Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolović*, Belgrade 1971, Fr. tr. M. Begić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch. Le destin d'un grand vizir*, Paris 1994, is the most substantial work on him at present, amplifying his biography by a use of unpublished documents from Ragusa, Venice and Vienna, but its aim is not wholly scientific, since the author envisages the educated reading public of his own land and includes some very Serbocentric explanations, moral reflections and pyschological extrapolations, and sometimes trips up over Ottoman realities (see the review by Veinstein, in *Turcica*, xxvii [1995], 304-10).

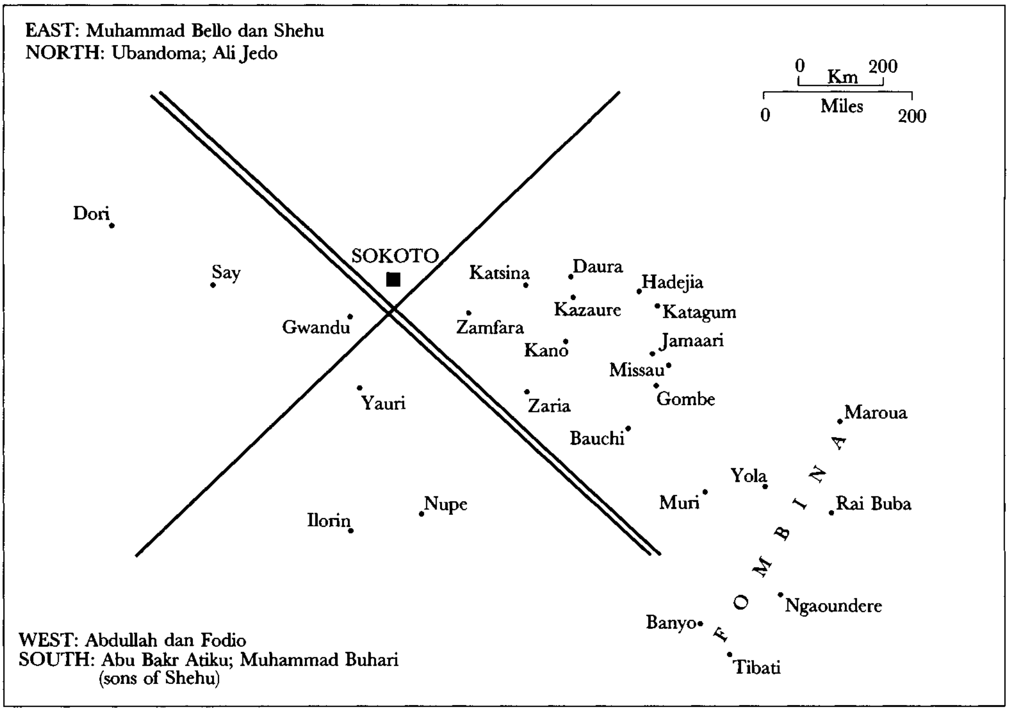
(G. Veinstein)

SOKOTO (Sakkwato in Hausa; Ṣakata in Arabic), a city in north-western Nigeria. It was established first as a camp in 1223/1808, then the following autumn as a *ribāṭ*, by Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*], the son of the Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*], in the fourth and final year of their *djihād* against Gobir. In 1230/1815, the Shaykh, now ill, moved to Sokoto from Sifawa. On his death in 1232/1817 and with the election of Muḥammad Bello as *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, the city became the headquarters of the "Sokoto Caliphate". The Shaykh was buried in the garden of his house in Sokoto and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage (*ziyāra*); at the instigation of his daughter Asmāʾ, it became a focal point for organising pious women, who became known as *ʾyan taru*. Although the city remained the most important town in the area, Wurno, 20 miles to the northeast, was also used by several caliphs as a *ribāṭ* and capital instead of Sokoto; it is where Muḥammad Bello is buried.

The city of Sokoto stands high on a bluff overlooking the Sokoto river at its confluence with the Rima river. Nearby are springs, the discovery of which was one of the *karāmāt* of the Shaykh. The city was mud-walled, with eight gates (like Paradise, people said); the walls were extended *ca.* 1230/1815 towards the west so as to accommodate the Shaykh and his companions. The core of the city originally centred on Muḥammad Bello's house closing the eastern end of a wide ceremonial avenue; the palace therefore faced west in the traditional manner with, at the rear, an eastern doorway for slaves. The open space in front of the palace had the mosque on the south side and, further away to the north, the market place (and place of execution); Muḥammad Bello's officials—the vizier and the *magajin gari*—had their houses on his right (north), while the two others, the *galadima* and the *magajin rafi*, were on his left. The Shaykh had his own mosque beside his house in the new quarter on the west side of the town.

"Sokoto Caliphate" is the term used since *ca.* 1965 to denote the state set up by Shaykh ʿUthmān following the successful *djihād* of 1218-23/1804-8 which overthrew both Muslim rulers (who were accused of condoning non-Islamic practices) and some non-Muslim chiefs. The state was made up of a series of emirates, often separated by forested no-man's-land; it would have taken a 19th-century traveller four months to traverse the state west to east, and two months from north to south. It was the largest autonomous state in 19th-century sub-Saharan Africa and (by the second half of the century) home to a sophisticated commercial network that traded throughout western and northern Africa. In 1227/1812 the state, already large, was divided into four quadrants, the north and east coming under Muḥammad Bello, the west and south under the Shaykh's brother ʿAbd Allāh; under them, the Ubandoma and the army commander ʿAlī Jedo governed the northern segment, and Abubakar and Bukhari (both sons of the Shaykh) the southern segment. ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī and his descendants ruled their half of the state from the small city of Gwandu, some 60 miles southwest of Sokoto. The hinterlands of the two capitals abutted on each other, together forming the spiritual core of a far-flung Muslim community.

The city of Sokoto was surrounded by a closely settled hinterland only about 25 miles wide and 40 miles long; the whole territory was defended against raids by a line of *ribāṭ*s and frontier towns (*thaghr*). No taxes apart from *zakāt* were paid by residents of this hinterland; the population was supported by farmwork and herding carried out by slaves and by taxes sent in twice a year by the emirates. The area never specialised (as did the emirates of Kano or Zaria) in trade or craft production, nor was it noted for its military strength and captives for export (as was Adamawa). It was only after *ca.* 1850 that the *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* had a small standing army of his own. Instead, the area was famous for its scholarship and poetry; over three hundred books were written by the leaders of the *djihād*, while other *ʿulamāʾ* focused on the practice of Ṣūfism. The Ḳādiriyya was the official *ṭarīḳa*; the Tidjāniyya was introduced by al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar al-Fūtī when he was in Sokoto (*ca.* 1246-54/1830-8), but only after *ca.* 1261/1845 did it win public acceptance in emirates outside Sokoto. Expectation that the end of the world was imminent, and that the Mahdī was soon to appear, was widespread throughout the hundred years of the caliphate's history; in the political and intellectual turbulence of the decade 1261-71/1845-55 many tried to migrate eastwards in anticipation; many more left at the end of the century as European imperialism put pressure on Muslim states, with the result that over a million



The administrative division into quadrants of the Sokoto Caliphate. (The division was made at Sifawa in 1812; the emirates shown were mostly founded after 1812.)

of their descendants ("Fellata") are today in the Sudan, many of them originally from the Sokoto area.

On 15 March 1903, Lt.-Col. Thomas Morland led a force of some 700 Hausa soldiers to open ground outside the southern walls of Sokoto and there defeated the army of the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir. The British colonial Commissioner, Frederick Lugard, then proclaimed British sovereignty over Sokoto and its emirates and appointed another Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir as the new "Sultan". Sokoto became just a provincial capital within colonial Nigeria, rather isolated with neither railway nor tarred road. In 1956, with the attainment of self-rule, and in 1960 with full independence, the Sardauna of Sokoto became Premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria. Under him, the notion of a modern "Sokoto Caliphate" was born; through it he and his party sought to foster both a sense of unity and the ideals of good government, based on a common Islamic morality yet tolerant and forward-looking. With his assassination on 15 January 1966, the dream of a revived "Sokoto Caliphate" faded, but under its long-serving Sultan Abubakar (1938-88), Sokoto remained a source of political and spiritual leadership out of all proportion to its economic role in the Nigerian state.

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SOḲOṬRA, SOḲOṬRĪ [see SUḲUṬRA].

ṢOLAḲ, the name of part of the sultan's bodyguard in the old Ottoman military organisation. It comprised four infantry companies or *ortas* of the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI], and these were originally archers (*ṣolaḳ* "left-handed", presumably because they carried their bows in the left hand); they comprised *ortas* 60-63. Each *orta* had 100 men and was commanded by a *ṣolaḳ bas̲h̲i̊*, assisted by two lieutenants (*rikāb ṣolag̲h̲i̊*). The *ṣolaḳs* were used exclusively as bodyguards, together with the smaller (150 men) *od̲j̲aḳ* of the *peyks* ("messengers") under the *peyk bas̲h̲i̊*. For their ceremonial role, the *ṣolaḳs* and *peyks* had splendid uniforms, including a special cap (*usḳuf*) with a long plume on top.

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ṢOLAḲ-ZĀDE, Meḥmed Hemdemī (?-1068/1658), Ottoman historian and musical composer.

Very little is known about the life and career of Ṣolaḳ-zāde. Described as "old" at the time of his death, he was perhaps born sometime around the year 1000/1592. He died in Istanbul in 1068/1658. His father may have been a retired *ṣolaḳ-bas̲h̲i̊*, whose connections gave his son an early entrée into the Ottoman imperial household, with which he remained closely associated. The *mak̲h̲las* Hemdemī reflected his status as "constant companion" to Murād IV (1623-40) during at least the latter part of that sultan's reign (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, i,

509). According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Ṣolaḳ-zāde was a talented musician and an expert player on the *mīṣḳāl* (pan pipes). Fourteen of his compositions are documented (M.K. Özergin, *İA* art. *Ṣolaḳ-zāde, Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebî*, at x, 750).

He is known principally for his history of the Ottoman dynasty, untitled, known simply as *Taʾrīkh-i Ṣolaḳ-zāde* (1st ed., to reign of Bāyezīd I only, Istanbul 1271/1854; 2nd complete ed., Istanbul 1299/1881). Written in a fluent, but generally unrhetorical prose style, the History is a compilation acknowledging a range of earlier Ottoman sources but thought to depend mainly upon the *Tādj al-tewārīkh* of Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (up to the reign of Selīm I) and then upon the chronicle of Ḥasan Beg-zāde [*q.v.*], up to *ca.* 1623. The second edition includes only 32 pages (out of 773) on the reign of Murād IV, and concludes with events in the year 1053/1643. Ṣolaḳ-zāde gives little personal information or opinions in his work, except in the introduction where he acknowledges an obviously influential patron, the *khāṣṣ oda-bashî* Ḥasan Agha, who encouraged him to compile the work for presentation to Meḥemmed IV (*Tārīkh*, 2-3).

The second edition includes as preface a *ḳaṣīda* of 92 couplets entitled *Fihrist-i shāhān* ("Index of sultans"), a brief listing of the names and dates of the Ottoman sultans to Meḥemmed IV (1648-87) with their principal attributes and achievements. As a separate work, the *Fihrist* was extended by other writers.

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(Christine Woodhead)

SOLOMON [see sulaymān b. dāwūd].

SOMALI, the name of a people of the Horn of Africa, and **SOMALIA, SOMALILAND**, the geographical region there which they substantially inhabit.

1. Ethnography
2. Geography
3. History
   (a) To 1880
   (b) 1880-1960
   (c) After 1960
4. The role of Islam in Somali society
5. Language
6. Literature

1. Ethnography

The Somali people may be divided into two major socio-economic groups: nomadic pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists; in addition to these are people who live and work in the towns. The sedentary agriculturalists live primarily along and between the two main rivers the Shabeelle and the Jubba whilst the nomadic pastoralists live in the surrounding areas, namely the northern, western and south-western regions. The pastoralists rear camels, sheep and goats and some raise cattle in certain suitable areas. Horses were also traditionally raised in certain areas, although with the advent of motorised transport their use is now more limited. The camel, sheep and goats constitute the mainstay of the pastoralist economy, being well suited to the semi-desert environment (particularly the camel) of much of the Somali territories, and the animals provide milk, meat and skins to their owners. The camel has also traditionally been the major unit of wealth to the pastoralists, a fact which is reflected often in poetry, in which a man who has no camels is regarded as having little wealth. Among the pastoralists, there is a division of labour for domestic duties with the men being responsible for the camels and the women and young children responsible for the sheep and goats and other domestic duties. The sedentary agriculturalists grow a variety of crops, particularly sorghum and maize but also sesame, beans, cotton and sugar cane, as well as fruits such as bananas and mangoes.

This difference in socio-economic activity is reflected in the way in which people identify themselves within the society. The whole of the Somali nation is divided into a number of clan groups, with the major division between the agriculturalist clan confederacies, the Digil and Rahanweyn, and the pastoralist clan groups, the Dir, Isaaq, Hawiye and Daarood. These major clan groups are divided into clans and subclans, etc., and all individuals know their place in this lineage system, being able to recite the line of their ancestors back to eponymous clan founders. People of the Dir clans live predominantly in the north-western regions of the Somali territories. The Isaaq people live in the central northern regions and the Hawiye live in the area around Maḳdishū [*q.v.*] and to the north east of that city as well as further south. The Daarood clans live in the north-eastern areas, in the western part of the territories and in the southern parts. The Digil and Rahanweyn clan groups live along and between the Shabeelle and Jubba rivers, the Rahanweyn to the north of the Digil. This picture is, of course, simplistic and, due to various movements of groups of people at different times in history, there are now pockets of clan groups in areas other than those just outlined, for example, the Biimaal, a Dir clan, live in a region along the coast south of Maḳdishu. In the towns and cities, increasing urbanisation means there is a mixture of people from different clans although the clan groups of the surrounding area of any town still predominate. In addition to these major lineages there are people belonging to other groups, including those who are regarded as of a lower status and who traditionally undertook occupations deemed degrading by the nomadic pastoralists such as hunting wild animals, leatherwork and ironwork. These include the Yibro (sg. Yibir), Tumaal and Midgo (sg. Midgaan), who in recent times seem to have become more a part of the wider Somali society. Other groups of people include those who are members of the minority language-speaking populations such as the Mushungulu and Oromo speakers (see 5. below). Of the many sub-clans of the main Somali clans some are specifically religious lineages, each male member of which is regarded, nominally, as a *wadaad* (see 4. below), the term *sheekhaash* or *sheekhaal* is sometimes used to denote these clans. A number of the Somali clan groups trace descent to noble Arabian ancestors, some suggesting close connection to the family of the Prophet himself. Historians regard these connections as more legendary than real, although this is not to dispute the fact that there has long been contact between the people of the Somali areas and Arabia.

Among the nomadic pastoralists one of the most important lineage levels is that of the *diya*-paying group (Ar. *diya* [*q.v.*] "blood money, wergild"), such a payment-being known in Somali as *mag* and paid, traditionally in livestock, when a member of another *diya*-paying group is injured or killed. It is the responsibility of the whole *diya*-paying group to pay the compensation on behalf of one of its members. This system of compensation is defined between different lineages in the oral system of Somali customary law, *xeer*,

(Ar. transcription, *ḥēr*), through which other contractual and "legal" aspects of life are also encoded. Marriage tended in the past to be outside the *diya*-paying group among the pastoralist nomads, and was used on occasions as the basis for establishing political ties between clans and/or sub-clans. In the southern agricultural communities, given that the Digil and Rahanweyn social groups are more confederacies than lineage structures and that the clan units are based less on lineage membership but more on common agricultural land, it is these territory-based groups of people which form the equivalent of *diya*-paying groups in these areas. This is connected with the way in which people may become adopted clients of these clans, which hold certain areas of land, part of which the incoming person is then able to farm. In the past, in addition to Somalis, these incomers have included people who are of a different ethno-linguistic background to the Somalis, such as people of Bantu language-speaking or Oromo-speaking origin. Over the course of time, these adopted clients become more or less assimilated into the clan, and marriage has always tended to be within these groups. In general, marriage among the Somalis as a whole is polygamous, with a man being able to marry a maximum of four wives according to Islamic practice. Marriage is contracted before a *sheekh* or *wadaad* and involves the giving of wealth on both sides. The groom's family gives the bride wealth, some of which may be returned as part of the dowry which, amongst the pastoralist nomads, normally consists of domestic items and burden camels to carry them as well as some livestock. Among the agriculturalists the house is normally provided by the husband's family. The central part of the whole marriage ceremony is the *meher* (Ar. *mahr* [*q.v.*]).

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(M. Orwin)

2. Geography

The Somali people live in a large area of the eastern Horn of Africa which includes the countries of Somalia, including the self-declared Republic of Somaliland (unilaterally declared an independent republic in 1991), eastern Ethiopia, the south-eastern part of the Republic of Djibouti [see ḎJIBŪTĪ] and eastern and north-eastern Kenya. Turning first to the geography of the northern regions, the coastal strip is a hot, dry region know as *guban* "burnt" in Somali, a reference to its great heat in the *xagaa* season. Just inland from this is a range of hills and uplands known as *oogo* and *golis* rising to some 9,000 feet in the west (near Harar [*q.v.*]) and 8,000 feet in the east. These hills are the continuation of the eastern branch of the rift valley hills which follow on from the Somali territories to the Chercher Hills of Ethiopia and the southern Ethiopian highlands of Arussi and Bale, from which descend the two major rivers of southern Somalia. Although of little use agriculturally, these hills are the main habitat of the incense trees and this area has been involved in that trade for many centuries. Inland from the *oogo* begins the plateau area, which is known as the *hawd* by the northern Somalis and is a vast area of scrub land which forms an important grazing area for camels. South of the *hawd*, the land gradually lowers towards the south-east to the coast of the Indian Ocean and is watered by the two main rivers the Shabeelle (literally "with leopards") and the Jubba. The Shabeelle is the more northerly river, rising in the northern half of the Arussi mountains and, after a brief northerly flow continues south-east to the town of Balead (Bal'ad) some twenty miles from the coast. Here it turns to the south-west and flows parallel to the coast before sinking in marshes near the town of Jilib and near the lowest reaches of the Jubba, which it may join if the water flow is great enough [see further, SHEBELLE]. The Jubba itself rises in the southern edge of the Bale Highlands and flows south east to the town of Luuq (Lūḳ), where it turns in a southerly direction straight to the Indian Ocean. Both of these rivers have a constant flow of water dependent almost entirely on the rain from the highlands, there being fewer and drier tributaries further downstream from the highlands. High floods take place twice each year according to the light and heavy rainy seasons in southern Ethiopia. This is favourable to the agriculturalists because Ethiopian heavy rains fall during the *jiilaal* season (mid-June to mid-September), which is the driest season further down-river in the Somali territories, so the high flood and sometimes the overflowing of the rivers can be utilised for growth of crops during this season.

This southern region inland from the eastern Indian Ocean coast is divided into four zones, which are found in the following order from the coast of the Indian Ocean to the interior: firstly the movable sandbanks (Somali: *bacad* (*ba'ad*)) on the shore; then the hills or short plains of white and hardly consolidated sand (Somali: *carro cad* (*'arro 'ad*) "white land"); next, the flinty red sand scrubland, vegetated in the most part by acacia trees (Somali: *carro guduud* (*'arro gudūd*) "red land"); then the alluvial ground along the rivers, known in Somali as *carro madow* (*'arro madow*) "black land", which is comparatively rich and fertile, hence the use of this land for agriculture.

There are four main seasons in the Somali territories, given here with their approximate month equivalents: *jiilaal* (*ḏjīlāl*) (December to March), *gu'* (April to June), *xagaa* (*ḥagā*) (July to August) and *dayr* (September to November). The weather during these seasons varies according to the area, *jiilaal* is the hottest season over most of the area, apart from the northern regions where the *xagaa* season is the hottest. Thus for most regions *jiilaal* is the toughest season for people to live through with no rain and the wind coming predominantly from the north-east (the north-east monsoon). The following season of *gu'* is the most attractive of the seasons, with rain falling in all areas providing pasture for the livestock and ripening crops for the agriculturalists. Given *gu'* as the "season of plenty", it is important socially as being the season when people tend to come together and when dances and celebrations take place. Among the pastoralists, young people, in particular, come together after having been separated, the young men returning with

the camels which have been taken to *jiilaal* grazing lands. The *xagaa* season, the first of the south-west monsoon cycle, is characterised by dry cool weather over most of the areas except in the northern regions, where it is very hot, especially in the north-west where the temperature may rise above 50° C. on the *guban* coast. During the *dayr* season there is also rainfall, which in the northern regions tends to be light.

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(E. CERULLI-[M. ORWIN])

3. History

(a) To 1880

Somali legends may have Islamicised the history of the people by tracing their origin from ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], a cousin of the Prophet. Prescinding from the question whether Hamitic populations may have come into Africa from Asia, there is no doubt that the present Somali peoples occupied their present territory by various groups following and pushing on one another, with the African coast of the Gulf of Aden as the primary dispersal area. These groups, related to other groups in Ethiopia, later developed into what are denominated tribes. The dates of these movements are not known, and they are not likely to be, for they are the movements of cattle herdsmen. They did not enter an empty land, but pushed Bantu groups southward. Of these some pockets survive, and especially in the Bajun Islands. They cannot be antecedent to the general Bantu dispersal, which was not completed before A.D. 500. Subsequent groups have continued to push southwards, and even in the 1990s have caused friction between Ethiopia and Kenya.

The first literary reference to the coastal area is an observation of the sun in low altitudes mentioned by Agatharchides of Cnidus in the 2nd century B.C., but commercial contact with the Somali coast would have developed long before. In the ancient world religious rituals have employed frankincense and myrrh at least from the 3rd millennium B.C. In Somalia two species of frankincense and the greater number of species of myrrh are indigenous. The Ḥadramawt area in which they grow in southern Yemen is small (cf. map in L. Casson). Recently, S.C.J. Munro-Hay has reported frankincense trees near Aksum, in Ethiopia. Since these commodities grow nowhere else in the world, Somalia has long had a permanent place in world trade, from ancient times until the present. Neither the Ethiopians nor the Bajun Islanders among the Somalis are seamen, but never more than fishermen. They have consistently relied on Arab middlemen and transporters. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, mentions, *ca.* A.D. 50, a number of towns on the Somali coast which are identifiable: Avalites (probably not Zaylaʿ, but Assab); Malao (Berbera); Mundu (Heis); Mosyllon (possibly Bandar Kassim); Akannai (possibly Alula). In A.D. 79 Pliny likewise recorded the "spice port and promontory ... Barbaroi": it was Cape Guardafui, beyond which frankincense no longer grows. Archaeologically these places are unexplored, but H.N. Chittick's British-Somali Expedition of 1967, which was aborted by local misunderstanding, succeeded in identifying Roman pottery from Tunisia.

J.S. Trimingham has analysed the Arab geographers and travellers from al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī (232/847) onwards. Their interest lies rather in the *Bilād al-Zand̲j̲* and the sea route to Ḳanbalū (Pemba) and the gold land of Sofāla [*q.v.*]. Thus they say little of the *Bilād al-Barbara* or *al-Barābira*, the name for the northern and eastern coasts of Somalia. They depict a trading system based on ivory, gold and slaves, in that order; they ignore the trade in frankincense and myrrh in the same way that further south they ignore the trade in mangrove-wood from the coasts of Kenya and Tanzania, age-long in providing roofing timbers in southern Arabia and the Gulf.

A Chinese scholar, Tuam Ch'eng-Shih (d. 863) knows the Somali coast as Po-pa-li: it produces only ivory and ambergris. Much later Chao Ju-Kuan, trade commissioner on Ch'üan-chu-fu [Zaytūn; see AL-ṢĪN. 3] in Fukien province, speaks of Pi-pa-lo as having four departmental cities. He seems to have spoken from personal contact with traders, but also to have relied on a work by Chu Ch'ü-fei dated 1178. Says Chao, "they serve heaven and do not serve the Buddha", which J.J.L. Duyvendak interpreted to mean that the coastal folk were Muslims. (We do not know when Islam first penetrated to the Somali coast, but it was already present on the adjacent Kenya coast by the 8th century, at least in small pockets.) These people produce camels and sheep, dragon's saliva (a reference to the dragon's blood tree of Socotra rather than to ambergris?), elephant and rhinoceros ivory, much putchuk, liquid storax gum, myrrh and tortoiseshell. Chao knew also of ostriches, giraffe and zebra. Contemporary import records also include strings of pearls, aromatics and "incense."

There is no evidence that the Chinese visited Africa before the voyages of Ch'êng-Ho in the 15th century. Nevertheless, Duyvendak quoted Chu Ch'ü-fei in regard to Chung-li, which he identified as Berbera. The people of Chung-li, he says, go barefoot and bareheaded. Only ministers and the royal courtiers wear jackets and turbans as a mark of distinction—presumably conforming to Islamic custom. Among other commodities, he knows of the production of incense. Direct contact began only after 1431 with Chêng-Ho's voyages in the Indian Ocean, with a view, it seems, to promoting Ming trade. The fleet sailed down the African coast as far as Malindi and Mombasa. It visited Maḳdis̲h̲ū [*q.v.*] and a place which Duyvendak said was the "Arabic Habash, Abyssinia" called Ha-pu-ni. From its position on the Chinese map, it is followed by a clear reference to Socotra and then to Aden: could it not be Ras Hafun? Duyvendak also recorded the arrival in China of a giraffe from Bengal in 1414. The animal is not found in Bengal or India. He remarks that the Chinese name for it, *K'i-lin*, is the way that a Chinese would pronounce the Somali name for it, *girin*.

In 1934 A.T. Curle visited the ruins of twenty-one ruined towns and settlements in northern Somalia, making notes of surface finds which subsequently were identified in the British Museum. Finds near Zaylaʿ on Saʿd al-Dīn Island led him to believe that the site had been occupied for 2,000 years. It had for long been the principal port for Ethiopian exports, until

the French built the railway from Djibuti to Addis Ababa, thus diverting trade. Inland, a group of thirteen towns and settlements on the Ethiopian-Somali border disclosed groups of 20 to 200 houses and the remains of mosques. The settlements were all situated from 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. Another group centred round Eil Humo and Eik, 120 miles inland south of Berbera. A fourth group was in Ethiopia. The houses were stone-built, and the mosques elaborately planned at all the sites. The cemeteries however, contained no tombs or inscriptions. There were sherds of Sung and Ming celadon from the 12th to 15th centuries, and blue-and-white Chinese wares of the 16th and 17th centuries. There were also some sherds believed to have an Egyptian connection.

Finds of local currency in billon and copper have already been reported [see MAḲDIS̲H̲Ū]. In the northern area no local currency has been reported. Two pieces of Ḳāyit Bay of Egypt (872-901/1468-96) have been recorded from Derbi Adad. There have been numerous reports of coins from Eik, but the only pieces recorded are two gold dīnārs of the Ottoman Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). A small number of Chinese cash have been reported from the eastern coast, but not in the profusion found in Zanzibar. Inscriptions on tombs and in mosques have been catalogued for the eastern coast by the writer and B.G. Martin [see MAḲDIS̲H̲Ū]. Two refer to individuals with a Persian *laḳab*, no strong argument, however, for a Persian connection.

Curle's survey has been supplemented by an all too brief survey of southern Somalia by H.N. Chittick and another by H. Sanseverino, and of related sites at different times by T.H. Wilson on the Kenya border and related sites in Kenya by M.C. Horton, as well as in Pemba, Tumbatu and Zanzibar. The surveys in southern Somalia were necessarily very cursory, having regard to local conditions. For Chittick nothing is acceptable earlier than the 14th century. This view is highly questionable, because T.H. Wilson and, independently M.C. Horton, have identified finds of Sāsānid-Islamic pottery at no less than twenty-six Kenya sites, at which the surface characteristics are similar to those of Somalia. It would be surpassing strange if the Somali sites will not prove to belong to a common trade pattern with neighbouring Kenya, common over several millennia.

Inland, for many centuries, as Curle noted, trade in the towns had been in the hands of Arab and Indian merchants. The Somalis were content to conduct camel transport, the brokerage of stock brought to market, and petty trading. In the interior from the early 15th century up to colonial times the history has been of intermittent conflict between Ethiopia and Somali tribesmen. Until 1950 the latter never coalesced to form a unitary state: thus their history is scattered about in articles in this encyclopaedia s.v. Adal, Balī, Berbera, the Dankāli tribe, Dawāro, Maḳdis̲h̲ū and S̲h̲ungwaya. In 1402 the Ethiopians took Zaylaʿ after a siege, but did not occupy it for long. Throughout the 15th century there was a constant series of raids and wars, Christian Ethiopia on one side, Muslim Harar [*q.v.*] and Zaylaʿ on the other. It was in the intervals of peace that the towns described by Curle would appear to have flourished. In 1503 Ludivico di Varthema visited Zaylaʿ "in Ethiopia" (*sic*). He described its commerce in glowing terms, with gold, iron and black slaves sold at low prices, for markets in Arabia, Persia, Cairo and Mecca. Early in his reign, the Negus Lebna Dengel (1508-40) sent merchants into Somali country, trading in gold, musk and slaves, and selling them in Aden. In 1516 the Portuguese burnt Zaylaʿ, shortly followed by the Ottoman Turks, who established a customs house and a small fleet. In 1527 Lebna Dengel invaded Adal. It provided a *casus belli* for Aḥmad Grañ [*q.v.*], who laid Ethiopia waste in 1544. A full account is given by S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *Futūḥ al-Ḥabas̲h̲a* [see AḤMAD GRAÑ]. The Muslims were finally defeated in 1575, and left only with the coastal towns. After their successful siege of Mombasa in 1696-8, the sultans of ʿUmān imposed a somewhat vague authority over the whole coast. It was effective only after Sayyid Saʿīd's [*q.v.*] move to Zanzibar in 1840, and never penetrated inland. Garrisons were set up at Maḳdis̲h̲ū, Marka and Barawā. This brief period ended when the sultan ceded areas to France and Britain in 1884, and to Italy in 1889. A curious survival of the Zanzibar period is the title of the Maḳdis̲h̲ū Museum, the *Garesa*. It had formerly been the residence of the ʿUmānī governor. The word stems from the Swahili *Gereza*, the earliest sultanic palace-fort in Zanzibar, its name being derived from the Portuguese word *yglesia* "church", the building from which it had been adapted.

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(E. CERULLI-[G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE])

(b) 1880-1960

The 1880s saw the establishment of British, French and Italian protectorates in various parts of the Somali territories as well as the expansion of the Ethiopian empire into Somali territory under the Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913). The British, who had had an interest in the northern regions of the Somali territories for some time as an area supplying food for their port at Aden, established the Somaliland Protectorate in 1887. This followed the departure in 1884 of Egypt from parts of the northern Somali coast and was also motivated by the British desire to stem French expansion in the region. In the same year, Léonce Lagarde had been appointed governor of Obock, on the northern coast of the Gulf of Tadjourah, and French Somaliland was declared a protectorate (this region was inhabited by ʿAfar people [see DANḲALĪ] in the north and west as well as Somalis in the southeast).

Disagreement with the British regarding the border between the two protectorates led to an Anglo-French agreement in 1888 defining the boundary, and

in 1892 Djibouti [see DJIBŪTĪ] became the capital of French Somaliland. In 1889 Italy acquired Somali areas on the north-east and south-east coast, including Maḳdishū, and in 1892 the Sultan of Zanzibar ceded some important ports to the Italians for 25 years. In 1889 Italy, whose interests were now wider than just the southern ports and their hinterlands signed the treaty of Ucciali (Wəč'ale in Amharic) with Ethiopia which, following the taking of Harar [*q.v.*] in 1887, had moved into the Somali territories to the east and south-east of that town. The Amharic and Italian interpretations of this treaty differed, the Italians seeing Ethiopia as essentially an Italian protectorate whereas to the Ethiopians, communicating with other countries through Italy was optional. It was in this light that Italy entered into negotiations with the British, signing a protocol in 1894 that defined British and Italian spheres of interest. Following the Battle of Adwa (Adowa) in 1896, however, at which the Italians were defeated by the Ethiopians, the British began to talk directly with Menelik II, signing a treaty with him in 1897 which allowed Somali pastoralists to use grazing land on either side of the border between the British Protectorate and Ethiopia. Thus it was that by the end of the 19th century the boundaries in the Somali territories were essentially set and the Somali people were divided between the British, French, Italian and Ethiopian spheres of influence. This division, in fact, split not only the Somali people as a whole but individual clans, for example, in the north-west the Ciise (ʿĪse) clan inhabited parts of British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Ethiopia, and are still divided by the boundaries between the corresponding modern states of today.

Although a number of treaties had been signed with various Somali clans by the European powers, there was little Somali influence in the developments which had taken place. This was to change during the next 20 years with the rise of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān [*q.v.*] and his Dervish movement. This movement rose against the British, Ethiopians and Italians, and it was only in 1920 that it concluded, with the expulsion of the Sayyid and his remaining followers to Ethiopia and the subsequent death of the Sayyid (see MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH ḤASSĀN for further details of this campaign). Given the fact that missionary activity was one of the factors which led the Sayyid to start the campaign, the British authorities prohibited all such activity in British Somaliland, a regulation which was strictly adhered to. French Somaliland was little affected by the campaign, however, and in 1917 the rail link between Addis Ababa and Djibouti was completed, gradually eclipsing the importance of Zaylac (Zaylaʿ [*q.v.*]) as a port. This helped the development of the town of Djibouti as a cosmopolitan centre, whose main sources of income were the duties and earnings from trade via the railway and through the port; apart from livestock, salt was the only natural resource available in the territory and was exported primarily to Ethiopia. Following the opening of the railway, a road was built in British Somaliland from Berbera [*q.v.*] to Hargeisa [*q.v.*] and on to the Ethiopian border to help trade through the port of Berbera. In 1921 the British introduced direct taxation on livestock, which met with much resistance and resulted in the death of the Burco (Burʿo) district commissioner in a riot following which the tax was revoked. The governor from 1925 to 1931, Harold Kittermaster, however, tried to provide some development assistance to the nomadic population as well as to farmers, who over the previous few years in the west of British Somaliland, had developed plough cultivation, particularly of sorghum, under the influence of Ṣūfī brotherhood agricultural communities and other farming communities in neighbouring areas of Ethiopia. Later, in the 1920s a serious drought led to some further development in the area of water resources. The British, however, were unsure of what to do with Somaliland, and after ruling out a number of other possibilities decided to retrench. In Italian Somalia, on the other hand, one of the main factors was the advent in Italy of a Fascist government under Mussolini in 1922. The first Fascist governor, Cesare de Vecchi, subsequently intended to bring the whole Italian region under direct rule (some of the inland and northern parts, such as the Sultanate of Hobyo, were virtually independent despite nominal Italian rule) and, despite Somali resistance, the territory was brought together and divided into seven provinces. The Italians set up many agricultural projects producing sugar, bananas and cotton, for which forced recruitment of labour was common and, in addition, embarked on road building.

The later 1930s were marked in the whole region by Italy's ambitions to create an East African Empire which was to include Ethiopia. A gradual encroachment was made into the Ethiopian-ruled Somali territories, and by 1934 plans had been instituted for the Empire. The catalyst for the opening of the real advance of Italy was the Walwal incident of 1934. This incident occurred when the Ethiopian-British boundary commission was to inspect grazing facilities for British-protected Somali clans over the border from British Somaliland in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian escort arrived at Walwal ahead of the commission to clash with Italian-led troops. This clash became the pretext for the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. In the Ethiopian Somali territories, the invasion was led from Italian Somalia by General Graziani and, despite Ethiopian resistance, the invasion of that country was virtually complete by 1936 with the taking of Addis Ababa. Italian Somalia now included the Somali territories which had been part of Ethiopia, and so all these Somali territories were administered as a whole by Italy. During the time of the Italian East African Empire, the Somalis were subjected to Fascist discriminatory laws and had no power in the government of the region; in addition, trade was controlled by the Italian authorities. Increased urbanisation was another feature of this period, which in turn led to a political consciousness of a modern nationalist tenor which was suppressed by the Italian authorities. At the same time, nationalist feeling was developing in British Somaliland where various political organisations were set up. With the beginning of the Second World War, the Italians further expanded their empire with the capture of British Somaliland in 1940, if only for a brief seven months, after which it was retaken by the allies whose assault started from Kenya in the south in January 1941 and was supplemented by an expedition from Aden in the March. French Somaliland, whose governor supported the Vichy régime, continued to pose a threat to the British, but following capitulation of the régime, which now declared for Free France, a short-term agreement was signed.

After the restoration of Emperor Haile Sellasie in Ethiopia in 1941, there followed negotiations on how to deal with the ex-Italian colonies. In 1942 the British Military Administration of the region came to an agreement recognising Ethiopian independence which was revised in 1944, although even after this second

agreement Britain still administered the Somali-inhabited regions of Ethiopia. Following the redevelopment of agriculture and trade, one of the important moves during this time of British administration was the furtherance of political organisations which had been suppressed under the Fascist régime. These included Italian and, increasingly, Somali organisations, one of the most important of which was the Somali Youth Club, founded in May 1943, which developed rapidly and changed its name to the Somali Youth League (SYL) in 1947, when it had branches in all the British-administered Somali territories. Another important political organisation was the Hizbia Digil-Mirifle Somali (HDMS), formed in 1947 out of the Patriotic Benefit Union, with its power base among the sedentary agricultural population of the central regions. In January 1948 the Four Power Commission dealing with the ex-Italian colonies, made up of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France, arrived in Maḳdishū and discussed the situation with the various interested parties, including the SYL, the HDMS as well as the Italian societies. The four powers, however, failed to agree among themselves, handing the final decision of what to do to the General Assembly of the United Nations, who, in November 1949, placed what had been Italian Somalia prior to the invasion of Ethiopia under United Nations trusteeship for ten years, to be administered during that time by Italy, following which the country would gain independence. It was in 1948 also that most of the Ogaadeen (Ogādēn [*q.v.*]) area (leaving aside the northern and north-eastern region known as the Haud and the Reserved Area) was handed back to Ethiopia, despite strong resistance on the part of the majority of the Somali inhabitants and the reluctance of the British, who had supported a plan proposed by the British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, for the creation of a Trusteeship of the Union of Somali territories. It was later in 1954 that the Haud and the Reserved Area came under Ethiopian rule, and it was this move in particular which sparked a greater political consciousness in the British Protectorate and also led to the organisation of another political party, the National United Front (NUF). In 1960 the NUF, along with the SYL, the Somali National League (SNL) and the new United Somali Party (USP) contested an election and later that year, on 26 June, the Protectorate became fully independent. In Italian-administered Somalia, given the ten-year term of the Trusteeship, moves were more quickly made towards eventual independence, including a general election to a legislative assembly in 1956 in which the SYL won most of the votes, with the HDMS finding itself as the main opposition. Somalia became an independent state five days after British Somaliland, and six days following that, on 7 July 1960, the two newly-independent states united after having undertaken negotiations towards this end for some time. During the early 1960s, the matter of the other Somali-inhabited territory, the eastern part of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, was a major concern to the newly-independent state of Somalia. In French Somaliland, following an election in 1958, the country remained an overseas territory of France, finally gaining full independence in 1977.

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(M. Orwin)

(c) After 1960

In April 1960, the British government decided to terminate its authority over Somaliland, allowing time for possible unification with Italian Somalia, the independence of which had just then been scheduled by the United Nations for July 1960. That same month, representatives of the two territories met in Mogadishu and agreed on the unification of the two Somalias into a single democratic and parliamentary state, to be led by an elected president responsible to a parliament, also to be elected but initially composed of members of the two existing territorial assemblies.

On 26 June, British Somaliland became independent and was united with Somalia, to form, on 1 July 1960, the Republic of Somalia. This was a deviation from the inviolable principle of the intangibility of colonial frontiers, in the name of ethnic unity.

ʿAbd al-Rashīd ʿAlī Shirmake, the leader of the Somali Youth League (SYL), originally dominated by Darod (Daarood) and Hawiye (Hawiyye), which since 1947 had campaigned for the unification of lands inhabited by Somalis ("Greater Somalia") and for independence, was summoned to form a coalition government. This coalition combined, besides his own party, two northern parties unrepresented in the South: the Somaliland National League (SNL) with Muḥammad Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Igal and the United Somali Party (USP), representing respectively the Isaq (Isaaq), and the Dir and Darod. The choice by the Assembly of Adan ʿAbdulle ʿIsmān as President of the Republic was confirmed in 1961 by a conference.

Problems of unification

Concluded in a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm, unification of the British and Italian colonies was bound to raise serious problems. Although both populated by Somalis, they had hitherto experienced few mutual contacts. Everything separated them: the usage of English or of Italian, administrative traditions, judicial systems, etc.

Their fusion altered the situation of each group. The Isaq of the SNL, the majority party in Somaliland, became an insignificant group in the context of a unified state such as Somalia. They were naturally drawn towards accommodation with the southern opposition party, the Greater Somali League (GSL) of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Ḥusayn, pro-Arab and pan-Somali. The Darod of the USP, on the other hand, found themselves in tune with their fellow-tribespeople of the SYL. As for the Dir, they were torn between their Isaq neighbours and their Hawiye traditional allies. The difference in importance between the two territorial entities also led the administrative classes of former Somalia to expect that they would naturally monopolise all decision-making functions, not only at the national but also at the regional level.

The results of the first popular consultation—the referendum on the Constitution—of June 1961 clearly illustrated these divisions: adopted with a large majority by the electorate of former Somalia, the text was approved by less than 50% of the electors of former Somaliland. Discontent erupted more overtly when in December of that year a group of British-trained police officers mutinied in protest against the appointment to senior posts of Italian-trained police officers brought in from the south.

After 1962, the political landscape changed, reflecting the difficulties of unity but also demonstrating the desire of all to maintain it. At the beginning of the year, the attempt by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muḥammad Ḥusayn to exploit the discontent of the north by launching a new party, the Somali Democratic Union, consisting of the GSL and elements of the SNL hostile to the participation of their organisation in central government, ended in failure. On the other hand, two SNL ministers, including Igal, resigning in May, succeeded in attracting to themselves, besides members of their own movement, a Hawiye faction of the SYL and creating a new organisation, the Somali National Congress (SNC).

Somali nationalism was pan-Somali. It stressed as the first objective of its programme the aspiration to gather within a single political entity all Somali people, those who had been placed by colonial politics under the authority of the British in Somaliland or in Kenya (Northern Frontier District, NFD) of the Italians in Somalia, of the French in Djibouti (French Coast of the Somalis, which was to become in 1967 the French Territory of the Afars and Issas, then in 1977 the Republic of Djibouti) or of the Ethiopians in Ogaden (Ogaadeen), five regions symbolised by the five points of the white star (on a blue background) of the Republic's flag. The Constitution of 1961 recorded this aspiration in its preamble: "the Republic of Somalia seeks to promote the union of Somali territories by lawful and peaceful means". Somali governments, caught in the snare of nationalism, would henceforward be obliged to make constant demands for self-determination on behalf of their Somali brothers inhabiting other territories, on pain of being accused of "treason". They would also incite them to achieve the objective themselves, especially in radio broadcasts. On numerous occasions, this irredentism was to lead to violent conflict and serious repercussions.

In 1961, in the course of negotiations in London over Kenya, the representatives of the NFD demanded, with the support of the Oromo of this territory, the right to secede from Kenya. The British proposal—a federal Kenya—was never implemented and the Somalis of Kenya remained an aggrieved and dissident community for years thereafter.

Relations with Ethiopia were still more difficult. Somalia challenged the Anglo-Ethiopian treaties defining the frontiers of Somaliland and the Ethiopian province of Hararge (capital Harar) which encompassed the Ogaden [*q.v.*], an area with a majority Somali population. The last of these treaties, concluded as recently as 1954, definitively placed the pastures of the Haud (Hawd) in Ethiopia. It was in this region that there took place, six months after Independence, the first disturbance involving Ethiopian police and disgruntled nomads, a skirmish which Somalia chose to interpret as repression of the aspirations of the Somalis of Ethiopia. In February 1964, more serious border incidents occurred, culminating in the invasion of Somali air-space by Ethiopian aircraft. Mediation by Sudan, in April, under the auspices of the OAU brought about a provisional resolution to the conflict, but Ethiopia took the precaution, the same year, to ally itself with Kenya by means of a mutual defence pact.

Somalia's determination to amend existing frontiers isolated it internationally. Although Somali leaders tended to be relatively well disposed towards the Western bloc, relations between Somalia and the countries belonging to this bloc were unfriendly for political reasons: Somalia would not forgive the United Kingdom for its policy relating to the Kenyan NFD and the Haud, France for its occupation of Djibouti and the USA for its active support of Ethiopia. The exception was Italy, whose nationals retained a decisive economic role in the land. In pursuit of allies, Somali leaders found themselves obliged to turn towards the USSR and China. In 1962 the Russians, intent on exerting dominant influence in the Red Sea region, agreed to lend money, to equip and train the armed forces and to assist with the implementation of all kinds of development projects. From 1969 onwards, the Chinese in their turn supplied substantial civil assistance.

The SYL had an overall victory in the municipal elections of 1963, also in the legislative elections of 1964. With the aim of revitalising internal politics, President ʿIsmān chose a new Prime Minister, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ḥusayn. Concerned with efficiency, the latter chose his ministers without regard for tribal and regional balance. Discontented, members of his own party formed an opposition movement under the leadership of the former Prime Minister S̲h̲irmake. Though sincere pan-Somalis, ʿIsmān and Ḥusayn favoured giving priority to internal problems and issues. Furthermore, Ḥusayn obtained the confidence of the Assembly with great difficulty, only succeeding with the aid of supporters outside the SYL.

On the occasion of the presidential elections of 1967, President ʿIsmān paid the price of his errors: S̲h̲irmake, who had led the country in the period of militant nationalism, was elected. The new President chose as Prime Minister Igal, who had returned to the SYL after 1964. A man of the north, an Isaq, the new Prime Minister hoped to put Somalia's relations with its neighbours on an amicable basis and to concentrate on problems of economic and social development. By acting in this way, he too risked discrediting the one ideal capable of inducing the Somalis to forget their tribal divisions: irredentism. In the municipal and legislative elections of 1969, the electoral system, a series of defections and the game of post-electoral coalition-making, guaranteed his party 120 seats out of 123.

But this was a hollow victory, since the state was running out of control. Corruption and nepotism were rampant, and the Assembly no longer even pretended to be a forum for the exercise of the traditional Somali virtues of conciliation and dialogue. Lack of direction, widespread intrigue, insecurity and government ineffectiveness aroused discontent which was particularly intense among intellectuals and the military, a discontent which aggravated further the resentment felt by those, the majority, who believed that in improving relations with Kenya and Ethiopia, the government had betrayed its mission. Rumours of a *coup d'état* began to circulate.

The Somali Revolution

An unexpected event hastened the resolution of this looming crisis. On 15 October 1969, while the Prime Minister Igal was on an overseas visit, President S̲h̲irmake was assassinated by one of his bodyguards. Igal

hurriedly returned to organise the election of a new President. On 20 October, the party chose as its candidate Ḥādjdjī Mūsē Boqor, one of his close associates. He was thereby assured of retaining his post as Prime Minister.

The following day, the Army took control of Mogadishu and a Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) was immediately established, taking the measures which were normal in these circumstances: detention of members of the former ruling clique, suspension of the Constitution (it was to be officially abrogated in February 1970), suppression of the Supreme Court, closure of the Assembly and prohibition of political parties. The Supreme Council announced its intention to combat tribal nepotism and corruption and to promote a just society where all would be guaranteed access to social and economic progress. In foreign policy, Somalia, renamed the "Democratic Republic of Somalia", would honour its commitments and support peoples fighting colonialism. On 1 November, the list of members of the Supreme Council was made public: comprising 25 officers, it was presided over by General Muḥammad Siyad (Siyaad) Barre, commander of the Army since 1965.

The military caucus which had overturned the democratic régime subsequently defined its action as a Marxist revolution. But despite the presence of Soviet advisers in the Army (in implementation of the Somali-Soviet military accord of 1963), there is no evidence that there was Soviet backing for the coup, and Soviet-trained junior officers received no preferential treatment. In October 1970, to mark the anniversary of the coup, Siyad Barre, who in spite of the corporate power supposedly wielded by the Supreme Council was very much "the strong man", announced the adoption of scientific socialism (in Somali: *hanti-wadaagga cilmi ku dhisan*) as the ideology of the state. This ideology sought to integrate the tribal element into the theory of class-struggle, and acknowledged Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung as well as Mussolini and the Ḳur'ān. Declaring himself a pragmatist, Siyad Barre remained fairly flexible on the ideology of his movement, which he reckoned was compatible with Islam. This view was not shared by all.

The Supreme Council discharged certain responsibilities formerly allotted to the President, the Council of Ministers or the National Assembly, and was assisted by a Council of Secretaries of State mainly composed of civilians. Siyad Barre monopolised the most important functions and encouraged the development of a personality cult. Officers were placed in charge of the major public organisations in order to assure the state's control over the economy, finance, commerce, transport, etc. Regional and local administration was also taken over by the military, civilian functionaries being "re-educated" or dismissed. Administrative sub-divisions were re-arranged in order to nullify the influence of tribal assemblies. In 1976, the single party proclaimed in 1971 came into existence under the title of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) and the Supreme Council was transformed into its central committee. Theoretically, this was a return to civilian rule, but in fact power remained in the hands of the same group of officers.

An important measure in the nationalist and pan-Somali policy of the revolutionary government was the adoption of a system for the writing of the Somali language. In 1971, the Supreme Council revived the Committee for the Somali Language which in 1962 had proposed the adoption of the Latin alphabet, and entrusted to it the task of preparing a grammar, a dictionary, texts and a programme of adult education. But it was only in 1972 that the Council announced that Latin transcription had been adopted and would be applied throughout Somalia from 1 January 1973. The hopes of those who wanted Arabic to be the official language were dashed. An impressive campaign aimed at improving literacy was then launched.

The economy was nationalised and shaped according to the Soviet model with the aid of Russian advisers. New agricultural initiatives were developed in the south with the aid of Arab investment, while in the north and in the region between the great rivers state collective farms were established. Stock-breeders were "invited" to settle in southern areas where irrigation was promised. The drought of 1974-5 was exploited by the revolutionaries to expedite this process. Nomads were thus directed towards state-owned farms and 300,000 (?) of them were transferred from north to south, with Soviet assistance and installed in "co-operative" villages. This assault on traditional ancestral life-styles was also intended to undermine the tribal system. Although itself based on an inter-Darod alliance of the clans of Marehan (Mareexaan) and Ogaden (Siyad Barre's power-base) with the Dulbahante (Dulbaaxante) clan, the revolutionary government vigorously denounced tribalism and numerous activities and customs defined as "tribal" were punished under the law. But the social and economic disorders created by scientific socialism had the paradoxical effect of making tribalism the last refuge of Somalis. The events which were to follow the fall of Siyad Barre were to prove this clearly.

After fifteen years of socialist experiment, the Somali economy was in a disastrous state, exporting, at the very most, only cattle to Saudi Arabia and bananas to Italy. With a GDP of 260 dollars per inhabitant per year the Somalis (55% stock-breeders, 22% arable farmers in 1986) counted among the least developed peoples of the world. Aware of the parlous condition of the economy, the government decided on a limited programme of liberalisation which did not have time to bear fruit.

The only successes of the régime were those which it had recorded in the development of education, with the writing of the Somali language, and in the improvement of the status of women. But these secular achievements found no favour in religious circles, the younger members of which were influenced by fundamentalism.

Somalis hostile to the policies of Siyad Barre, described as "counter-revolutionaries", were watched, hunted, tried and in some cases executed. Since the inception of his régime, in April 1970 and in May 1971, Siyad Barre had been denouncing conspiracies against himself hatched by members of the Supreme Council.

Foreign policy was closely linked to internal policy. In 1974, as a means of tempering his dependence on the Soviet Union, Siyad Barre took his country—as a purely political move—into the Arab League, whose richest members supplied him with aid and offered him new markets. For reasons of nationalism, he supported the Somali guerrillas in the Ethiopian Ogaden, and for reasons of self-interest the separatist struggle of the Eritreans, both these campaigns being directed against Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia had been much weakened by the collapse of the régime of Haile Selassie in 1974-5. Siyad Barre waited for the opportunity to exploit this situation and avenge the humiliation of 1964. In the summer of 1977, Somali troops crossed the frontier and advanced as far as the gates of Harar. But in a spectacular reversal of policy, the Soviets changed the rules

of the game. In a region where South Yemen was already within their sphere of influence, it was in their interest to support Ethiopia rather than Somalia, which was proving itself unstable and unpredictable, and accordingly they changed sides. Crippled, Siyad Barre appealed for the support of the Americans, who showed no inclination to intervene. Henceforward the Somali offensive became a rout. The country was swollen by refugees (a quarter [?] of the population in 1980) whom the economy, destroyed by droughts and "scientific socialism", was incapable of feeding. Siyad Barre was seen as incompetent and as a traitor.

After the fiasco of the Somali offensive and the expulsion of Soviet advisers which ensued, political instability worsened. Siyad Barre had a number of generals executed, scapegoats for the defeat, and in April 1978 he was confronted by a revolt on the part of officers (most of them belonging to the Majerteyn, a clan allied to the former régime), seventeen of whom were executed. The inhabitants of the Ogaden withdrew their support for the régime, and opposition movements, inaugurated in other countries, made their appearance, including the Somali Salvation Front (SSF) (with Majerteyn majority) which united in October 1981 with the Somali Workers Party (SWP) to form the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia (DFSS). In April 1981, the Somali National Movement (SNM) was founded in London by members of the Isaq. This party advocated a mixed economy and a neutral international policy and some of its members favoured the secession of the north. The same year, the dismissal of the Minister of Defence, ʿAlī Samantar, caused discontent in the Army. The following year, the first acts of armed struggle on the part of the SMN unleashed ferocious repression in the north. Isaq and Majerteyn were excluded from all posts and privileges.

The drought of 1983-4 and the guerrilla war drove groups of nomads into shanty-towns in such numbers that for the first time in its history, Somalia saw its urban population exceed its nomadic population. Illicit trading of all kinds and the misappropriation of international aid, in which the most senior of statesmen were implicated, increasing nepotism, more-or-less systematic recourse to a politicised police force, etc., spoke eloquently of the corruption of power.

In May 1988, Italian mediation led to the signing of an Italo-Ethiopian treaty which made official the colonial frontier between the two countries but imposed on them the obligation to pursue the dissidents within their own territories. Feeling threatened, the SNM took pre-emptive action and seized major cities of the north: Hargeysa, Berbera and Burao. The artillery barrages with which Siyad Barre responded terrorised the population and increased the number of refugees. The Hawiye, influential in Mogadishu, withdrew their support from him. After the riots of the summer of 1989 which followed the detention of recalcitrant *imāms*, Siyad Barre began to lose control of entire regions in the south. The Army, the police and the administration, all of whom had grievances over irregularities in remuneration, become uncontrollable. In 1990, Siyad Barre believed he could retrieve the situation by installing a multi-party system and undermining the alliance which was then coming into existence between the now very active rebel movements (accord signed on 2 October 1990); but he acted too late.

At the end of January 1991, the partisans of the United Somali Congress (USC), a movement led by ʿAlī Mahdī Muḥammad and the general Muḥammad Faraḥ Aydid, both Hawiye but from different clans, took control of Mogadishu and compelled Siyad Barre to take refuge, first in the interior and later in Kenya. But from December 1991, conflict erupted between the partisans of ʿAlī Mahdī Muḥammad, unilaterally declared president of the interim government, and those of Muḥammad Faraḥ Aydid.

Violence spread rapidly among all factions seeking to establish themselves. The problem posed by refugees (one million [?] at the end of 1991), was aggravated. The nutritional situation deteriorated rapidly, and an international guilty conscience was aroused, alerted by the media, especially in the summer of 1992.

International intervention

In early 1992, a United Nations mission arrived to report on the situation on the ground. A few days after its return, the Security Council adopted Resolution 733 which imposed an embargo on the sale of arms to Somalia and called upon the General Secretary to increase the aid budget and to negotiate a cease-fire agreement. This agreement, obtained on 3 March, foresaw the dispatch of a security force to protect food-aid convoys and the deployment of 40 observers to monitor implementation: the UN operation in Somalia, known as UNOSOM, was launched.

During the two years that were to follow, in the name of the "duty of intervention" and the "duty of assistance", the UN was to pursue goals that were gradually defined in the course of time: guaranteeing the distribution of aid, implementing the cease-fire, promoting national reconciliation, assisting the return of refugees, reviving the economy and creating employment, reconstructing a state and, to make all this possible, disarming the "factions". The intervention achieved some success in the humanitarian effort but failed to establish civil peace, and stopped short of engaging in full-scale military action. For the first time in its history, the UN was intervening in the internal affairs of a member-state, in a coercive manner and with clearly humanitarian objectives, and this constituted an innovation. It is, however, legitimate to wonder why the UN and the USA took so much interest in Somalia while ignoring Liberia, then embroiled in an analogous situation.

The stages of the process were as follows. On 3 December 1992, confronted by the deterioration of the situation, the Security Council adopted Resolution 794 which, at the instigation of the USA, called for military intervention under American leadership. The task-force, comprising 40,800 soldiers from a score of different nationalities soon occupied 40% of Somali territory (operation "Provide Hope"). George Bush, due to concede the US presidency to Bill Clinton on 11 January 1993, wanted to conclude his term of office with a success. This not being forthcoming, he ordered an initial withdrawal of American troops. In March 1993, the representatives of fifteen Somali armed factions met in Addis Ababa to sign a cease-fire agreement. To ensure its application, the UN launched operation UNOSOM II (Resolution 814, adopted 26 March). Holding General Aydid responsible for cease-fire violations, United States forces tried in vain to capture him during the summer of 1993. But after the deaths of eighteen Rangers in an ambush, in October, President Clinton decided against any further action and announced that US forces would be withdrawn by 31 March 1994. Although deprived of direct American assistance, the UN continued to operate in the country until 31 March 1995.

The secession of the north

The anarchy which developed in the south from January 1991 onwards enabled the former Somaliland

to acquire *de facto* autonomy under the control of the SNM, the movement which had unleashed armed struggle in the northern provinces in 1982. An assembly of Elders, representing the leading families of Somaliland, was held in Burao six months later. There, the president of the SNM declared the abrogation of the Act of Union of 1 July 1960 and the independence of the "Republic of Somaliland". The dogma of pan-Somalism proved to be less potent than that of the intangibility of colonial frontiers. This event coincided, approximately, with recognition of the independence of Eritrea, another return to colonial frontiers. The secession of former Somaliland passed almost unnoticed however, international attention being concentrated on the situation in the south of the country.

The SNM comprised those whose primary objective was to depose Siyad Barre and others who had always envisaged secession of the north in response to the oppression and economic neglect (genuine but magnified in the public consciousness) suffered by this region since 1960. The Elders, who fulfilled a significant popular "representative" function, prevailed over those who, having continued to play a political or economic role in the south, would have been prepared to accept a federation. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ʿAlī Tur became president of the new state. Since then, Somaliland has attempted to rebuild itself, without however escaping struggles between factions and clans.

Henceforward, Somalia needs not only to repair the damage caused by the headlong collapse of its traditional economic and social structures, by years of drought, famine and catastrophic crop-failure, by oppression, civil war and the ruin of its pan-Somali dream; it must also cope with the dire effects of a clumsy and ineffectual international intervention.

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4. The role of Islam in Somali society

The Somalis are Sunni Muslims and follow the S͟hāfiʿī mad͟hhab. It is assumed that Islam first arrived in the Horn of Africa in the early years of the spread of the religion from the Arabian Peninsula. Along with the rest of the East African coast, the Somali coast had been part of the Indian Ocean trading region involving much movement of people and goods, particularly between the Arabian Peninsular and the Horn of Africa. Trading settlements along the coast, of which Zaylaʿ and Maḳdis͟hū were particularly important examples, must have become centres of Islamic activity early on. From the coast, the religion gradually made an impact inland, with Islamic centres being established, one of the most important in this part of Africa being the town of Harar [*q.v.*]. In its essentials, Islam among the Somalis is practised as elsewhere in the Islamic world, the people following the five pillars of the faith, and indeed Islam constitutes a very important aspect of Somali identity.

One of the particularly striking aspects of religious life is the widespread influence and role of the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*s, of which the most widespread among the Somalis are the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], the Aḥmadiyya (also known as Idrīsiyya [*q.v.*]), the Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*] and, to a lesser extent, the Dandarāwiyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*]. Although not necessarily formal initiates to the *ṭarīḳa*s, many Somalis will profess adherence to one of them, and most prominent religious figures amongst the Somalis have played important roles as members of the orders. The oldest of the *ṭarīḳa*s, with many followers throughout the whole area, is the Ḳādiriyya, which is thought to have been brought to the Horn of Africa through contacts with other parts of the Islamic world; it is also said that it was introduced specifically into Harar by S͟harīf Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs in the 15th century. Among the many important leaders within this *ṭarīḳa*, two of the most famous are S͟hayk͟h ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī (*ca.* 1235-6 to 99/1820-82) and S͟hayk͟h Uways Muḥammad (1263-4 to 1327/1847-1909), both of whom founded sub-branches of the main *ṭarīḳa*. The Aḥmadiyya and Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīḳa*s were both introduced into the Horn of Africa some time towards the end of the 19th century, the Aḥmadiyya probably some time earlier than the Ṣāliḥiyya. The Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīḳa* was introduced by S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī Maye Durogba (d. 1335/1917) from the town of Marka, and the Ṣāliḥiyya one introduced by S͟hayk͟h Muḥammad Gūlēd (d. 1918), who was from the Bantu language-speaking Shidle community. The best-known figure from both these two *ṭarīḳa*s is Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān (1250-1 to 1339/1864-1920 [*q.v.*], and see that article for alternative date of birth), who, having been initiated into the order by S͟hayk͟h b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [see ṢĀLIḤIYYA] himself in Mecca, went on to lead the so-called Dervish movement against the foreign powers in the northern Somali ter-

ritories, particularly the British, from 1898-1920.

A regular feature of the religious calendar among the Somalis is the *siyaaro* (from Ar. *ziyāra*), celebrations of a saint's life through a pilgrimage to the saint's tomb and the holding of services there in his honour. This is bound up, particularly among the nomadic pastoralists, with the society's lineage system. The founders of lineage segments, such as the eponymous clan group founders Shaykh Daarood (Dārōd) or Shaykh Isaaq (Isāķ), are revered in their own right as saints and the *siyaaro* celebrations are held in their honour. Other saints are also revered who have become well known through their virtuous deeds (Ar. *manķaba* pl. *manāķib*) which are remembered in oral narratives as well as in written collections in Arabic, which, it is assumed, have been taken from oral narrative. These are to be found in manuscript form and some have also been published (see Bibl. for an example). In addition to these local saints the lives of founder saints of the *ṭarīķas*, such as ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], are also celebrated.

The role of saints as intermediaries, particularly the role of deceased saints, is an issue on which the *ṭarīķas* differ. The intercession of deceased saints as intermediaries between humans and God is rejected by the Aḥmadiyya and the related Ṣāliḥiyya, but is accepted by the Ķādiriyya. This was one of the main issues, which, along with others, led to animosity between the Ṣāliḥiyya and the Ķādiriyya at the beginning of this century. Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān was the most prominent figure in this exchange on the Ṣāliḥiyya side and, on the side of the Ķādiriyyas, one of the most prominent was Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿallim Yūsuf al-Ķuṭbī who edited and co-authored *al-Djuzʾāni al-awwal wa 'l-thānī min al-madjmūʿa al-mubāraka al-mushtamila ʿalā kutub khamsa* ("The two parts, the first and the second from the blessed collection comprising five books") (Maķdishū n.d., printed in Cairo), which includes five treatises on *taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*], including polemics against the Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīķa*. Shaykh Uways also engaged in this with a bitter exchange of poetic invective taking place between him and Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān during the first decade of the 20th century, which led eventually to followers of Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān killing Shaykh Uways in 1909 at Biyooley where the latter had founded a settlement.

Religious ceremonies such as marriages and funerals are undertaken in Somali society by men of religion, who are known in Somali as *wadaads*. The title of *sheekh* (*shēkh*, in Arabic *shaykh*) is used in respect to *wadaads* when they have reached a certain level of respect as men of religion (N.B. the term Shēkh in Somali is used only in a religious sense; it is not used in a secular context as in Arabic for an elder, for which the term *oday* is used in Somali). The term *wadaad* is used in contrast to the term *waranle* ("warrior", literally: "spear bearer"), amongst which other Somali men are traditionally classed. Another important role played by *wadaads*, given the respect owed them as religious men, is that of mediator in disputes between lineages. They may also provide amulets and bless livestock and crops as well as pray for the ever-important rain. The education of *wadaads* may differ widely, with some having travelled to various centres of Islamic learning both within the Horn of Africa as well as abroad, gaining a deep and wide ranging education and, indeed, in some cases writing treatises on theological matters. Others have less education and may have just a rudimentary understanding of the Ķurʾān and *Ḥadīth*. As they are the men of learning, it is the *wadaads* who in turn are the religious teachers of the young and, for this purpose, they may be based in a particular town or village, pupils coming to them for learning. On the other hand, they may set up an itinerant college, moving from place to place with accompanying students, and carrying out religious duties in the places they arrive at. With regard to law, the customary law of the Somalis, known as *xeer* (*ḥēr*), continues to play an important role and exists alongside the *Sharīʿa* to which the Somalis, as Muslims, adhere also.

All the Ṣūfī orders in the Somali territories have set up agricultural communities in suitable areas known as *jamaacas* (from Ar. *djamāʿa*). Most of these are, naturally, in the agricultural areas between and along the two main rivers; such communities, however, have also, since the last century, been founded in the northern regions, particularly in the north-west, where the land and climate are more suitable. In the north-west, this has in turn led to the development of a certain amount of agriculture being practised by the general population growing, in particular, sorghum.

In addition to the general Muslim religious practices, there are a number of other spiritual aspects of life practised among the Somalis. One well-known example is the *saar* (*sār*) [see ZĀR] cult, in which a person is regarded as having been made ill by the presence of a spirit within them. The person is then relieved of the spirit through the performance of a ritual, often by a woman specialist known as *alaaqad*. This cult is regarded by some as a superstitious and un-Islamic practice, and is generally practised among women and among more disenfranchised groups of people on the margins of the society. It is a widespread phenomenon found in North Africa, the Arabian peninsula as well as Ethiopia, from where it is thought to have originated and to have spread during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

In more recent decades, Islam has in different ways been a force within the politics of the Somali territories. Following the campaign of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān, there was a certain amount of Islamic reformist activity under such leaders as Ḥādjdji Faraḥ ʿUmar, who was exiled to Aden by the colonial authorities and there set up the Somali Islamic Association. It has been suggested that this exile contributed to the lack of connection between the developing nationalist-oriented political organisations such as the Somali Youth League and the Islamic reformist movement. Later in the history of Somalia, the matter of Somali irredentism as an expression of Somali nationalism may have further lessened the impact of Islamic expressions of nationalism. Two Islamic organisations were established in 1969: *Djamāʿat Ahl al-Islām* and *Waḥdat Shabāb al-Islām*, with the aim of imparting more Islamic values, especially among the young, whom they regarded as moving away from these standards. During the régime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre (Muḥammad Siyād Barre) a religious opposition developed, particularly after January 1975 when a new Family Law was attacked by the religious establishment as being against the laws of Islam in terms of inheritance rights for women. Following subsequent opposition speeches, a number of religious leaders were arrested and some executed, leading to an increasing gulf between religious groups and the régime. During the fragmented political situation following the ousting of the Barre régime, Islamic groups have continued to play a role in the politics of the region, this role being particularly strong in certain areas; e.g., the area around the town of Luuq (Lūķ)

in south-west Somalia has been described as an "Islamic mini-state amidst surrounding chaos and anarchy" (Hussein, 219).

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5. Language

Somali is a member of the Omo-Tana group of Lowland East Cushitic languages, Cushitic being a member of the Afroasiatic super-family. Other Omo-Tana languages include Rendille, Bayso, Dasenech and Elmolo spoken in the region of north-west Kenya and south-west Ethiopia; whilst two of the most important Lowland East Cushitic languages are ʿAfar and Oromo, which are spoken by the two major groups of people neighbouring the Somalis to the west in the Horn of Africa.

Somali itself, may be regarded not so much as a single language, but rather a collection of closely-related dialects. According to Lamberti (1986, 14-32), there are five major dialect groups of Somali: the Northern group of dialects spoken predominantly by the nomadic pastoralists; the May and Digil dialect groups spoken by the sedentary agriculturalists living between the two main rivers, the Jubba and the Shabeelle; the Benaadir dialects, spoken along the southern coast (and also in parts of southern-central Somalia) and Ashraaf, a dialect spoken just in Maḳdishū and in the region around and to the north of the town of Marka. There are a small number of other language-speaking minorities: dialects of Oromo are spoken in parts of the south-western regions and in the southern part of the Lower Jubba region and Af-Boon (also known as Aweera), an endangered Cushitic language, is spoken in an area between the town of Jilib and the coast (as well as in neighbouring parts of Kenya). There are also speakers of northern dialects of Swahili: Ki-Bajuni is spoken along part of the coastal strip in the region of the lower Jubba and especially in the town of Kismaayo and Chi-Mwiini (= a dialectical form of Standard Swahili *Kī-Mjini* "the language of the town") is spoken in the town of Baraawe (Brava) and along the adjacent coast and the Bajun Islands. A further Bantu language Af-Mushungulu is spoken along the banks of the Jubba in the vicinity of the town of Jamaame and is regarded as corresponding to the Shambaa language of Tanzania (according to W.I.G. Möhlig, as mentioned in Lamberti 1986, 33).

Somali has a rich verbal morphology which, aside from the inflectional suffixes, includes a number of derivational suffixes which alter the argument structure of the verb. These include a causative or transitivising suffix, *-i*, which may be affixed to a verbal root, and a middle voice suffix, *-o*, which often has an autobenefactive or an intransitivising meaning. Whereas the vast majority of verbs inflect by means of suffixes, a small number of verbs mark person by means of prefixes, mark tense by means of stem-internal vowel mutation and have a number marker suffix. In Standard Somali there are five such verbs: *yimi* "come", *yiqiin* "know", *yidhi* "say", *yiil* "be in a place (only with inanimate subjects)" and the idiosyncratic verb *yahay* "be". The nominal morphology is characterised by a number of deverbal and denominal derivational suffixes as well as defining, demonstrative and possessive suffixes. The status of adjectives in Somali is a matter of dispute among linguists, some seeing them as a separate part of speech which is used with the verb *yahay*, others regarding adjectives as a distinct verbal group. With regard to syntax, one prominent feature is the system of focus marking which has been shown to be syntactically cognate to cleft constructions used in some other Afroasiatic languages of the Horn of Africa. Prepositional expressions are also interesting from a syntactic point of view: it is possible to use a possessive construction to express such things as "under the table": *miiska hoostiisa*, literally "the table its underneath"; but most prepositional expressions are rendered using four preverbal prepositional particles, given here with approximate meanings: *u* (to, for), *ku* (in, at, instrumental), *ka* (from, about) and *la* (with). These preverbal prepositional particles are found in most of the other Omo-Tana languages but not in less closely-related Cushitic languages in which certain case markers and postpositions are cognate. Of phonological interest is the system of tonal accent or pitch accent, in which certain grammatical distinctions are made by the position of accent which is realised as a higher tone phonetically.

Despite the fact that Somali is essentially a cluster of dialects, Standard Somali (sometimes called Common Somali) has developed over the last few decades, based on the Northern dialect group. This dialect group has developed in this way because it was already being used to a certain extent as a lingua franca throughout the Somali-speaking areas and also because much oral poetry was, and still is, composed in it and this poetry, when good, often became well known over a very wide area, thus helping to disseminate a certain competence in the dialect. Standard Somali is now the language of written and broadcast media and it is this use, especially in radio, which over the last few decades has continued the development of this standard language and made it widely known to speakers of other dialect groups.

The widespread use of written Somali only began in 1972 when an official script was introduced by the government of the time. Prior to this, written communication was mostly carried out in other languages.

For a long time, Arabic was used in this way by those who knew it well enough and it continues to be used by some Somalis today as a written medium. In addition to the use of the Arabic language as such, the Arabic script was used by some people to write the Somali language itself, although this did not become very widespread. The European colonial languages, English, Italian and French, have also been used for written communication. In addition to the use of the Arabic script to write the Somali language, in the 20th century, a number of invented scripts gained a certain amount of usage. Two of the most famous of these are the Gadabursi script which was used in the north-west of the Somali territories and the Cismaaniya (ʿIsmāniya) script which gained a somewhat wider currency.

The selection of an official script for the Somali language was a matter fraught with problems and indecision for a long time. Three major proposals were considered, firstly the use of a version of the Arabic script which was argued for on the basis of Islam. This, though, faced the practical problem that a number of new characters were needed, especially for vowels; despite this people were aware that other languages had used the script such as Persian and Urdu and that it was at least generally more familiar to Somalis than other scripts. The second option was the use of an indigenous invented script, which was advocated on the basis that it would be an authentic Somali script. However, the invented scripts were to a certain extent associated with particular clans and thus were not regarded by all as being possible "pan-Somali" scripts; also, typewriters and printing presses would have needed to be built from scratch, which was considered by some as impractical and expensive. The third option was the use of a version of the Latin alphabet which, practically, was suited to the language but which was opposed by the groups who supported the other options. No decision was made by the civilian régimes of the 1960s and it was the former military régime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre which officially adopted the Latin script in 1972.

Somali is written more or less as the language is spoken. Each sound is represented by a letter of the alphabet or a digraph, most being similar to English apart from the following characters which are given here with their respective symbols in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and in Arabic transcription: "c" (Arabic: ʿ, IPA: ʕ), "x" (Arabic: ḥ, IPA: ħ), "dh" (not found in Arabic, IPA: ɖ) "j" (Arabic: d̲j̲, IPA: ʤ or in some speech IPA: ʧ), "kh" (Arabic: k̲h̲, IPA: χ, this sound is only found in Arabic loanwords), "q" (Arabic: ḳ, IPA: q), "sh" (Arabic s̲h̲, IPA: ʃ). Long vowels and geminate consonants are both written as digraphs.

Following the acceptance of this script, Somali was made the national language of the then Democratic Republic of Somalia and urban and rural literacy campaigns were implemented. Although following these the literacy rate may be assumed to have improved, at the present time, with civil war and great upheavals in the Horn of Africa, it is assumed to be very low (in 1985 the adult literacy rate in Somalia was 12% according to the African Development Report for 1991 published by the African Development Bank). Since 1972, much new vocabulary has been introduced into the language; some has been coined from existing Somali words by compounding or semantic shift, and some borrowed from Arabic (from which borrowing has taken place for a long time) or from the colonial European languages.

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6. Literature

Prior to the writing of the language, Somali literature was, with some very few exceptions, composed, retained and performed solely in oral form. Poetry has always been the most important type of literary expression, but, from the 1940s onwards, theatre became important and, following the acceptance of an official Somali script in 1972, prose fiction also developed. The Somalis themselves distinguish between a large number of genres of poetry, ranging from children's songs through work songs and dance songs to poetry handling more serious themes, the latter being classified together as *maanso* (*mānso*) (sometimes referred to as "classical poetry" by English-speaking scholars), whereas the work songs, etc., are classified together as *hees*. Within these major groups there are genres of poems and songs which are distinguished by four major factors: the subjects they treat, the context in which they are recited, the metrical structure of the lines and the "tune" (in Somali, *luuq* (*lūḳ*)) to which they are traditionally performed. Somali poetry is alliterative, the alliterative sound being carried throughout the whole poem and there is a quantitative system of metrical structure (in Somali, syllable final consonants are not counted in the metre).

There are different songs associated with all the standard types of work among the rural Somalis such as watering camels and other livestock (each animal has its own song), driving livestock along, weaving mats, pounding grain, etc. Many of these songs are well known and the original composer anonymous, but people do also compose their own poetry in this context. This may sometimes be used by people to convey a message allusively to someone whom they would not normally be able to directly address on the matter in hand. The dance songs and poetry, of which there are many types such as *dhaanto* and *shirib*, are performed in specific contexts at celebrations and particularly when young people come together to dance at certain times of the year; again, many of these songs and poems are anonymous but may also be composed by individuals who then perform them in the dance.

Turning to the *maanso* type of poetry, this is all composed by named individuals, and before reciting a poem of this type the reciter must say who is the composer of the poem and must then recite the poem verbatim. There is no professional class of poets among the nomads; anyone who has the skill is able to compose poetry and those who are very good become well known and gain a great deal of prestige. Among the southern, mainly agriculturalist clans, the situation is different in that there are specific reciters of poetry, *laashin* (pl. *laashinno*), who often recite in an extemporised manner. Unfortunately, the work available to the academic community on this poetry is very sparse, and consequently what is to be said below on poetry pertains primarily to the pastoralist nomads

and the modern types of poems which have developed from that tradition.

Given the oral nature of the literature, the earliest examples of poems which are known are from the latter half of the 19th century. Some of these poems are those by Raage Ugaas Warfaa (Rāge Ugās Warfā) (*ca.* 1810-*ca.* 1880) which are still remembered with great respect, such as the poem he composed in response to the marriage of his fiancée to another, *Alleyl dumay* "At nightfall". Among the pastoralist nomads there is no history of epic poetry, although among the agriculturalists there are poems which are passed on from one generation to the next and which recount aspects of clan history. From the turn of the 20th century, many poems have been remembered, particularly those of the most famous and prestigious poets; and when the Somali language was first officially written in 1972 many of these poems were soon transcribed, thus keeping them for posterity, although those which have survived to the present time will only be a small proportion of the total amount of poems composed. One of the most important poets whose work is preserved in this way is that of Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān [*q.v.*], whose work has been collected and published, as has also the work of his contemporaries. Looking at the work of more than one poet within a particular context is particularly important, as Somali poetry is very often composed to address a particular situation and a poem composed by one person may be replied to by another poet, as was often the case with the poetry during the Dervish campaign. At times, poems may be replied to and the replies themselves solicit a response; in such situations a *silsilad* (Ar. *silsila* "chain") may develop in which a whole chain of poems is composed, all alliterating in the same sound. Despite the fact that many poems comment specifically on issues, others handle general issues or may be in praise of a person or indeed a well-loved horse.

During the late 1940s and the 1950s, the new genres *belwo* and *heello* developed, which dealt more specifically with the theme of love but which developed into an important vehicle for the expression of developing nationalist, anti-colonial feeling. Of particular importance in this development was the poet and musician Cabdullaahi Qarshe (ʿAbd Allāh Ḳarshe), who was the first Somali to introduce musical instrumental accompaniment, the lute, to this poetry. It was during this time also that Somali theatre developed, with the composition of plays by playwrights who took theatrical forms from the European examples which they saw and developed them, using Somali poetic forms as the basis of the play text. This poetry was learnt verbatim by the actors, who then improvised the linking parts of the play in spoken prose under the guidance of the playwright. In addition to simple recitation of the poetic parts, some were sung with a musical accompaniment, and these songs often became very popular and were broadcast over the radio, as indeed were the whole plays. The plays themselves were generally initially performed in theatres in the major towns and were then taken on tour around the country.

At the present time, poetry continues to be of great importance in Somali culture, with poems addressing the contemporary situation avidly listened to by many people through radio broadcasts or via audio cassette tapes. Many modern popular poems are also often recorded with a musical accompaniment as songs. Three of the most prominent poets of the present time are Maxamed Ibrahiim Warsame "Hadraawi" (Muḥammad Ibrahīm Warsame Hadrāwi), Maxamed Xaashi Dhamac Gaarriye (Muḥammad Ḥāshi Dhamaʿ Gārriye) and Cabdi Aadan "Cabdi Qays" (ʿAbdi Ādan "ʿAbdi Ḳays"), all of whom have composed a wide variety of poems, including ones addressing the political situations they have lived through as well as love poems and poems on other themes.

Although most poetry which is widely known is composed by men, there are women also who compose poetry. Given the male-oriented system of memorisation used in the past, very few older poems by women are now known but from more modern times, due to the use of radio and audio cassettes, women's poetry is more widely known. For example, Mariam Xaaji Xasan (Maryam Ḥādji Ḥasan) composed poetry in opposition to the former régime of Maxamed Siyaad Barre (Muḥammad Siyād Barre) which was broadcast through an opposition radio station based in Ethiopia under the name of Carraweello Ararsame.

Religious poetry in praise of the Prophet or saints or dealing with didactic themes is composed in both Somali and Arabic. Of the Arabic poems, most are written and retained in manuscript form and some have also been published in book collections. Among the best known are those of Shaykh Uways and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī (see above, 4.), some of whose poems have become very well known and may be recited at religious celebrations such as al-Zaylaʿī's poem popularly known as *al-ʿAyniyya* on account of the rhyme in *ʿayn* (see *Bibl.*). Religious poetry is also composed in Somali, with some early examples having been written in this language using a version of the Arabic script. A more modern, well known composer of religious poetry in Somali is Sheekh Caaqib Cabdulaahi Jaamac (Shaykh ʿĀḳib ʿAbd Allāh Djāmaʿ).

Prior to the introduction of the official script for Somali, prose literature was confined to oral narratives of folktales and to hagiographies of saints, some of these being written in Arabic. Prose literature in the form of novels and short stories in Somali is the product of the adoption of the official script (see above, 5.). Some of the earliest novels include those by Faarax Maxamed Jaamac Cawl (Fāraḥ Muḥammad Djāmaʿ ʿAwl) (1937-91) who wrote three novels, including *Aqoondarro waa u nacab jacayl* (Mogadishu 1974), which was translated into English as *Ignorance is the enemy of love* by B.W. Andrzejewski (London 1982). Another well known writer of prose fiction is Maxamed Daahir Afrax (Muḥammad Ṭāhir Afraḥ), whose novels were first published as serials in the newspaper *Xiddigta Oktoobar* ("The October Star"). The novels of Faarax M.J. Cawl concentrate on didactic themes in a more historical context, *Aqoondarro waa u nacab jacayl* taking the theme of illiteracy set in the context of a true story from the time of the Dervish movement. Those of Afrax, on the other hand, treat the urban life of Maḳdishū in the 1970s and the vulnerabilities of various people in that particular society under the régime of the time. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a number of other writers wrote novels and short novels which were published in Maḳdishū, but in more recent years, following the civil war and the destruction of many facilities, prose fiction publication has become very difficult, although there has been some, e.g. *Waddadii walbahaarka* ("The road of grief") by Xuseen Sheekh Biixi (Ḥusayn Shaykh Bīḥi), which was recently published in Addis Ababa (1994) and which addresses the embroiled situation among the Somalis during the early 1990s. As in other parts of Africa, there has also been some writing of fictional literature and poetry

in the colonial European languages, English, French and Italian. The best known of these writers is Nuuruddiin Faarax (Nūruddīn Fāraḥ; in his publications his name is spelt Nuruddin Farah), who has written a number of novels in English which are very well known in the Western world.

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(M. Orwin)

ṢŌMĀY, a Kurdish district of Persia lying between the Turkish frontier (modern *il* or province of Hakkâri) and the western shore of Lake Urmiya, hence falling within the modern Persian *ustān* or province of West Ādharbāydjān.

In Kurdish, *sōmāy* means "view" (cf. in Persian *sūma* "terminus, finis, scopus", Vullers, ii, 352). To the north, Ṣōmāy is separated from the basin of the Zola Čay (Shepirān, Salmās [*q.v.*]) by the mountains of Bere-dī, Undjalīḳ and Aghwān; on the east the canton of Anzal separates it from Lake Urmiya; to the south-east lies the Shaykh Bāzīd range, to the south the canton of Brādōst; to the south-west the peak of Kotūl; towards the west the ravine of Bānegā runs into the interior of Turkish territory. Ṣōmāy is sometimes used to include the cantons of Shepirān and Anzal-i Bālā.

Ṣōmāy is watered by the northern tributaries of the Nāzlu Čay, several of which drain the main valley, and one (Ḥasanī, Berdūk) comes from the ravine of Bānegā. They unite east of Berdūk, flow towards Brādōst, where they are joined by the tributary from the valley of Bāžirgā and then, joining the Nāzlu Čay, enter the lake north-east of the plain of Urmiya [*q.v.*].

According to the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Khān Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], Ṣōmāy and Brādōst were at first governed by scions of the Kurd Ḥasanūya dynasty (Ḥasanwayhids) [see ḤASANWAYH] who had taken refuge in the north after the defeat which the Būyid Shams al-Dawla [*q.v.*] had inflicted in 405/1014 on Hilāl b. Badr. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions a member of the family, Ghāzī-ḳirān b. Sulṭān Aḥmad, who for his exploits was granted by Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī the cantons of Ṣōmāy, Tergavar and Dōl but later went over to the Ottoman sultan Selīm. His descendants, who were under the *wālī* of Wān, broke up into various branches. The last *mīr* of Ṣōmāy mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma* is Awliyā Beg (from 985/1577).

When in 1065/1654 Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] visited the country between Wān and Urmiya, the strong castle of Ghāzī-ḳirān still stood on a cliff commanding the plain of Urmiya, while the western part of Ṣōmāy was occupied by the Pinyānish tribe (which now lives in Turkish territory). The lord of Berdūk was called Čolaḳ ("the one-armed") Mīr ʿAzīz; the strong castle stood some distance below (*ashaghiya*) Ḳalʿa-yi Pinyānish, which may be identified with Bānegā (3-4 miles above Berdūk).

It is not very clear whether the *mīrs* of Ṣōmāy who, shortly after the visit of Ewliyā Čelebi, erected several curious monuments, were of the same tribe of Pinyānish. At Berdūk is a mosque of white and black stone and a cemetery with the tomb of Naẓar Beg, son of Ghāzī Beg (d. 1071/1660). His son Sulṭān Taḳī Sulṭān, whose title shows that he had consolidated the power—for *sulṭānlïk* means a fief for which one has received investiture—built the very imposing and picturesque castle near Bānegā. A reconstruction of the old Ḳalʿa-yī Pinyānish probably also dates from his time (1078/1667). On a rock at the entrance to the tower can still be seen the remains of a rudely carved inscription *ṣāḥib mālik—Sulṭān Murād b. Sulṭān*—(?). Below the fort is an *ʿibādat khāna* built by a certain Zāl-i ʿĀdil (1103/1691?) and a mosque. The style of these buildings recalls that of the castle of Maḥmūdī (Khoshāb) east of Wān (cf. Binder, 126-8). In 1136/1736 the hereditary chief of the *sandjaḳ* of Ṣōmāy, Khātim Khān, as a reward for his services received from the Ottoman government the adjacent cantons of Salmās [*q.v.*], Kerdḳāzān (?), Ḳarabāgh and Anzal (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*², iv, 211).

In the 19th century the Shakāk [*q.v.*], encouraged by the Persians, gradually occupied Ṣōmāy. According to Derwīsh Pasha, Bānegā was destroyed by ʿAlī Āghā Shakāk (about 1257/1841).

In 1851 Čirikov was still able to speak of a "hereditary ruler of Ṣōmāy", Parraw Khān, who had also seized Brādōst. In 1893 the Shakāk killed at Gunbad the last representative of the family of *mīrs*, a certain Ḳïlïdj Khān.

Among the antiquities of Ṣōmāy may be mentioned: 1. the citadel of Zandjīr Ḳalʿa (between Ṣōmāy and Salmās) which must correspond to the "Shaddādī" building of Ḳarnî-yarïḳ, mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 281) the name of which (*alias* Farhād ḳapu) is found in Blau, in *Peterm. Mitt.* [1863], 201-10; 2. a chamber carved out of the rock on Mount Kotūl; 3. similar chambers where the Nāzlu Čay enters the plain of Urmiya. All these monuments must date from the Urartian period (cf. Minorsky, *Kelashin*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xxiv [1917], 190).

Ṣōmāy had a significant Nestorian Christian population, and Ṣōmāy-Brādōst was a Nestorian diocese under the archdiocese of Shamdīnān [*q.v.*]; see M. Chevalier, *Les montagnards chretiens du Hakkâri et du Kurdistan septentrional*, Paris 1985, 230, and see map 1.

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(V. Minorsky*)

SOMNĀTH [see SŪMANĀT].

SONĀRGĀ'ON, Subarnagrāma in Sanskrit, a famous mediaeval capital city and trade centre in eastern Bengal at the juncture of the rivers Lakhkha, Brahmaputra and old Meghna, and about 14 miles south-east of Dhaka and 3 miles east of Narayanganj. Though the city existed in the early 13th century during the time of the Hindu dynasties of Sena and Deva in East Bengal, it started flourishing only during the time of Balbanī rulers in the region (681-746/1282-1345). The city was visited by the famous Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa during 1345-6 in the reign of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (739-50/1338-50), who found it very affluent. It continued thriving during later Islamic dynasties of Bengal, namely the Ilyās Shāhī (740-892/1339-1487) and Ḥusayn Shāhī (898-944/1493-1538) dynasties. Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, Sonārgā'on served as the capital for the independent Afghān chieftains—ʿĪsā Khān and later on his son Mūsā Khān—who resisted Mughal rule until 1611.

From the beginning of Muslim rule, Sonārgā'on was an important educational and cultural centre with a large number of mosques and *madrasas*. During the reign of Sultan Balban (664-86/1266-87), Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Tawwāma established a prestigious *madrasa* in this city, where Shaykh Yaḥyā Manērī [see MAKHDŪM AL-MULK] of Bihār studied. Shaykh ʿAlā' al-Ḥaḳḳ—a famous Ṣūfī saint of Pandu'ā—lived in Sonārgā'on for two years towards the end of the 8th/14th century. His *khānkāh* attracted many pupils. Epigraphic evidence from the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries records the appellation of Ḥādjdjī for a number of personalities (such as Ḥādjdjī Bābā Ṣāliḥ and Ḥādjdjī Bhāgal Khān), indicating religious links of this region with Arabia (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *An epigraphical journey to an Eastern Islamic land*, in *Muqarnas*, v/7 [1990], 87-103).

Among its architectural remains is a mosque known as Mughrapara Shāhī Djāmiʿ Masdjid with an inscription dated 889/1484 (see idem, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 107-8). Sonārgā'on was an important mint town since the beginning of the 8th/14th century, and was also famous for its fine cotton production known as Muslin. With the shift of Bengal's capital to Dhaka during the Mughal period in the early 11th/17th century, however, Sonārgā'on lost its glory.

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(MUHAMMAD YUSUF SIDDIQ)

SONGHAY, or Songhai, Sonraï, Sonrhaï, (1) a West African language, (2) a people speaking that language, (3) a West African state in existence from *ca.* 1450 to *ca.* 1600.

1. Language. The Songhay language consists of a cluster of dialects spoken around the Middle Niger from the Inland Delta in the west to the borders of modern Nigeria, Niger and Bénin in the east, with isolated pockets in and around the Hombori mountains south of Timbuktu in the lands of the right bank of the Niger (*gurma*), and around In Gall to the south-west of the Aïr massif in Niger. Down to the late 19th century, a Songhay dialect called Emgedesi was also spoken in Agades. In the northern Saharan oasis of Tabalbala a language is spoken that is Songhay in structure, but largely Arabic and Berber in its lexicon. At the present time the two major dialects are Songhay itself, spoken upstream of Labbezanga and in Dendi, and Djerma or Zerma spoken downstream. Songhay proper is generally considered to have two principal dialects: western and eastern. The western is spoken in Timbuktu, Goundam and the northern Inland Delta, and has absorbed a higher proportion of lexical items of Arabic origin; the eastern is spoken along the banks of the Niger from Arnassey to Labbezanga. The Wogo dialect of Sinder, and Dendi spoken in the far south, are closely related to the eastern dialect. Zerma is spoken in the area between the modern capital of Niamey and Dosso on the borders of the Hausa-speaking lands, and in a broad zone to the north of Niamey. In between are dialects such as Kado and Kourtey.

Linguists have differed on the family affiliation of Songhay-Zerma. For long it defied classification. Then J. Greenberg (*The languages of Africa*, The Hague 1966) grouped it with Nilo-Saharan. More recently, Nicolai has proposed first that it belongs in the Mande family, and more recently still that it is a Tamacheq creole. The term Songhay to refer to the language was in use as early as the beginning of the 16th century, when Leo Africanus noted it as the language of Walāta, Timbuktu, Jenne and Gao (and, implausibly, Mali). But, except in Gao it was, at that time, little more than a language of administration resulting from the incorporation of those areas into an expanded Songhay state from the 1460s. Prior to the expansion of the Songhay state the language was mainly spoken along the banks of the Niger from Gao southwards, but for how long we have no way of telling. The origins of the isolated pockets of Songhay speech are likewise a matter of conjecture, but a plausible hypothesis is that the eastern ones, at any rate, resulted from the activities of Songhay-speaking merchants.

2. People. The name Songhay applied to a people does not appear in the literature until the late 15th century with the "Replies" of al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*]. The name Zerma (and a parallel form, Zaberma) appears even later; there is a single passing reference in an anonymous chronicle of the mid-17th century (see *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, "Deuxième Appendice", 334). Arab writers from the Mediterranean lands of Islam had known of Kawkaw/Gawgaw as the name of a town (Gao [*q.v.*]) and a people, and there is no reason to suppose that these people were not Songhay speakers ancestral to those who inhabited the area in the 16th century and still do today (but see Lange, *Les rois de Gao-Sané et les Almoravides*). A problem remains, however: there is no known etymology for the name Songhay, and the name is scarcely used by speakers of the language to designate themselves (see Olivier de Sardan, *Conceptes et conceptions songhay-zarma*, 340). The *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* and the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* (both mid-17th century) use the term to refer either to the ruling oligarchy (*ahl Sunghay*) or to the region of Gao, or occasionally to the empire as a whole. Although modern anthropological literature has used the term Songhay(-Zarma) in englobing fashion, the people themselves use more particularist terms such as *koyra-boro*—villagers; *gaabi* (or *gabibi*)—"black body", cultivators (in Timbuktu especially denoting ex-slaves); *sorko*—fisher folk, boatmen; *gow*—hunters; *Sohance*—descendants of Sunni ʿAlī; *Maamar haama*—descendants of Askiya Muḥammad; *arma*—descendants of the Saʿdian invaders of 1591; etc. The Zarma have traditions that would make them immigrants from Mali, but these probably refer only to groups that came from the Inland Delta and established themselves as local chiefs, perhaps at more than one time. In the

late 19th century, "Zabarma" adventurer carried out extensive slave-raiding among Grunshi populations in north-west Ghana, and under the leadership of Babatu established a short-lived political hegemony in the area that was ended by French and British colonial expansion (see N. Levtzion, *Muslims and chiefs in West Africa*, Oxford 1968, 151-60).

Pre-colonial Songhay society recognised three social statuses: free, servile and slave. The free were the chiefs and the mass of the cultivators and herders, and such slaves and servile people as had achieved free status. The highest status groups were the *Sohance*, the *Maamar haama* (also termed *meyga*), the *arma* and the *sirfay* (*shurafā'*, pl. of *sharīf* [*q.v.*]—descendants of the Prophet). Servile groups comprised people who were attached to, and performed certain services for, free men, in particular those of the chiefly class during the period of the Songhay empire. In some cases, they were probably remnants of earlier conquered peoples; in others they were artisans, musicians and griots (*gesere*) whose functional if not their physical origins go back to the Mali empire of the 13th-14th centuries (see Tal Tamari, *The development of caste systems in West Africa*, in *J. African Hist.*, xxxii [1991], 221-50). In theory, they were not slaves and hence could not escape their status by being emancipated, though in fact slaves may have been assimilated to them; Songhay rulers obliged them to observe endogamy (see Hunwick, *Studies in the* Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh, *II*). Songhay society recognised that slaves in the second generation (*horso*, in French "captifs de case") were on the road to freedom, and by the fourth generation they were assimilated into free society as *gabibi*.

Being strung out in a thin line around the river, the Songhay-Zarma were interpenetrated and hence culturally influenced by many groups: Arab, Tuareg, Fulbe, Manding and Hausa. Like these groups, they have been strongly affected by the religious culture of Islam (in the 11th century, al-Bakrī, *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, Paris 1857, 183, noted that none but a Muslim could rule at Kawkaw). In the early 17th century, Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī [*q.v.*] in his *Miʿrādj al-ṣuʿūd* (ms.) classified the Songhay as among the wholly Muslim peoples of *Bilād al-Sūdān*. However, indigenous religion, magic and possession cults have remained strong in Zarma country down to the present time (see Rouch, *Religion et magie*, and Stoller, *Fusion of the worlds*).

3. History. Songhay chroniclers recognise three dynasties: the Zā (or better Zuwa/Žuwa), the Sunni or Si/Shi, originally probably pronounced Soṅ-ñyi) and the Askiya dynasty. Of the first we really know no more than the list of rulers' names given in the local chronicles; royal tombstones discovered at Gao-Sané suggest a short-lived dynasty in relationship with the Almoravids of Spain and their Ṣanhādja cousins of the southern Sahara in the late 11th/early 12th century, but the relationship of these rulers to the Zās remains problematic. Some later inscriptions include the title *zuwā*. The Sunnis were probably originally vassals of the Malian rulers who conquered the Middle Niger in the later 13th century [see MALI]. The *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* glosses the title with *koi banandi*/*khalīfat al-sulṭān*, indicating a subordinate relationship. By the mid-15th century, Mali had withdrawn from the area, and with the advent to power of Sunni ʿAlī in 869/1464, a period of Songhay expansion began. During his twenty-eight years' rule he conquered a broad swathe of territory around the Niger from the borders of Kebbi (Kabi) in the south-east to beyond Jenne in the south-west. His brutality towards certain of the scholars of Timbuktu during that city's conquest in 873/1468 stirred up animosities that were exacerbated by al-Maghīlī's judgement that he was an unbeliever (*kāfir*), and are reflected in the local chronicles.

On Sunni ʿAlī's death in 898/1492, his son Abū Bakr (Bukar Dāʿū) succeeded him, but he was soon overthrown by one of ʿAlī's generals, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], of mixed Soninke-Songhay parentage, who took the dynastic title of *askiya* (*r.* 898-935/1493-1529). He expanded Songhay into a veritable empire, making lands as distant as Galam on the Senegal river in the west and the Aïr massif in the east his tributaries. Although his conquest of the Hausa states has been questioned, it is likely he tried to exercise hegemony over at least the important mercantile cities of Kano and Katsina, and by the same token to exclude Bornu, the other major power of the region. Some of these conquests were ephemeral, and his fifth successor, his son Askiya Dāwūd (*r.* 956-90/1549-82) again campaigned in many of the same areas. A brief but disastrous civil war in 996/1588 weakened Songhay, and it fell an easy prey to an expedition equipped with firearms sent by the Saʿdian sultan of Morocco Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] under the leadership of the *Bāshā* Djawdār in 1000/1591. Songhay resistance continued from the southlands (Dendi) for some twenty years, but to no avail, while the conquerors abandoned Gao in favour of Timbuktu, where they set up an administration (generally called the *bāshālik*) and installed puppet *askiyas*.

Songhay was the largest of the mediaeval empires of West Africa, but both its size and its administrative style imperilled it. Succession under the *askiyas* generally passed to brothers, but in no fixed order; the strongest carried the day, especially if he was present at Gao on his predecessor's death. Regional governorships and other high offices were mainly distributed among the *askiya*'s sons, and sometimes his brothers, and competition was fierce. The state had a sound agricultural base in the fertile lands of the river Niger and in the Inland Delta, and slaves ran plantations to feed the royal household and its soldiers. A well-developed river transport system ferried foodstuffs, soldiers and officials, and the Sorko who manned the boats were the *askiya*'s "property" (*mamlūk lahu*). Trade with North Africa provided luxury items (European swords, cloth, paper, etc.) while gold and slaves were high value exports. Rock salt from the central Saharan mine at Taghāza was (and remained until recently) a lucrative item of trade, cut into ever smaller pieces and serving as a currency for smaller items, while gold dust was used for larger transactions. The *askiya* period also marked a high point in the fortunes of Islam, and especially of Timbuktu [*q.v.*] as a centre of Islamic scholarship. Askiya Muḥammad made the pilgrimage in 902/1497 and received a diploma of authority as a lawful *amīr* from the fainéant ʿAbbāsid caliph of Cairo. He established cordial relations with the men of religion, making them gifts and granting them privilege. During his reign and those of most of his successors, the moral authority of the scholars and holy men of Songhay served to mitigate the despotism of the rulers.

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SONḲOR, Sunḳur (t.), one of the many words in Turkish denoting birds of prey. In the modern Turkic languages, and probably always, it means the gerfalcon, *falco gyrfalco* (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 838a). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī says that it was a raptor smaller than the *toghrïl* (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 381).

The term became frequently used as a personal name in mediaeval Islamic times, both alone and in such combinations as Aḳ/Ḳara Sonḳor "White/Black Gerfalcon", cf. J. Sauvaget, *Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks*, in *JA*, ccxxxviii (1950), 37 no. 22, 52 no. 163.

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SORGUČ [see tulband].

SOUTH AFRICA, Islam in.

1. The community.

Although there is evidence that small groups of Arab or African Muslims reached its northernmost regions, Islam was established in the country during European colonial occupation. The first group of Muslims were brought to the Cape during Dutch rule, while the second group arrived during the British occupation of Natal in the 19th century.

The first group, inappropriately called Malays in South Africa, came from the range of South-East Asian islands, Bengal, Malabar and Madagascar. Beginning in 1658, they came as political prisoners, slaves and convicts. There were prominent religious scholars among them, like Abidin Tadia Tjoessoep of Makassar (d. 1699), known as Shaykh Yūsuf, and Imām Abdullah Kadi Abdus Salaam from Tidore (d. 1807), known as Tuan Guru. The graves of these and other contemporary religious figures are dotted throughout the Western Cape. Shaykh Yūsuf's tomb in Faure has become an identity symbol for the Muslim community, while the other tombs also play a prominent part in its mystical orientations.

The second group were Indian indentured workers and traders from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Gudjarāt. Traders played a prominent role in the establishment of institutions, the first mosque being built in 1884. These traders then invited religious functionaries, *imāms* and *ʿulamāʾ*, to serve them. Among the early Muslims from India there were also two mystics whose tombs have become sites of veneration in Durban. The first, Shaykh Aḥmad, is said to have come to Natal in 1860 as an indentured worker. *Madjdhūb* Badsha Peer ("enraptured saintly saint"), as he is popularly known, was released from his term of indenture, and then hawked fruit and vegetables in the Durban mosque market until his death in 1886. The second, Shāh Ghulām Muḥammad Ṣūfī Ṣiddīḳī, alias Soofie Saheb, established a more enduring tradition. Sent to South Africa by his Chishtī master Ḥabīb ʿAlī Shāh, Soofie Saheb arrived in this country in 1895. According to tradition, he discovered the grave of Badsha Peer and established the celebration of his death anniversary (*ʿurs*). Soofie Saheb also encouraged the development of other folk practices as symbols for distinguishing poor Indian Muslims from Hindus.

In addition to this Asian composition of Muslims, there were also smaller groups from Africa, partly consisting of migrants from African countries like Malawi in the north, and partly from a steady flow of converts from indigenous peoples. On a smaller scale, there have also been conversions, especially in the Cape, of Europeans to Islam. These diverse origins and different histories notwithstanding, Muslims in South Africa increasingly regard themselves as a national community.

Islam in South Africa is marked by a range of institutions established in the 19th century and continuing unabated. Mosques, *madrasas*, modern Islamic schools, colleges, welfare and youth organisations, are all the more remarkable considering that Muslims constituted only 1-2% of the estimated total population of 43 million. The institutionalisation of Islam began in the Cape at the beginning of the 19th century, when Tuan Guru established the first mosque after an 1804 ordinance allowed the free and public practice of religions other than the Dutch Reformed Church. Scholars in the Cape continued to establish mosques and schools wherein they played a leading role. In Cape society, they were also intellectuals for slaves and Free Blacks. Their valuable role shone through educational activities, and other important community services like name-giving ceremonies, marriage and death rites. Cape religious leaders also adopted the Arabic script to write religious texts in the Afrikaans of the Cape.

From the second half of the 19th century, an increasing number of these scholars studied at Arab

institutions, especially in Mecca, Cairo and Medina. Prominent scholars like Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Adams, Shaykh Mahdī Hendricks, Shaykh Aḥmad Behardien, and Shaykh Shākir Gamieldien, played a crucial role in religious life in the Cape. Cape religious leaders are organised in scholarly fraternities. The Moslem Judicial Council (est. 1945) is the largest, but the Majlis al-Shura al-Islami and the Islamic Council of South Africa also enjoy prominence. These groups serve the community, and thereby claim its allegiance, through the provision of education, community counselling and religious services.

The institutionalisation of Islam in the northern regions of South Africa has, however, been markedly different. Generally, mosques, schools and welfare organisations employ *imāms* and *ʿulamāʾ* in their capacity as religious specialists. In response, religious scholars in the northern regions have defined themselves in terms of Islamic legal and theological criteria. Most of them have studied at institutions in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, reflecting Islamic trends there. The Jamiatul Ulama Transvaal (est. 1932) and Jamiatul Ulama Natal (est. 1952) together with the small but vociferous Mujlisul Ulama in the Eastern Cape, have spread Deobandi doctrines in *madrasas*, mosques, and by means of monthly broadsheets. This approach is more text-centred, following the revivalist tradition in India. The Sunni Jamiyat-e-Ulama (est. 1978), and a few splinter groups, champion the cause of Bareilwi thought in popular festivals like the *Mīlād* (birthday of the Prophet), *ʿUrs* (death anniversaries of Ṣūfī saints), and *ʿĀshūrā* (martyrdom of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet). Bareilwism in South Africa, as in India, is more inclined towards the charismatic presence of the Prophet Muḥammad and Islamic saints.

The central role of the *ʿulamāʾ* and other influential leaders has begun to be shared in the present century by modern groups. In the Cape, the Cape Muslim Youth Movement (est. 1957) and Claremont Muslim Youth Association (est. 1958) represented the aspirations of youth who demanded a more modern understanding of Islam. They also insisted that Muslim communities and religious leaders should take a more unequivocal stance against racist apartheid legislation.

The anti-apartheid movement among Muslims in the Cape rallied around Imām Abdullah Haron in Claremont, Cape Town, until his death in police detention on 27 September 1995. Even though Imām Haron and his supporters did not always get the support of the entire Muslim community, they placed the anti-apartheid agenda within Islamic circles. As part of the larger non-white population, Muslims suffered the injustices of discriminatory legislation and forced removals. However, as Coloureds and Indians, they escaped its worst features such as influx control regulations and homelands marginalisation. Muslims, as a result, were ambivalent between an open rejection of apartheid and accommodation within its excesses.

Anti-apartheid activists among Muslims in Natal, like e.g. Ismail and Fatima Meer, threw in their lot with the Natal Indian Congress. Nevertheless, the more conservative Arabic Study Circle (est. 1950) in Durban was also a clearly modernist exponent of Islam, arguing for reading the Ḳurʾān in English translation, women's emancipation, and religious evolution. The Islamic Propagation Centre (est. 1957), led by Polemicist Aḥmad Deedat, launched a missionary drive on the basis of the rational, historical truth of Islam, first against Christianity and then also against Hinduism. Although his methods in recent times have been rejected by many Muslims, the call for conversion to Islam has been a feature of non-clerical groups since then.

From 1970 onwards, socio-political organisations wrestled with the particular approach to apartheid and with its religious meaning in South Africa. The nation-wide Muslim Youth Movement (est. 1970), influenced by the Muslim Brothers in Egypt and the Djamāʿat-i Islāmī in Pakistan, searched for a modern approach to Islam, but reflected the ambivalence of Muslims between the liberation movements and the apartheid state. On the other hand, the group Qiblah established in 1980 by anti-apartheid activist Achmat Cassiem, took a more direct anti-apartheid approach. Similarly, the Call of Islam, founded in 1983 by Farid Esack, joined the United Democratic Front to reject the tri-cameral parliamentary proposals of the South African government. By 1985, all these three groups launched a formidable anti-apartheid campaign within the Muslim community.

Muslims entered the most recent phase of South Africa as a very articulate and organised group. In spite of their small numbers, the Islamic presence is felt in all sections of South African society. The application of Muslim Personal Law, greater media coverage of Islamic events, and the sheer presence of Muslims at all levels of government, are signs that Muslims enjoy greater prominence in society than ever before.

Muslims are divided in terms of their political allegiance. No single party enjoys their undivided support, including the Islamic parties that were formed to contest the first democratic elections in 1994. A lively debate, which can sometimes be acrimonious, rages about the new state. Many *ʿulamāʾ* and activists like Achmat Cassiem argue that the Muslim community should vigorously maintain its independence and authority in the service of a pure Islamic order. Dissident voices from the Call of Islam and the Muslim Youth Movement respond that an Islamic ethos can be created through and within the development of a new South African nation. For the vast majority of Muslims, however, these debates do not restrain their political expressions within trade unions, professional organisations and trade organisation.

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2. Afrikaans in Arabic script [see Suppl.].

SOUTH ARABIA, modern languages of. See al-Ḥarāsīs; mahrī; shiḥrī; suḳuṭra. 3. Language; ẓufār.

SOYŪRGHĀL, a term with the primitive meaning in Mongolian of "favour" or "reward granted by the ruler to someone, sometimes of a hereditary nature" (Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, i, 351 no. 228). *Soyūrghāl kardan* is used synonymously with *soyurghamish kardan* "to grant a favour". The plural (*soyūrghālāt*) is often associated with such words as *ʿawāṭif, tashrīfāt* and *inʿāmāt*, "favours", "presents" (see e.g. Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, ed. A.A. Alizade, Moscow, i, 1964, i/2, 1971, ii, 1976, index, and Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937-56, i, 107). In the course of time, *soyūrghāl* came to be used to designate various grants formerly known as

iḳṭāʿ. There is, however, a certain lack of precision in the use of the term (see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 97-111, for a discussion of it). The *soyūrg̲h̲āl* was invariably a personal grant.

It is not always easy to decide whether *soyūrg̲h̲āl* is being used in the sources for the Īlk̲h̲ānate and Tīmūrid periods in the sense of "favour" or more specifically as a provincial grant (see e.g. Öld̲j̲eytü's grant of Asadābād near Hamadān to Āy Dog̲h̲dī, *wilāyat-i Asadābād-rā bi Āy Dog̲h̲dī soyūrg̲h̲āl farmūd*, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *D̲h̲ayl-i d̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīk̲h̲-i ras̲h̲īdī*, ed. K̲h̲ān Bābā Bayānī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 95; and Abaḳa's grant of Fīrūzān and D̲j̲urbād̲h̲agān to Yūsuf S̲h̲āh, Atabeg of Luristān, *Fīrūzān wa D̲j̲urbād̲h̲agān-rā soyūrg̲h̲āl-i ū farmūd*, Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran AHS 1336/1957, 45, and cf. *ibid.*, 206, 209. See also B. Spuler, *Mongolen*[4] Berlin 1985, 275).

In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, *soyūrg̲h̲āl* is sometimes found in conjunction with the term *hūdabarī* (see Doerfer, iv, nos. 396, 400-1). ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī states that *soyūrg̲h̲āls* were renewed annually by Tīmūr's *dīwān* unless they were *hūdabarī* (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad S̲h̲afīʿ, Lahore 1949, ii, 1037. See also Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-d̲j̲annāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, Tehran AHS 1339/1960, ii, 436, and Hosein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Farmānhā-yi Turkumānān-i Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu wa Ak Koyunlu*, Ḳum AHS 1352/1973-4, 71, n. 1). The phrase *bi ḳarār-i hūdabarī* in a *farmān* dated 893/1488 in idem, 103, clearly has the sense "on a permanent basis".

Under the Tīmūrids, the *soyūrg̲h̲āl* in the sense of a provincial grant was not clearly distinguished from the *tuyūl* [*q.v.*]. Both were used to signify the grant of a district or provincial government or its taxes, with or without immunities. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ records the grant of Ḥiṣār S̲h̲ādamān to Mīrzā Muḥammad D̲j̲ahāngīr in 812/1409-10 as a *soyūrg̲h̲āl* (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, i, 148) and the grant of Sīstān to Amīr K̲h̲alīl as a *soyūrg̲h̲āl* in 859/1455 (*ibid.*, ii, 1084). In either case, the phrase *bi-rasm-i soyūrg̲h̲āl* is used. This could simply mean "by way of a favour/gift", but it is more likely that the term *soyūrg̲h̲āl* is used here in the specific sense of a grant of a district rather than in the general sense of "favour" (cf. also Niẓām al-Dīn S̲h̲āmī's statement that Tīmūr granted the district (*mawḍiʿ*) of Gāwkūris̲h̲ to Mubas̲h̲s̲h̲ir Bahādur as a permanent *soyūrg̲h̲āl* (*soyūrg̲h̲āl-i abadī*) as a reward for his courage in battle in 786/1384-5 against Amīr Walī, the ruler of Māzandarān, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 95).

A document issued by D̲j̲ahāns̲h̲āh Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, dated 857/1453, informs the *kalāntars*, *kadk̲h̲udās* and subjects of D̲j̲ūlāh (Julfa) that their taxes (*māl wa mutawad̲j̲d̲j̲ihāt*) had been granted to S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Darā'ī as a *soyūrg̲h̲āl* from the beginning of the Year of the Hen and instructs them to consider him as their governor (*ḥākim wa dārūg̲h̲a*). "He was to present himself (*ḥāḍir gardānad*) with equipment (*yarāḳ*) and followers (*nawkar*) at the royal camp on the issue of a royal order" (Busse, 149-50. The document is also published by Modarressi Tabataba'i in *Farmānhā-yi Turkamānān*, 25-6, with the reading *ḥāḍir gardānand*, which would mean that the *kalāntars*, etc. were to present themselves at the royal camp). A document issued by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās, dated 1019/1611, would seem to confirm Busse's reading. It grants the *ulkā* of Dizmār and its dependencies to Burhān al-Dīn, the *k̲h̲alīfa* of the Ṣūfīs of Dizmār on the same terms as it had been held by his father Ilyās K̲h̲alīfa. The *kadk̲h̲udās* and peasants were to pay their taxes (*māl wa wud̲j̲ūhāt*) to him and to refer to him any disputes which might occur between them except cases of murder (*siwā-yi k̲h̲ūn*), and the Ṣūfīs of Dizmār and Uzumdil were to present themselves at his call when he undertook royal service, as had been the custom under his father. The *tuyūldārān* and officials (*ʿummāl*) of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, especially in the *ulkā* of Dizmār, were not to interfere in his *soyūrg̲h̲āl* and *tuyūl* in any way, or to collect any dues from which, according to the decree of the late shah, the *soyūrg̲h̲āls* of the Ṣūfīs were exempt (Sarhang Bāyburdī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Arasbārān*, Tehran AHS 1341/1962, 160). Another document dated 1113/1702 issued by S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (first described by N. Khanikoff, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii/1, St. Petersburg 1857, 70-4) is quoted by Minorsky. It confirms the transfer, as requested by Bāyandur Sulṭān, of a *soyūrg̲h̲āl* consisting of a sum on the revenue of the Dizmār district to his son Muḥammad Ḳāsim Beg on the same conditions as it had been held by Maḥmūd Sulṭān, Bāyandur Sulṭān's father, namely that he should provide seven men at the shah's call (*A Soyūrg̲h̲āl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)*, in *BSOS*, ix/4 [1938], 959). Such grants were normally called *tuyūls* under the Ṣafawids (cf. the *tuyūl* granted to Lāčīn Sulṭān in 1110/1698, see Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 109-10).

Under the White Sheep Turkomans, the grant of districts with immunities was still known as a *soyūrg̲h̲āl*. An example of this is Ḳāsim Beg's grant to Isfandiyār Beg, dated 903/1497-8, for the *ulkā* of Egil, which was his home-ground (*ūd̲j̲āḳ*), and the villages of Bāg̲h̲īn and Hīnī as a "permanent *soyūrg̲h̲āl* and permanent gift" with immunity from the entry of government officials (*dar basta*) and from a great variety of dues (Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Farmānhā-yi turkamānān*, 113-16; see also Minorsky, *op. cit.*). Increasingly under the White Sheep and the Ṣafawids, the term *soyūrg̲h̲āl* appears to have been applied to pensions, either in the form of a money grant on the taxes or a grant of immunity from the interference of government officials in land belonging to the beneficiary, who was frequently a member of the religious classes. It is not clear how they differed from the grants of immunity known as *muʿāfī* and *musallamī* unless it was that the latter were temporary (but renewable) grants while *soyūrg̲h̲āls* were life grants or hereditary grants. They were essentially grants of "grace", retaining the original sense of "favour" or "gift" and phrases such as *soyūrg̲h̲āl-i abadī wa iḥsān-i sarmadī* occur in the documents (cf. the documents, dated 1067/1656 and 1115/1704, quoted by Lambton, *Two Ṣafavid soyūrghāls*, in *BSOAS* xiv/1 [1952], 44-54). In the *farmān* issued by Yaʿḳūb Beg in 893/1488 granting immunity from land taxes to the *wakfī* lands of the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* in S̲h̲īrāz, the founder G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Manṣūr is given as a *soyūrg̲h̲āl* 3 *tūmāns*, made up of 9,000 dīnārs in cash and 2 *tūmāns* and 1,000 dīnārs in kind (Modarressi Tabataba'i, *op. cit.*, 104).

A *soyūrg̲h̲āl* dated 875/1471 issued by Uzun Ḥasan in favour of the sayyid ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār grants him permanent immunity from land and other taxes (*māl wa mutawad̲j̲d̲j̲ihāt-i dīwānī*) and dues in one of the districts of Rūdiḳāt belonging to Tabrīz (Busse, 151-3, also in Modarressi Tabataba'i, 74-6). It is described as an *inʿām-i abadī wa soyūrg̲h̲āl-i sarmadī* (152), the implication of "favour" or "gift" being thus retained. A *farmān* of Ṭahmāsp I, dated 966/1558-9 shows, if it is authentic, that *soyūrg̲h̲āls* were, or might be, hereditary. The grant is to the descendants of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Zāhid-i Gīlānī. It gives them the taxes of D̲j̲ūra, Mād̲j̲ūra and Ūranḳād in Mug̲h̲ānāt as a permanent

soyūrghāl (*soyūrghāl-i abadī wa iḥsān-i sarmadī*), thus implying, as in the case of the grant to ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, that the grant was a favour, and also that these districts had been held in hereditary succession by the Zāhīdī Sayyids. It also mentions that the grant had been reaffirmed in a document (*wathīka*) dated 888/1483-4 (Shaykh Ḥusayn Zāhīdī, *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawī*, Iranshahr Publications No. 6, Berlin 1924-5, 103-5).

The *Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi amīnī* of Faḍl Allāh Rūzbihān Khundjī Iṣfahānī throws some light on Aḳ Ḳoyunlu practice in ʿIrāḳ and Fārs in the years 894-6/1489-90. From this account it would seem that *soyūrghāls* were numerous and held mainly by the *ʿulamāʾ* and learned men. Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā, Yaʿḳūb Beg's *ṣadr*, as part of the reforms he had planned in order, at least nominally, to reimpose *sharʿī* government, determined to suspend *ḥashwī* and *khardjī soyūrghāls* pending a reassessment of the value of the grants and measurement of the land so held. *Khardjī soyūrghāls* were presumably granted for sustenance, and may have been simply money grants, while *ḥashwī soyūrghāls* may conceivably have been immunities on land which the beneficiaries owned or which had been granted to them. The *soyūrghāls* were to the tune of 1,000 *tūmāns* or more and held by *ʿulamāʾ*; some of whom were very poor. According to Faḍl Allāh, it was common for the beneficiaries to borrow money on the security of the *soyūrghāls* before they fell due. He alleges that the officials sent to Fārs to carry out Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā's plan committed many abuses and much tyranny, such that those whose *soyūrghāls* were suspended suffered great hardship. Suddenly events were interrupted by the death of Yaʿḳūb Beg from pestilence in 896/1490, and no more seems to have been heard of Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā's plans. He fell from power and was hanged (*Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi amīnī. Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, ed. J.E. Woods with the abridged tr. by Vladimir Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490, Turkmenica* 12, London 1992, and see also Minorsky, *The Aq-Qoyunlu and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii/3 [1995], 451-8). The precise details of these events are obscure, but there are indications that one of the reasons for Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā's attempted reform was the need to provide money for the army. If this is so, it would suggest that revenue from the land, which according to *sharʿī* law could be spent on the army, was being diverted into private hands.

Gradually, the terms *soyūrghāl* and *tuyūl* were differentiated. Generally speaking, the *tuyūl* was a temporary grant, probably on state lands, while the *soyūrghāl* was a life or hereditary grant, probably mainly on crown land but also on *waḳf* land and privately-owned land. But the distinction between them was by no means hard and fast in practice. Under the Ṣafawids and occasionally under the Ḳādjārs, the terms appear to have been used synonymously. A document issued by Ṭahmāsp I, dated 943/1528, granting immunities to Ḳarača Muḥammad, the royal *rikābdār*, states that he held the village of Raz in Mishkīn as his *tuyūl* and *soyūrghāl* (G. Hermann, *Ein Erlass Tahmāsps I. von 934/1528*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxix 1 [1989], 105). Hermann suggests that this may mean that the beneficiary received tax immunities as a *tuyūl* in return for services performed, and that the *soyūrghāl* meant that he would enjoy these privileges, not simply while he was performing the services demanded of him, but during his lifetime (108). This may be so, but in the case of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's grant to Yūsuf Khān Gurdjī of his estates (*raḳabāt*) as a permanent *tuyūl* (*tuyūl-i abadī*) and permanent *soyūrghāl* (*soyūrghāl-i sarmadī*) in 1244/1828-9, the terms appear to be used synonymously (Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Tehran AHS 1339/1960-1, ix, 704).

For the Ṣafawid period many *soyūrghāl* documents are available (see B.G. Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Urkunden*, Freiburg im Br. 1980). They are mostly grants of immunities to members of the religious classes. A typical example is the grant by Ismāʿīl I, dated 913/1507-8, confirming the *soyūrghāls* and immunities (*musallamāt wa mutaʿarrifāt*) on the properties belonging to Sayyid Amīr Naʿīmā and his brothers and nephews according to decrees issued by former sultans (*Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, year 11, no. 6, [Shahrīvar 1347/September 1968], 324-5).

Several documents granting *soyūrghāls* on properties connected with the Ṣafawid shrine at Ardabīl in favour of officials and senators of the shrine have been published by B.G. Martin (*Seven Safawid documents*, in *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, ed. S.M. Stern, Oxford 1965). The first of these is a grant of 6,000 dīnārs by Ismāʿīl I on Kazadj in Khalkhāl as a permanent *soyūrghāl* to Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabīlī, together with the villages of Awmāniḳ and Sulṭānābād, in the tax districts of Ardabīl, with immunities from taxes (*ibid.*, 180). Kazadj was one of the *raḳabāt* and exempted properties (*musallamiyyāt*) of the Ṣafawid shrine and was assessed at 45,000 Tabrīzī dīnārs. The *soyūrghāl* was thus a small proportion of the total revenue. Another document, dated 992/1584, issued by Muḥammad Khudābanda, states that the *bahradja* (i.e. the landlord's share of the crop) of Kazadj was the *soyūrghāl* of Mīr Sharīf, the chief servitor (*khādimbāshī*) of the shrine (*ibid.*, 193). A third document, dated 1000/1592, issued by Shāh ʿAbbās, states that Kazadj was the *soyūrghāl* of the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabīlī and that money had been wrongfully taken from the peasants of Kazadj by a certain Shāh Ḳulī Āḳā (*ibid.*, 196-7). A fourth document, dated 1016/1607, also issued by Shāh ʿAbbās, states that the *soyūrghāl* of the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn amounted to 8 *tūmāns*, 8,390 dīnārs (*ibid.*, 201-2). This was a considerable increase on the sum originally granted to Kamāl al-Dīn. It appears from the document that the *soyūrghāls* of Ādharbāydjān had been suspended from the beginning of the year 1009/1600, but the descendants of Kamāl al-Dīn had requested the confirmation of their *soyūrghāl* and so it was restored. The reasons for the suspension of *soyūrghāls* in Ādharbāydjān is not mentioned, and the effectiveness of the measure is not known. Another instance of the suspension of *soyūrghāls* by Shāh ʿAbbās is recorded, when he ordered Allāhwirdī Khān, the *beglerbegī* of Fārs, to investigate the titles of those who held *soyūrghāls* and to resume those whose holders did not have a valid title (*Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, iii, year 9, 349, quoted by Bāstānī Pārīzī, *Siyāsat wa iḳtiṣād-i ṣafawī*, Tehran AHS 1362/1983-4, 72).

Originally, under the Ṣafawids the grant of a *soyūrghāl* took the form of a *nishān*. Shāh ʿAbbās changed the procedure to a *parwānača* with the introductory formula *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* (K. Röhrborn, *Regierung und Verwaltung unter den Safawiden*, H der O, Abt. 1, 1 Bd. 6 Abschn, 5, Teil 1, Leiden-Köln 1979, 29. See also idem, *Staatskanzlei und Absolutismus im safawidischen Persien*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvii [1977], 311-43). The documents were sealed on the back with the royal (*humāyūn*) seal and the *sharaf-i nafādh* seal, while the *khatm* seal was placed in the margin at the end of the document (Ḳāʾim-Maḳāmī, *Muḳaddama-ī bar shinākht-i asnād-i tārīkhī*, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 82), and the words *farmān-i humāyūn shud*, were inscribed in the form of a *ṭughrā* on the

document (*ibid.*, 194). *Soyūrghāls* were drafted by the *munshī al-mamālik* (*ibid.*, 254). Copies were kept in the royal registers (*dafātir-i khulūd*) in the royal secretariat (*ibid.*, 290; see also Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 71, 77).

A commission was paid by the beneficiary on receipt of a *soyūrghāl* to the *wakīl* of the supreme *dīwān* (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 85) and to the *wazīr* of the supreme *dīwān* (*ibid.*, 86). The *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* received one-tenth (*ʿushr*) and one-twentieth of all *soyūrghāls*, i.e. 15% (*ibid.*, 86). It is not stated whether these commissions were once-only payments made at the time of issue or annual payments. The *nāẓir* of the royal secretariat and the keeper of the royal seal also received commissions (*ibid.*, 89) as did various other officials, presumably at the time of the issue of the grant.

It is not unlikely that in the disorders that occurred on the fall of the Ṣafawids, and from time to time thereafter in the 18th century, that many of those who held *soyūrghāls* converted them by usurpation into private property. However, under Nādir Shāh there seems to have been a tendency towards a resumption of *soyūrghāls* and *tuyūls* (Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 129). In the 19th century, the term *soyūrghāl* ceases to be widely used. Allowances and pensions continued to be granted, but they were no longer called *soyūrghāls*; where they involved grants of territory or immunities on landed property they were called *tuyūls*.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

SPARTEL, a cape forming the extreme north-western point of Morocco and of Africa, 7 or 8 miles west of Tangier, the ancient Ampelusia Promontorium. Al-Idrīsī does not mention it; al-Bakrī knows of it as a hill jutting out into the sea, 30 miles from Arzila [see AṢĪLA] and 4 from Tangier, which has springs of fresh water and a mosque used as a *ribāṭ*. Opposite it on the coast of al-Andalus is the mountain of al-Agharr (= Ṭarf al-Agharr > Trafalgar). The name Ishbartāl (probably connected with the Latin *spartaria* = places overgrown with esparto) given it by al-Bakrī is not known to the natives.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentionale*, Algiers 1911, 113. (G.S. COLIN)

ŚRI WIDJĀYA [see ZĀBADJ].

SRĪNAGAR, a historic city of Kashmīr and one of considerable antiquity (lat. 34° 08' N., long. 74° 50' E., altitude 1,600 m/5,250 ft), now the summer capital of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union (population 1981: 586,038, the great majority of them Muslims).

1. History.

According to the *Rādjatranginī*, the city was founded by Aśoka in 250 B.C. and became known as Srīnagarī, the city of Srī or Lakhshmī (the goddess of fortune). It stood at the site of the present village of Pandrethan, some 3 miles above Srīnagar on the road to Djammū. According to Kalhaṇa, the city contained lofty buildings reaching to the clouds. Srīnagar was the capital till about the middle of the 6th century A.D., when a new capital Pravarapura was founded, but Srīnagar continued to enjoy its existing position. Hiuen Tsang (Xuan-Zang), who visited Kashmīr in 631, mentions two capitals. Hindu rulers frequently transferred the capital from place to place (*Rādjatranginī*, Stein, 444-5). During Muslim rule, the city of Srīnagar was termed Kashmīr (Bernier, 397); Mīrzā Ḥaydar, Abu 'l-Faḍl and Djahāngīr, however, called it by its original name. The Muslim rulers founded a number of quarters in Srīnagar, known as *Rinčanpura*, *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn pura*, *Ḳuṭb al-Dīn pura*, etc. In 1819 Srīnagar was conquered by Randjīt Singh, and the Sikh rulers restored its original name.

The Mughal rulers took a keen interest in the construction of buildings and the development of gardens in Srīnagar. Akbar reached Srīnagar on 21 Radjab 997/5 June 1589 for the first time. He ordered the construction of a bastioned stone wall enclosing the hill. During the time of Djahāngīr, there were about 800 gardens in the neighbourhood of the Dal lake (Stuart, *The gardens of the Great Moghul*, 153-79). Abu 'l-Faḍl remarks: "Srīnagar is a great city and has long been peopled ... Most of the houses are of wood, and some rise up to five storeys. On the roofs they plant tulips and other flowers, and in the spring these rival flower gardens" (*Akbar-nāma*, tr. iii, 827-8). Bernier refers to the valley as the "Paradise of the Indies". After the Mughals the Afghāns and the Sikhs ruled over Srīnagar. Moorcroft and Trebeck found Srīnagar "a confused mass of ill-favoured buildings" (*Travels*, ii, 127-8), where insanitary conditions and over-population often led to epidemics. Before the accession of the Māharādja Ranbīr Singh (*r.* 1856-85), Srīnagar had been destroyed by fire sixteen times. Urban improvement took place after 1886 when the first Municipality Act was passed.

In the Muslim religious life of the region, the following four developments are of special significance: (i) Rinčana, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr, built the first mosque in Srīnagar, known as *Bud.Masdjid*, on the site of a Buddhist temple. (ii) Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī, popularly known as *Shāh-i Hamadān* (d. 786/1385), established his mystical centre in Srīnagar, which became a focal point in the spread of Islam in Kashmīr. (iii) Sultan Sikandar b. Hindāl, called But-shikan (792-813/1390-1410 [*q.v.*]), built the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, and his son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn built the *khānakāh* of Sayyid Muḥammad Madanī. (iv) In 1110/1699, the *mū-yi mubārak* (sacred hair of the Prophet) was brought to Srīnagar from Bidjāpur by a Kashmīrī merchant Khʷādja Nūr al-Dīn Ishbarī, and was placed in a mosque, which became known as Ḥaḍratbāl mosque; thereafter the Ḥaḍratbāl assumed a central place in Muslim religious life in Srīnagar.

The geographical location of Srīnagar added to its importance as a centre of trade and industry. According to Stein, Srīnagar enjoyed facilities of communications which no other place in the region could offer. The river Djhelam has been the main artery of communication. Equidistant from Djammū, Rawalpindi, Leh and Gilgit, Srīnagar commanded the trade routes between India and Central Asia. Under Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, many new arts and crafts, like stone-polishing, stone-cutting, glass blowing, gold and silver leaf-making, papier-mâché, the weaving of shawls, carpet weaving and calico printing, were introduced into Srīnagar. The shawl industry became particularly famous; according to M. Dauvergne, it dates back to the time of Bābur. The first shawl which reached Europe was brought from Egypt by Napoleon. The enamel and metal-working of Srīnagar were famed. Beautiful ceilings of pine-wood, known as *khatam-band*, decorate houses and shrines. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's patronage attracted to Srīnagar master-craftsmen from Samarḳand, Bukhārā and Persia.

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2. Monuments and gardens.

i. General considerations: The city of Srīnagar (also called, in the Muslim sources, Kashmīr, like the valley) is built along both banks of the river Djhelam (in Kashmīr called Behat; Sanskrit Vitastā) and covers also the area between the river and the Dal lake, tranversed by a net of canals. Integrated into this urban landscape of an unstable topography are two hills, the fortified Harī Parbat and the Takht-i Sulaymān (for a map see best Stein; also Bates, 353). The residential areas on both sides of the Djhelam are linked by wooden bridges (*kadal*), introduced in the Muslim period; one of the earliest being the Zayna Kadal, ascribed to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (823-75/1420-70) (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, fol. 91a; Stein, 153). The residential architecture, too, is essentially in wood and characterised by its multi-storeyed constructions, reflecting an ancient local tradition, alluded to in the *Rādjataranginī* (Kalhaṇa, iii, v. 359), and continued by Muslim builders. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's wooden palace had, according to Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt (429, cf. 425), as many as twelve storeys. In the Mughal period, however, the royal buildings and those of the well-to-do were constructed in stone (ʿInāyat Khān, tr., 125), a local grey lime stone which takes polish like marble. Stone was continuously used for the religious architecture of Kashmīr, but Muslim religious buildings were more often constructed in the vernacular wooden style (Bernier, 398). Characteristically, they are composed of a cubical body surmounted with a stepped pyramidal roof, topped by a spire sitting on an open pillared element; the form is used for both tomb-shrines (*ziyārat*) and mosques (figs. 1,2). Roofs are typically covered with birch and turf, and planted with tulips or irises, producing stunning effects during the time of their bloom (Djahāngīr, tr. ii, 144-5; ʿInāyat Khaān, tr., 125). The wooden constructions were highly susceptible to fires, bringing about frequent reconstructions, which causes problems in dating [see also HIND. vii. Architecture. xi. Kashmīr; MASDJID. II. B. Kashmīr].

ii. Sultanate. The earliest surviving buildings of the Muslim period are largely built of stone and brick. The oldest are found in the quarters around the Harī Parbat. The complex of Mad(g)īn (also Madanī) Ṣāḥib, situated in Zadibal, consists of a gate, tomb and mosque. The mosque (dated 848/1444-5) follows the basic vernacular wooden type (delineated above but for its main body, which is built in masonry (fig. 1), integrating elements of the pre-Muslim style of temple architecture, such as a portal with trefoil arches and fluted columns (front view in Nichols, pl. 58). The gate is a 17th century Mughal brick addition, robbed since 1918 of most of its excellent tile decoration (dated by some authors wrongly to the 15th century), brought here—according to the stylistic evidence—from Lāhawr, the Mughal centre of tile production; part of the tiles are kept today in the Pratāp Singh Museum of Srīnagar (Hirananda Shastri, *Annual progress report of the Archaeological Department Jammu and Kashmir State for the Vikrama year 1974 (A.D. 1917-18)*, 3; cf. Nichols, 78-81). The (heavily restored) tomb of the mother of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, designated also as the tomb of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn or "Bādshāh," below Zayna Kadal, follows an entirely different style, imported from Khurāsān or Central Asia (fig. 4). The octagonal structure with angular projections at four of its corners topped by turret-like domed kiosks surrounding the central dome, (the interior dome being supported by a transition zone of 16 arches), shows a brick exterior decorated with small blue glazed moulded joint plugs (for this type of wall-facing in Central Asia, see L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton 1988, cat. no. 18), testifying to the Tīmūrid inclinations of its patron (for which see Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn*, ii, tr. 383). The conspicuous *Khānakāh* of Shāh Hamadān (died in 786/1384 according to the inscription over the doorway), on the right bank of the Djhelam, represents, as it stands today, an elaboration of the basic vernacular wooden building type (often illustrated, e.g. Kak, pl. 6). The Djāmiʿ Masdjid, founded in 795/1392-3 (according to Djahāngīr, tr. ii, 142) on the site of the old city temple, and rebuilt several times, after being destroyed by fires, the latest in 1085/1674, integrates vernacular units as prayer hall and gates into a large courtyard mosque on a four-*īwān* plan, formed of wings with tall wooden pillars. (fig. 2; good plans and elevations of both monuments in Nichols). The southern gate of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid has an epigraphical edict of Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) (S. Moosvi, *Administering Kashmir. An imperial edict of Shāhjahān*, in *Aligarh Jnal. of Oriental Studies*, iii/2 [1986], 141-52).

iii. Mughal period. Mughal building activities began soon after the final conquest in 1586, when Akbar built fortifications for a new city, called Naganagari (Djonarādja, 426-7) or Nagar Nagar (inscription dated 1006/1597-8 on Kathī Darwāza; tr., Kak, 89) around the Harī Parbat. The citadel on the hill (*dawlat khāna-yi Kashmīr*) was completed by Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27) (*Tūzuk*, tr., ii, 139, 150-1) but altered in the later periods (fig. 3). Today it consists of two oblong enclosures, set at an angle to each other, of which the upper one seems to be the site of a garden laid out by Akbar, refashioned in 1620 and renamed Bāgh-i Nūr Afzā by Djahāngīr (ii, 151, 161-2); a building with traces of painted wall decoration was still standing there in 1986. Also of Djahāngīr's period is the Patthar Masdjid or Naw Masdjid in the city (fig. 5; plan in Koch, fig. 91) (according to its inscription, rescued in 1207/1792-3 from being used as a granary), which is an early example of a distinct Mughal imperial mosque type, with an oblong, arched prayer hall formed of bays arranged on a grid pattern and covered by vaults, which express the elaborate netted patterns of the period in the local stone. The mosque of Akhnūn Mullā Shāh (1061/1651, ʿInāyat Khān, 458; plan in Soundara Rajan, fig. 5) on the southern side of the

Harī Parbat, between the outer wall and the citadel, also introduces Mughal mainstream traditions (fig. 6). Its compact five-bay prayer hall is integrated into a courtyard building composed of three more wings with only partly interconnecting rooms; the plan has a close precursor in the mosque of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī at Dihlī (983/1575-6; *ASI, Memoir*, ix [1921], pl. 2). The Harī Parbat mosque formed part of a larger complex to which belonged also the *ḥammām* situated to its north east (dated 1059/1649; tr. of inscription, Kak, 91), created—like the terraced Parī Maḥall outside of the city (fig. 7) by the famous Ḳādirī *Shaykh* Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī (Akhnūn Mullā Shāh) and his imperial disciples, Dārā Shukōh and Djahānārā [*q.vv.*], the children of Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*] (Koch, 96, 117; Asher, 215-6).

The glory of Srīnagar is its Mughal gardens, about which we are best informed by the historians of Shāh Djahān, who name about seventeen in the vicinity of the city, on the banks of the river, and in and around the Dal lake (Lāhawrī, i/2, 24 ff.; ʿInāyat Khān, 125-7). The most famous are the Shālīmār (fig. 8), Nishāṭ and Čashma-i Shāhī [see BŪSTAN. II. Mughal Gardens; MUGHALS. 7. Architecture]. Architecturally planned gardens of note usually fell back after the death of their owners to the emperor, who either kept them for himself or bestowed them on members of his family or the nobility. The same garden would thus pass through a chain of owners, which led to repeated remodelling and renaming. The gardens of Srīnagar fell into disuse during the Afghān (1752-1819) and Sikh periods (1819-46); restorations were carried out under the Dōgrās, in particular by Māharādja Ranbīr Singh (1856-85) assisted by his governor Wazīr Pannū (R.C. Kak, *Annual report on the Archaeological Department Jammu and Kashmir State for 1976 [A.D. 1920]*, 1), with much arbitrary rebuilding and alterations; their original outline, architecture, and planting still await systematic reconstruction.

Bibliography (including references given above): To date there is no systematic documentation of the Islamic architecture of Srīnagar; the information about its buildings and gardens has to be pieced together from original sources; from secondary literature, much of which is, however, outdated; and from on-the-spot investigation.

1. Original sources (in chronological order). Kalhaṇa, *Rādjataraṅgiṇī. A chronicle of the kings of Kaśmīr*, 2 vols., tr., introd. commentary and appendices by M.A. Stein, Bombay 1900, repr. Lahore 1991; Jonarādja, *Rādjataraṅgiṇī*, tr. J.C. Dutt, 1898, repr. Delhi 1986; Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. Denison Ross, ed. N. Elias, London 1895, repr. London 1972; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. H.S. Jarrett, 2nd rev. ed. J. Sarkar, 1949, repr. New Delhi 1978; Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, tr. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, 2 vols. London 1909-14, repr. New Delhi 1968; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, 2 vols. Pers. text, ed. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Calcutta 1866-72; Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Pādshāh nāma*, Pers. ms. BL Or. 1676; ʿInāyat Khān, *Mulakhkhaṣ*, tr. A.R. Fuller, ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *The Shah Jahan nama of ʿInayat Khan*, New Delhi 1990; François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656-68*, tr. A. Constable, London 1891, repr. New Delhi 1972. Epigraphy. For this, see I. Loewenthal, *Some Persian inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmīr*, in *JASB*, xxxiii (1864), 278-90; J.J. Modi, *The Mogul emperors at Kashmir. Jehangir's inscriptions at Virnāg. An inscription on the Dāl lake*, in *JASBB*, xxv, nos. 71-3 (1922), 26-75 (contains also epigraphical material related to Srīnagar).

2. Studies. For the topography of pre-Muslim Srīnagar, see M.A. Stein, *Memoir on maps illustrating the ancient geography of Kashmir*, in *JASB*, lxviii (1899) (Extra no. 2), section iii, 1-232, which also contains information about the Muslim periods; for indigenous maps see S. Gole, *Indian maps and plans from earliest times to the advent of European surveys*, New Delhi 1989, 116 ff. The most useful general treatment is still R.C. Kak, *Ancient monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, repr. New Delhi 1971; see also C.E. Bates, *A gazetteer of Kashmir*, 1893?, repr. New Delhi 1980; M. Kaul, *Kashmir. Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim architecture*, New Delhi 1971. For the vernacular style, see P. Brown, *Indian architecture (Islamic period)*, London 1942, 1956, repr. Bombay 1981, 80-3; J.R. Nichols, *Muhammadan architecture*, in *Marg*, viii/2 (1955), 76-92; M. Mangat Rai, *Wooden mosques of Kashmir*, in *Oriental art*, N.S. xiii/4 (1967), 263-70; M.N. Ganju, *Srinagar au bord de l'eau (Cachemire). Architectures en Inde*, Milan-Paris 1985, 30-5. For individual buildings discussed above, see Soundara Rajan, *Islam builds in India*, Delhi 1983; Ebba Koch, *Mughal architecture*, Munich 1991; Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge-New York-Oakleigh 1992. The literature on the gardens is cited under BUSTĀN. II. Mughal Gardens; MUGHALS. 7. Architecture; and, since then, A. Petruccioli, *I giardini moghul del Kashmir*, in *Il giardino islamico*, Milan 1994. (EBBA KOCH)

ŚRĪRANGAPAṬṬANAM, Europeanised form SERINGAPATAM, a town of South India (lat. 12° 25' N., long. 76° 42' E.). In British India, it came within the princely state of Mysore [see MAHISUR, MAYSŪR], and is now in the Mysore District, the southernmost one of the Karnataka State of the Indian Union. It is situated on an island in the Cauvery River to the north-north-east of Mysore city.

Named after its shrine to the Hindu god Śri Raṅga (Viṣṇu), it became in the 17th century the capital of the Hindu Rādjās of Mysore and then, after 1761, of the Muslim sultans Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*]. The latter's opposition to the British brought about an attack on Seringapatam by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, and then in May 1799 Tīpū's capital was finally stormed by combined British forces under General Harris, and Tīpū killed.

The town's significant Islamic monuments include Tīpū's Masdjid-i ʿĀlī and the Daryā Dawlat garden and palace; for details, see MAHISUR. 2. Monuments. In 1971 the town had a population of 14,153.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxii, 178-80; Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, Calcutta 1971; and see the bibl. to MAHISUR.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SU (T.), the common Turkish word for "water", originally *suv* (which explains the form *suy-* before vowel-initial possessive suffixes, e.g. *suyu* "his water"), the form still found in South-West Turkmen, in Ottoman orthography *ṣū*. The word is found frequently in the Orkhon inscriptions, often in the phrase *yer suv* = "territory", i.e. an area containing both land and water in the form of rivers, lakes, etc. (see Sir Gerald Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 783-4). In Central Asia and in the Turkicised northern tier of the Middle East, Su is a frequent component of hydronyms, e.g. Aḳ Ṣu, Ḳara Ṣu. (ED.)

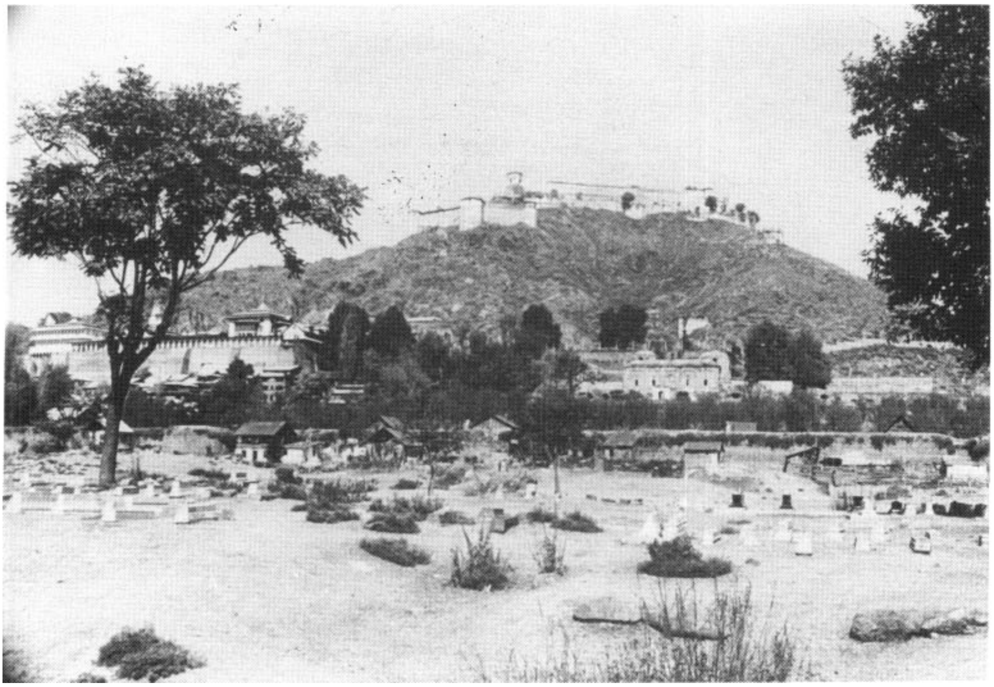
ṢU BASHĪ (T.), an ancient title in Turkish tribal organisation meaning "commander of the army, troops". The first word was originally *sü*, with front vowel; no proof has as yet been adduced for



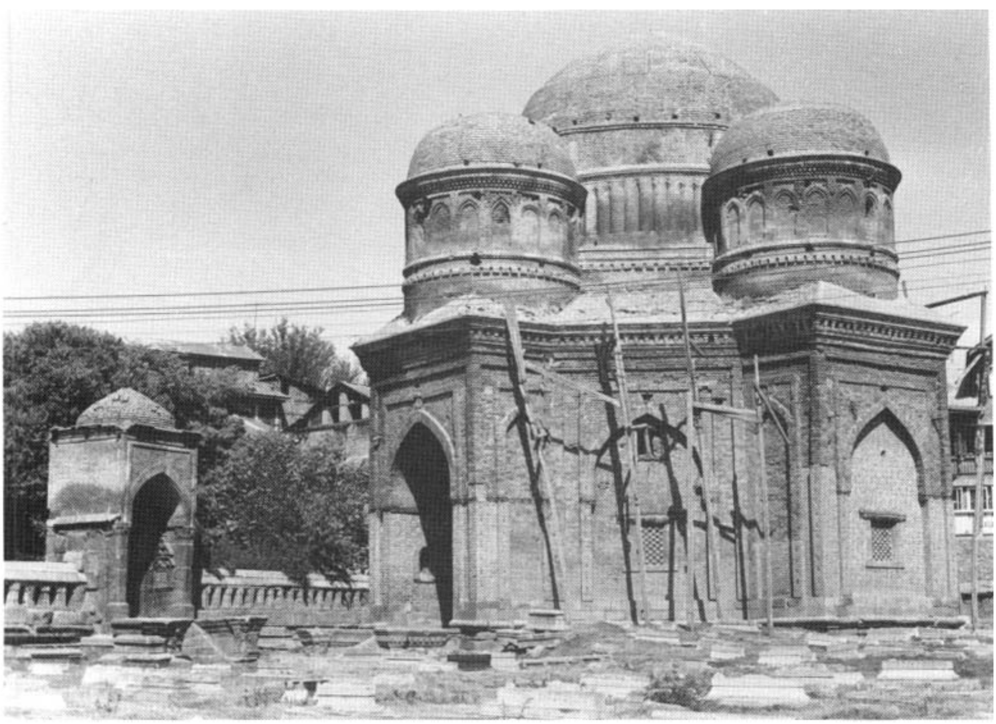
1. Shrine of Madīn Ṣāḥib, mosque, 848/1444-5 (Photo: E. Koch, 1986).



2. Dj̲āmiʿ Masdj̲id, courtyard, founded in 14th century, last rebuilt in 1085/1674 (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).



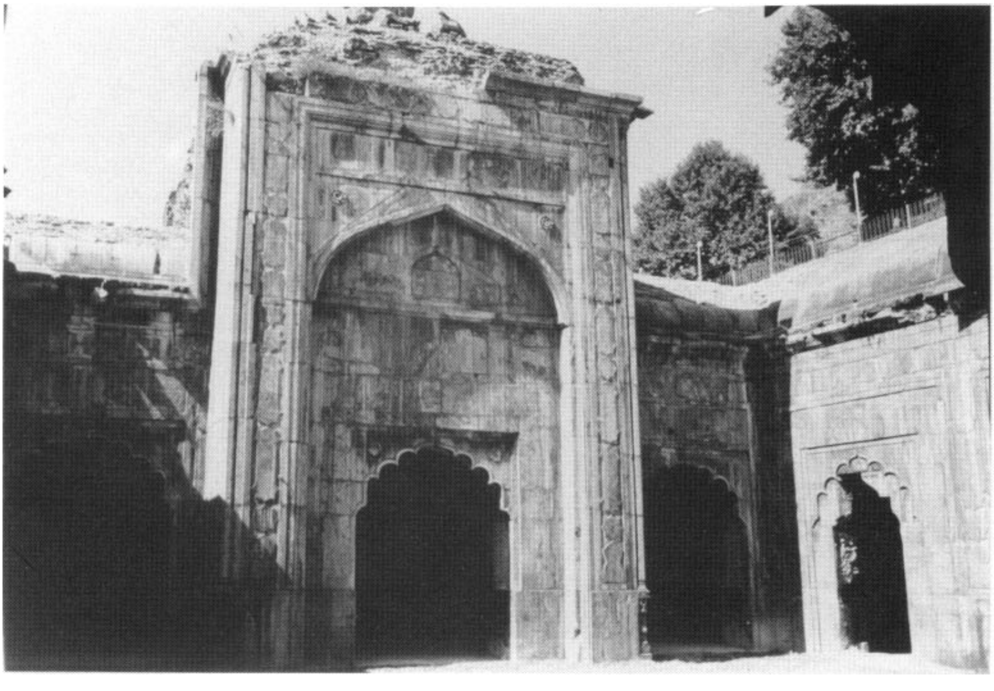
3. Harī Parbat, from the south-east (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).



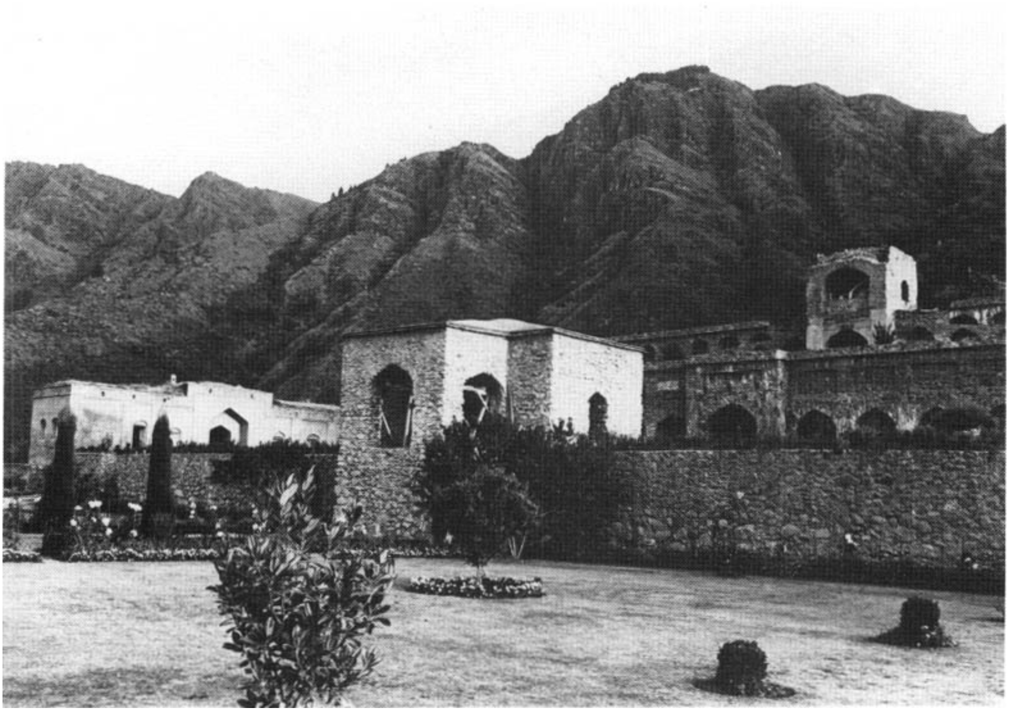
4. Tomb (of the mother?) of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, 9th/15th century (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).



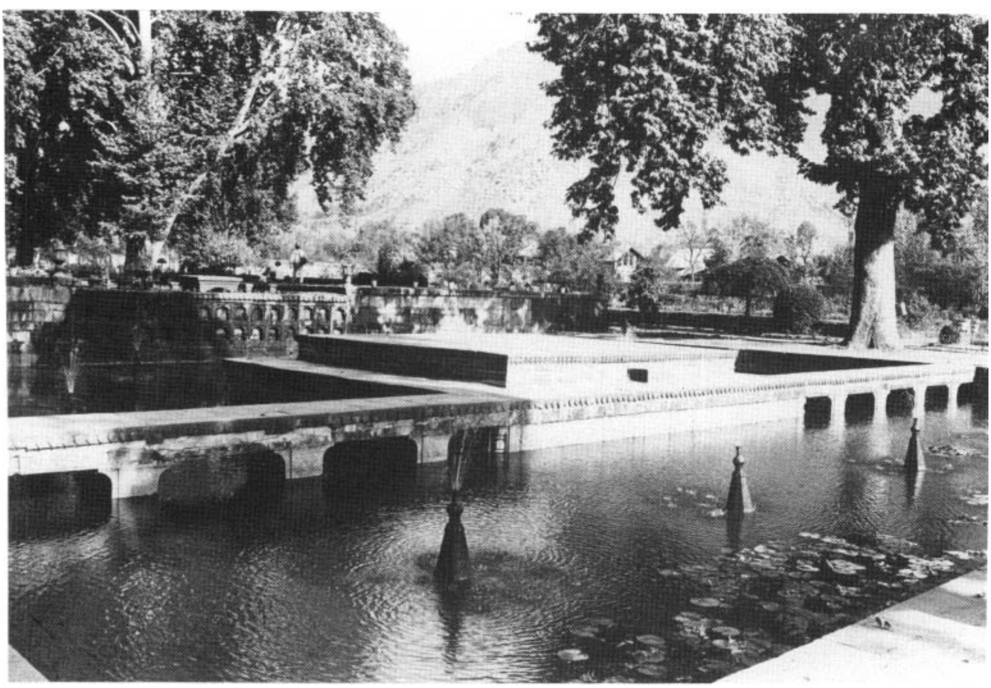
5. Patthar Masdjid, 1620s, *pīshṭāḳ* of prayer hall (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).



6. Harī Parbat, mosque of Akhnūn Mullā Shāh, 1061/1651, courtyard façade of prayer hall (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).



7. Parī Maḥall, *ca.* 1650 (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).



8. Shālīmār gardens, Bāgh-i Faraḥ Bakhsh (lower garden), founded in 1620 (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

the suggestion that the word was originally a loan from Chinese (see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dict. of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 781).

Sü appears frequently in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions and probably in the Yenisei ones also. In the former, we find the phrase *sü sülemek* "to make a military expedition", and the title *sü bashî* also occurs (see Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington-The Hague 1968, index at 370). In Maḥmūd Kāshgharī [*q.v.*], *sü* is glossed as *djund* (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*. Tkish. tr. Atalay, iii, 208-9, Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, ii, 258), and in the Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish of the 8th/14th century, *sü bashî* is defined as *raʾs al-ʿaskar* (M.T. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894, Ar. text 14, 30). The spelling *ṣu* evolves later, apparently influenced by the quite separate word *ṣu(w)* "water" since we occasionally find at a later date the originally military title *sü bashî* for the official in charge of irrigation (i.e. the *mīr-āb*).

Some two centuries after the Orkhon Turkish usage, *sü bashî* is found amongst the Oghuz tribe in their pre-conversion-to-Islam days. In 309/922 the Arab traveller Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*] encountered in the steppes between thc Aral Sea and the Ural River the *ṣāḥib al-djaysh* of the Oghuz, clearly their *sü bashî*; he had under him subordinate military commanders, including the Ṭarkhān, the Yînāl and the Y.gh.l.z (A.Z.V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1929, §§ 34, 36, Ar. text 28-31, and Excursus § 34a, Ger. text 141-2). The late Sāmānid author al-Khʷārazmī [*q.v.*] likewise, in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* defines *sü bashî* as *ṣāḥib al-djaysh* (C.E. Bosworth and Sir G. Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* [1965], 11). Around this same period, according to Kāshgharī, the full title of Seldjük (*sic*) b. Duḳaḳ, eponymous ancestor of the Saldjūḳs, was Seldjük Sü Bashî (tr. Atalay, i, 478, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 356).

Ṣu Bashî became a very well-known military and police title in the Ottoman empire, but it was found in Asia Minor as early as the time of the Saldjūḳs. In the 7th/13th century Ibn Bibi (ed. Houtsma, iv, 210) speaks of a *ṣu bashî* of the town of Kharpūt or Khartpert [*q.v.*] who was probably under the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultan of Ḳonya. Every town of any importance had a *ṣu bashî*; when ʿOthmān took possession of his first capital, Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, one of his first acts was to appoint to the *ṣu bashîlîk* his cousin Alp Gündüz (*Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿothmān*, ed. Giese, 7; Urudj Beg, ed. Babinger, 12).

As the Ottoman supremacy became confirmed, a differentiation of the functions and the position of the Ṣu Bashî in the provinces and in the capital was introduced. In the provinces, they obtained a position in the feudal organisation, which also proves the military origin of their functions. The Ṣu Bashîs had their own fiefs (*tîmār*), and they exercised police control over the other *sipāhīs* and the inhabitants of the district under their charge. Administratively, they were under the authority of an *ālāy beg*, who again was subject to the *sandjaḳ beg* [see SANDJAḲ]. These Ṣu Bashîs had many privileges, which varied according to the different provinces; they had the right to a certain amount of the imposts and the fines extorted from the people (see *Ḳānūn-nāme-yi āl-i ʿothmān*, ed. ʿĀrif Bey, Istanbul 1330, appendix to *TOEM*, xiii-xiv, 28).

In the capital, the Ṣu Bashî became one of the chief officers of police, who assisted the Čāwush Bashî, whose function is most like that of minister of Police. With the Muhzir (Muḥḍir) Agha and the ʿAses Bashî, he was responsible for the carrying out of all the judicial sentences and in general for obedience to the police regulations in the capital. Besides this, the title of Ṣu Bashî was used to designate a certain military rank in the cavalry corps of the ʿUlūfedjis.

Bibliography: Sir Paul Ricaut, *Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, 345; J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, i, 370, ii, 121, 240; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1820, iii, 341, 380 ff.; A.H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 129; Pakalın, iii, 259-61; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, i, index.

(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SUʿĀWĪ, ʿALĪ (1839-78), journalist, controversial pamphleteer and political activist, born in Istanbul. His father Ḥüseyin Efendi is said to have instilled in him a dedication to social justice. Suʿāwī's early education was at a *rüshdiyye* (high school). He later studied the Islamic sciences at a *madrasa*. He held various administrative and teaching posts in Istanbul and Bursa. As a teacher in Plovdiv (now in Bulgaria), he was dismissed for allegedly fomenting civil disturbances.

Returning to Istanbul in 1866, he published articles in the newspaper *Mukhbir* ("The Reporter") and gained fame also as a fiery preacher (mainly at the Shehzāde Mosque). Because of his radical ideas, he was banished, in 1867, to Kastamonu, from where he escaped to Paris. With Nāmîḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and Ziyā (Ḍiyāʾ) (Pasha), he re-published *Mukhbir* in London as the official organ of the Young Ottoman Society. The following year, he fell out with Kemāl and Ziyā, and turned against the Young Ottomans. In 1869 he published, in Paris, a journal entitled *ʿUlūm* ("The Sciences"), which carried the subtitle "Encyclopaedic Turkish Journal". Later he went to Lyons, where he published a periodical called *Muwaḳḳaten* ("Temporarily").

Upon Murād V's accession to the throne (1876), ʿAlī Suʿāwī returned to Istanbul in 1876. After a short stint as Director of the Royal School of Galatasaray, he was dismissed in 1877 during the reign of ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II. On 20 May 1878, in an abortive attempt to bring Murād V back as sultan, he led a few hundred Balkan refugees in an assault against the Čirāghān Palace, where he was clubbed to death by Ḥasan Pasha, the police commandant for Beshiktash.

ʿAlī Suʿāwī's intellectual life, protean and full of paradoxes, failed to produce a synthesis. He oscillated between his loyalty to Islam (as faith and culture) and modernisation (as a civilising and secular process). He was at once a bold progressive and a strong reactionary. Like many of his contemporaries, he came under the influence of Enlightenment ideals, about which he was often critical. His Islamic orientation caused him to challenge European concepts of popular sovereignty and separation of powers. For the Ottoman state, he advocated a constitutional government and Turkish nationalism. Near the end of his life, he became enamored of Frederic LePlay's populist ideas and set up a *Semʿ u Ṭāʿat* ("Hearing and Obeying") Society dedicated to a counter-revolutionary programme.

One of the pioneers of Turkish nationalism and the Pan-Turkish ideology, ʿAlī Suʿāwī played a significant role in fostering patriotic pride in Central Asian Turkic culture and in the strengths of the Turkish language. He articulated these nationalistic views in several monographs, including *Khiwa en Mars* (1873). He also wrote dozens of pamphlets and books

(127, according to some sources), most of which remained unpublished and have been lost. *His Ḳāmūs ul-'ulūm we 'l-ma'ārif*, given with the journal *'Ulūm*, did not go beyond eighty pages; it is, however, considered one of the earliest attempts at an illustrated Ottoman encyclopaedia.

Bibliography: Burṣalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'OM*, i, Istanbul 1918; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *Ali Suavi'nin türkçülüğü*, Ankara 1942; Midhat Cemal Kuntay. *Sarıklı ihtilâlci Ali Suavi*, Istanbul 1946; Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Baş veren bir inkılapçı*, Ankara 1954: Şerif Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton 1962. (Talat Sait Halman)

SU'AYR, preferably to be read as Sa'īr, although the former is more common, an idol of the pre-Islamic Arabian tribe of 'Anaza (Ibn al-Kalbī, 48-9), coming from *'.w.ṣ*, an Aramaean eponym denoting in the Bible (refs. in Gesenius-Buhl, 573) the land of Edom and the group of tribes living there (W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 260-1; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl [1887], 183).

Sa'īr, which followed the same evolution as 'Awḍ, denotes in the Bible the land of Edom before its occupation by the sons of Esau. Gen. xxxvi.9 speaks of the hill country Se'ir, of the Horites, sons of Se'ir (v. 20), and of the land of Se'ir (v. 30). The names Yaḳdum and Yadhkur, the two sons of 'Anaza, whose descendants sacrificed to al-Sa'īr (Ibn al-Kalbī, 26), resemble in their formation those of Ya'ūsh and Ya'lam, two of the numerous sons of Esau (Gen. xxxvi.5, etc.). On this last, al-Layth says substantially that Esau ('Īṣū, Hebr. 'Ésāw), son of Isaac, son of Abraham, was buried in a small village called Sī'īr between Jerusalem and Hebron; he is the eponymous ancestor of the Rūm (*T'A*, iv, 414).

The 'Anaza and Bakr b. Wā'il (Ibn al-Kalbī, 25; *T'A*, iii, 276, v, 58) are said to have known and to have adopted this divinity in the course of their migrations as a guarantor of the pact uniting them. As a clan name, it appears in Liḥyanite as *s.'.r.* (see G. Ryckmans. *Noms propres*, i, 153). The text represented on camel-back at Palmyra, formerly read as *š.'.r(w)* (see D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1951, 154-5) is now, however, read as *š.'.d(w)* and related to Ar. *sa'd* "good fortune" (see D.R. Hillers and Eleonora Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic texts*, Baltimore 1996, 415).

Bibliography: Refs. in T. Fahd, *La panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 48-9. (T. Fahd)

ṢŪBA, traditionally but dubiously derived from Arabic *ṣawb*, lit. a patch or track, direction, pronounced *ṣūb* in India; whence the term *ṣūba* for province coined by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 989/1580, when he created this territorial unit by putting a number of the existing *sarkārs* or territorial divisions under each *ṣūba*. Some of these *ṣūbas* like Bengal, Bihār or Gudjarāt represented historic, well-organised regions; others like Ilahabas (Allahābād) or Āgra were artificial creations. As Akbar extended his empire, the original twelve *ṣūbas* were augmented: Multān (with sub-*ṣūba* of Thaṭṭa), Kābul (with sub-*ṣūbas* of Kashmīr and Ḳandahār), Dāndesh (Khāndesh), Aḥmadnagar and Berār. Subsequent annexations under Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb led to the creation of the *ṣūbas* of Bīdar, Bīdjāpur and Ḥaydarābād, while the *ṣūba* of Ḳandahār was lost to the Ṣafawids. Abu 'l-Faḍl's *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* (1003/1595) gives an extremely detailed account of the geography, resources, revenues, *zamīndār* castes, etc. of each *ṣūba*.

The administrative machinery of the *ṣūba* was designed by Akbar to have the writ of the central administration run most effectively. While the governor (*sipāhsālār, nāẓim*) was directly answerable to the Emperor, his colleagues, viz. the *dīwān* (head of revenue department), *bakhshī* (head of military administration and intelligence) and *ṣadr* (in charge of pious endowments) were not subordinate to him, but to the corresponding ministers at the centre. Moreover, during the heyday of the empire (late 10th and 11th century/late 16th and 17th century), the governors and other officers were frequently transferred from one *ṣūba* to another. Nor did the governor have full control over the assignment of *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*] to military commanders posted under him, which belonged to the jurisdiction of the central *Dīwān*. There was, at the same time, an element of flexibility in the *ṣūba* administration: The Deccan *ṣūbas* began to be grouped together under one *sipāhsālār* or viceroy from even Akbar's time onwards. This became ultimately the source of power of Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh [*q.v.*] in Ḥaydarābād during the 12th/18th century.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1867-77, ii; P. Saran, *The provincial government of the Mughals*, [2]Bombay 1973; Irfan Habib, *An atlas of the Mughal empire*, Oxford and New Delhi 1982; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire. Awards of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility 1574-1658*, Oxford and New Delhi 1985. (M. Athar Ali)

ṢŪBADĀR, the governor of a *ṣūba* [*q.v.*] or province in the Mughal empire, also known variously as *sipāhsālār, nāẓim* and *ṣāḥib ṣūba*. Though governors of large territories (e.g. Gudjarāt) were appointed before 989/1580, when Akbar organised the *ṣūbas* of his empire, a systematic form was given to the office only after this organisation. Depending upon the importance of the *ṣūba*, the office was one of great status, and only high nobles (*manṣabdārs* [see manṣab and manṣabdār]) were appointed to it. Akbar's experiment of appointing co-governors was soon abandoned. While the terms of office depended upon the Emperor's will, transfers were frequent; and until well into the 12th/18th century, the Mughal court did not allow provincial dynasts to develop out of its governors.

The *ṣūbadār* was not only appointed by an imperial *farmān*, but was directly subordinate to the Emperor. As *sipāhsālār*, he was the head of the army posted to the *ṣūba* and responsible for maintenance of law and order. He had a role, too, in administering criminal justice. But the financial and revenue administration, being in the hands of the *dīwān*, was outside his jurisdiction, since the *dīwān* of the *ṣūba* was directly subordinate to the ministry at the centre, the *dīwān-i a'lā*. So, too, was the maintenance of military contingents and the intelligence network, being under the *bakhshī* (responsible to the central *mīr bakhshī*). This limitation of authority was designed to prevent the *ṣūbadār* becoming too powerful. Djahāngīr abolished the *ṣūbadār*'s privilege of awarding capital punishment, and prohibited any observance that might smack of royal court ritual. Constraints on the *ṣūbadār*'s authority, however, began to disappear in the 12th/18th century after the death of Awrangzīb.

Bibliography: See that to ṣūba, and also M. Athar Ali, *Provincial governors under Aurangzeb—an analysis*, in *Medieval India. A miscellany*, Bombay 1969, i. (M. Athar Ali)

SUBAY' (or Sabay'), Banū, the name of a Bedouin tribe of al-'Āriḍ [*q.v.*], the central district of Nadjd [*q.v.*; see also al-kharj] in modern Saudi Arabia. They live in and around the oasis of al-Ḥā'ir,

also called Ḥāʾir Subayʿ or Ḥāʾir al-Aʿizza, a dominant section of the Banū Subayʿ. Al-Ḥāʾir lies south-south-east of al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*], at the junction of Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] and the valleys Luḥā (sometimes misspelled as al-Ḥā) and Buʾaydja' (the lower stretch of al-Awsaṭ). The valley of al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*] is regarded as lying within the range of the Banū Subayʿ and the Banū al-Suhul, while the sweet water wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk belong to the Khudrān, a group consisting of the al-Nabaṭa and the al-ʿUraynāt, both sections of the Banū Subayʿ. The latter are also found in the borderlands between al-Ḥidjāz and Nadjd [see the map in AL-ʿARAB, Djazīrat], while their western section regard the oasis of al-Khurma [*q.v.*] as their capital. They are mentioned among the opponents of the al-Dawāsir [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: H.St.J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia. A record of travel and exploration*, 2 vols., London 1922, index; idem, *Arabian highlands*, London-New York 1952, index; idem, *Arabian jubilee*, London 1952, 63; J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, repr. Farnborough 1970, IIB, 1622. (E. VAN DONZEL)

AL-ṢUBAYBA, a large castle, popularly known as Ḳalʿat Namrūd, located on a mountain top near the western slopes of the Djawlān [*q.v.*], some 2 km to the east of the city of Bāniyās [*q.v.*].

It was traditionally believed by modern scholars that the castle was originally built by the Franks, during the years when they controlled Bāniyās (1130-2, 1140-64), but recent research has shown that it was first constructed by the minor Ayyūbid prince of the region, al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān b. al-ʿĀdil b. Ayyūb, in 625/1288 (see the foundation inscription in *RCEA*, no. 3984, and the evidence provided by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, viii, Ḥaydarābād 1951, 678). The first stage of the construction work is represented by the imposing keep on the eastern side of the present-day structure, and may well have been instigated by al-ʿAzīz's brother, the ruler of Damascus al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. It has been convincingly suggested that the impetus for the establishment of the fort was the desire of al-Muʿaẓẓam, who was locked in a struggle with his brother al-Kāmil Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and likewise disturbed by reports of Frederick II's impending Crusade, to protect the approach to Damascus from the northern Palestinian coast (see R. Ellenblum, *Who built Qalʿat al-Ṣubayba?*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xliii [1989], 103-12). Two years later, al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān significantly enlarged the fort along the narrow ridge on which it is located, giving it its present-day elongated shape. In early 658/1260, the area came under the control of the Mongols, who destroyed part of the fortifications of al-Ṣubayba and looted the place (Abū Shāma, *Dhayl ʿalā ʾl-rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1947, 206). After the Mongol defeat at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] later that year, the fortress and the surrounding region were incorporated into the Mamlūk Sultanate. Baybars (658-76/1260-77 [*q.v.*]) had the fort repaired, substantially enlarging the towers. Subsequently, it appears to have become the actual administrative centre for the *ʿamal* (region) of Bāniyās. With the eventual expulsion of the Crusaders from Syria and the ebbing of the Mongol threat, the fort lost much of its strategic importance. By the 9th/15th century, it appears to have been mainly used as a prison for high-ranking Mamlūk inmates. During the Ottoman period, the castle was repaired at least twice (1625, 1761), the first time by Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*], the second by a local potentate. The Ottoman governor of Damascus, however, soon had these latter repairs dismantled (A. al-Khālidī al-Ṣafadī, *Le Liban à l'epoque de Fahr-ed-Dīn ii*, ed. Rustum and Baoustany, Beirut 1936, 243; M. Breik, *Histoire du pays de Damas de 1720 à 1723*, ed. Constantin Bacha, Harissa 1930, 72). Important surveying work of the site was conducted by Deschamps in the 1930s, and in recent years extensive excavations and reconstruction work have been undertaken.

Bibliography: For a comprehensive list of earlier studies, see Ellenblum, 103, n. 2. For the inscriptions, see M. van Berchem, *Le château du Bâniâs et ses inscriptions*, in *JA*, ser. 8, xii (1888), 440-70; R. Amitai, *Notes on the Ayyūbid inscriptions at al-Ṣubayba (Qalʿat Nimrūd)*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xliii (1989), 113-19; R. Amitai-Preiss, *An Arabic inscription at al-Ṣubayba (Qalʿat Namrūd) from the reign of Sultan Baybars*, forthcoming in *ʿAtiqot* which also discusses the history of the fort in the early Mamlūk period. (R. AMITAI-PREISS)

ṢUBAYḤĪ (as in "the Ṣubayḥī tribe") or Ṣubayḥa, the name of a tribal group inhabiting the area to the west and north-west of Aden [see ʿADAN] in the Yemen from Raʾs ʿImrān, a few kilometres to the west of Little Aden in the east, as far as Bāb al-Mandab in the west, and inland. They are divided into five main groups as follows: Khulayfī, ʿUṭirī, ʿĀṭifī, Muṣaffī and Buraymī. Their name is inherited from the ancient Dhū Aṣbaḥ of Ḥimyar. Writing in the 4th/10th century, al-Hamdānī, 53, says that Laḥdj has in it the Aṣābiḥ, the descendants of Aṣbaḥ b. ʿAmr b. Ḥārith Dhī Aṣbaḥ. He later, 97, notes that in his day the Ṣubayḥīs occupied an area more to the east and including Khanfar in Abyan [*q.v.*] which they shared with Banū Madjīd. Of the latter are the ʿAbādil, the ruling family of Laḥdj. In 1882 the Ṣubayḥī Engagement was ratified in Calcutta by the Viceroy and Governor-General himself, placing the ʿAbdalī sultan of Laḥdj in authority over the Ṣubayḥīs (text in Government of Bombay, *Arab tribes*, 161-3). In 1886, however, the Ṣubayḥīs were released from ʿAbdalī control after much hostility between the two (*ibid.*, 20), a hostility which was to continue, at least in the early years of the century. After the Protectorate treaties of the 1950s, the Ṣubayḥīs were placed nominally under the Laḥdj sultan, although they continued to show varying degrees of independence.

Bibliography: Extremely useful on the geography and history is R.B. Serjeant, *Notes on Ṣubaiḥī territory west of Aden*, in *Le Muséon*, lxvi (1953), 123-31. See also Government of Bombay, *Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Bombay 1909; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, ²Beirut 1982, ii, 632-3. (G.R. SMITH)

SUBAYTA, ISBAYTA, the Arabic name for a settlement in the Negev [see AL-NAKB] region of southern Palestine, which had the Nabataean name, rendered in Greek sources as Sobata (whence the Arabic one), Hebrew Shivta.

Its ruins lie 43 km/27 miles to the southwest of Beersheba at an altitude of some 350 m/1,150 feet. First described by E.H. Palmer in 1870, it has been extensively excavated since the 1930s. The town flourished in Late Nabataean, Late Roman and Byzantine times as an unwalled, essentially agricultural centre, it being away from the main trade routes. The exact date of the coming of the Muslim Arabs is unknown, but was probably in the later 630s. A mosque was built near the Southern Church, with care taken not to damage the adjacent basilica. Early Arab-Islamic coins have been found, but it seems that the town was abandoned in the 2nd/8th century or the 3rd/9th one at the latest.

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SUBAYṬILA, modern Tunisian Arabic pronunciation Sbīṭla, conventionally Sbeïtla, the Islamic and modern names of ancient Sufetula, a town of west-central Tunisia. Situated at over 450 m/1,500 feet above sea level, near abundant water resources and a wadi and surrounded by high plateaux, it is still today an important cross-roads between the north, west and south of the country.

From what is at present known, the ancient town (whose present successor only occupies some 20 ha, and this more than double that of the end of the 19th century) must have been closely linked with two other great cities: Cillium (Kasserine) and Ammaedra (Haydra), i.e. in the second half of the 1st century A.D. when the region, permanently involved in warfare against Berber tribes, was pacified by the Third Legion of Augustus under the Flavian emperors. The army was in large measure replaced by veterans who settled on parcels of land for colonisation, of which Subayṭila was probably part.

Like most of the great African cities, the town enjoyed under Septimius Severus (193-211), himself of African origin, a great urban and commercial development. In Christian times, Sufetula had, by 256 at the latest, a bishop who represented it at the Council of Carthage convoked by St. Cyprian. It was affected by persecutions, the most severe of which was that of Diocletian at the beginning of the 4th century and which gave rise to the Donatist movement, a schismatic movement which enlivened African Christianity all through the 4th century. Like many African towns, from this time onwards, Sufetula had two bishops, one Catholic and the other Donatist. Both parties in the town were represented at the council summoned by the Emperor Honorius at Carthage in 411 which condemned and isolated this schismatic movement.

With the Vandal invasion and occupation of 429, Sufetula formed part of the royal domain until the Byzantine reconquest in 533. From then onwards, it became a military centre under Justinian's policy of unifying the province and defending it against the more and more pressing threats from the Berber kingdoms. The Patricius Gregory, who succeeded Belisarius, the first Byzantine governor of Africa, chose Sufetula as his personal residence and as his military base. He speedily declared his independence of the emperor in Constantinople, and subsequently had to face the Muslim armies sent from Tripolitania and headed by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and then by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abī Sarḥ [*q.vv.*]. He was defeated at Sufetula in 26/647, thus opening a new page in the history of the region in particular and the whole land in general. It was only twenty years later that al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the first great Muslim foundation in the Maghrib, was created.

Subayṭila was not wholly abandoned in Islamic times, and life probably continued there until the 6th/12th century, as the large quantities of recently-discovered pottery fragments from this period shows.

Monuments. There are numerous classical remains, the most spectacular being the capitol with three separate temples, a monumental gate with the date 139 (reign of Antoninus Pius) and the public baths, restored, together with the theatre, in the 4th century. The monuments of Christian and Byzantine times are especially well preserved: an episcopal complex, with a church, cathedral, etc.; a second church built on a pagan temple, and two lesser ones; and a series of fortified houses to the south-east of the site, all from the 6th-7th centuries.

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ṢUBḤ [see ṣalāt].

ṢUBḤ al-Bas̲h̲kunsiyya, so-called on account of her Basque origin, was a singing slave girl belonging to the second Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir (350-62/961-76 [*q.v.*]), who loved her dearly (calling her D̲j̲aʿfar) and to whom she bore two sons, thus becoming an *umm walad* and taking the title of *sayyida*. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam was born in 351/962; he was the first son of the caliph, who was already 46 years old at the time. Although ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died at an early age (359/969-70), his brother His̲h̲ām (born 354/965) guaranteed a successor to al-Mustanṣir, whose joy at the birth of this second son is recorded by the chroniclers, and illustrated by the pair of little ivory boxes made at Madīnat al-Zahrā' and dedicated in 355/966 to "the most beloved of fertile women", i.e. to Ṣubḥ.

In 356/966-7 she chose as administrator of her property and that of her children a young man who had been introduced to her by the *wazīr* D̲j̲aʿfar al-Muṣḥafī. This was the start of the impressive career of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (al-Manṣūr) [*q.v.*], who succeeded in gaining the support of Ṣubḥ and of other women of the caliphal entourage. The relationship between Ṣubḥ and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir was the subject of malicious rumours, and satirical verse concerning them was widely circulated in Cordova. Public display of the lavish gifts offered to Ṣubḥ by Ibn Abī ʿĀmir contributed to the proliferation of these rumours, but the caliph continued to entrust to him official duties of the highest importance, while his love for Ṣubḥ and their son His̲h̲ām is acknowledged by all the Arabic sources. His̲h̲ām was proclaimed heir in 365/976, which reinforced his mother's position in the palace as well as that of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir. Ṣubḥ had other supporters, including her brother (Rā'iḳ or Fā'iḳ by name), who was a *mawlā* of the caliph and occupied posts in the civil and military administration (*ṣāḥib al-mak̲h̲zūn*, *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa*, *ḳā'id*, etc.).

On the death of al-Ḥakam, however, the succession of His̲h̲ām, still a minor, was opposed by two senior palace officials, the *Ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*] Fā'iḳ and D̲j̲awd̲h̲ar. An alliance formed by Ṣubḥ, Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and al-Muṣḥafī guaranteed the succession of His̲h̲ām, which enabled them to exercise real power. According to some sources, it was Ṣubḥ who controlled affairs of state, through the intermediacy of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, who conveyed her instructions to ministers and was the only one having access to the *sayyida*. But relations between them deteriorated when Ṣubḥ realised that Ibn Abī ʿĀmir had no intention of transferring power to His̲h̲ām on attainment of his majority. When Ibn Abī ʿĀmir fell sick, she took advantage of his absence and removed from the palace, with the aid of her brother, very substantial sums of money, intended no doubt to finance an armed *coup* against Ibn Abī ʿĀmir. But in this struggle for power, it was

the latter who emerged victorious. With the aid of his son ʿAbd al-Malik, he took control of the caliphal palace and the public treasury on 3 Djumādā I 386/24 May 996. ʿAbd al-Malik was unmoved by the abuse hurled at him by Ṣubḥ, who was forced to admit defeat. Hishām willingly acknowledged the authority of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir over the country, and in 387/997-8 he participated with his mother in a ceremony intended to renew his caliphal oath and the transfer of power into the hands of al-Manṣūr. Ṣubḥ died one year later, on 29 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 389/11 December 999; it was al-Manṣūr who, bare-footed, led the funeral prayers.

Bibliography: *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. L. Molina, Madrid 1983, 172/182, 173-4/184, 178/189, 185-5/196; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, i, 268; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, iv, 60, 70-2; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muktabis*, ed. ʿA. al-Ḥadjdjī, tr. E. Garcia Gómez, 77/100, 117/149, 149/189, 185/203, 200/223; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawk al-ḥamāma*, tr. E. Garcia Gómez, 74, 125; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii, 235-36, 239, 251-3, 258, 280; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, Rabat 1934, 67-9; Makkarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 399, 603, iii, 86-8, 92-3; M.L. Avila, *La proclamación (bayʿa) de Hišām II. Año 976 d.C.*, in *Al-Qanṭara*, i (1980), 79-114; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leiden 1861, iii, 133-4, 221-2; J. Ferrandis, *Marfiles árabes de Occidente*, Madrid 1935-40; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, ii, Paris 1950; M. Marín, *Las mujeres de las clases sociales superiores*, in M.J. Viguera (ed.), *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, Madrid-Seville 1989, 105-27; eadem, *Notas sobre onomástica y denominaciones femeninas en al-Andalus (siglos VIII-XI)*, in *Homenaje al Prof. D. Cabanelas*, Granada 1987, 37-52; F. Mernissi, *Sultanes oubliées: femmes chefs d'État en Islam*, Paris 1990, 64-72.

(Manuela Marín)

ṢUBḤ-I AZAL, the sobriquet of Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī (*ca.* 1830-1912), founder of the Azalī sect of Bābism [*q.v.*]. Yaḥyā's father was the calligrapher and civil servant, Mīrzā ʿAbbās Nūrī (d. 1839). In Yaḥyā's early childhood, Nūrī was dismissed from his governorship and dispossessed of much of his considerable wealth and property. Yaḥyā's mother died about 1844; by then he was living in Tehran under the tutelage of an older brother, Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī (Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*]). In 1844, Ḥusayn ʿAlī and Yaḥyā, then about fourteen, were among the first converts to Bābism in the capital. Four years later, Yaḥyā tried unsuccessfully to join the Bābī insurgents at Shaykh Ṭabarsī in Māzandarān.

Between 1848 and 1852, Bābism underwent radical changes. The clerical leadership of the earliest period was largely eradicated in uprisings, and the Bāb himself was executed in 1850. Yaḥyā, variously known as Ṣubḥ-i Azal ("Morning of Eternity") and al-Thamar al-Azaliyya ("the Eternal Fruit"), was among the first of many lay claimants to revelation. He had been composing "inspired verses" for some time, and these had met the approval of the Bāb, who designated him his successor.

In 1852, he was involved in an abortive uprising in Tākur, planned to coincide with the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. Escaping to Baghdād, he established himself as head of the sect and drew large numbers of Bābīs to the region. His whereabouts were kept secret from all but a few, and he remained in contact with the Bābī community through intermediaries, in imitation of the seclusion of certain Shīʿī Imāms. During this period, numerous other claimants appeared, and Yaḥyā's policy of seclusion worked against him, particularly when the more-outgoing Ḥusayn ʿAlī emerged as the *de facto* leader of the Baghdād community and finally advanced his own claims to prophethood.

In 1863, most of the Baghdād Bābīs were removed by the Ottoman authorities to Edirne in western Turkey. Here, the breach between the brothers became overt and ended in a permanent schism between Azalī and Bahāʾī Bābīs. Disturbed by the open hostility between these groups, the authorities exiled them, sending Ḥusayn ʿAlī and his followers to Acre in Palestine and Yaḥyā to Cyprus.

Ṣubḥ-i Azal died in Famagusta on 29 April 1912. His appointed successor, Mīrzā Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, chose the role of secular reformer over that of religious leader and before long Azalī Bābism became a spent force.

Yaḥyā wrote extensively, but few of his works have been published, and only a brief chronicle translated. Best known are the *Kitāb al-Nūr, al-Mustayḳiẓ* and the *Mutammim-i Bayān*, a continuation of the Bāb's unfinished Persian *Bayān*. These and other writings owe much to the obscure style of the Bāb, but add little to his thought.

Ṣubḥ-i Azal considered himself the conservator of primitive Bābism, with its minutely-observed legislation, metaphysical obfuscation and rejection of established political power. But, whereas the rival Bahāʾī faction held itself aloof from political and social involvement, several Azalī Bābīs came to play leading roles in the early reform movement in Persia. How far Ṣubḥ-i Azal may have encouraged or directed this development remains a matter for conjecture.

Bibliography: D. MacEoin, *Divisions and authority claims in Babism (1850-1866)*, in *St. Ir.*, xviii (1989), 93-129; E.G. Browne (ed.), *Kitāb-i Nuqtatu 'l-Kāf*, Leiden and London 1910; Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bābī religion*, Cambridge 1918, 211-20 (a list of works by Ṣubḥ-i Azal), 309-15; idem and R.A. Nicholson, *A descriptive catalogue of the oriental MSS belonging to the late E.G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1932, 69-75; Ṣubḥ-i Azal, *Madjmūʿaʾī az āthār-i Nukṭa-yi Ūlā wa Ṣubḥ-i Azal* [Persia n.d.]; idem, *Mutammim-i Bayān* [Persia n.d.]; idem, *Mustayḳiẓ* [Persia n.d.]; (on Mīrzā ʿAbbās Nūrī, see P.P. Soucek, in *EIr*, i, 84; Bāmdād, *Ridjāl-i Irān*, vi, 126-9; on Mīrzā Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, see A. Amanat, in *EIr*, vii, 143-6).

(D. MacEoin)

SUBḤA (a.), in Egyptian colloquial pronunciation *sibḥa*; in Persian and Muslim Indian usage, more often *tasbīḥ*, Ottoman Turkish *tesbīḥ*, modern *tespih*, rosary. It is used at present by nearly all classes of Muslims, except the Wahhābīs who disapprove of it as a *bidʿa* and who count the repetition of the sacred names on their hands. There is evidence for its having been used at first in Ṣūfī circles and among the lower classes (Goldziher, *Rosaire*, 296); opposition against it made itself heard as late as the 9th/15th century, when al-Suyūṭī composed an apology for it (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 1st ed. 165). At present, it is usually carried by the pilgrims (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 441), by dervishes and by many ordinary believers. For its use by the Bektāshīs, see J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London-Hartford 1937, 235 and plate 10.

The rosary consists of three groups of beads made of wood, bone, mother of pearl, etc. The groups are separated by two transversal beads of a larger size (*imām*), while a much larger piece serves as a kind of handle (*yad*; Snouck Hurgronje, in *Int. Arch. f.*

Ethnographie, i, 154 and plate xiv, no. 12). The number of beads within each group varies (e.g. 33 + 33 + 34 or 33 + 33 + 31); in the latter case, the *imāms* and the *yad* are reckoned as beads. The sum total of a hundred is in accordance with the number of God's 99 beautiful names [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]. The rosary serves for the enumeration of these names; but it is also used for the counting of eulogies, *dhikr*s and the formulae at the end of the *ṣalāt*. Lane (*Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chs. III, XXVIII) makes mention of a *subḥa* consisting of a thousand beads used in funeral ceremonies for the thrice one-thousand repetitions of the formula *lā ilāha illa 'llāh*.

Masābiḥ (pl. of *misbaḥa*) are mentioned as early as A.D. 800 (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 318). Goldziher (*Vorlesungen*, 165) thought it certain that the rosary came from India and the Buddhist tradition to Western Asia. Still, Goldziher himself pointed to traditions mentioning the use of small stones, date-kernels, etc. for counting eulogies such as *takbīr, tahlīl, tasbīḥ*.

From such traditions the following may be mentioned: "on the authority of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ .... that he accompanied the Messenger of God, who went to visit a woman, who counted her eulogies by means of kernels or small stones lying before her. He said to her: Shall I tell you what is easier and more profitable? "Glory to God" according to the number of what he has created in the earth; "glory to God" according to what he has created in the heaven; "glory to God" according to the number of what is between these; "glory to God" according to what he will create. And in the same way *Allāh akbar, al-ḥamdu lillāhi* and "there is no might nor power except in God" (Abū Dāwūd, *Witr*, *bāb* 24; al-Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 113).

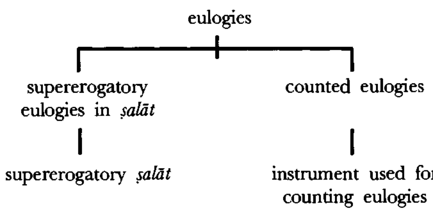
The tendency of this tradition is elucidated by the following one: Ṣafiyya said: The Messenger of God entered while there were before me four thousand kernels which I used in reciting eulogies. I said: I use them in reciting eulogies. He answered: I will teach thee a still larger number. Say: "Glory to God" according to the number of what he has created (al-Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 103).

To a different practice points the tradition according to which the Messenger of God "counted the *tasbīḥ*" (al-Nasāʾī, *Sahw*, *bāb* 97). The verb used here is *ʿaḳada*; its being translated by "to count" is based upon the fact that the lexicons give it this meaning among others (but *ʿaḳada* actually refers to finger-reckoning, in which certain positions of the fingers symbolise numbers). Probably, this is based in its turn upon traditions like the one just mentioned and like the following: "The Messenger of God said to us (the women of Medina): Practise *tasbīḥ, tahlīl* and *taḳdīs*, and count these eulogies on your fingers, for these will have to give account" (Abū Dāwūd, *Witr*, *bāb* 24; al-Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 120). According to Goldziher, in these traditions the counting of eulogies on the fingers is contrasted with their being counted by means of stones, etc. There is, however, a tradition that makes it a matter of doubt whether *ʿaḳada* in connections like those mentioned has always the meaning of counting and not its proper sense of tying. One should take into account a tradition preserved by Ibn Saʿd (viii, 348), according to which Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn used to say eulogies aided by threads in which she made knots (*bi-khuyūṭ maʿḳūd fīhā*).

Paralleling the Sunnī use of rosaries brought back from Mecca by the returning pilgrims, the Shīʿīs often use rosary beads made from the clay of Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], where al-Ḥusayn was buried; these clay beads may on occasion be stained red in memory of the slain Imām's blood, or else green for his brother al-Ḥasan, whose body reputedly turned green after his alleged poisoning.

The term *subḥa* does not occur in classical Tradition in the meaning of rosary; it is often used in the sense of supererogatory *ṣalāt*, e.g. *subḥat al-ḍuḥā* (Muslim, *Musāfirūn*, trad. 81). Al-Nawawī explains the term by *nāfila* (commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 204). Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. asks how it is that the ideas of *nāfila* and *subḥa* coincide. He answers that eulogies (*subḥa*) are supererogatory additions to the obligatory *ṣalāt*s. So supererogatory *ṣalāt*s came to be called *subḥa*.

If Ibn al-Athīr's opinion is right, the semasiological evolution of *subḥa* took two directions:



Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Le rosaire dans l'Islam*, in *RHR*, xxi (1890), 295-300 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii, 374-9; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 546; art. *Rosaries, Muhammadan*, in *ERE*, x, 852-3; Helga Venzlaff, *Der islamische Rosenkranz*, Abh. für die Kunde der Morgenländes, 47,2, Stuttgart 1985.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

SUBḤĀN (A.), a term of Ḳurʾānic vocabulary, *maṣdar* from the root *s.b.ḥ.*, but recorded solely in the form of an exclamative (with inflection of the accusative case) and in a state of annexation, having as its complement *Allāh* (cf. Ḳurʾān, XII, 108; XXI, 22; XXIII, 91; XXVII, 8; etc.) or some substitute for *Allāh*: *rabb* (*subḥāna rabbī*, XVII, 93: *subḥāna rabbika*, XXXVII, 180; *subḥāna rabbinā*, XVII, 108), various periphrases (*subḥāna 'lladhī asrā bi- ʿabdihi laylan*, XVII, 1; *subḥāna 'lladhī bi-yadihi malakūtu kulli shayʾin*, XXXVI, 83), or pronouns of recollection (*subḥānaka*, II, 32, etc.; *subḥānahu*, II, 116, etc.). Most commonly, it is translated "Glory be to God!", but see below.

In regard to the meaning of the expression *subḥāna 'llāhi* and other related formulas, Islamic exegesis is unanimous: it is a case of exempting (*nazzaha*), purifying (*barraʾa*) and distancing (*baʿʿada*) God from any representation which could be made of Him and which does not conform to the absolute perfection which is His prerogative. It is "to exempt God from all that by which it is inappropriate to describe Him" (*tanzīhu 'llāhi taʿālā ʿan kulli mā lā yanbaghī lahu an yūṣafa bihi*) (*LʿA*, ed. Beirut, ii, 471a ll. 23-4; cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, Nadjaf 1346/1387, 207 ll. 7-8), "to exempt Him from all imperfection" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1378/1958, 8 ll. 2-4). The Prophet himself, according to some traditions, is said to have interpreted the formula *subḥāna 'llāhi* as meaning the act of exempting God from evil (*inzāhu/tanzīhu 'llāhi ʿani 'l-sūʾ*) or from all evil (*tanzīhu 'llāhi ʿan kulli sūʾ*); cf. al-Ṭabarī on Ḳurʾān, XVII, 1; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, XXb, 220 ll. 7-8; Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī, *K. al-Asmāʾ wa 'l-ṣifāt*, Cairo 1358/1939, 37 ll. 10-21).

This is clearly to be understood from the context in numerous instances in the Ḳurʾān, in particular when the expression *subḥāna 'llāhi* is followed by the

preposition *ʿan*, the sense then being that God is "high above", "far distant" from that which could be said of Him by "associators" and other disbelievers: *subḥāna 'llāhi ʿammā yaṣifūn* (XXIII, 91; XXXVII, 159), *subḥāna 'llāhi ʿammā yushrikūn* (LII, 43; LIX, 23). In this case *subḥān* appears to be a straightforward equivalent of *taʿālā*, with which it is furthermore occasionally associated (e.g. in the formula *subḥānahu wa-taʿālā ʿammā yushrikūn*, X, 18; XVI, 1; XXX, 40; XXXIX, 67). Almost always, when the question arises of attributing sons or daughters to God, or of accepting other divinities in addition to Him, the expression *subḥānahu!* appears, sometimes followed by *ʿan*, as an indignant exclamation, as if to "cleanse" God of a scandalous imputation (cf., e.g., II, 116; IV, 171; VI, 100; IX, 31; XVI, 57).

It may, however, be considered that such is not invariably the case. Thus in reference to the first verse of sūra XVII, *subḥāna 'lladhī asrā bi-ʿabdihi laylan* (and cf. also XXVII, 8; XXXVI, 36, 83; XLIII, 13), what could be seen here is a simple laudatory formula, a synonym of the expression *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi* "praise be to God"—a conclusion supported by the fact that *ḥamd* is often associated with the verb *sabbaḥa*, in formulae such as *sabbiḥ bi-ḥamdi rabbika* (XV, 98; XX, 130; XL, 55; etc.), *yusabbiḥūna bi-ḥamdi rabbihim* (XXXIX, 75; XL, 7; XLII, 5). Nevertheless, even in this case, the exegetes (al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Rāzī, etc.) understand *subḥāna* in the sense of *tanzīh*. Thus on XVII, 1, al-Ṭabarī supplies the gloss *tanzīhan li-lladhī asrā bi-ʿabdihi wa-tabriʾatan lahu mimmā yaḳūlu fīhi 'l-mushrikūn*.

This presents a very difficult problem of translation. There can be no doubt, in view of what has said above, that formulae such as "Gloire à Dieu!" (Blachère), "Glory be to God!" (Arberry), "Gott sei gepriesen!" (Paret) as renderings of *subḥāna llāhi*, are not really adequate, even though they have the advantage of being clear and convenient. Hamidullah is closer to the truth in translating it by "Purity" (see his comment on II, 30), as indeed is Berque, who suggests "Transcendence". Unfortunately these two translations are alien-sounding, from a stylistic point of view, and are therefore not favoured. For his part, the writer of this article does not see a solution.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris 1988, 202-3.

(D. Gimaret)

ṢUBḤĪ MEḤMED Efendi (d. 1182/1769), Ottoman historian, best known under his pseudonym Ṣubḥī. He came from an established family in state bureaucratic service. His father, Khalīl Fehmī Efendi, as *beylikdji* (head of the bureau of scribes of the Imperial Council) during the reign of Aḥmed III, saw to his son's training from an early age to join the ranks of the secretarial class. Throughout his adult life, Ṣubḥī held a series of high-ranking positions in the state bureaucracy and his experiences in office greatly influenced both the style and content of the history for whose composition he is chiefly remembered. In 1152/1739-40, upon his appointment as official court chronicler, Ṣubḥī retained his position as auditor in the Bureau of the Lesser *Awḳāf*. But his promotion (in Radjab 1156/late August-early September 1743) to his father's former post as *beylikdji*, with pressing demands on his time for the drafting of treaties and letters of commitment and intent (*temessük*) drawn up to consolidate the terms of agreements reached with foreign powers, made his relinquishment of the post of chronicler inevitable. He was succeeded in the latter office by ʿIzzī [*q.v.*].

The part of Ṣubḥī's history that corresponds to his own term as official court chronicler begins on folio 145b of the Istanbul edition of 1198/1783-4 (see *Bibl.*) with his account of the events of 1152/1739-40, while the last recorded events date from the period around the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr at the end of Ramaḍān 1156/early November 1743 (1198 edn., fols. 236b-238b). Ṣubḥī is greatly admired for the excellence and clarity of his prose style. As for the "original" part of his history covering the years 1152-5(6) [fols. 145b-212a (238b)] when Ṣubḥī was directly responsible for the recording of significant dynastic events, his history is a mine of information on a variety of topics. Of particular value (given his background and professional experience) are Ṣubḥī's remarks on the conduct of Ottoman diplomacy, and his accounts of the reception of foreign envoys in Istanbul. Ṣubḥī's history is an exceptionally detailed and reliable source for the complex diplomacy leading up to the conclusion of peace between Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman empire following the three-way war of 1736-9. It incorporates the full details of the articles of peace mutually agreed to on 14 Djumādā I 1152/18 September 1739 (1198 edn., fols. 163a-167a), but what gives his history a unique importance is the account he provides of ongoing negotiations, settlement of border disputes, and the monitoring and enforcement of the terms of peace after the Treaty of Belgrade. The verbatim transcripts (*süret*) of post-treaty commitments and undertakings provided in his history form a characteristic feature of Ṣubḥī's work (see the examples in *Bibl.*).

Ṣubḥī also reports on (and sometimes gives a verbatim record of) the content of the submissions of provincial governors received in Istanbul (cf. fol. 217a [year 1156]), *wurūd-i ḳāʾime-yi wālī-yi Baghdād Aḥmed Pasha*), and he carefully notes both the tenor of discussions in council and the nature of any responses sent back to the dispatcher (cf. fol. 222a-b). Another feature is his preoccupation with all aspects of state protocol (*teshrīfāt*), favouring in particular detailed description of receptions (many of which he personally attended) organised during the visits of foreign dignitaries to the capital. Thus he gives a full account of the mission to Istanbul of Nādir Shāh's envoy Ḥādjdjī Khān in 1154/1741 and provides an exhaustive list (cf. fols. 192b-193a) of the gifts brought from Persia for presentation to Sultan Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*]. In short, Ṣubḥī's history—published together with the histories of Samī and Shākir which relate the events of the first five years of Maḥmūd's reign—provides the most comprehensive and reliable account we possess of the formative years of Maḥmūd's rule.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i Samī we Shākir we Ṣubḥī*, Istanbul 1198/1784 (portion attributable to Ṣubḥī, fols. 72b-238b); Djemāl al-Dīn, *Āyīne-yi ẓurefāʾ*, Istanbul 1319/1901-2, 48-9; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *SʿO*, iii, 220; *IA*, art. *Vekayiʿ nüvis* (B. Kütükoğlu). The following passages exemplify Ṣubḥī's use of diplomatic correspondence: fols. 167a-168b, year 1152, *süret-i mewādd-i temessük*; fols. 188a-189b, year 1153, *ṣinīrʾa dāʾir temessük süreti*; and fols. 237b and 237b-238a, year 1156, *mübādele-yi temessük bā-ketkhudā-yi Nemče* and *süret-i temessük-i mezbūr*.

(R. Murphey)

al-**SUBKĪ**, the *nisba* from the name of two small towns of Lower Egypt, in the mediaeval district of Manf [*q.v.*], now in the Manūfiyya *mudīriyya* or province, in the southwestern part of the Nile Delta. See ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1305/1887-8, xii, 6-7; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, ii/2, 217.

A. The mediaeval Subk known as Subk al-Ḍaḥḥāk (modern Subk al-Thalāth) was the place of origin of a celebrated family of Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ* which flourished in Mamlūk times and of which the most outstanding figures were the *Shaykh al-Islām* Taḳī al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī (b. Ṣafar 683/April 1284, d. Djumādā II 756/June 1355) (no. 6 below) and his son the *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* Tādj al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (b. 727 or 728 or 729/1327-9, d. 7 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 771/2 July 1370) (no. 9 below). The significant members of the family are detailed below and appear in the genealogical table. For the family as a whole, see F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Academien der Araber und ihre Lehrer, nach Auszügen aus Ibn Schohba's Klassen der Schafeïten*, Göttingen 1837, 119, and the section on them in ʿAlī Mubārak, *op. cit.*, xii, 7-8.

1. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Ḳāḍī* of al-Maḥalla [*q.v.*] and later *mudarris* at Cairo, died 725/1325 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 183).

2. Taḳī al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, b. 704/1304-5, *mudarris* at Cairo and Damascus, d. 744/1344, author of a *Taʾrīkh*; his correspondence is in Ahlwardt, no. 8471, 24 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 97; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8).

3. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Baḳāʾ Muḥammad, b. 708, *mudarris*, *ḳāḍī* and *ḥākim* in Damascus and Cairo, *wakīl* of the sultan and *khaṭīb* of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, d. 772/1370-1. He left three unfinished writings (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 52; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8).

4. Walī al-Dīn Abū Dharr ʿAbd Allāh, b. 735/1334-5, *mudarris*, *ḳāḍī*, *khaṭīb* and financial officer in Damascus, d. 785/1383 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 98).

5. Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, b. 741/1340-1, *mudarris*, *muftī* and *ḳāḍī* at Cairo, Damascus, etc., and *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad mosque. He became unpopular on account of the influence he allowed his son Djalāl al-Dīn to exercise over his affairs; d. 802 or 803/1399-1401 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 53; ʿAli Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.*).

6. Taḳī al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī studied in Cairo, then travelled to Damascus and performed the Pilgrimage, returning to become *mudarris* at the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. He later became Chief *ḳāḍī* in Damascus and *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque, and taught at two *Dār al-Ḥadīths* there before returning to Egypt, where he eventually died. He was the author of some 150 works, of which those still extant are listed in Brockelmann, II², 106-7, S II, 102-4, and which covered such fields as law, a collection of *fatāwā, masāʾil wa-adjwiba*, poetry, etc. See on him the lengthy biography by his son Tādj al-Dīn in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, 1st ed. vi, 146-227, new ed. x, 139-338; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 180-1; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 8765; Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 49; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām²*, v, 116; other sources in Brockelmann, S II, 102.

7. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAlī, b. 719/1319, *mudarris*, *muftī* and *ḳāḍī* in Cairo and Damascus, d. in Mecca 773/1371-2. He wrote (1) an unfinished commentary on *al-Ḥāwī* of al-Ḳazwīnī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 494); (2) a supplement to the unfinished commentary on the *Minhādj*-commentary of his father; (3) *Djamʿal-tanāḳid* or *al-Munāḳaḍāt* (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, vi, 157); (4) *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ fī sharḥ talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (cf. Brockelmann, I², 353-4; published in *Shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ*); (5) an unfinished commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib from al-Bayḍāwī (cf. Brockelmann, I², 370); (6) a *Ḳaṣīda* on the meaning of the word *ʿAyn* (Ahlwardt, no. 7065, 1 as also in 6973, 3 and in 7334); (7) a riddle-poem on the Nile (with the answer of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī thereupon; Ahlwardt, no. 7866, 1, also in 6111); (8) another poem by him; Ahlwardt, no. 8471, 28; (9) writings addressed to him by others; Ahlwardt, nos. 7869 and 8471, 24 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 50; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 1899 al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām²*, i, 171).

8. Djamāl al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Ḥusayn b. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAlī, b. 722/1322, *mudarris* in Cairo and Damascus, in the latter also deputy *ḳāḍī*; d. 755/1354, previously to his father. He wrote a book on people with the name of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAli (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, v, 159); his correspondence is listed in Ahlwardt, no. 8471, 24 (Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, no. 73; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.*).

9. Tādj al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Naṣr b. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAlī studied in Cairo and Damascus, and early became a *mudarris* in Damascus and *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque. In 756/1354 his father nominated him as *ḳāḍī*, the first of many spells of office thus. In 769/1368 he was imprisoned for 80 days on a charge of misappropriating the property of a minor, apparently unjustly, but released through the efforts of friends. He died soon afterwards of plague. The surviving ones of his many works are listed in Brockelmann, II², 108-10, S II, 105-7. See on him Ibn al-ʿImād, vi, 221-2; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 8704; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8; Wüstenfeld, *Academien*, 40; al-Ziriklī, iv, 385; other sources in Brockelmann, S II, 105.

Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *magnum opus* in the eyes of Western scholars concerned with the religious and intellectual history of earlier Islam and, above all, the history and development of the Shāfiʿī law school [see SHĀFIʿIYYA], is his great biographical dictionary of Shāfiʿī scholars, the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, which exists in three versions of differing size, from the *kubrā* through the *wusṭā* down to the *ṣughrā* one (*kubrā* version first printed ed. Cairo 1323-4/1905-6, 6 vols., defective; new ed. Maḥmūd Muḥ. al-Ṭanāḥī and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw, Cairo 1383-96/1964-76, 10 vols.). In a study of al-Subkī's underlying aims in compiling this work (which had been preceded by other *ṭabaḳāt* works on the scholars of this law school), George Makdisi has suggested that Tādj al-Dīn was especially following his predecessor of two centuries before in Damascus, Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*], in the latter's *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī fī mā nusiba ilā ʾl-Imām Abi ʾl-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī* in producing a work of Ashʿarī propaganda [see ASHʿARIYYA]. However, he continues, al-Subkī went further and was better qualified. He was defending al-Ashʿarī and the ideas attributed to him, with the Shāfiʿīs in general in his mind, as Ibn ʿAsākir was; he fully endorsed his predecessor's work, but, having superior qualifications as a *faḳīh* as well as a *muḥaddith*, he aimed at producing a work resting on broader foundations (explicitly describing his *Ṭabaḳāt* as concerned with history, *adab*, law and tradition). His work is thus indeed a treasury of literary and historical information as well as theologico-legal material. He hoped in this way to convince those Shāfiʿī adherents who were nevertheless hostile to the use of *kalām*, rational arguments in theology [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM], that Ashʿarī rationalism had a valid role, and that the ideal was a fusion in Shāfiʿism of traditionalism and rationalism which would then make it superior to all the other *madhhabs*; accordingly, al-Subkī's enemies here were such anthropomorphists as the Ḥanbalīs and also intransigent Shāfiʿī traditionalists who were blatantly anti-Ashʿarī. Although

THE SUBKĪ FAMILY

- Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Tammām b. Yūsuf b. Mūsā b. Tammām b. Ḥammād b. Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Suwār b. Salīm al-Anṣārī al-Khazradjī
  - Ṣadr al-Dīn Yaḥyā (1.)
    - 'Abd al-Laṭīf
      - Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad (2.)
    - Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Barr
      - Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (3.)
        - Walī al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh (4.)
        - Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (5.)
  - Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Kāfī, d. 735/1334-5
    - Taḳī al-Dīn 'Alī (6.)
      - Bahā' al-Dīn Aḥmad (7.)
      - Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (8.)
      - Tādj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (9.)
      - Muḥammad (10.)

al-Subkī admits that *kalām* used wrongly can be dangerous, he asserts that the Imām Muḥammad al-Shāfi'ī [*q.v.*] himself used it, and that Shāfi'īsm and Ash'arism had always been inseparably linked. In his campaign against those purblind Shāfi'īs who refused to recognise this, he did not hesitate to discredit the attitudes of his own old teacher al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*]. See further, Makdisi, *Ash'arī and the Ash'arites in Islamic religious history*, in *SI*, xvii (1962), 37-80, xviii (1963), 19-39, esp. xvii, 57-79; on earlier *ṭabaḳāt* works, Shāfi'ī and others, see idem, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la resurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI^e siècle*, Damascus 1963, 47-58.

That such a polemic on behalf of Ash'arism was still necessary in the 8th/14th century is, of course, an indication that Ash'arī rationalism had not, despite the passage of four centuries, secured a majority recognition amongst the adherents of Shāfi'ism; Tādj al-Dīn was apparently swimming against the tide. Such considerations as those discussed above need to be taken into account in any evaluation of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya*, as do others mentioned by Heinz Halm, that the compiler was concerned above all with scholars from the main centres of Shāfi'ī influence (Cairo, Damascus, Baghdād, Nīshāpūr and Marw), with little or no attention to other towns and regions where we know, e.g. from historical sources, that there were significant Shāfi'ī elements. Hence whole regions are either sketchily covered or not covered at all, such as Sīstān, Ādharbaydjān, pre-Ayyūbid Egypt and Yemen. See Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfi'itischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 11-14.

Another, slighter work of Tādj al-Dīn's which has been readily accessible to Western scholars has been his *Mu'īd al-ni'am wa-mubīd al-niḳam* (ed. D.W. Myhrman as *The restorer of favours and the restrainer of chastisements*, London 1908; ed. Muḥ. 'Alī al-Nadjdjār *et alii*, Cairo 1367/1948; slightly abbreviated German tr. O. Rescher, Constantinople 1925 = *Gesammelte Werke*, Abt. II, Bd. 2, 691-855) which treats of 113 (in the fullest ms.) trades, professions and offices of the author's own time, in the light of how their exponents should behave in order to recover God's favour and secure their own salvation after having lost this. It contains *en passant* a certain amount of historical information and throws light on contemporary customs and attitudes, seen e.g. in the author's disapproval of the practice of kissing the ground (*taḳbīl al-arḍ*) before sultans or great *amīrs*.

10. Muhammad b. Taḳī al-Dīn 'Alī, to whom his father addressed an admonitory *ḳaṣīda*.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Myhrman on the Subkī family in the introd. to his *Mu'īd al-ni'am* edition, 8-35.

B. Shihāb al-Dīn or Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Subkī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi'ī (d. Djumādā II 1032/April 1623, author of several works and commentaries, listed in 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xii, 8-9, and *EI*¹ art. s.v.

C. Aḥmad Bey al-Subkī b. Aḥmad 'Udjayla, a personage in mid-19th century Egyptian life. Educated at the schools set up by Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha [*q.v.*], he was sent to Paris and stayed there two years, and later filled various official and military posts under the rulers of Egypt. See 'Alī Mubārak, *op. cit.*, xii, 9. (J. SCHACHT-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-SUBKIYYŪN, the name given to members of a religious society, al-Djam'iyya al-Shar'iyya li 'l-'Āmilīn bi 'l-Kitāb wa 'l-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya founded by the reformer Shaykh Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Subkī (1274-1352/1858-1933), a native of Subk in the Manūfiyya district of Lower Egypt (also the home of the 8th/14th century author Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī [*q.v.*]).

Shaykh Maḥmūd was first educated in Subk and later enrolled in al-Azhar. While studying at al-Azhar, he began to preach against current *bida'* [see BID'A], such as excessive grief at funerals, including the use of professional wailing women, as well as excessive celebrations at weddings. He also attacked the excesses of many of the Ṣūfī groups he encountered in Cairo, despite his involvement with Ṣūfism in the early part of his life. He then turned his attention to *bida'* in the *'ibādāt* which he encountered in al-Azhar itself, bolstering his arguments with *fatāwī* obtained from the senior *shaykhs* there, which he published under the title *Fatāwī a'immat al-Muslimīn*. He received his degree and *idjāza* to teach in 1313/1896. His increasing

popularity and strict message irked some Azharīs, who tried without success to curb his activities by complaining to the political authorities. His orthodoxy vindicated, the following years he continued to spread his views via Friday sermons and published tracts.

In Muḥarram 1331/December 1912 he established his society, with the aim of "spreading the true teachings of religion, to enlighten the minds and save the Muslims from corrupt beliefs and low *bidaʿ* and myths", embodying his ideals of strict adherence to the Sunna and open to all. The society would send its most able preachers to give the Friday sermons in mosques all over Egypt where they exhorted people to return to the basics of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna and abandon often deeply-ingrained popular practices. In time, the society established its own network of mosques and published regular journals including *Risālat al-Islām*, still published today. Members of the society used to be distinguished by their distinctive turbans. On Shaykh Maḥmūd's death, the leadership of the society went to his sons Amīn Khaṭṭāb and then Yūsuf Khaṭṭāb. When this line ended, the leadership went to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Mushtahirī and then to Farḥat ʿAlī Ḥilwa. The society is currently headed by Dr. Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Abu 'l-Nūr. It is estimated that the society has some 680 branches with over 64,000 members.

Among Shaykh Maḥmūd's publications are *al-Manhal al-ʿadhb*, Cairo 1351, which is seen as his major work; *Itḥāf al-kā'ināt bi-bayān madhhab al-salaf wa 'l-khalaf fi 'l-mutashabbihāt*, Cairo 1350; *al-Dīn al-ṣāliḥ*; etc. The introduction to *al-Manhal* lists 26 works in all.

Bibliography: The introd. to *al-Manhal al-ʿadhb*; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥifnī, *Mawsūʿat al-firaḳ wa 'l-djamāʿāt al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo n.d.; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Mushtahirī, *Hādhihi daʿwatuna*, Cairo n.d., which is an explanation of the movement and what it stands for. (MAHA AZZAM)

SŪDĀN, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan.

1. History and political development.

The republic takes its name from the mediaeval Arab geographers' *bilād al-Sūdān*, a sub-Saharan belt of which eastern and Nilotic lands were conquered by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Egypt and his successors. This "Egyptian Sudan" came to comprise territory from the Red Sea to the western marches of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], and from Nubia [see NŪBA] to the African Great Lakes. Thus although the present republic has an older political identity than most African states, like them it was born of foreign conquest.

In the European "Scramble for Africa", the Sudan was among the last prizes. Under Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī (d. 1885 [see AL-MAHDIYYA]) and his successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh al-Taʿā'ishī, an independent state had been made of Egyptian possessions. But even in its origins, the Mahdist state was bound up in Great Power rivalry; the Mahdī's rise did not so much cause as coincide with collapse of Egyptian authority in the Sudan, and with political crises in Egypt itself that ended with British occupation in 1882. The fall of Khartoum in 1885 would equip imperialists with arguments for a British conquest that imperial strategy required anyway.

Britain's anomalous position in Egypt influenced the 20th-century political development of the Sudan. Despite British occupation, Egypt remained an Ottoman province under the Khedive and his ministers. In the light of this, and to deflect Great Power objections, invasion of the Sudan in 1896-8 was termed an Anglo-Egyptian "reconquest" of lost Egyptian provinces. Kitchener commanded a largely Egyptian (and Sudanese) army when he defeated the Khalīfa at Karārī on 2 September 1898. The flexibility of a "two-flag" policy was evident two weeks later at Fashoda, where a French expedition under Marchand was warned off by the British for trespassing on Egyptian rights.

In the wake of "reconquest" there was therefore no question of wholly separating the Sudan from Egypt. Instead, Lord Cromer, Agent and Consul-General in Cairo, devised a "hybrid form of government" in two Anglo-Egyptian conventions that in 1899 established a formal condominium. Sovereignty in the Sudan went unspecified. Power was concentrated in a Governor-General nominated by Britain and appointed by the Khedive; every Governor-General until independence in 1956 was British. The Capitulations, Mixed Courts and other apparatus of international control in Egypt, were excluded. Separate financial regulations further defined relations between the new régime and Egypt. In broad terms, the Condominium, at least until the 1920s and to a considerable extent thereafter, was controlled by Britain and financed by Egypt, staffed in its upper echelons by British officers and (increasingly) civilians, and in its lower by Egyptians, Syrians, other foreigners and (increasingly) by Sudanese.

But the land and its peoples were more important in determining the nature of the régime than were the war and diplomacy that created it. Defining the Sudan's borders began in the Condominium Agreement itself; the conquest of Dār Fūr in 1916 and long negotiations between Britain and France, the Congo, Italy and other powers completed it. A territory of about one million square miles resulted, with conditions varying from sand desert in the north, to savannah in a central belt and forest in the south. The population was very heterogeneous: what would soon be called the Northern Sudan comprised Nubians, Fur, Beja, and (mostly) Arabic-speaking Muslims claiming Arab descent; the South presented a mosaic of ethnic diversity without any linguistic or religious cement. Contact between the two regions had been characterised during the 19th century by the raiding and enslavement of southerners by northern Sudanese. The total population under Anglo-Egyptian rule may only be guessed; in its first decades even the existence of separate ethnic groups went largely unknown to their nominal governors.

That ignorance, and the régime's limited resources, were factors in the unequal development of the regions. Indeed, with Egyptian subventions the Sudan Government was better off than many colonial governments. But great distances and sparse population made communications difficult and transport expensive. Foreign officials' greater familiarity with the Arab-Muslim culture of the North almost invariably biased them in favour of that region. The result was considerable public investment in the northeastern quadrant of the country: Khartoum was rebuilt; a railway was extended from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum, the Gezira, al-Ubayd, and to Port Sudan, which was built to supersede Suakin [see SAWĀKIN] as the Sudan's principal harbour; a vast Gezira Scheme, financed by European loans to irrigate cotton in the region between the Blue and White Niles south of Khartoum, skewed the country's subsequent development. Social services were again relatively lavish in northern centres, while in rural areas and the South their provision was left up to the Army and Christian missionaries. Thus the relative backwardness of peripheral regions, most

obviously the South, was widened by Anglo-Egyptian bias and policy.

Much of that policy was set by or under the second Governor-General, Sir Reginald Wingate (1900-16). Upon succeeding Kitchener, Wingate had already spent sixteen years in the Egyptian Army, latterly in charge of Intelligence, and had formed definite views. With Cromer, his superior until 1907, Wingate devised structures and set a tone that would last as long as the Condominium.

Confrontation with Sudanese Mahdism had dominated Wingate's work in Egypt; in the Sudan a fear of "fanaticism" influenced otherwise disparate areas of policy. He suppressed not only Mahdism and its surviving notables, but also any sign of disruptive heterodoxy: individual *fikis* (Ar. *faḳīh*) were arrested, exiled and even executed; Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* were denied recognition, while co-operative *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s were loaded with privileges. Orthodox Islam was promoted: the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, as reformed, became a model; a Grand Qadi and Mufti of the Sudan were appointed, and *ʿulamāʾ*, never influential in the Sudan, were nonetheless given honours, pensions, and official status. In 1912 a *maʿhad al-ʿilmī*, with curriculum closely modelled on that of al-Azhar, was opened in Omdurman to train *ʿulamāʾ*. The Ḥanafī *mad̲h̲hab* of the Ottoman Empire, introduced at the Turco-Egyptian conquest, was reimposed; in personal law, Sudanese continued their adherence to the Mālikī rite. The government repaired and built mosques, encouraged the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* (for long an important socio-economic phenomenon in a land adjacent to the Ḥid̲j̲āz and traversed by the "Sudan Road" of West African pilgrims), and subsidised religious education. Avoiding offence to Muslims, Christian missionaries were largely limited to the South.

Wingate's fear of Mahdism influenced economic policy. Although his own propaganda against the Mahdist state had decried a revival of slavery, Wingate and his lieutenants saw mass manumission as offensive to Muslims and thus as a focus for revolt; while for European audiences they championed repression of the slave trade, yet they turned a blind eye to it and intervened to prevent the manumission even of individuals. Similarly, taxes, especially in regard to lightly-administered nomadic tribes, were kept low, lest a spark be given to apprehended Mahdist tinder.

A turning-point in the history of the régime was the First World War. If the Ottoman sultan, still nominally sovereign in Egypt, should side with the Central Powers, the British feared repercussions not only in Egypt but also in the Sudan, as indeed in India and other Muslim lands. Wingate acted quickly to defuse a call to *d̲j̲ihād*. Adding to war-time security measures (censorship, propaganda, arrest of enemy aliens, and so forth), he altered his religious policy. By 1914 it was clear that the *ʿulamāʾ* had little influence: Sudanese continued to look, as they had for centuries, to individual holy men (*fikis*) and the Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ* for guidance; while the government encouraged the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* to Mecca, pilgrimage to the tombs of Sudanese saints was vastly more popular. Thus when the War broke out, the government's embrace of pliant *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s was widened to include the son of the Mahdī, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; restrictions were eased in return for support of the régime, a position in any case consistent with his father's *d̲j̲ihād* against "the Turks". This rehabilitation would have rapid and far-reaching political results.

Whether Wingate overreacted is debatable; the Sudan remained quiet throughout the War, and, indeed, became a base of operations against the Turks and their allies. In 1916 Wingate moved against ʿAlī Dīnār, sultan of Dār Fūr, who had assumed an anti-British tone and whose autonomy impeded the European position in the south-central Sahara; an Anglo-Egyptian force defeated the Fūr near al-Fas̲h̲īr, the sultan was later killed in a skirmish, and Dār Fūr came under the Sudan Government. Meanwhile in the east through personal efforts and proximity to the Ḥid̲j̲āz, Wingate assumed roles for himself and the Sudan in the revolt of the S̲h̲arīf of Mecca against the Ottomans.

After the War, the Sudan experienced political ferment and social dislocation. The growth of Egyptian nationalism had both paralleled and stimulated Sudanese feelings of national identity. Although limited to a tiny educated élite and tentatively expressed, these stirrings provoked an incommensurate British reaction. Fearing that Egyptian civilian cadres and army units would suborn the Sudanese, and that a potential existed for an unholy (and even unwitting) alliance of discontented townsmen and fanatical tribes, the British hardened their position. During 1924 demonstrations, by the White Flag League and others, condemned Britain and defended Egyptian rights in the Sudan. When in November the Governor-General, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo, the opportunity was taken both to bring down the Wafd government of Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl [*q.v.*] and to expel Egyptian Army units and civilians from the Sudan. In Khartoum some Sudanese soldiers died resisting that evacuation, in an episode still commemorated.

There followed a period of repression. The seeming ease with which trouble had arisen in the towns convinced British authorities that a class of secularly-educated Sudanese, like its counterpart in Egypt, India and elsewhere, was dangerous. The reaction was reflected in social policy. Ordinances extended powers of tribal chiefs, circumventing the educated; traditional Ḳurʾānic schools (*k̲h̲alwas*) replaced as the focus of education policy the secular primary and elementary schools that had produced "effendis"; and the scope of the latter's employment was reduced and avenues for advance closed. These changes coincided with dramatic economic developments: the Gezira Scheme, inaugurated in 1925, for several years produced good returns on a huge investment; but insect infestation and the collapse of the cotton market during the Depression resulted in destitution for tenants and financial crisis for the Sudan Government. Post-1924 quiescence was thus misleading, and bought at a price.

Moreover, Britain's freedom of action in the Sudan was limited by its position in Egypt. Violent disturbances in 1919 had led to Egypt's nominal independence in 1922 and, in 1924, to the Wafd government of Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl, who insisted on the unity of the Nile Valley. No subsequent Egyptian government would forswear the Sudan, the status of which became, with that of the Suez Canal Zone, the focus of Anglo-Egyptian relations. Negotiations after 1924 all collapsed over these issues. It was only a shared fear of Italian imperialism, and the Wafd's need for more than rhetorical results from its nationalist stance, that finally brought progress. In a 1936 treaty, Egypt won concessions over its international status, and a symbolic return of some troops to the Sudan, while Britain secured its position at the Canal; the sovereignty issue was deferred, the signatories merely expressing continuing concern for the welfare of the Sudanese. This reference, made without consulting them, ironically rekindled political interest among Sudanese, and gave to the Sudan question a triangular shape that it would

retain until independence. All parties recognised this; to pre-empt an increase in Egyptian political activity, the British authorities encouraged, in 1938, the founding of a Graduates' General Congress to co-opt the educated element they had suppressed.

While nationalist activity had subsided after 1924, changes in the relative importance of individuals and groups altered the dynamics of Sudanese politics. After his rehabilitation during the First World War, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī had rapidly expanded his following and influence, especially in the west. As early as 1919, British officials expressed alarm; collaboration with the Sayyid remained controversial, and a rising led by ʿAbd Allāh al-Sihaynī in Dār Fūr in 1921 was blamed on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's agents. But in 1924, when the régime felt threatened by Egyptian politicians and disgruntled townsmen, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was foremost in condemning both, and he received a knighthood from the British Government. By the late 1920s, as a result of government concessions and the free labour of his followers, he was probably the richest Sudanese; by the mid-1930s, he openly vied with Sayyid ʿAlī al-Mīrghānī, whose Khatmiyya *ṭarīḳa*'s support for established authority and opposition to Mahdism pre-dated the Condominium, for a comparable political standing. Renewed political activity after the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty both reflected and heightened that competition.

In the Second World War, unlike the first, the Sudan played a direct role. Despite a huge advantage in numbers and equipment, an Italian advance in 1940 ended in the ignominious Allied occupation of Italian East Africa in 1941. Units of the Sudan Defence Force (the Anglo-Sudanese army created in 1925), served in several African and Near Eastern theatres. Not until the German defeat at al-Alamein in November 1942 was the Axis threat to Britain's position in the Nile Valley removed. But what British officials saw as a defining crisis of world history, some Sudanese considered a clash of imperialisms; in their view, Sudanese political advance should be accelerated, not postponed. It was with this view that in April 1942 the Graduates' Congress asked for concessions, including Sudanese independence at the end of the war. They were rebuffed, and divisions within the Congress that had led to its demands now widened into overt political parties. In 1944 the *Ashikka* formed the nucleus of what would become (under various names) the Unionists, while in 1945 the *Umma* proclaimed "the Sudan for the Sudanese". But Union and Independence were watchwords; superficial polarisation obscured a wide spectrum of interests.

The politics of the Condominium's last decade are thus complicated in detail but susceptible to generalisation. Anglo-Egyptian relations worsened. In 1945, at Egypt's request, re-negotiation of the 1936 treaty began, but with irreconcilable positions over the Canal and the Sudan. To break the impasse the British government, in the so-called Ṣidḳī-Bevin Protocol of October 1946, recognised Egyptian sovereignty in the Sudan. A furious reaction in Britain, and among British officials in the Sudan, wrecked the agreement. But British willingness to compromise over sovereignty whetted Egyptian appetites, imbued the Sudan Government with permanent suspicion of a "sell-out", and disconcerted its Sudanese allies, to whom the end of strategic collaboration had always been seen as independence.

The development of Sudanese politics in the post-war period was thus inseparable from Anglo-Egyptian relations. The Unionists, led by the irrepressible Ismāʿīl al-Azharī, a mathematics teacher from a prominent religious family, condemned the British, withheld co-operation from successive consultative bodies, and demanded union with Egypt. To varying degrees, they saw this as a lever for moving the British; those wedded to the Unity of the Nile Valley were few, while many upheld "union" in order to preclude the Mahdist monarchy the British might impose in order to debar Egypt. For his part, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī co-operated with the Sudan Government, and his Umma Party dominated its advisory bodies; the Egyptians were his family's historic enemies, and by collaborating he kept Egypt at bay while prodding the British towards negotiated departure. Many tribal and religious leaders, notably ʿAlī al-Mīrghānī, recoiled at a choice between Mahdist monarchy and Egyptian imperialism, and saw nominal "Union" as a way of foiling Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, while disposing of his British patrons; Egyptians had after all been ejected before and could be again.

Central to the machinations of the period was therefore the rivalry between the *Sayyids*. The ebullient ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whose influence derived from the revolutionary charisma of his father, was ironically the more worldly and modern; this routinisation of Mahdist ideology has been described as "neo-Mahdism", and been compared with the achievement of dynastic power in Libya and Morocco. ʿAlī al-Mīrghānī, on the contrary, would be king-maker rather than king, and embodied cautious reserve and oracular reticence; his support of Unionists was always qualified, rarely certain, and stemmed wholly from opposition to Mahdism.

The Anglo-Egyptian (and Sudanese sectarian) impasse was broken only after the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. The ruling junta, influenced by Muḥammad Nadjīb [*q.v.*], proclaimed a willingness to allow Sudanese self-determination. Since this had been the ostensible goal of the British, who by terms of the Ṣidḳī-Bevin Protocol had lost the confidence of their Sudanese allies, the Sudan Government was suddenly isolated and to a degree irrelevant; the Sudanese parties entered into direct negotiation with Egypt, and Anglo-Egyptian agreement over terms of self-determination was reached in 1953. This called for a transitional period during which Sudanisation of the administration, and elections to a national parliament would take place. These produced a parliamentary majority for al-Azharī's National Unionist Party; the Umma had campaigned ineptly and alienated non-Mahdists, while other groupings—hardly parties—were regional, extreme, or otherwise flawed.

It was ironical therefore that al-Azharī and the Unionists led the Sudan to independence. The events of 1954-5 are less significant than that result; through deft manoeuvring, favourable circumstance, rivals' mistakes, and the unlimited elasticity of "union", al-Azharī presided as Prime Minister when the Sudanese parliament dispensed with formalities and voted for independence at the end of 1955. An independent republic was declared on 1 January 1956.

Despite this formal break with a colonial past, evidence of continuity after 1955 is striking. In two areas, national politics and the affairs of the South, this would have lasting and disastrous consequences. Al-Azharī's triumph in 1955 had been personal and tactical; the two Sayyids were the true masters of the Sudan, and it was their mutual hostility that had allowed his success. In late 1955 they had reached a truce, and in July 1956 their parliamentary supporters duly ousted al-Azharī and elected the Umma leader, ʿAbd Allāh Khalīl, as Prime Minister in a coalition

of the Umma and a Unionist faction. This and subsequent manoeuvring discredited party politics. Beset by a faltering economy, and by rifts within the Unionists' ranks that threatened his own position, 'Abd Allāh Khalīl, a former officer, connived in 1958 in an army coup that swept away the parliamentary régime. A junta assumed supreme power, which it in turn delegated to the Commander-in-Chief, Ibrāhīm 'Abbūd.

An issue of particular concern to the military régime that ruled until 1964 was the South. Largely neglected by the British under a misapplied "Southern Policy", the region had ironically at the end of the Second World War became a last bastion of imperial control; British officials' demand for "safeguards" for the South in a self-governing Sudan was viewed by others as an attempt to delay independence or even to detach the region. In the first parliament, Southern representatives were overwhelmed by Northern politicians, and their votes for independence were bought with the easy promise of future considerations. Meanwhile, in August 1955, alarmed by precipitate Sudanisation—or as they saw it, Arabisation—of regional government, Southern army units rebelled. Hundreds of Northerners were killed. Neither al-Azharī's nor 'Abd Allāh Khalīl's administration took effective steps to deal with Southern grievances; 'Abbūd's régime worsened the problem. A programme of Arabisation and Islamisation was adopted, and Christian missionaries were harassed and finally expelled. Guerrilla activity sprang up among veterans of the 1955 mutiny and others. 'Abbūd's junta responded in kind, and by 1964 there was civil war.

The soldiers' military failure brought down a régime already discredited by ineptness and repression in other areas. In October 1964 street demonstrations in Omdurman and Khartoum gained momentum from the evident half-heartedness with which troops responded. Banned political parties resurfaced, but it was an alliance of professionals, trade unionists, students and others that directed and dominated mass action. With support from the ranks evaporating, 'Abbūd and his colleagues resigned, and a Transitional Government was formed to prepare a return to democratic rule.

The Transitional Government of 1964-5 has since been seen as one of missed opportunity. The cabinet, under Sirr al-Khātim al-Khalīfa, a civil servant, was dominated by members of the Professionals' Front, who favoured radical democratic and socialist solutions to the Sudan's problems. Opposed to them, and outnumbered, were leaders of the old parties. The former had ideas without mass support, the latter sectarian followings without ideas. In the end, ideas were discounted; under pressure from the politicians, new elections were held in April-May 1965, before the professionals could organise. A coalition of the Umma and NUP was formed, with the Umma's Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥdjūb as Prime Minister; by a hastily-contrived constitutional amendment, Ismā'īl al-Azharī became President of the Supreme Council of State. The intellectual bankruptcy of the parties and cynicism of their leaders is evident from subsequent events.

The second parliamentary régime witnessed a return to the sterile sectarian and personal rivalries of the past and, because of this, a worsening situation in the South. No party or politician would risk the electoral consequences or a rival's jeers by suggesting a generous solution to what they persisted in calling the "Southern Problem". For their part, no leader of the disunited tribally-based rebels in the South had a following large enough to dominate the movement; successive groupings with ever-grander names reflected factionalisation. Southern politicians working within the Khartoum system had little influence, nor can it be said that any proposed constitutional "solution"—federalism, autonomy or independence for the South—had the support even of most Southerners. A multilateral conference held by the Transitional Government in March 1965 rehearsed old positions a month before parliamentary elections. Continuation of guerrilla war was expedient for weak politicians on both sides.

The base from which the second parliamentary régime began was thus as weak as its predecessor's. Debilitating inter- and intra-party rivalries both caused and fed off political and economic crisis. In 1966 Ṣādiḳ al-Mahdī, great-grandson of the Mahdī, having engineered the fall of the Umma Prime Minister and his own succession, embarked on a campaign of modest reform unacceptable to his uncle, al-Hādī, the *imām* of the *Anṣār*. Their disagreement was exploited by al-Azharī, who joined forces with al-Hādī to depose Ṣādiḳ. With the Umma split, a new coalition was formed of Unionists and followers of al-Hādī, with Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥdjūb as Prime Minister. This coalition, dominated by al-Azharī's reunited Unionists, retained office after elections in 1968. That a government with a huge parliamentary majority could be so ineffectual is indicative of the continuing personal and sectarian nature of Sudanese politics and, indeed, of the growing irrelevance of electoral politics. The régime's true strength was revealed by the ease with which a group of young officers led by Dja'far Muḥammad Numayrī, overthrew it in May 1969.

Despite its revolutionary pronouncements, the long military régime of 1969-85 exhibits elements of continuity with previous régimes. These may be summarised as: a failure to create durable institutions; an attempt to Islamise—some would say Sudanise—the South, through peaceful assimilation or mass violence, a process seen as interrupted by British imperialism and unrealistically resisted by diehard Southerners; the dominant centre's struggle to maintain control of an impoverished and powerless periphery, not only in the South; the weakness of secular authority without sectarian support, and the concomitant failure of "new men", "professionals" and "technocrats" to assume political power; big-project economic development, an addiction induced by the Condominium's Gezira Scheme, with disastrous results; poverty; and international insignificance despite a natural position of influence as an Afro-Arab, multi-confessional, and strategically-located state. The identification of this second military régime with one man, Numayrī, is therefore convenient but inaccurate; Numayrī was adept at wringing personal advantage from a situation worsened by his survival in office, and is a notable but hardly revolutionary figure in post-Independence Sudanese political history.

Only the main events of this recent period may be described without reference to archival sources. Its plotters saw the May Revolution as successor to the radical movement of the Professionals' Front of 1964-5; Numayrī acted quickly to dispose of organised rivals on left and right. In 1971 the small but influential Communist Party was purged, and leading members executed after a failed coup; Numayrī followed up a narrow escape with a referendum confirming his presidency. In 1972 the army attacked the stronghold of the *Anṣār* at Aba Island; thousands were killed, including the Imām al-Hādī, while the movement went into disarray. Having failed like his predecessors to win a military victory in the South, Numayrī now shored

up his personal position by reaching an agreement with the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement, which had coalesced under Joseph Lagu; by the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, the South was granted a large measure of autonomy. But peace in the South was no substitute for mass support in the North; after a failed but bloody *Anṣār* coup attempt in 1976, Numayrī took steps to co-opt Ṣādiḳ al-Mahdī, the exiled Umma leader, who returned to the Sudan in 1977. Timebuying political gestures were by now a hallmark of the régime, which dispensed patronage through a Sudan Socialist Union, which a constitution promulgated in 1973 made the sole legal party. But the manifest failure of the régime's economic policies, and the consequent resort to unpopular prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund and donor countries, fuelled opposition in the late 1970s and early 1980s; a massive foreign debt was accumulated, with little to show for it but half-finished and inefficient projects, repeated devaluations, and the emergence of a parasitical class of newly-rich officers and cronies. By 1983 Numayrī evidently felt the need for another bold gesture: taking advantage of Southern politicians' incompetence and venality, he declared in June the "redivision" of the South into three "regions" corresponding to the old Anglo-Egyptian provinces; in September he declared the *Sharīʿa*, heretofore enforced only in the North, applicable to all. The cost of appeasing Northern opponents was soon evident in the South; a Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/SPLA) were formed, and by 1985 full-scale civil war engulfed the region.

Economic collapse and civil war set the stage for Numayrī's downfall. By late 1984 he had successively allied with and opposed every political and religious grouping of significance, from the Communists to the Muslim Brothers; in January 1985 Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā, the aged leader of the tiny Republican movement, was hanged on a charge of heresy after criticising the régime. Emboldened by his opponents' hand-wringing, Numayrī embarked on a foreign trip in April, even as demonstrations against the régime mounted. The army deposed him lest it go down with him, and opposition leaders now "called off the revolution". A military government assumed absolute but avowedly temporary power, while a cabinet of disparate elements prepared for new elections. The position of 1964-5 was soon replicated, as the old parties with sectarian backing pushed aside the ill-assorted elements that had brought down Numayrī. Indeed, the SPLM/SPLA, in clandestine radio messages, belittled "Numayrism without Numayrī" and continued to prosecute the war.

The history of the third parliamentary régime (1986-9) was dominated by the same two problems that had plagued its predecessors: inability to take strong measures in the face of enduring personal and sectarian rivalries, and the related problem of civil war, which involved fundamental questions about the nature of the Sudanese state. Under Ṣādiḳ al-Mahdī, Prime Minister in the coalition governments of the period, the inherited prestige of the Father of Independence proved an inadequate base for national consensus. Despite twenty years in the political wilderness, Ṣādiḳ in power maintained that basic issues—the role of Islam, the applicability of *Sharīʿa*, the rights of religious minorities—required further study. Negotiations with the SPLM/SPLA, which saw itself as nationalist and secularist, not separatist, therefore collapsed. At the national level, lack of direction reduced politics to the familiar search for tactical advantage, while the costs of war, and an ever-worsening economy, limited room to manoeuvre. Ironically the end of the régime came on the eve of an agreement which Ṣādiḳ had reached with the SPLM/SPLA to negotiate an end to the war.

In June 1989 a group of middle-rank officers took power in a bloodless coup. Their programme and even political orientation remained unclear for some time. It was eventually apparent that they had none, and the vacuum thus created was deftly occupied by the National Islamic Front. Descended from the Muslim Brothers, whose Sudanese roots reached back to the 1940s, that party had, like others, both collaborated with and been suppressed by Numayrī. Its leader, Ḥasan al-Turābī, had withstood criticism of his long support for the dictator; it was during Numayrī's rule that Turābī made of the NIF a small but cohesive party. After the 1986 elections, it was taken into government. Thus in 1989, the NIF was at first banned with the other parties, and Turābī was for a time formally under arrest. By midsummer 1995, Turābī, though widely acknowledged in—and even at times acknowledging—a leading role, still had no official position in the régime.

After 1989, therefore, the Sudan was governed by a military junta drawing inspiration from the ideology of Ḥasan al-Turābī. There were no national elections and political parties remained banned. The president, General Ḥasan al-Bas̲h̲īr, and his colleagues renewed the war against southern rebels, declaring this a *d̲j̲ihād*; active support of Arab and Muslim states was solicited and received. Epidemics, famine, even slavery, returned to the South, while the collapse of the Mengistu régime in Ethiopia deprived the SPLA of its main foreign bases and support, and the movement itself splintered. The war's financial burden contributed to a disastrous economic record. Opponents of the Sudanese régime were detained without charge and tortured; thousands went into what increasingly appeared permanent exile. Accused by western governments and by its neighbours of harbouring, training, and exporting terrorists, the régime became increasingly isolated; Egypt on several occasions seemed ready to take action against the Sudan.

After six years in power, this third Sudanese military régime showed signs of going the way of the previous two. Despite its ostensible Islamic character, and the many and costly steps it took to exhibit this, the régime never enjoyed the support of more than a small minority, even of Muslim Sudanese. But opposition, while widespread, was unconcerted, both within the country and between exiles and residents; alliances of the Anṣār and the SPLM, of Nūba Christians and exiled professionals, of aged Communists and Fūr nationalists, inspired in Khartoum more hope than fear. The Sudanese pattern in such cases is of mass action followed by a struggle between old parties and the partisans of change.

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2. Languages.

The Sudan's 25.2 (1990) million inhabitants occupy an area of approximately one million sq. miles and speak some 134 languages. Obtaining precise and reliable statistics often proves difficult, however, due to the language vs. dialect problem. For example, many scholars treat Kakwa, spoken in Yei District, Equatoria Province (40,000 speakers [1978]) as a Bari dialect, even though Kakwa and Bari are better designated separate languages despite their 73% lexical similarity. Most of those 134 languages are not normally written, nor do they have an extensive body of written literature. The literacy rate for the entire country has been estimated at 20% (1991).

The Sudan's amazing range of diverse languages belongs to three distinct language phyla (out of a total of four for all of Africa, following the standard classification of Joseph H. Greenberg [1963]). They are: Afroasiatic (AA), also known as Hamito-Semitic; Nilo-Saharan (NS); and Niger-Congo (NC).

Approximately 51% of the population speak one of the many dialects of Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA) as a native language. This means that the Semitic sub-branch of the AA phylum to which Arabic belongs represents the majority of the Sudanese population. (Tigré, a northern Ethiopian-Semitic language, also has some speakers in northern Sudan.) The only other major, autochthonous AA language spoken in the country is Beja, a member of the Cushitic sub-branch. The Muslim Beja [see BEDJA], also known as Bedauye or Bedawiye, have probably resided in their present locale for 6,000 years. They number about a million speakers in the Sudan, with at least 50,000 more in Ethiopia and Upper Egypt (1982). Its three major dialects are Hadendoa, Hadareb and Bisharin, while Bani-Amer is an ethnonym for some Beja. The Chadic sub-branch of AA is also represented in the Sudan by Hausa, Kajakse, and possibly also Kujargé, spoken around Jebel Marra and along the lower Wadis Salih and Azum rivers. The Hausa speakers, many of whom are ethnic Fulani who no longer speak Fulfulde (Fellata), emigrated over a long period (especially from Chad and Nigeria). Hausa is an important trade language, which may account for its remaining an important lingua franca, not only in the Sudan but also in the neighbouring countries.

Approximately 90 languages of the Sudan belong to the second phylum, NS. This is the most intricate language family in Africa, and the least investigated. Proto-NS may be divided into "Peripheral NS" and "Core NS". The former can be split into (1) Songhay, (2) Saharan and Kuliak, (3) Maba and Fur, and (4) Kunama and Berta, while the latter can be broken down into (1) East Sudanic (ES), (2) Central Sudanic, (3) Komuz, and (4) Kadugli-Krongo.

Neither the Songhay nor the Kuliak members of NS are found in the Sudan. Saharan's only Sudanese member is Zagawa, spoken in Waddai-Dārfūr (102,000 speakers [1982]). Similarly, the Maba(n) stock has only one Sudanese representative, Masaalit, with 145,000 speakers (1991).

The most studied language family in the Sudan is ES, which contains the largest number of languages of the entire phylum of NS. ES is subdivided into Nubian, Nara, Nyima, Tama, Surma, Jebel, Temein, Daju, and Nilotic. The eastern part of ES consists of the Nubian group, spoken in the Nile Valley up to the border with Egypt. Today, the group is comprised of Nobiin, Meidob (in Dārfūr), Kenuz-Dongola, and Hill Nubian. The latter, a language cluster of the Nūba Hills, still has no accepted classification. The Birked language, a separate ES branch which was formerly spoken in northern Dārfūr, east of Jebel Marra between Jebel Harayt and the Rizaykat country, is now extinct. One of the least-known branches of ES is the (Eastern) Jebel group, spoken in Blue Nile Province. Its main language is Tabi, also known as Gaam or Ingessana with 10,000 speakers (1972). Western ES is broken down into Daju, Nyima(ng), Tama and Temein. All together, these four languages have about a quarter of a million speakers. Many Daju today have been Arabicised and speak a Darfurian

SCA, similar in numerous respects to Chadian and Nigerian (S̲h̲uwa) Arabic.

Some information exists on the Sudanese Nilotic languages. North and Central Nilotic occur in the Sudan; however, South Nilotic does not. The principal languages of North Nilotic are: Shilluk, 175,000; Dinka, 2 million (Northeastern and Northwestern Dinka may be two separate languages); Nuer, 740,000; and Luwo (Dhe Luwo), 54,000 (all 1982); while Central Nilotic has Bari, 226,000 (1978); Lotuko, 185,000 (1982); and a few members of the Teso-Turkana group, such as Toposa with 95,000 (1982). The latter is mutually intelligible with Turkana, which has 260,000 speakers in Rift Valley Province, Kenya.

The classification of Surma is complicated. There are a minimum of ten branches, the two most important southern Sudanese members of which are Didinga with 58,000 speakers (1978) and Murle with 60,000 (1982). These two languages have 71% lexical similarity.

Central Sudanic consists of Moru-Madi, Mangbutu-Efe, Mangbetu, Kresh, Baledha (Lendu), Aja, Bagirmi, Yulu-Binga, Sinyar and Bongo. The internal classification of Central Sudanic remains problematic. It seems clear, however, that Moru-Madi with 88,000 speakers in Equatoria Province (1982) represents one grouping, while Kresh, spoken mainly in Raga, western Bahr el Ghazal Province, with 16,000 (1987), forms another. There are also Kresh communities in Khartoum, Wau and Boro.

NS can also possibly claim the ancient Meroitic language, written in a script coming from ancient Egyptian. The Meroitic Kingdom, extending from the third cataract in the north to the Soba area in the south, reached its height in the third and second centuries B.C. Another theory that classifies Meroitic as AA is far less probable.

NC represents two-thirds of Africa's languages. Proto NC separated into the Mande, Atlantic-Congo and Kordofanian sub-branches. The 32 Kordofanian languages are spoken in the Nūba Hills by several hundred thousand. Four groups have been postulated: Heiban, Talodi, Rashad and Katla, with the major languages Koalib, 30,000 (1989), spoken around Delami in southern Kordofān; Moro, 30,000; Tira, 40,000, around Otoro and Talodi; and Tagali, 80,000 (all 1982), in the Tagali Range and Rashad town and hills.

A major characteristic of many NC languages is the serial verb construction, in which what seems to be a single clause is expressed syntactically by juxtaposed verbs, all sharing the same subject or agent, without coordinating conjunctions of any kind. By way of contrast, there is little which gives NS a distinctive morphosyntactic unity, except that plural pronouns are often formed by singular pronouns with plural affixation. This process, however, does not occur in NC. Many NS languages, additionally, are agglutinative or inflectional in nature.

Since the official language of the country is Arabic, and whereas there have been numerous attempts at Arabicisation and Islamisation in the southern Sudan (resulting, in part, in the ongoing Sudanese Civil War), uncountable Arabic loanwords have found their way into various NS and NC languages. In addition, innumerable NS and NC speakers use SCA as a second or third language, or have learned a major lingua franca of the southern Sudan, Sudanese Pidgin Arabic (so-called Juba Arabic, in actuality both a pidgin and a creole, a variety not confined to the city of Juba). Speakers of NC Banda (10,000 [1982]), for instance, speak Pidgin Arabic with non-Banda speakers. African languages have also influenced, although to a lesser extent, via substratum, the Arabic pidgins and creoles of Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal, and the Upper Nile regions.

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(A.S. Kaye)

SŪDĀN, Bilād al-, literally "land of the blacks", the general name in pre-modern Arabic sources for the Saharo-Sahelian sector of Africa, that lying south of the Mag̲h̲rib, Libya and Egypt and stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Red Sea in the east.

1. The eastern part of the Sūdān.

See for this, čad in Suppl.; dārfūr; kordofān; nūba; wādāy; and for the modern period, sūdān, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan.

2. History of the Western Sūdān.

It is by the name *Bilād al-Sūdān al-G̲h̲arbī* (although the "western" qualification is not always clearly specified) that Muslim geographers, and historians in later times, referred to this part of the "land of the Negroes", contiguous with the Sahara, between the Atlantic Ocean and the loop of the Niger or the Aïr. From the 8th/14th century onward, at least, the term Takrūr, which initially in the 5th/11th century denoted a city of Middle Senegal, was widely used in the Orient to denote this western, Islamised sector of Sudano-Sahelian Africa, thus competing with, and then virtually replacing, the expression "Western Sudan".

The Sūdān of the Arabs—Black Africa dominated by Muslim civilisation—did not denote the entire Black continent, but only a corridor of varying breadth extending from one side of the continent to the other. Essentially, this general conception remained unchanged in the Middle Ages and has survived into the present day. In western Sudan, Islam was implanted at the point at which the caravans arrived and, in a millenium, with remarkable slowness, advanced only a few hundreds of kilometres. Besides this transverse band, and until the 20th century, the West Africa of the southern savannahs and the rain forests thus remained relatively untouched by the process.

In the early years of Islam, western Sudan represented for the Arabs the very extremity of the world. It was not zeal for proselytism but the attraction exerted by highly-valued merchandise (gold, ivory, slaves, precious wood, etc.) which in the first centuries of the Hid̲j̲ra brought Muslim merchants, Arab, Berber or Persian, to the gateways of Sudan and in particular, following the conquest of the Mag̲h̲rib, to its western sector. One of the first Arab texts dealing with the sub-Saharan world, that of the geographer al-Fazārī (second half of the 2nd/8th century) describes the "state of G̲h̲āna" (which is not present-day Ghana, but a mediaeval political formation bordering on Mauritania, Senegal and Mali) as "the land of gold" [see g̲h̲āna]. The image of western Sudan was thus founded on contradictions: it was simultaneously a "barbarous" and distant region, and a land of plenty.

With the exception of a few trans-Saharan explorations, the historical caliphates neither encompassed nor attempted to occupy any part of western Sudan. Even the Almoravids, themselves veiled Berbers originally from the South of the Mauritanian desert (5th/11th century), constructed their power-base in Morocco and, while attaching the highest importance to control of the western gold route, soon lost interest in sub-

Saharan political struggles. Their role in the Islamisation of the closest West African populations has always been a controversial issue.

This absence of the central caliphates, or of local emirates, no doubt partially explains the slow pace of cultural contact or interaction. In contrast to the situation in the lands of the Mediterranean basin, for a long time there did not exist here a power drawing its exclusive legitimacy from adherence to Islam and, as the single political entity, throwing all its weight behind the new religion. A badge of social status, of equal value to luxury goods imported from the north (horses, salt, fabrics, glass-ware, etc.), Islam took root gradually among African commercial agents, especially the Soninke (the dominant ethnic group of the "empire" of Ghana) and in the courts of the chieftains. But it was to be several centuries more before it was to pass from cities to the countryside, from élites to peasants, from groups inhabiting the fringes of the desert to groups in the interior.

Sudanese Islam was, for a long time, confined within urban enclaves (separate districts or entire towns). These Islamised enclaves were to take considerable time in converting the surrounding populations, either by peaceful means or, from the 11th/17th century onward, by armed *djihād*. Generally occupied by specialist traders, they adapted well enough to their insularity and to existing balances of power, rating commercial success above issues of religion. The Muslims who lived there offered their services to the local pagan chieftains, handling their correspondence or supplying them with highly valued talismanic texts. Even when the sovereigns of local empires were Muslim, relations with African religions were not substantially different. Until the 12th/18th century, the animist countryside encircled the partially Islamised urban settlements, and the sovereigns themselves, whose "indigenous" legitimacy was initially based on respect for ancestral customs and rights, were generally prepared to fulfil their obligations as African chieftains, performing the prescribed ceremonies and sacrifices.

Western Sudan thus presents a specific model of Islamisation, distinguished not so much by a somewhat limited number of peculiar heterodox practices, but determined more by its long accepted minority status. This was a case of an "extramural" Islam, which was nonetheless to consolidate, over the course of time, its identity and its adherence to the central Sunni norms.

Unlike in other regions of the continent, such as the current Republic of Sudan with its capital Khartoum [see SŪDĀN, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the modern Republic of Sudan. 1.], the Islamisation movement in western Sudan did not lead to a proliferation of the Arabic language, except in a few educated circles. Certain African languages, which have themselves accommodated borrowed Arabic words, in such areas as religion, days of the week, commerce and the names of persons, fulfil an intermediary function in oral preaching as in the written culture (using Arabic characters). Such is notably the case of Fulfulde, across the whole of West Africa, of Wolof in Senegal, of Malinke/Jula in Mali, in Guinea and in certain neighbouring countries [see FULBE], and most particularly, at the eastern extremity of western Sudanese territory, of Hausa [*q.v.*]. Separate treatment should be reserved for Mauritania, the population of which has, from the 5th/11th century onward, been gradually subjugated by Arab tribes descended from the Banū Hilāl, and almost totally Arabised [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ].

Initial contacts

From the direction of Morocco, there is mention of an expedition mounted by Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Fihrī, grandson of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], "in the Sūs and the land of the Sūdān" in 116/734. He achieved, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, " a victory without equal and brought back gold in profusion". This reconnaissance was not, apparently, without long-term effect: his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was to become governor of Ifrīḳiya in 127/745, had three wells sunk on the desert routes leading towards western Sudan. The Arabo-Berber troops, who in twenty years had covered the distance from Gibraltar to Poitiers, thus remained, after these hesitant explorations, at the northern approaches to the desert.

The effective discovery of western Sudan was carried out by merchants, Berbers for the most part. Under the influence of the Arabo-Muslim conquest, which stimulated demand and created a commercial dynamism, towns and itineraries were established on both sides of the desert. To the west was Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*] (south-east Morocco), which was in contact with Awdaghost [*q.v.*] (a Berber town of southern Mauritania) and with Ghāna, about twelve days journey from the former, for a long time the principal Black metropolis in this zone. In the centre, a ramified axis linked Tripoli, Ifrīḳiya and Wargla to Gao [*q.v.*] (Kaw-Kaw), one of the oldest Black African towns on the Niger, by way of Tādmakka/al-Sūḳ, another Saharan depot town. Throughout the Middle Ages, the principal axes were continually shifting from west to east, following, essentially, the movement of the northern powers: Umayyads of Cordova, Almoravids, Fāṭimids, then Ayyūbids and Egyptian Mamlūks. A parallel shifting of powers took place in the Sudanese region, from the West (Ghāna, 5th/11th century) to the east (Gao [*q.v.*], 9th/15th century), although it is impossible to compare accurately the role of the intrusions by trans-Saharan commerce with that of local political issues.

From the time of these first contacts, African groups were converting to Islam. In all the cases cited, it was the chiefs who embraced Islam and then imposed it on their subjects. Thus, according to al-Bakrī, Wāra Dyābi, king of Takrūr, "became a Muslim and installed Islamic law among his people. He persuaded them to conform, having enlightened them as to the truth. He died in 432/1040-1". Wāra Dyābi also achieved the conversion of a neighbouring town, that of Silla, which was dependent on Takrūr. Later, in 448/1056, his son Labī is known to have fought with Almoravid troops. Moving further east, the conversion of the king of Gao, Zā Kosoy, is said to have taken place even earlier: "he embraced Islam voluntarily and under no constraint" *ca.* 400/1009-10, according to the author of the *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*. But even earlier than this, al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990) had noted with reference to Gao: "The king of the land declares himself a Muslim before his subjects; many among them also declare themselves Muslims". Al-Bakrī, writing in 460/1068, even evokes a distant allegiance to the Umayyads of Cordova: "For the royal investiture, the sovereign is presented with a seal, a sword and a Ḳurʾān which are alleged, so they say, to be gifts presented by the *Amīr al-muʾminīn*. Their sovereign is a Muslim and only a Muslim can be invested with royalty". At the end of the 5th/11th century, a series of Muslim epitaphs came into existence in the cemetery of Gao-Sane, referring to dignitaries and royal figures who have yet to be positively identified. The oldest of these epitaphs of Gao dates from 481/1088: it bears the name of "Makkiyya (?), daughter of Ḥasan al-Ḥādjdj".

It is worth noting that this Islamic inscription is the oldest known in the whole of Black Africa. A few years later, the names of kings and queens appear on the same site: the three most ancient steles (494/1100, 502/1108, and 503/1110) which are made of marble, were imported from Almeria. The others are of local manufacture. With Gao, there is thus available a remarkable cluster of convergent sources, which render this town another major centre of Islamisation, undoubtedly older than the preceding.

Only Ghāna resisted these first conversions for a short time. It capitulated under the influence of the Almoravids, before the end of the century, in 479/1076. The 5th/11th century was thus the great century of the initiation into Islam of the royal courts situated at the termini of the trans-Saharan routes. The co-existence between Muslims and non-Muslims took a remarkable form, as was noted assiduously by the Arab authors of the period, in particular by al-Bakrī; the majority of sub-Saharan cities were divided, the "town of the merchants" being separated, sometimes by several kilometres, from the "royal town". This was notably the case of Ghāna and of Gao.

The Khāridjite pioneers

The Arab sources cited above are exclusively Sunnī. There is thus total silence regarding the religious conflict which for several centuries pitted the Sunnīs of the Maghrib against their Khāridjite adversaries, most of them Ibāḍīs [see IBĀḌIYYA]. For two centuries at least (*ca.* 130-340/750-950) the Khāridjite Berbers, masters of the power-centres of the southern Maghrib (Sidjilmāsa and Tāhart) and of the Saharan routes, were interposed between the central Muslim world and western and central Sudan. Ibāḍī sources of the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries, at least those which have survived destruction, not to mention later sources, speak of Ibāḍī travellers from Tāhart, Wargla, Nafzāwa and Djabal Nafūsa, journeying into Tādmakkat, Gao, Ghāna and other regions of western Sudan. Al-Bakrī himself notes the presence of traders from Ibāḍī regions in Awdaghost, where they became very numerous until the conquest of the city and the Almoravid massacres of 446/1054-5. In fact, the hatred felt by the Almoravids, nomadic Ṣanhādja Berbers, for the sedentary Zanāta Berbers was augmented by the religious hostility of militant Sunnīs against Khāridjite heretics. Although their power was in a seriously weakened state in the 5th/11th century, the Khāridjites had hitherto exercised political and economic control of all the trans-Saharan routes. The Ṣufrī Khāridjites [see ṢUFRIYYA] of the independent city of Sidjilmāsa (founded 140/757) represented the principal western outlet. The Ibāḍī Rustamids [*q.v.*] of Tāhart [*q.v.*] (159-297/776-909) ruled over all the Saharan approaches, from central Algeria to Wargla, to southern Tunisia and Djabal Nafūsa. The Ibāḍī dynasty of the Banu 'l-Khaṭṭāb (306-568/918-1172), based at Zawīla, a place with a longstanding Khāridjite tradition in Fazzān, controlled, for its part, access to the Chad basin.

Some have concluded from this that the first form of sub-Saharan Islam must have been Khāridjite. The hypothesis is plausible but its proof more problematic. The only source which testifies to the adherence to Khāridjism of a Black African population is the *Kitāb al-Djughrāfiyya* of al-Zuhrī, probably written after 539/1133, which refers to a population situated, according to the context, between Ghāna and the loop of the Niger, at a time when Timbuktū [*q.v.*] barely existed. On travelling through the same zone, near the Niger, in 753/1352, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes the presence of "white" Ibāḍīs bearing the name of a Malinke family, that of Saghanughū. Thus, at the approaches to the Sahel in Tādmakkat [*q.v.*], vigorously Ibāḍī in the 2nd/8th century, an African population seems to have adopted the *madhhab* of its commercial associates and remained loyal to it until the Almoravid upheaval, and possibly after it. It is possible that there were other analogous cases, but Ibāḍism progressed no further in Black Africa, either in time or space.

A founding moment: the Almoravid movement

Speculations on the role of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] in Black Africa are conditioned by the mediocrity of the sources. There can be no doubt that the activities of the Almoravids to the south of the Sahara have been under-estimated to the advantage of developments in the north, much better documented and more "central" for classical orientalism and European history. The Almoravid movement was, however, born on the fringes of Black Africa. The *ribāṭ* which gave it its name, if it existed, was perhaps situated on an island off the southern coast of Mauritania, or even in the Senegal river, and from the outset, contingents from Takrūr, a Senegalese kingdom, are observed giving the movement their support. But the poor quality of the available sources leaves the field open to mythologies of all kinds. For purposes of prestige, the Muslim historiography of these regions regularly seeks to trace its origins to a founding movement, or what is seen as such. Thus Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], in 1526, recorded claims which sought to link the empire of Mali [*q.v.*], born in the 7th/13th century, to Abū Bakr, the cousin of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, the Almoravid sovereign, but the chronological and geographical distance, as well as the knowledge which is available regarding the origins of Mali, are sufficient refutation of these pretensions. Similarly, traditions make Ndyadyan Ndyay, the legendary founder of the dynasty of Waalo, a Senegalese kingdom, a son of the same Abū Bakr, but more than two centuries separate the era of the former from that of the latter. The genealogy of Aḥmad Bābā [*q.v.*], the great scholar of Timbuktū (b. 953/1556), dating back through nineteen generations to Abū Bakr, is no more convincing.

Returning to the known facts: the movement of the *Murābiṭūn*, which led, for a century, to the constitution of a vast north-south empire, from Senegal to the Ebro, marked the rise, under the guidance of the Lamtūna tribe [*q.v.*], of the Ṣanhādja Berbers, veiled nomads of the Mauritanian desert, at the expense of their Zanāta rivals. In the economic sphere, this was reflected by seizure of exclusive control of access to West African gold: the map of the empire is shaped by the western south-north routes which transported the gold to North Africa. In the religious sphere, it marked the victory of the Maghribī Sunnī circles, from which it had emerged, over Khāridjite and Shīʿī dissidence, then active in the Maghrib and the Sahara.

Ibn Yāsīn, the stern visionary who, despite nomadic reservations, had determined the organisation and the doctrine of the *Murābiṭūn*, died in battle in 451/1059. The titular *amīr* of the Lamtūna henceforward took up the mantle, in the person of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar, nominated as successor to Ibn Yāsīn and head of the community. It was after the foundation of Marrākush [*q.v.*], according to one of the available sources, that Abū Bakr chose to return to the desert to maintain order and unity in the cradle of the movement. He delegated his authority in the north to his first cousin Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, destined for an illustrious future, and became until his death, in 480/1087 (with varia-

tions in date according to sources), the leader of the southern wing of the movement, establishing his capital at Azukkī, in the Mauritanian Adrār.

Developments at this time to the south of the Sahara are not so well known. As regards the inhabitants of Ghāna, al-Zuhrī relates that in 469/1076-7 "they became Muslims in the time of the Lamtūna and were distinctive in their Islam". While numerous generations of textbooks have given 1076 as the date of a conquest and a destruction of Ghāna by the Almoravids, contemporary commentators, although far from unanimous, tend to call into question both the conquest (the text of al-Zuhrī is indecisive) and the destruction (archaeology of the site of Kumbi-Saleh, the presumed site of ancient Ghāna, rather shows evidence of a revival in the town's prosperity until the 8th/14th century). The Soninke capital would thus have become Muslim under the Almoravids, and al-Zuhrī, some fifty years after the event (539/1133), confines himself to eulogising the fervent Islam of its population, which included *ʿulamāʾ*, *fuḳahāʾ* and sophisticated readers of the Ḳurʾān. Some years later, in 548/1154, al-Idrīsī described Ghāna as a prosperous city, entirely Muslim, with a sovereign claiming Sharīfian ancestry, through al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and acknowledging the primacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. Al-Zuhrī also relates how the people of Ghāna appealed for the aid of the Almoravids, of Abū Bakr in fact, "seven years" after their own conversion to Islam, i.e. *ca.* 476/1083, in rendering "Muslim"—meaning, in this instance, Sunnī—the population of Tādmakkat and of another city in the region. Finally, Yāḳūt, who compiled his *Muʿdjam al-buldān* in 617/1220 on the basis of earlier sources, tells of a close and doubtless ancient alliance between Zāfūnu/Jafunu, another important Soninke kingdom, situated to the west of Ghāna, and the Almoravids, and notes the extreme deference shown by the latter towards their king on the occasion of a visit to Marrākush. These various items of evidence show that the Almoravids, far from playing on an insoluble rivalry between nomadic Whites and sedentary Blacks, were capable from the outset of benefiting by firm alliances in Black countries, more specifically in the various Soninke kingdoms which encircled the southern boundaries of its empire and admitted the Maghribī caravans. As the first Islamised ethnic group of the region, the Soninke subsequently became a seed-bed of Muslim traders and teachers who diffused Islam throughout the surrounding regions.

After the death of Abū Bakr, in 480/1087, Almoravid memories continued to nourish the genealogical claims of various local nomads who thus claimed descent from him or from the eminent *imām* al-Ḥaḍramī, the jurist of Azukkī (d. 489/1096). A distant prototype, although never claimed as such, of the West African *djihāds* of the 11th/17th and 13th/19th centuries, the Almoravid movement appears as a unifying, if not founding development, on the fringes of the Soninke world and in the neighbouring Sahelian regions. It has also taken on, as a result of its reverberations, the dimensions of a creation-myth, often repeated and always in demand.

The age of the great Sudanese empires

The western Sudanese empires—with the addition of that of Kanem-Borno, in the Chad region of central Sudan—which so fascinated the newly-independent African states in the 1960s, are much better documented. These empires had nothing at all of the centralisation which is normally associated with this type of formation. These were vast superstructures, operating within shifting frontiers, in a world where control of people rather than of land, was seen as crucial. It was a matter of great families, mounted warriors and commercial networks. The mass of the peasantry, socially stratified according to ancestry, essentially pursued its daily life under the authority of chieftains of villages or of cantons (the *kafu* of Mali), who had little contact with the central power. Mediaeval Sudanese empires were thus complex structures, combining numerous levels of culture and of power. This accounts for the fact that the families running the empires, all of them geared towards control of access to trans-Saharan commerce, were in most cases Islamised, while their subjects, whether close by or far-away, remained devoted in their daily lives to pagan cults.

In contrast to the situation in mediaeval Europe, where rulers drew their revenues from levies imposed on agricultural production, the Sudanese imperial formations earned their wealth from the profits of trans-Saharan trade, positioning themselves accordingly between the sources (gold, ivory, slaves, etc.) and the outlets. These courtiers were also predators. In order to augment the influx of costly merchandise of Maghribī, European or Oriental origin, which increased their prestige as well as supplying them with the instruments of power (horses and, later, fire-arms), the leading groups of these empires raided and pillaged, where possible, beyond the boundaries of their recognised tributaries, or at the expense of internal or external adversaries. In principle, adherence to Islam was protection against capture and reduction to slavery, but this was a fragile protection which counted for little when weighed against the interests of the powerful. In the *Miʿrādj al-suʿūd*, a work composed in Timbuktū in 1024/1615, Aḥmad Bābā replies to a merchant from Twāt [*q.v.*] who has consulted him about the legal status of slaves who are natives of various regions of Sudan. He recalls the obedience to Islam of a number of Sudanese states and, consequently, the illegality of enslaving Muslims originating from these empires, while deploring the frequency of such infractions of the *Sharīʿa*.

These empires conducted business dealings over vast spaces and contributed to the creation of new identities. The hierarchical and administrative models which they established left lasting traces; thus titulatures and functions initiated in Mali or in Borno radiated through all the neighbouring countries, and tributary states took them over for their own purposes, retaining them in their own political systems when they became independent of imperial rule. On the other hand, the effective protection afforded to medium and long-distance trade, noted by Arab observers, led to an urban development which is nowhere more perceptible than at the loop of the Niger, where a chain of ancient and modern towns is to be found, under the successive control of Mali and of Songhay: Ja (Dia), Djenne, Timbuktū, Gao, etc.

Being privileged partners of the Arabo-Muslim world, these empires merited numerous mentions in the Arabic sources of the time, which contributed to endowing them with an "Arabised" aspect. In most cases, Maghribī and Egyptian travellers were acquainted only with the capitals and the major cities and were only partially aware of the social realities. Local Arabic sources (*taʾrīkh*) help to diversify the information available, but it should not be forgotten that they emanated from urbanised families, with both scholarly and commercial interests, which themselves lived according to this openness to the Arab world, to such an extent that sometimes, as at Timbuktū, they were more Arabised than African. The Islam that was then

practised was an Islam of the court, of cities, of chieftains and merchants, still inadequately implanted and sometimes capable of offering only weak resistance to the "pagan" reactions of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. As long as this Islamisation of the higher echelons was not matched by popular Islamisation, the entire process remained limited in its effects, even if there was even a gradual vulgarisation of Islamic concepts, values and practices.

At the time that the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Bag̲h̲dād came to a tragic end under the onslaught of the Mongols, the Islamised empires of West Africa, on the contrary, entered a phase of ascendancy. Following the collapse of G̲h̲āna which, as a limited regional hegemony (on the fringes of Mali and Mauritania), seems to have been dismembered during the Almoravid era (the capital city of G̲h̲āna remaining for its part, over a period of several centuries, a commercial centre of the highest importance), a new empire emerged from the local struggles, much further to the south, centred on the gold-mines of Bure, the fluvial axis of the Niger and the trade routes originating from the western and the central Sahara. The mythical founder of this empire, Sunjata/Soundjata Keita (early 7th/13th century), originating from a milieu of societies of hunters endowed with both physical and magical powers, is celebrated by a highly-structured epic tradition, the dating of which is still the object of controversy. His adherence to Islam, vigorously contested by some, appears probable, although purely formal, to others. The Keita dynasty was well known to Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, who gives a list of all the reigning sovereigns, from "Mārī D̲j̲ātā" (probably the Sunjata of the oral chronicle) to Mansa Mag̲h̲ā III, who came to power in 792/1390. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, who was informed on these matters by a man who had been *ḳāḍī* in Gao, gives the duration of reigns and salient dates which make it possible to reconstruct the entire dynastic chain. The tradition of pilgrimage, which began with Mansa Ulī, son of Mārī D̲j̲ātā (after 659/1260), continued with Sākūra, a *mamlūk* of the family who acceded to power *ca.* 700/1300, and culminated in Mansa Kanku Mūsā (*Mansa* is the royal title, Kanku the Malinke name of his mother), whose journey in 724/1324, accompanied by a large retinue, attracted a great deal of attention, especially in Cairo where he was noted for his distribution of lavish gratuities to intermediaries and to local dignitaries [see MANSA MŪSĀ]. Mūsā's brother, Mansa Sulaymān (*ca.* 735-59/1335-58) performed the pilgrimage to the Holy Places in his turn. The arrival of books and of Arab scholars in larger numbers can be dated from this period. The name of Mali was henceforward well-known in the Mediterranean region, arousing the curiosity of visitors. It was in 735/1352, during the reign of Sulaymān, that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived in Mali, visiting the capital of the empire, which he describes in considerable detail (although it is virtually impossible, on the basis of his account, to locate this capital), then visited Timbuḳtū and Gao, where he spent a short period of time, paying more attention to the Mag̲h̲ribī names of the residents whose hospitality he enjoyed.

The empire disappears from history with these sources, at the end of the 8th/14th century. It disintegrated at this time, giving way to multiple regional units. It was through one of these units, in the direction of Gambia, that the Portuguese, exploring the territory by stages from the 9th/15th century onward, became aware of the existence of a kingdom of the "Mandingas" (Manding/Malinke), henceforward located towards the Atlantic coast, and of a major city, situated far inland, which they called with numerous variants, Tambucutu (Timbuḳtū).

In the Sahel, another hegemony rose to prominence in the wake of Mali's decline. Nourished by long-distance trade, and marked by a drive towards urbanisation, the loop of the Niger, closer to the most active new axes of trans-Saharan traffic and direct beneficiary of the strengthening of ties with Egypt, became the new dynamic centre of the western Sudan. It fell to a local power, that of Gao, to unite all these regions in a "fluvial empire", first released from the control of Mali and then inheriting from the latter the majority of its former possessions. This empire, called Songhay [*q.v.*], from the name of the ethnic group which then constituted its nucleus, was founded by Sonni ʿAlī (869-98/1465-1492), a political and military chief whose religious commitment to Islam was probably minimal. In 898/1493, a provincial governor, Muḥammad Ture, supported by the urban élite of Timbuḳtū and the "Muslim party" of the region, deposed the son of Sonni ʿAlī and inaugurated a dynasty, that of the *Askiyā* (the meaning of this title is still unknown) which was to last for a century. Thus the Songhay empire had barely been constituted when it became the focus of a struggle between the educated and commercial élite of Timbuḳtū and the warrior power of Gao. Between the new and the old town, between the two systems of values, tensions, even under the *Askiyā*, were recurrent. The two *Taʾrīk̲h̲*s (*al-Sūdān* and *al-Fattās̲h̲*), which espoused the cause of Timbuḳtū, clearly reflect this mutal polarisation. In particular, the character of Sonni ʿAlī as it emerges from these prejudiced sources is that of "a debauched and impious tyrant". No doubt the Islam of the court, constrained to accept numerous compromises, was thus challenged by the new Arabised and Arabophile élites, who hoped for a pattern of government closer to their interests and their ideals. The *Askiyā* Muḥammad, who began his reign with performance of the pilgrimage (between 901/1496 and 904/1498) and appointed numerous *ʿulamāʾ* as his advisers (including the Algerian reformer from Tlemcen, al-Mag̲h̲īlī [*q.v.*]), corresponded well to the type of sultan whom they preferred. For the most part, Muḥammad's successors pursued the same policy. An Islamic framework was established in the central provinces of the empire: creation of mosques and schools, appointment of *ḳāḍīs*, of *imāms* and of teachers. In spite of political vicissitudes, the Songhay empire thus represents an important phase in the Islamisation of western Sudan.

The system of Sudanese empires came to an end, in western Africa, with the Moroccan conquest. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], ambitious sovereign of the new Saʿdian dynasty, in his efforts to ward off European attacks, sought to create a vast African empire which would enable him to exert direct control over sources of gold, salt and slaves. Songhay and Morocco were specifically at odds on the issue of the salt-mines of Tag̲h̲āza [*q.v.*], in the mid-Sahara. After an initial unsuccessful attempt, Moroccan troops led by a Spanish convert to Islam, the Pas̲h̲a D̲j̲ūdar, took control of Gao, then of Timbuḳtū, in 999/1591. Moroccan pas̲h̲as, increasingly detached from the mother-country, were to govern the principal towns of the loop of the Niger until 1249/1833. This marked the end of the prosperity of the region and of the power of its urban élites. Aḥmad Bābā himself spent fourteen years in detention in Morocco.

"Imperial Islam" had been dealt a mortal blow, and animist regional hegemonies were soon to be seen taking its place. But what Islam had lost at higher

levels, it recouped at the grass-roots ones. The discreet efforts of missionaries contributed to the development of new arrangements, more in tune with popular sensibilities. An Islam of popular saints began to emerge, prefiguring that of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods [see ṬARĪḲA] whose penetration, from the direction of Egypt and of the Maghrib, had at that time barely begun.

The birth of a West African Muslim culture

The Soninke networks were the first and principal vehicles of Arabo-Islamic education in western Sudan. Transmission subsequently took place in the direction of Mali and of the river Niger. Malinke tradition has retained the memory of this Soninke primacy in religious matters. One town, of Soninke foundation, embodied more than others this transmission of knowledge towards the riparian societies of the Niger: the city of Ja (Dia, Dja, Djaba, Djagha-ba/Djakha-ba, Zagha, are variant forms of the name) to the west of Māsina, situated in the interior delta of the central Niger). This town, the history of which has become somewhat mythic, seems to have been the place of origin or of reference of numerous West African scholarly dynasties. According to the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh*, it had been a "city of jurists" (*madīnat al-fukahā'*) since the time of the empire of Mali. It enjoyed almost total autonomy within the empire and guaranteed immunity to criminals who found refuge there. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the place in 753/1352, observed that "the people of Zāgha have a long history of adherence to Islam. They are religious and are zealous for *'ilm*". It is clearly evident that the religious centres of Jenne (which was nearby) and of Timbuktū, which began to flourish at a later stage, were the heirs to this hotbed of religious zeal. One of the major scholarly figures of Ja and of western Sudan was al-Ḥādjdj Sālim Suwārī, who can be placed in the 9th/15th century. A native of Ja, Suwārī emigrated to what was to become, under the same name, an annexe to the scholarly metropolis, that of Jakha (Diakha), on the Bafing, a tributary of the Senegal, in the gold-bearing region of Bambuk. Suwārī and Diakha were in their turn the points of reference for the foundation of the great religious and pacific lineage which during subsequent centuries was to spread its influence over the territories of Senegambia and bore the name of this colony of Ja: the Jakhanke. For his part, I. Wilks has studied, in Ghāna and in the Ivory Coast, a total of 34 Mālikī chains of transmission (*isnād*) of Malinke/Jula (or Dyula) *karamoko* (teachers) of this region which also originated with al-Ḥādjdj Sālim Suwārī. Thus through these multiple channels of transmission, Ja extended its influence over the totality of learned lineages in this part of West Africa.

Cultural and linguistic transfers were accomplished without any difficulty in these scholarly networks, which were themselves merged and blended, in the same families, even in the same individuals, with the commercial networks. A generic name, that of Wangara, which features in the Arabic sources, denotes these circles specialising in commerce. These Wangara were the precursors of the migrants and traders who were to be known at a later stage, in the world of the Malinke and in neighbouring countries, by the name of Jula. The Wangara did not belong to a single ethnic group: the term is generic and is applied to all those who shared the same way of life, but it is clear that the "hard core" was constituted by the Soninke and the Malinke, in other words by the inheritors of the first two empires, who were subsequently to be joined by some of the Songhay (the *Askiyā* Muḥammad was himself of Soninke origin). With their facility of movement, these Wangara radiated within the interior of these empires, then further and further afield in different directions, particularly towards the Hausa (currently northern Nigeria), the known history of which, in the context of central Sudan, comes into existence around the 14th century.

The scholarly city *par excellence* during this period was Timbuktū. Founded in the early 6th/12th century by Tuareg tribes, it rapidly became, on account of its position at the gateway to the desert and in proximity to the river Niger, a commercial outpost of the first importance. The known history of the Muslim community of Timbuktū dates from the 8th/14th century. In 753-4/1352-3, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the place (on two occasions), it was still a small town, principally inhabited by Masūfa Berbers of the desert. He noted, however, the tombs of two Muslim Arabs who had followed Mansa Mūsā after his return from the pilgrimage: a merchant of Alexandria, who died in 734/1334, and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Gharnāṭī al-Sāḥilī, an Andalusian who had begun his career as a notary in Granada, and, following his pilgrimage to the Holy Places, had accompanied Mansa Mūsā to Mali, becoming his confidential adviser and his architect. Al-Sāḥilī built a palace for the sovereign in the capital (reckoned to be Niani, on the upper Niger), and possibly the great mosque of Timbuktū, and is credited with having introduced the Sudanese style of architecture. He subsequently settled in Timbuktū, where he died in 747/1346. Passing under control of the Songhay, after the turbulent reign of Sonni 'Alī, Timbuktū reached its zenith under the *Askiyā*. Dominated by a few major families incorporating all the ethnic groups of the region (Berber and Negro), such as that of the Akīt, to which Aḥmad Bābā belonged, it became the principal centre of Islamic learning in this part of Africa.

A scholar of the *Mashriḳ* was serving then as an intermediary in this transmission of knowledge: the renowned Egyptian encyclopaedist Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]). Al-Suyūṭī did not visit Sudan, but he became the favoured spokesman for Sudanese persons passing through Cairo on the pilgrimage route or in search of education. Thus at the end of the 9th/15th century, he had welcomed the *Askiyā* Muḥammad, with whom he maintained a correspondence. It was he who was responsible for the very rapid diffusion of copies of the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* (commentary on the Ḳur'ān, completed in 870/1465), of which al-Suyūṭī himself was one of the co-authors, and which achieved classic status to the south of the Sahara. A judicial work of great importance also reached western Sudan, by way of Timbuktū, during the same period. This was the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], a well-known summary of Mālikī jurisprudence. By the end of the 9th/15th century, a range of studies was thus firmly established in this town.

In the absence of *madrasas* as such, the education provided in Timbuktū was based on various initiatives, mosque-schools in particular, the best known being that of Sankore. This mosque attracted large numbers of students and teachers. It was directed by the *imām*, who was often also the *ḳāḍī* of the city. Two inter-related families, the Akīt and the Anda ag-Muḥammad, both of Tuareg origin, supplied Sankora with its principal teachers. The fact that the *Mukhtaṣar* (composed before 776/1374) was introduced so late underlines what had long been the provincial nature of Timbuktū, as a local centre. But once it was fully developed, the scholars of the town and of the loop of the Niger, who kept themselves informed by means of cross-desert traffic and seized every opportunity to

consult visiting intellectuals, had no doubt attained a very respectable level of competence by the standards of the period, which was that of a literature of textbooks accompanied by abundant glosses (*ḥawāshī*) and commentaries (*shurūḥ*).

Another cultural aspect of Islamisation which deserves mention is the aspiration of scholars and of royal dynasties towards noble, i.e. eastern, origins. The Islamised dynasty of Ghāna, as has been seen, declared its descent from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī; the Keita of Mali claimed descent from Bilāl, the Prophet's muezzin; and the Sefuwa of Kanem claimed Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*], a Yemeni hero, as their ancestor. Many other examples could be given. The *shurafāʾ* [*q.v.*] (pl. of *sharīf*), reputedly of the blood of the Prophet, were endowed for this reason with unequalled prestige. The *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh* relates how Mansa Mūsā made efforts to attract authentic *shurafāʾ* to his court, but succeeded in adding to his entourage only a few freedmen of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, while the *Askiyā* Muḥammad, for his part, was able to recruit a nephew of "the prince of Mecca", Mawlāy al-Saḳlī, who took up residence in Timbuḳtū in 925/1519. The history of these events is evidently apologetic, but it shows by what symbolic means the West African Islamic community was then seeking to take its place in the *umma* and to obtain titles of recognition and legitimacy which would be accepted in the central lands of the Arab world. The significance attached to these contacts with the East also illustrates the growing importance of Egypt in the African Islamic world. Until the 8th/14th century, the Maghrib, the first progenitor of western Sudan, held the advantage. From the time of the pilgrimage of Mansa Mūsā, Egypt, which since the Fāṭimids and the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had become the metropolis of Sunnism, occupied a central position, reinforced by its status as a necessary stage on the pilgrimage route. Islamised Western Sudan henceforward was following, more or less, the Egyptian model.

Ṣūfism and the brotherhoods

In the mediaeval period, the brotherhoods had not yet effectively penetrated the Sahelo-Sudanese realm, but saintly individuals and bearers of Ṣūfī ideas were beginning to make their appearance across the desert. The Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] was the first brotherhood to become widely diffused to the south of the Sahara. Claims or reconstructions contained in Ḳādirī sources have led some authors to adopt a fairly early chronology, for example making al-Maghīlī (*ca.* 900/1500), a vehicle of this *ṭarīḳa*. These interpretations are no longer considered valid. The history of the Ḳādiriyya in the Sahara and in western Sudan is closely linked to the destiny of the Kunta [*q.v.*], an Arabised nomadic group which made its adherence to this doctrine one of the foundations of its power. The Kunta probably emerged in the 9th/15th or 10th/16th century, in the western Sahara between Adrar and Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ. They considered themselves the descendants of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Bakkāy (d. 920/1514). Shortly after their formation, the Kunta split into two branches, one remaining in the west, the other migrating to the region north of the loop of the Niger in the early 12th/18th century. It was there, at the end of the same century, that Sīdī al-Mukhtār (1142-1226/1729-1811) became the first individual definitely known to have been associated with the Ḳādiriyya, serving as the brotherhood's *shaykh* and winning renown throughout the region. But Ṣūfī influences must have crossed the desert before the institutionalisation of the Ḳādiriyya. This period of "Ṣūfism without brotherhood" is one of the most obscure phases in the history of African Islam. A case investigated recently by H.T. Norris is that of a holy man of Aïr, arriving from the Mashriḳ *ca.* 900/1500, a semi-legendary figure known by the name of Sīdī Maḥmud al-Baghdādī, who was killed at some time during the first half of the 10th/16th century on the orders of the sultan of Agadès and the *fuḳahāʾ* of his court. Al-Baghdādī, whose teaching has been preserved by an oral tradition put into writing at a later stage, principally taught the recitation of the *dhikr* and the practice of *khalwa* (solitary retreat). He left a community and disciples, whose traces were to survive for some time. In any case, in 898/1493, thus even before the supposed arrival of the holy man, an educated Berber of the region informed al-Suyūṭī of the practice of *khalwa* in the region of Aïr and asked for his opinion on the subject. Al-Suyūṭī saw no cause for concern, but the innovation was sufficiently substantial to induce Aḥmad Bābā, a century later in 1024/1616, making explicit reference to the "heretics of al-Baghdādī", to denounce the excesses of the *dhikr* and to authorise the persecution of its practitioners. It also seems that the Kel al-Sūḳ, Tuareg scholars from the crossroads-town of Tādmakkat, who were dispersed between Niger and Aïr in the late 9th/15th century, were responsible for spreading Ṣūfī influence. But the time of the brotherhoods was yet to come, and these initial developments were confined to the world of Saharan scholars, Berbers for the most part.

Conclusion

The concept of western Sudan is applied especially, in history, to the mediaeval period. It is associated with the first penetration by Islam, with trans-Saharan trade and with the imperial political formations known as "Sudanese empires". This western Sudanese space was subsequently the setting for new political experiences: re-activation of non-Muslim political systems (Bambara, Mossi), then, from the 17th century onward, principally at the instigation of Fulbe scholars, outbreak of a series of localised *djihāds*, reformist movements which once again called into question the strategy of co-existence between Muslims and animist culture: 1138/1725-6, Futa Jalon, in Guinea; 1174/1760, Futa Toro (Middle Senegal); 1804, foundation of the caliphate of Sokoto, in northern Nigeria; 1818, Māsina, in Mali; 1852, al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, in Guinea-Mali-Senegal. Another period, other methods, another history. The term "Western Sudan", which derived its origin and its pertinence from the external Arab viewpoint on an earlier period, then became too generic and inappropriate to denote a space where political differences were constantly accentuated, in contrast with the European conquest (from the mid-19th century) which was arising.

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3. Languages across the whole geographical Sūdān.

The Arabs brought Islam to *Bilād al-Sūdān* as traders in gold, ivory, and slaves. Already by the end of the 7th century A.D., many Arabic dialects were spoken in the great Sudanese markets. The varieties of Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA) and Sudanic Arabic (SA) spoken today demonstrate that there are many affinities among them and those of the Ṣaʿīd [*q.v.*] or Upper Egypt, such as the preservation of Old Arabic /a/ in word-initial position for the /i/ of other dialects (cf. /al-/ "the", Cairene /il-/, or the genitival exponents *hinīn* or *allūl*). The term SCA refers to any non-pidgin/non-creole dialect of Arabic used in the Republic of Sudan, whereas the term SA is a much broader designation indicative of a macro-dialect of both sedentary and Bedouin types in the larger *Bilād al-Sūdān* context.

This article deals primarily with SCA within the larger SA framework. Also featured are several other major languages of *Bilād al-Sūdān*. Although grammars and vocabularies of these languages (including SA) have been produced, they vary in terms of (1) quality of transcription and (2) authenticity of data. Sigismund Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana* (1854) may serve as illustrative. Although a pioneering work, it is an example of the former, since his description of Chadian and Shuwa Arabic [see SHUWA. 2.], among other problems, fails to mark gemination consistently.

SCA is currently spoken as a first language by more than half of the Sudan's population of 25.2 million (1990), and as a second or third language by many more. There are also Arabic-based pidgins and creoles used in the southern Sudan (e.g. Juba Arabic) which can be characterised by (1) the loss of the pharyngeals and emphatic consonants, which happens in other SA dialects, and (2) the reduction of morphology.

SCA dialects are the least investigated ones in the entire Arab world due, in part, to the complicated history of the immigration of various Arab tribes and the Arabicisation and Islamicisation of the many ethnic groups which initially utilised Arabic as a lingua franca and then adapted it as a primary language. The aforementioned situation can be illustrated by taking the case of the multilingual inhabitants of the Nūba Hills, who are surrounded by SCA [see NŪBA. 3]. A shift has occurred from the autochthonous tribal language to SCA via contact with the superstratum. Moreover, when villagers, who have moved to the larger towns and cities thereby acquiring SCA, return home, their newly-acquired SCA skill seemed to contribute to a higher prestige, often associated with higher-paying jobs, which has, in turn, influenced others to shift to it.

The most thoroughly studied variety of SCA after the Khartoum-Omdurman dialect is that of the camel-breeding Shukriyya, who number between 150,000 and 300,000 and inhabit the Buṭāna between the Atbara and the Blue Nile. Although they trace their ancestry back to Arabia and Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, their dialect is not Arabian. SCA does have some common isoglosses with Arabian dialects, however, such as one of the genitival exponents in current use, *ḥagg* (another, *bitāʿ*, shows the close affinity with Egyptian Arabic).

Historically speaking, many Arabic-speaking tribes came to the Sudan from Egypt (e.g. the Djaʿaliyyīn) and the Ḥidjāz (e.g. the Djuhayna). Among the former, it is possible today to subgroup the Shaykiyya, Rubāṭāb, Mirāfāb, Djaʿaliyyīn, Kawāhla, and Rufāʿa; the latter can be divided among the Shukriyya, Djuhayna, Ḥassāniyya, Hawāwīr, Kabābish, Ḥamid, Salima, Hawāzma, Messiriyya, Ḥumr, Ḥamar, Rizaygāt, Habbāniyya, Taʿaysha, and Baggāra. Whether Arabian features date back to the inner-Arabian conditions or occurred later inside the Sudan itself under the influence of the Hilāl and Sulaym groups remains unclear. In terms of dialect geography, however, four basic zones can be distinguished: (1) Northern, including the Arabic-speaking parts of Dongola; (2) Central, including Khartoum-Omdurman, the Gezira, and the country east of the Blue Nile; (3) Western, including the White Nile territory, Kordofān, and Dārfūr (the Baggāra dialect constitutes a group by itself, however); and (4) Southern, including the aforementioned pidgins and creoles.

One of the most striking features of SCA dialects is the different vocabulary used. For instance, throughout the Sudan, one eats thin, round, flat bread called *kisra* or a thicker type thereof, *gurrāṣa*. These words are unknown in other parts of the Arab world unless the user is familiar with Sudanese cuisine. Typical other Sudanese lexemes include: *kadīs*, pl. *kadasa* ~ *kadāyis*, also *nyāwa* "cat"; *biriš* "straw mat"; *marfaʿīn* "wolf; hyena"; *baʿšōm* "fox; jackal"; *ʿangarēb* "bed"; *karkab* "wooden slippers"; *waṭā* ~ *waṭā* "earth"; *kadrūk* "pig"; *marīsa* "kind of alcoholic brew usually made of millet"; and *gannab* "sit". SCA *katīr* "many, much" is a particularly good illustration of the close connection with Upper Egyptian *katīr* (cf. Cairene *kitīr* but Moroccan *bezzāf* or Gulf Arabic *wādjid* ~ *wāyid*).

Turning to the verbal realm, most SCA dialects use the verb *maša, yamši* for "go", whereas Egyptian and other Eastern dialects use *rāḥ, yirūḥ* (Classical *ðahaba* survives only in Yemen). Although the verb *ʿāwiz* or *ʿāyiz* can be heard for "want" in the Sudan, this is probably best analysed as an Egyptianism. The authentic SCA active participle is *dāyir*, a metathesised form of Classical form IV, *ʾārāda* with aphaeresis.

Cf. SCA *dāyir šinu* "what do you want?" for Egyptian *ʿāwiz ee(h)*. It is Chadian and Nigerian Arabic *ta/idōr šinú* "what do you want?" which should be directly compared with the aforementioned SCA expression proving that these dialects are basically extensions of SA.

After Arabic, Hausa [*q.v.*] is the most important language of the *Bilād al-Sūdān*. With 22 million first-language speakers and another 10 million second language users (1991), this West Chadic (Afroasiatic) language has supplanted over the centuries many other Chadic languages with fewer speakers. It is written today mainly in Latin script; however, Ajami (i.e. Arabic) writing is still used, befitting the many Arabic loanwords.

Kanuri [*q.v.*] is the major language (Saharan sub-branch of Nilo-Saharan) of Borno State, Nigeria, with 3.5 million speakers (1987). Like Hausa, it has a tradition of being written in Ajami script. There are 100,000 speakers in Chad (1985); 56,500 in Cameroon (1982); and 50,000 in Niger (1991). It is used on radio and television, and has been able to supply loanwords to the languages of the area; e.g. Nigerian Arabic *dugó* "then, afterwards" has been borrowed from Kanuri *dugō* "first".

Fulfulde (Fula, Fulbe, Fulani [see FULBE]) is spoken by 8.6% of the Nigerian population (7.6 million, 1991). It has four major Nigerian dialects: (1) Adamawa, spoken in Gongola State; (2) Kano-Katsina; (3) Bororro, in Bornu State; and (4) Sokoto. This Atlantic (Niger-Congo) language is spoken over a vast area since the Fulani are found in many countries, e.g. Mali has one million (1991).

Songhay [see SONGHAY] (Nilo-Saharan) has 600,000 speakers in Mali; 390,000 in Niger; 122,700 in Burkino Faso (all 1991). It continues to serve as an important trade language and is also being used as the language of primary school instruction.

Another Nilo-Saharan language is Bagirmi [*q.v.*] (30,000 to 40,000 speakers, 1977), spoken in Chad and Nigeria. It was the language of the ancient Bagirmi Kingdom and has many second-language users.

Wolof (Atlantic sub-branch of Niger-Congo [see SENEGAL. 1]) is spoken by 36% of the population of Senegal (1976) and 14.6% of the population of Gambia (1983). Together, the Gambian and Senegalese dialects have 3 million speakers (1987). Another 3 million speak it as a second language (1991). It is also used in Mali and Mauritania.

Other important languages of this area include Tamasheq (Berber, Afroasiatic), Bambara and Mandinka (both Mande, Niger-Congo).

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SUDAYF B. MAYMŪN, Arab poet of the 2nd/8th century.

Sudayf b. Mahrān b. Maymūn, *mawlā* of the Khuzāʿa, or of the Banu 'l-ʿAbbās, or of the Banū Hāshim, was born in Mecca during the final years of the Umayyad dynasty. From an early age he was a supporter of the Hāshimites against the latter and was even, according to al-Iṣfahānī, the leader of a sect, the Sudayfiyya, opposing a pro-Umayyad group organised by a certain Sayyāb. After the seizure of power by the ʿAbbāsids, Sudayf left Mecca for al-Ḥīra, where he approached the caliph al-Saffāḥ and tried without success to persuade him to slaughter certain remaining Umayyads. But following the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, at Medina, and that of his brother Ibrāhīm at Baṣra, Sudayf openly sided with the ʿAlids against the ʿAbbāsids, supporting them with his poetry and with the money which he had previously accepted from the latter. However, after the failure of both these revolts Sudayf fled to Medina or to Mecca, appealing for pardon to the caliph al-Manṣūr. According to a source quoted by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, this pardon was granted, but another source, generally considered more reliable, insists that the caliph rejected his approaches, took a personal dislike to him, and instructed one of his uncles, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī or Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, then governors of Mecca and of Medina respectively, to assassinate him. One of them carried out this instruction in the year 147/764.

Of a *dīwān* of 30 folios, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, composed by Sudayf b. Maymūn, all that remains, or more accurately, all that Riḍwān Mahdī al-ʿAbbūd has succeeded in collecting, is 20 fragments comprising a total of 99 verses, gleaned from numerous and diverse sources of which the most important, among ancient sources are: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, and al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* (6 fragments), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd* (6 fragments) and Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (4 fragments), and among modern or contemporary sources: al-Ṣanʿānī, *Nasamat al-saḥar*, still in manuscript (5 fragments) and al-ʿĀmilī, *ʿAyān al-shīʿa* (13 fragments). As reconstructed, these 20 fragments are of unequal length. Only five can be regarded as *ḳaṣīda*s, the other fifteen comprising between one and six verses.

Sudayf employs eight metres. Foremost are *kāmil* and *khafīf* (5 fragments), followed by *basīṭ* (4 fragments), *ṭawīl* (2 fragments), and finally, *madīd*, *wāfir*, *ramal* and *mutaḳārib* (1 fragment). For rhyme, eight letters are used: *nūn* (5 times), *yāʾ* (3 times), *hamza*, *rāʾ* and *ḍād* (twice) and finally *bāʾ*, *ḥāʾ* and *dāl* (once).

Sudayf b. Maymūn addresses the principal themes of Arabic poetry. In fact, his *dīwān* includes three erotic fragments (nos. 7, 14 and 17) with a total length of 16 verses, a satirical fragment (no. 5, one verse), a laudatory fragment (no. 6, two verses) dedicated to a certain Djumaḥī, a dirge (no. 10, two verses) in which he laments over his "men", probably meaning the Shīʿīs, and finally and of the greatest importance, fifteen political fragments which could be placed under two major headings. Under the first heading are a number of fragments (no. 2, 18 verses, no. 11, 4 verses and no. 13, 2 verses) in which Sudayf attacks the Umayyads, whom he describes as unjust and misguided, reproaching them in particular over the killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and of Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn. The fragments of the second category may also be divided into two groups. On the one hand, Sudayf addresses eulogies to the ʿAbbāsids, noble guides and leaders, and especially to the caliph al-Saffāḥ (no. 20, 7 verses, and no. 6, 8 verses), whom he describes a "well-guided and supreme chief"; but on the other hand he attacks these same caliphs, especially after the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and condemns them as impious, proclaiming at the same time his allegiance to the ʿAlids, envisaging their recovery of the caliphate (no. 16, 9 verses). Finally, on account of his opposition to the Umayyads and his virulent satires against the ʿAbbāsids, whom he had previously praised, and his eulogies of the Hāshimites and ʿAlids in particular, Sudayf b. Maymūn is classed as a Shīʿī poet,

and consequently he was placed by Ibn Shahrāshūb (*Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, 151) among the *Shuʿarāʾ Ahl al-Bayt al-muktaṣidūn* and among the *Aʿyān al-shīʿa* by al-ʿĀmilī.

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(Taieb El Acheche)

SUDAYR [see SUDAYRĪ].

SUDAYRI (AL-SADĀRĀ), the name of one of the most prestigious clans of the al-Dawāsir [*q.v.*]. They derive their name from Sudayr (or Sadayr), a northernmost district of Nadjd, in modern Saudi Arabia, north of the valley of al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*]. Wādī Sudayr, known as Bāṭin al-Sudayr, runs northwest of al-Riyāḍ. In recent centuries they ruled in the oases of al-ʿAwda, Djalādjil, al-Madjmaʿa, al-Ghāṭ and Sudayra, the latter being the name of one of the sweet water wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk. Ever since the 13th/19th century, their name has been intimately associated with the Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*].

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(E. van Donzel)

AL-**SUDDĪ**, ISMĀʿĪL B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, a *mawlā* of Zaynab bt. Ḳays b. Makhrama, was a popular preacher in Kūfa, who is said to have died in 127/745. His reputation as a transmitter of prophetic traditions was a matter of dispute. The opinions of the *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] experts ranged all the way from neutral (*ṣāliḥ* [*q.v.*], *lā baʾs bihi*) to mendacious (*kadhdhāb*). His role in *isnāds* [*q.v.*] supporting canonical traditions is minimal anyway and entirely artificial, i.e. he cannot be held responsible for it. His political stance (*tashayyuʿ*) may be distilled from the accusation that he, at one time, had slighted the two *shaykhs* Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. His fame lay in his alleged expertise in Ḳurʾān exegesis, which seems to be reflected in his *nisba*-cum-*laḳab* al-Suddī. He acquired this name because he used to sit on the threshold (Ar. *sudda*) of the great mosque, where he is said to have gathered people around him. His contemporary al-Shaʿbī [*q.v.*] thought absolutely nothing of his exegetical expertise. Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī [*q.v.*] described his exegesis as popular (*tafsīr al-ḳawm*). In al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, countless exegetical remarks ascribed to al-Suddī can be found and could conceivably be brought together in a volume. Whether such a compilation would allow conclusions as to a certain bias or predilection on his part, if any, has as yet to be established.

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(G.H.A. Juynboll)

SŪDĪ, AḤMED (mod. Tkish. Ahmet, and sometimes referred to, incorrectly it seems, as Mehmet), also known as Sūdī-yi (or Aḥmed-i) Bosnawī, Ottoman scholar noted as a commentator on the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], the *Gulistān* and *Bustān* of Saʿdī [*q.v.*], and other Persian works. He was born in Bosnia at Sudiči (whence his *nisba*), a village near the town of Foča which, being better known, some sources give as his birthplace. His birthdate is unknown, as are the names of his parents and other details of his family beyond the fact that he remained unmarried, a remark in his commentary on the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ stating that, like Jesus, he never took a wife (Nazıf M. Hoca, *Sûdî. Hayatı, eserleri ve iki risâlesi'nin metni*, Istanbul 1980, 15). The date given for his death varies from 1000/1592-3 to after 1006/8 May 1598 (*op. cit.*, 16), but it is known that he was buried at the Yūsuf Pasha mosque in Aksaray, although the whereabouts of his tombstone is not known, it having been removed during the course of roadworks. Assumed to have adhered to the Ḥanafī law school, a charge that he suppressed from the Ḥāfiẓ corpus some poems of Shīʿī sympathy seems to have been disproved by lack of such poems in the earliest mss. [see ḤĀFIẒ].

Sūdī's early schooling is assumed to have been in Foča, while his commentary on the *Gulistān* includes a reference to study in Sarajevo, and he is thought to have continued his education in Istanbul, to which city (like others from Bosnia) he came during the ascendency of the Bosnian-born Ṣoḳullu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. He visited Erzurum, and studied with Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī [see AL-LĀRĪ] at Āmid in Diyarbekir before going to Damascus (where he read Saʿdī's *Gulistān* with the poet Ḥalīm-i Shirwānī), Baghdād, Nadjaf and Kūfa, and undertook the *Ḥadjdj*. He comments on the places he visited, complaining, e.g. about an ignorance of Persian and good Arabic among the people of Baghdād, and describing the mosques and tombs of Kūfa as in ruins. He did not visit Persia itself, but everywhere sought to widen his knowledge of Persian, not only through contact with scholars but, according to his own statements, discussing difficult passages from Ḥāfiẓ and Saʿdī with such people as Persian merchants who were men of both trade and learning.

Returning to Istanbul, he undertook further study before becoming a teacher to the *ghilmān-i khāṣṣa* in the household of Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 942/1636) (on Ibrāhīm Pasha and the *ghulām* system, see GHULĀM. iv, at 1087a) one of whom, Mostarlî Derwīsh Pasha (d. 1012/1603 [see DERWĪSH PASHA]) was to mention Sūdī in the preface to his *Murād-nāme*.

Sūdī's recension of the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (3 vols., Būlāḳ 1250/1834) is said to have been produced at the suggestion of Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-Munshī of Akhisar [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ (b)]. Considered authoritative and outshining earlier works by Shemʿī and Sürūrī (see Ritter, in *IA* art. *Hâfiz*), it was used for editions by Persian scholars as well as for studies by Western orientalists. His *risāle*s on the second *bayt* of the first *ghazal* in the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ and on one *bayt* of Saʿdī's *Gulistān* are included in the study by Nazif Hoca (see above). The former is shown by Rypka (*History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 103) as an exception to the usual approach of the old commentators, who stressed only the intellectual content of Persian poetry rather than its formal aspect, which they regarded as self-evident (see also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 299, 302).

Bibliography: For titles in addition to those mentioned in the article, see Hoca's work, on which this article draws broadly for biographical detail; and see also Mustafa Özkan, *Mahmûd b. Kâdî'i Manyâs Gülistan tercümesi. Giriş—inceleme—metin—sözlük*, Ankara 1992.

(Kathleen Burrill)

SUDJĀN RĀY BHANDĀRĪ, or Sudjān Singh Dhīr, Munshī (*flor.* in the second half of the 11th/17th century and the early part of the 12th/18th century

under the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]), Hindu chronicler of Muslim India and compiler of collections of *inshā'* [*q.v.*] literature. The name Sudjān (probably not to be taken as Sandjān, as in the *EI*[1] article) comes from a Hindi word meaning "well informed, wise, intelligent", according to Storey.

Very little is known of his life and career, apart from what he tells us in his books or what has been added to the manuscripts of them by their copyists. In the preface to his history (see 1. below), he states that he was by profession a *munshī* or secretary in the civil and financial administration of the Mughal empire, that he was born at Batāla (in the Gūrdāspūr District) in the Pandjāb and that he visited Kābul, probably Thaṭṭā and the Pindjawr Garden at the foot of the Himalayas.

He is the author of:

1. The *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, completed in 1107/1695-6. It is a history of India from the earliest times to the accession of Awrangzīb in 1069/1659, with his narrative ending in 1068/1658. He based it on a number of historical works in Persian, which he enumerates. It claims only to be, as its title says, an "epitome of histories", but is of interest as being written by a Hindu. It also contains a valuable geographical section, with particular information about the Pandjāb. Much of the *Khulāṣa* was incorporated in the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* of Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī [*q.v.*], written shortly afterwards, and in the *Akhbār-i Maḥabbat* of Nawwāb Maḥabbat Khān. A free Urdu adaptation of the earlier part of the *Khulāṣa*, on the geography of India and on the Hindu Rādjās of Dihlī, was made in 1219-20/1804-5 by the Urdu poet Mīr Shīr ʿAlī "Afsūs" [*q.v.*]. The *Khulāṣa* was edited by M. Ẓafar Ḥasan, lith. Dihlī 1918; sections are tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 5-12, and by Jadunath Sarkar in *The India of Aurangzib* (*topography, statistics and roads*)..., Calcutta 1901. See on the *Khulāṣa*, H. Beveridge, *The Khalásat-at-Tawárikh, or Essence of History*, in *JRAS* (1894), 733-68 (1895), 211; Storey, i, 453-8.

2. The *Khulāṣat al-inshā'* and the *Khulāṣat al-makātīb*, two collections of *inshā'* or ornate official prose by Persian and Indo-Muslim authors, compiled in the 1690s and so far unpublished. See Storey, iii/2, E. *Ornate prose*, 318.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(Mohammed Shafi-[C.E. Bosworth])

AL-**SUDJDJA**, apparently the name of an idol of the pre-Islamic Arabs.

In a marginal addition to Ibn al-Kalbī's *K. al-Aṣnām* (ed. Klinke-Rosenberger, 2), the following *ḥadīth* is given: "Fulfill your legal alms obligations, for God has freed you from al-Sudjdja and al-Badjdja" (missing from the *Concordance*). The commentator says that al-Sudjdja was an idol. As for al-Badjdja, this is the blood drawn from an incision (*faṣīd*) of a camel's vein, on which the Arabs used to feed in times of dearth. But according to *TʿA*, ii, 6, al-Badjdja was an idol too. In this case, the second part of the tradition would have the following meaning "... for God has freed you from al-Sudjdja and al-Badjdja" (in regard to whom you used to have to pay a tenth on herds or make sacrifices; in future, these should be made to God).

A variant of this *ḥadīth* (equally missing from the *Concordance*) mentions a third idol, al-Djabha, which denotes at the same time, in addition to the sense of "forehead", a pre-Islamic idol, a lunar mansion, the moon itself, horses (like *al-sudjdja*), humiliation, the leading men of a tribe and, finally, the persons responsible for levying money for a ransom or a debt (*TʿA*, ix, 383). The name of this idol is found in another tradition, together with two other names of deities, "No alms payment is due to al-Djabha, al-Nukhkha or al-Kusʿa" (*ibid.*, v, 484, ii, 285).

Bibliography: Given in the article; other refs. in T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 51-2. But see also W. Atallah, *De quelques prétendues idoles Baǧǧa, Suǧǧa, etc.*, in *Arabica*, xx (1973), 160-7, who questions whether these words refer to idols and interprets them as relating to stages of an animal sacrifice. (T. Fahd)

SUEZ [see al-suways].

SŪF (Ar. Wādī Sūf, *nisba* Sūfī, pl. Sawāfa, *vulgo* Suafa), a group of oases in south-eastern Algeria, termed by the French (since 1885) Annexe d'El Oued, after its chef-lieu al-Wād. With its nomadic periphery, it covers an area of *ca.* 80,000 km^2, stretching along the Tunisian border from the Djarīd to the approaches of Ghadāmes. Most of it is sand dunes forming part of the Great Oriental Erg, the remainder is flat, stony terrain (*ṣaḥn*, lit. "plate") and several salt marshes (*sabkha, shaṭṭ*). Villages and palm groves occupy only a fraction of the whole. Though of difficult access (hence its use as a refuge), it was never really isolated, thanks to its role as a link between Tunisia (Nafṭa) and pre-Saharan Algeria (Tuggurt, Tamāsīn, Biskra). The settled area comprises nine older villages (founded before the 17th century), divided in three groups: Ḳmār (vocalisation uncertain, Fr. spelling Guémar) and Taghzūt in the north-west; Kuinīn and Tiksabt in the south-west; Zkūm (spelling uncertain; Fr. spelling Zgoum), Bahīma, Dabīla and Sīdī ʿAwn in the north-east; and al-Wād in the centre. The number of their inhabitants ranges from 880 (Sīdī ʿAwn) to *ca.* 13,000 (al-Wād) (Nadler 1957, 24). There are a dozen newer villages, including the Amish group in the south and temporary camp sites (*naẓlāt*). The global population of the Sūf has soared from 17,629 (?) in 1883 to *ca.* 120,000 in 1966 (Kielstra 1987, 11). About one-third of these are nomads, but the distinction between them and the settlers is not clear-cut: most nomads own palm groves and spend there the harvest season, while many villagers raise flocks. Demographic pressure and poor harvests entail emigration, mostly to Tunisia (36,000 in 1955; Vanney 1960, 177).

Origins. The aborigines of the Sūf were presumably Berbers, but the main ethnic components in the Islamic period are the ʿAdwān and the nomadic Ṭrūd. According to the *Kitāb al-ʿAdwānī* (see *Bibl.*), the former claimed descent from a Makhzūmī who came with the first Islamic conquest, while the latter arrived near the end of the 14th century and considered themselves as part of Sulaym. After initial clashes between the two, a *modus vivendi* was reached though political opposition remained.

Economy. The basis of the Sūfī economy is the date palm. Its cultivation differs from that practised elsewhere [see nakhl and tamr] in two respects: (a) the tree is planted in a funnel-like excavation (*ghawṭ*, pl. *ghīṭān*) at a depth enabling its roots to reach the groundwater; hence no need of irrigation, but of sisyphean labour to keep the sand out; and (b) with the lowering of the water table, the tree, in order to survive, must be lowered too—an arduous and risky operation. The palm groves produce several varieties of dates, such as the famous *deglet nūr* (5.3% of the total, for export only) and the soft dates, *ghars* (78% of the total, the staple food of the Suafa). The total number of trees went up from 154,000 in 1883 to 441,000 in 1930 (Cauvet 1934, 93). Vegetables, too,

are grown in the *ghawṭs*, as well as snuff tobacco. Cereals must be imported. Livestock is raised mostly by the nomads. Textiles produced include burnuses, *ḥā'iks* and carpets. A supplement of income is provided by smuggling (notably of gunpowder). A closed chapter in the Sūfi economy is the black slave trade and slavery, which only stopped completely as late as 1922 (Leselle 1955, 20).

Islam in the Sūf. The Suafa are Mālikis. The Fāṭimid and Khāridjite heresies left no trace in the Sūf, and much the same applies to the 16th-century maraboutic Shābbiyya. Only the implantation of three major Ṣūfi orders, the Raḥmāniyya, the Tidjāniyya and the Ḳādiriyya [*q.vv.*] in the 19th century and the rivalry between the latter two, has made religion a prime factor in Sūfi life and politics. The Raḥmānīs were the first to found a lodge at al-Wād (1815). By 1858 they had some 10,000 members. Next came the Tidjānīs, who founded a lodge at Ḳmār, an extension of Tamalhat at Tamāsin in the Rīgh valley. Being staunch collaborators of the French, they enjoyed their trust and favour, but the two main lodges at ʿAyn Māḍī and Tamāsīn were long divided over the supreme headship of the order. The Ḳādiriyya became active in the Sūf thanks to two brothers from Nafṭa, al-Hāshimī and al-Imām, who built two lodges in the Amish area (1887, 1892). The Ḳādirīs were welcomed by the Raḥmānīs, but the Tidjānīs took an unfavourable view of the new competitor. Thus began a 30-year long rivalry (1895-1924), which divided the Sūf into two camps. To bolster his position, al-Hāshimī likewise offered his services to the French, who, though mistrustful, used him to expand their Saharan trade, check smuggling and obtain information on the Turks and the Sanūsīs. When he incited his followers against the French, he was banished to Tunisia (1918). After the demise of both his Tidjānī rival and his own one (1923), their successors made peace (1924), but the rise of the Orthodox Reform movement [see IṢLĀḤ. i. and SALAFIYYA] threatened the entire maraboutic establishment. By 1932, the Sūf was again divided into two blocs, for and against the Reformists. The Ḳādirī chief ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz denounced the marabouts and joined the AUMA (Algerian ʿUlamā' Assoc.) in 1937, which prompted Ibn Bādīs to spread the reformist gospel in the Sūf (Pigoreau 1954, 36). Despite their success, the membership of the three orders did not diminish: in 1945 it averaged 15,000 for each (Kielstra 1987, 14).

Religious differences were not the only ones to divide the Sūf. It was also plagued by tribal alliances based on enmity between neighbouring villages [see ṢAFF]. These factions became involved in regional rivalries: between Tuggurt and Tamāsīn, the Bū-ʿUkkāz and the Ben Gāna. From this involvement, the Sūf profited little and suffered much in terms of human losses and material damage. Its submission to the French (1854) was followed by 16 uneventful years, marred by exactions of French-appointed *ḳā'ids*. France's defeat at the hands of Prussia stimulated uprisings in the Constantinois (1871), including a bloody attack on Ḳmār by a religious agitator called Bū Shūsha. When the *pax gallica* was restored, France imposed direct rule on the Sūf (1877). Two former *khalīfas* of the Ṭrūd, Ḥammū Mūsā and Aḥmad ben Tuātī, were appointed *ḳā'ids*, but they no longer enjoyed the autonomy which tribal leaders had possessed before. There was a silent agreement between them and the Tidjānīs as to their respective spheres of influence, but after the Great War both religious and secular leadership lost their political basis. Only the old merchant families kept their status, and, by providing their sons with a modern education, qualified them as bureaucrats in independent Algeria (Kielstra 1987, 23).

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(P. SHINAR)

ṢŪF (A.), the wool of sheep (*shā'*, *ḍa'n*). The hair sheared from other animals is named differently; *wabar* denotes camels' hair, *shaʿr* the wool of goats (*djubbat shiʿār*, a gown made from goats' hair, see al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭaylasān*, no. 114). The radical *ṣ-w-f* is known from pre-Talmudic Hebrew in the sense of "bundle of wool" (*Tosafta*). *Ṣūf* is mentioned in several pre-Islamic contexts, but in the Ḳur'ān only once in the plural form (*aṣwāf*), in XVI, 82/80.

Sheep breeding (*aṣwāf muʿbarāt al-ritāʿ*, the thick wool of sheep pasturing freely, in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1848 l. 3; cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, 30 l. 16; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 364 l. 3) and wool spinning (*ghazl al-nisā'*, *TA*, x, 315 l. 22) were ubiquitous among the Arab tribes during the Djāhiliyya and in the semi-arid zones in the Mediterranean countries during early Islam and later, these regions being unfit for intensive agriculture but suitable for the herds of the Bedouins which roamed in these lands. Thus sheep flocks were a symbol of richness. Nevertheless, with the development of Islamic civilisation, the nomads' tents were replaced by houses and palaces, and the use of luxury fabrics and furs (*farwa*) grew. It seems that due to this development, the use of wool acquired among the Muslims of the caliphal period an image of coarse cloth (*djibāb ahl al-bādiya*, in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam* viii, 84 l. 10).

Market demand stimulated commerce in wool and encouraged partnership between Bedouins and sedentary people (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, doc. 46) as well as long-distance land (al-Muḳaddasī, 145 ll. 13-14) and maritime trade in wool (Gil, *A history of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, 251 doc. 458 ll. 15-16) Documents from 15th-century Morocco deal with commerce between that country and Portugal (*Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1ère série, *Portugal*, i, 314, 581, iii, 260).

Wool was spun (*ghazala*) into raw material (R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 72, 92, 80; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, iv, 126-7). It was used in the manufacture of *baṭā'in al-riḥāl* (saddle linings), *raḥl min shaʿr wa-ṣūf* (camel's saddle made from goats' hair and wool) *ḥanbal* (rug made of coarse wool, in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1ère série, *Portugal*,

i, 44), carpets, *bisāt, farsh* (or *fursh*); and in the garment industries in a variety of woollen clothes (*thiyab al-ṣūf*): *aʿbiya* (woollen cloaks), *busht* (woollen wraps), *aksiya* (clothes; *kisāʾ min ṣūf* (in al-Baladhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/4, 86 l. 8), *athwāb* (woollen robes), *kilal* (veils), *djubba* (gown) and *zaʿbūt* (woollen garment); see further, LIBĀS.

In local markets different qualities of wool and felt (*lubūd* [*q.v.*]) were on sale; these were manufactured in a variety of colours (Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, 197).

Wool-makers or sellers (*ṣawwāf*; al-Ḳāsimī, *Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, ii, 275) are mentioned in towns (Goitein, *op. cit.* i, 105, 419, nn. 37-9; Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the medieval islamic world*, Leiden 1994, 120, 123) as well as in the countryside, among sedentary people as well as pastoralists.

The assumption of E. Ashtor (*Les lainages dans l'Orient mediéval*, 1976, 673 ff., repr. in his *Studies on the Levantine trade*, London 1978) that the system of wool manufacturing in the Islamic Near East declined due to the dumping of European exports, remains to be proved. Thus, for example, one of the guilds in Ottoman Jerusalem, a backwater provincial town, is named *ṭāʾifat al-bushtiyya* or *al-ʿabawiyya*, the wool craftmen's association (M. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, *Wathāʾiḳ al-ṭawāʾif al-ḥirfiyya*, ii, 47-61; for trade in woollen clothes in the European lands of the Ottoman empire, cf. S. Faroqhi, *Peasants, dervishes and traders*, Variorum edns., Aldershot).

Although wearing a woollen dress was a signal of poverty (*marḳaʿa min ṣūf* = woollen rags, in Ibn Iyās), of simplicity (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 2537) and even of asceticism (*djubbat ṣūf ḳubruṣiyya* = a long outer garment open in the front, in al-Muḳaddasī, 415 ll. 6-8; *thiyāb bīḍ ghilāẓ* = white, rough dress, in al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, § 2727), and Goldziher, among others, suggested the hypothesis of the possible association of *ṣūf* and Ṣūfism, there is nevertheless evidence for the use of wool in luxurious contexts (*fawḳāniyya mulawwana min al-ṣūf al-nafīs* = a coloured robe made from expensive wool, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 40; Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires*, Paris 1969, 176, 344).

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(Y. FRENKEL)

ṢUFFA [see AHL AL-ṢUFFA].

ṢŪFĪ [see TAṢAWWUF].

AL-**SŪFISṬĀʾIYYŪN** (A.), the Sophists, from the Greek word for a sophist, *sophistēs*. At the heart of the Arabic references and discussions lies the Greek text of Aristotle, *On sophistical refutations* (*Peri sophistikōn elenkhōn*). Here sophistical refutations are defined as those arguments which go under the guise of refutations but are, in fact, fallacious and should not be considered as refutations. A little further on in his text, Aristotle describes a sophist as one who capitalises financially on wisdom which is apparent rather than real. Arabic forms of the words "sophist", "sophistics" and "sophistry" do not appear in the Ḳurʾān, and the latter does not know the Arabic *mughālaṭa* ("fallacy") either. The translation history of Aristotle's *Sophistical refutations* into Arabic is problematic, as F.E. Peters has shown. Several versions clearly existed and the work was known, and commented upon, by early, scholars as diverse as al-Kindī and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī. An abridgement is also known by Ibn Sīnā. The Syriac commentators, and more importantly, the Greek (Alexandrian) commentators on Aristotelian logic identified nine branches, and their division was adopted by the Arabs. Sophistics, whose basic text was the *Sophistical refutations*, and which was called in Arabic *al-Safsaṭa* or *al-Mughālaṭa*, appeared as number seven in the traditional list. This was its position, for example, in the encyclopaedic work of al-Khʷārazmī called *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*. Here, under the rubric "Seventh section on Sophistics", the author briefly observes: "This Book is called *Sophistics*, a word meaning 'arbitrary action'. The Sophist (*al-sūfisṭāʾī*) is one who exercises arbitrary judgement. The Book reports the causes of fallacies and how to be on one's guard against them. The Sophists (*al-sūfisṭāʾiyyūn*) are those who do not establish the real facts of a matter". Al-Kindī, earlier, ranking the *Sophistical refutations* as the sixth, rather than the seventh, of the classical books of logic, similarly defined a sophist as "one who passes arbitrary judgement" (*al-mutaḥakkim*). The subject matter of the *Sophistical refutations* broadly dealt with fallacy in syllogistic discourse. The great philosopher al-Fārābī, whom Muhsin Mahdi has aptly characterised as "the *Imām* of logicians', spoke of sophistry in the same breath as dialectic (*djadal*). Deborah Black notes that "Fārābī sometimes links sophistry to widely-accepted premises, distinguishing it from dialectic on the grounds that dialectic takes premises that are in fact widely-accepted, whereas sophistry takes those that only appear or are presumed to be so" (*Logic and Aristotle*'s Rhetoric *and* Poetics, 96, n. 129). In sum, we can identify, from all these definitions, a broad agreement in mediaeval Islamic thought about the meaning of the word "sophist" and a general logical suspicion of those who engaged in sophistry. It is worth noting here, too, that several went further and added a religious dimension to their discussions. Ibn al-Djawzī, for example, in his *Talbīs Iblīs* examined the Sophists (here, not in the technical logical meaning, but merely "sceptics" in the epistemological sense, i.e. those who deny knowable essences; see on this, J. van Ess, *Scepticism in Islamic thought*, in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxi [1968], 1-18) as a source of heresy.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): The seminal work is, of course, Aristotle's *Peri sophistikōn elenkhōn*, also known under the Latin title of *De sophisticis elenchis*. See E.S. Forster (ed.), *Aristotle: On sophistical refutations* [and other works], The Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass repr. 1965, for dual Greek-English text. See also Soheil M. Afnan, *A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969, *s.vv.* *sūfisṭāʾī*, *sūfisṭīkā*; Deborah L. Black, *Logic and Aristotle's* Rhetoric *and* Poetics *in medieval Arabic philosophy*, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, Texts and Studies, ed. H. Daiber, vii, Leiden 1990; Kindī, *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. M.A.H. Abū Rīda, 2 vols., Cairo 1950-3; Muhsin Mahdi (ed.), *Al-Farabi's Book of Letters* (Kitāb al-Ḥurūf), Beirut 1969; F.E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968; idem, *Aristotle and the Arabs: the Aristotelian tradition in Islam*, New York-London 1968; N. Rescher, *The development of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1964; idem, *Studies in the history of Arabic logic*, Pittsburgh 1963.

(I.R. NETTON)

ṢŪFIYĀNA (P.), the term applied to the days of abstinence from eating meat introduced by the Mughal emperor of India, Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]). His chronicler Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*] notes in his *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. H. Blochmann, i, 51-2, more accurately tr. in Shireen Moosvi, *Episodes in the life of Akbar. Contemporary records and reminiscences*, New Delhi 1994, 100-1) that Akbar abstained thus on Fridays and Sundays, and then on various other days of the year, including the first day of each solar month and the whole of the first month Farwardīn and the one in which he had been born, Ābān. His son Djahāngīr

(1014-37/1605-27 [*q.v.*]) continued the practice, with *ṣūfiyāna* meals on Sundays in his father's memory and on Thursdays to commemorate his own accession. It has been plausibly suggested that both Ṣūfī Muslim and Hindu and Jain influences played parts in determining Akbar's practice here.

Bibliography: See also Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 177; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi 1975, 386-7.

(C.E. Bosworth)

ṢUFRIYYA, an early Islamic religious group defined by the heresiographers as the name of a Khāridjite sect arising out of the breakup of the Khāridjite community in Baṣra in the year 64/683-4.

The heresiographers commonly derive the name from a founder variously called ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Aṣfar, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣaffār al-Saʿdī al-Tamīmī, or Ziyād b. al-Aṣfar, who was active at the time of the breakup. This founder is almost certainly fictitious. The scholars of the Ṣufriyya themselves, according to al-Mubarrad, narrated that the Khāridjites, at the time of their original rebellion against ʿAlī, chose ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī as their *imām*, rejecting Maʿdān b. Mālik al-Iyādī because he condemned those Khāridjites who would not join the revolt. The Ṣufriyya, therefore, dissociated themselves (*bariʾū*) from Maʿdān (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 528-9). This may well be a back-projection of the later conflict with the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] into the time of the founders of the Khāridjite movement. It shows, however, that the foundation figure of Ibn al-Aṣfar was unknown to the Ṣufriyya. Some sources rather mention an otherwise unknown ʿUbayda b. Ḳabīs as the spokesman of the Ṣufriyya at the time of the breakup.

In reality the name Ṣufriyya was derived from the description of early Khāridjite worshippers, even before the breakup, as *ṣufr* (*al-wudjūh*) "yellow-faced" as a result of their constant ascetic devotions, and was initially applied to the Khāridjites in general. The early Baṣran Khāridjite leader Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya [*q.v.*] (killed in 61/680), who was famous for his pious devotion, is described as the *imām* of the Ṣufriyya in the account of al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 72). Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim al-Laythī dissociated himself from the Baṣran Khāridjites, calling them *al-ṣufr al-ādhān* in two lines of poetry to be dated around 66-7/685-7. A mere jibe is the derivation of the name offered by al-Aṣmaʿī, who suggested that it should be read Ṣifriyya and explained that someone had addressed an imprisoned Khāridjite as "a zero (*ṣifr*) in religion" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *Ṣufriyya*).

1. In Arabia and the Islamic East.

When militant Khāridjite groups left the Baṣran community and rose in rebellion in 64/683-4, they were named after their leaders, while the name Ṣufriyya came to denote the moderates, those who remained "sitting" (*ḳaʿad* or *ḳaʿada*). Naṣr al-Laythī thus mentions the followers of Nadjda and Ibn al-Azraḳ (*al-ladhīna tazarraḳū*) separately from the Ṣufriyya. Only the Azāriḳa, however, broke radically with the moderates, declaring the *ḳaʿad* polytheists (*mushrikūn*), and are never counted among the Ṣufriyya. The Nadjadāt [*q.v.*] defended the conduct of the *ḳaʿad* and evidently maintained their ties with the Baṣran community. The heresiographers also date the schism between Ṣufriyya and the moderate Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] in 64/683-4. The Ibāḍiyya, however, at this stage appear to have constituted merely a current among the moderates. Their separate sectarian identity was definitely established only under the leadership of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma beginning *ca.* 95/714. Some of the Ibāḍiyya thus backed the revolts of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and Shabīb b. Yazīd in 76-7/695-7, although these were commonly counted as Ṣufrī leaders. Similarly the Bayhasiyya, followers of Abū Bayhas [*q.v.*], were initially a current within the Ṣufriyya and only later developed into a relatively radical, separate sect. At the time of the breakup in 64/683-4, Abū Bayhas is reported to have accused Ibn al-Azraḳ of extremism and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ of short-coming (*taḳṣīr*) because of the latter's assertion that non-Khāridjite Muslims were not polytheists but merely rejectors of God's bounties (*kuffār bi ʾl-niʿam*). Abū Bayhas argued that these were *mushrikūn*, but that it was licit for the Khāridjites to live temporarily in peace with them while practicing religious dissimulation (*taḳiyya*), to intermarry with them and to inherit from them. This was in fact the common opinion of the Ṣufriyya.

After the death of Abū Bilāl in 61/680, the learned ascetic and poet ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [*q.v.*], according to al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 71), became the *imām* of the Ṣufriyya. This is confirmed by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 47, 346), who describes ʿImrān as the chief of the *ḳaʿad* of the Ṣufriyya, their consultant in religious matters (*ṣāḥib futyāhum*), and their refuge when they disagreed. ʿImrān must have been active as leader in Baṣra until 75/694, when al-Ḥadjdjādj became governor of ʿIrāḳ and ʿImrān, persecuted by him, was compelled to leave the town and go into hiding. No supreme chief of the Baṣran Ṣufriyya is known thereafter. Al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 595) mentions al-Ruhayn b. Sahm al-Murādī as a Ṣufrī leader, equally learned and gifted in poetry as ʿImrān, whose contemporary he appears to have been. Al-Djāḥiẓ names as scholars of the Ṣufriyya Shubayl b. ʿAzra al-Ḍubaʿī (d. 140/757), al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣudayḳa and Mulayl. Only the first of these is otherwise known as a transmitter of historical reports, poet and orator. According to al-Djāḥiẓ, he was during most of his life a radical Shīʿī before becoming a Ṣufrī. Closer to his own time, al-Djāḥiẓ describes the well-known Baṣran philologist and historian Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. 209/824-5 [*q.v.*]) and the Kūfan historian al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. between 206/821 and 209/824 [*q.v.*]) as Ṣufrī Khāridjites. Neither of these men were sectarian activists. Abū ʿUbayda had at most sentimental Khāridjite sympathies; the case of al-Haytham is even more doubtful.

The first armed revolt of the Ṣufriyya was led by Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ al-Tamīmī in northern Mesopotamia in 76/695, and was continued after his death by Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]. The rebellion was evidently provoked by al-Ḥadjdjādj's persecution of ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān and other leaders of the *ḳaʿad*. Ṣāliḥ was a pietist with ties to Khāridjites in Kūfa, and is said to have preached Khāridjite views in Dārā for twenty years before his move. His followers were mostly of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr and other Rabīʿa. He was later venerated as a martyr, and recitations from his collected sermons were performed at his tomb. Ṣufrī Khāridjism became entrenched among the Rabīʿa in northern Mesopotamia and numerous Khāridjite revolts erupted there. In 100-1/718-20 Shawdhab (Bisṭām) al-Yashkurī rose and was killed. In 119/737 Buhlūl b. Bishr rose near Mawṣil backed by the Banū Shaybān and Yashkur, and al-Ṣaḥārī, a son of Shabīb b. Yazīd, revolted at Djabbul among the Banū Taym al-Lāt b. Thaʿlaba. Both were killed in battle. On a much larger scale was the Ṣufrī rebellion which erupted after the murder of the caliph al-Walīd II in 126/744. It was at first led by Saʿīd b. Bahdal al-Shaybānī, who defeated a Bayhasī rival and

died as he moved against Kūfa. He was succeeded by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*], who had long been recognised among the Khāridjites as a religious scholar with distinct views. His followers were sometimes counted a separate sect called al-Ḍaḥḥākiyya. In al-Shahrazūr, al-Ḍaḥḥāk was joined by large groups of Ṣufriyya, some of whom had previously taken possession of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk seized Kūfa, and Wāsiṭ. The Umayyad governor of Kūfa, ʿUmar II's son ʿAbd Allāh, surrendered and pledged allegiance to al-Ḍaḥḥāk. There was general amazement that a Ḳurashī prince should pray behind a Khāridjite *imām* of Bakr b. Wāʾil. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was then joined by another Umayyad prince, Sulaymān, son of the caliph Hishām. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was killed fighting Marwān II at Kafartūthā in 128/746. His second successor, Shaybān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Yashkurī was driven out of Mawṣil by Marwān's army and moved with his followers to Fārs, where he backed the Djaʿfarid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*]. Shaybān briefly occupied Zarandj, the capital of Sidjistān, but then left for ʿUmān, where he died in battle, fighting the Azdī chief al-Djulandā, who was backed by Ibāḍī Khāridjites, in 134/751-2.

Throughout the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid age, numerous Khāridjite rebellions erupted in northern Mesopotamia, and especially in the region of Mawṣil. Ibn al-Athīr and other sources report revolts in the years 133/750-1, 160-2/776-9, 168/784-5, 171/787-9, 176/792-3, 178-9/794, 180/796-7, 187/802-3, 190/805-6, 202/817-18, 214/829 (location uncertain), 231/845-6, 248/862-3, 252/865, 257/870-1, 267/880-1 and 317-18/929-31 (see Veccia Vaglieri, in *RSO*, xxiv, 39-40). Although these rebellions most often are qualified merely as Khāridjite, they may generally be counted as Ṣufrī. Yāsīn al-Tamīmī, who rose in 168/784-5, is described as inclining to the doctrine of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ. Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī (killed in 283/896) is called a Ṣufrī. Most of the revolts, which at first involved chiefly the Banū Shaybān and Yashkur and later the Taghlib, Badjīla, and even Hamdān, were minor and quickly suppressed. They reflect the will to seek martyrdom as *shurāt* following the example of the early Khāridjites. More serious were the rebellions of al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Taghlibī (178-9/794-6), which alarmed the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and of Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Badjalī (252-63/866-77) and Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī (267-83/880-96). The latter two seized control of extensive territories in northern Mesopotamia, where they collected taxes. Hārūn al-Badjalī at first had to defeat a rival, Muḥammad b. Khurzād, a popular Khāridjite worshipper, probably a Kurd, with a strong following in al-Shahrazūr. Among Hārūn's followers was the Kurd Ibrāhīm b. Shādhlūya, the father of Daysam (d. 346/957), a Khāridjite who rose in the military service of Yūsuf b. Abi ʾl-Sādj and, after the fall of the Sādjids, from 326/955-6 for some time held sway over Ādharbāydjān and Armenia, backed by Kurdish troops.

Ideologically, the Ṣufriyya were strongly attached to the memory of the early Khāridjites, whom they venerated and emulated as martyrs of their cause. They dissociated themselves from those Khāridjite groups who, in their eyes, deviated from the path of the pious ancestors like the Azāriḳa and the Ibāḍiyya. Unlike the latter they did not develop a theological and legal school doctrine of their own and did not participate in the debates of the *kalām* theologians in the 2nd/8th century. Since Ṣufriyya was initially a general name for Khāridjites, the heresiographers tended to view Khāridjite sects as factions of the Ṣufriyya. In fact, all Khāridjite sects except for the Azāriḳa have been described by one or the other heresiographer as derived from the Ṣufriyya. Specific doctrines ascribed to "the Ṣufriyya" evidently were not held by these in general but by some group otherwise viewed as a Ṣufrī sub-sect.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa ʾl-tabyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, Cairo 1948-9, i, 46-7, 343-7; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1874-92, 528-30, 595, 604, 615-18; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, in W. Ahlwardt, *Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, Greifswald 1883, 82-4; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1980, 101, 116, 118-20, 126, 463; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 190-1; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, ed. Kamāl Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1948, 177-8; Shahrastānī, 102-3; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 28, 41-51; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫārigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 31-44; W.M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, index; W. Madelung, *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, Albany 1988, 70-2; K. Lewinstein, *Making and unmaking of a sect: the heresiographers and the Ṣufriyya*, in *SI*, lxxvi (1992), 75-96. (W. MADELUNG)

2. In North Africa.

By the mid-2nd/8th century, the label Ṣufriyya was regularly applied in the Maghrib to those Khāridjite Berber tribes with no Ibāḍī affiliation. Local tradition identifies the first Ṣufrī missionary in the West as ʿIkrima [*q.v.*] (the Berber client of Ibn ʿAbbās), from whom several notable Ṣufrī leaders in the first half of the 2nd/8th century are said to have acquired their knowledge of Khāridjite teachings. ʿIkrima's presence in Ḳayrawān, if in fact historical, would have to be placed at the end of the 1st/7th or the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. However, the account preserved in Ibāḍī sources (in which ʿIkrima is pictured arriving in Ifrīḳiya on the same camel as that of his Ibāḍī counterpart) does not bear much scrutiny, and is probably best seen in the context of later Ṣufrī-Ibāḍī rivalry, and the eventual absorption of the Ṣufriyya into the Ibāḍiyya (Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Siyar*, 25-6; al-Dardjīnī, *Mashāyikh*, i, 11).

Whatever their beginnings, Ṣufrī teachings spread most quickly among the remote Berber tribes of the western Maghrib, where they served to promote active resistance to Arab domination at a time when the Ibāḍīs further east had yet to declare themselves openly in revolt. By 122/739-40, the Ṣufriyya in the region around Tangier were in open rebellion under the leadership of Maysara al-Maṭgharī [*q.v.*]. Maysara's tribal support was broad and heterogeneous, and included (besides the Maṭghara themselves) elements of the Miknāsa and the Barghawāṭa. Some of the latinised Berbers (*afāriḳa*) in Tangier may also have been involved, if we are to judge from Maysara's decision to appoint ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Djuraydj al-Ifrīḳī governor of Tangier after the Ṣufrī capture of the town.

Although Maysara was recognised as *khalīfa*, the title was always subject to revocation in Khāridjite circles, and in 123/740 Maysara was deposed and killed by his own followers and replaced by Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī. A recent military defeat suffered by Maysara, as well as tribal rivalries within the Ṣufrī coalition, may also have played a part in Khālid's elevation to the "caliphate". While Maysara's coalition does not seem to have survived his death intact, the Ṣufriyya were nonetheless able to inflict serious damage on two Umayyad armies, the first in

123/740 at the so-called "Battle of the Nobles" (*ghazwat al-ashrāf*), and the second later that year at Nafdūra/Baḳdūra on the Subū river. With Ḳayrawān itself threatened, the governor of Egypt, Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], was sent by the caliph Hishām to pacify the west. Unable to crush the Ṣufriyya completely, he did at least prevent Ḳayrawān from falling into Khāridjite hands by defeating Ṣufrī armies at al-Ḳarn and al-Aṣnām in 124/742.

Despite these setbacks, the Ṣufriyya continued to threaten the stability of Arab rule in Ifrīḳiya. The Fihrid ruler at Ḳayrawān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb [*q.v.*], was forced to contend with Ṣufrī rebellions of the Ṣanhādja west of Tūnis around 130/748. These revolts increased in seriousness, with the ʿAbbāsids otherwise preoccupied and the Fihrids, after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, weakened by internal division. It was in this context that Ḳayrawān itself was in 139/757 occupied by the Warfadjdjūma, one of the leading clans of the Nafzāwa [*q.v.*] Berbers. Modern scholarship, on the basis of the principal Sunnī sources, associates this occupation with a Ṣufrī conquest of the town and with excesses committed against Arabs and others. However, the relationship between the Warfadjdjūma and the Ṣufriyya is by no means clear, and there is no good evidence linking such excesses to Ṣufrī teachings. It is notable that the Ibāḍī sources do not regard the Warfadjdjūma as Ṣufrīs, even while making of their atrocities a pretext for the Ibāḍī conquest of Ḳayrawān in 141/758 (al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, i, 115-17; Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Siyar*, 38-9).

It is likely that the increasing strength of their Ṣufrī rivals is what pushed the Ibāḍīs to proclaim an Imāmate in 140/757. The Ibāḍī Imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's [*q.v.*] conquest of Ifrīḳiya in 141/758-9, followed shortly afterward by the consolidation of ʿAbbāsid power in Ifrīḳiya and the eastern Maghrib under Ibn al-Ashʿath, had the effect of pushing the centres of Ṣufrī power south and west, from Ifrīḳiya to the central Maghrib. At Tilimsān (Tlemcen), Abū Ḳurra was able to establish an independent Ṣufrī state based on the power of the Īfran and Maghīla [*q.vv.*] Berber tribes. Abū Ḳurra had long been a principal Ṣufrī leader in North Africa, particularly after the death of Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī. In 124/741-2, when the Ṣufrī rebel ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Yazīd al-Hawwārī threatened Ḳayrawān, Abū Ḳurra had commanded the vanguard of his army. Two decades later, he was able to claim the Ṣufrī imāmate, his position strengthened by the westward migration of the main body of Īfranid tribesmen following Ibn al-Ashʿath's conquests in Ifrīḳiya and the eastern Maghrib.

Abū Ḳurra's dominion, which extended from the new town of Tilimsān as far east as Tāhart, came under immediate attack by an ʿAbbāsid army sent in 148/765. Unable to extinguish Ṣufrī power, and facing a generalised Khāridjite threat to Ḳayrawān, the new governor of Ifrīḳiya ʿAmr b. Ḥafṣ sought in 151/768 to fortify the town of Ṭubna, and found himself surrounded and badly outnumbered by a combined Ṣufrī-Ibāḍī force which included among its notable commanders Abū Ḳurra and the Ibāḍī leaders Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam. Abū Ḳurra seems to have commanded by far the largest force, made up overwhelmingly of Īfranid tribesmen; elements of Ṣanhādja and Zanāta are also mentioned as participating in the siege. The sources generally attribute the failure of the attack to bribes paid by Ibn Ḥafṣ either to Abū Ḳurra or to his brother, although broader conflicts between the Ṣufrī and Ibāḍī elements of the besieging force may also have played a role in its disintegration.

The siege of Ṭubna marked the high-point of Ṣufrī power in Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib. Both the strengthened ʿAbbāsid presence after 155/772 and the spread of Idrīsid power in the far west came at the expense of Tilimsān, and those Berbers who continued to regard themselves as Ṣufrīs, migrated to the region of Tāfīlalt, now the principal Ṣufrī centre in North Africa. Ṣufrī teachings had been spread there by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Samghū/Samdjū b. Wāsūl, one of the Miknāsa reported to have studied with ʿIkrima at Ḳayrawān and to have participated in the Ṣufrī uprising around Tangier in 122/739-40. At some point after that date he is said to have occupied himself as a shepherd and a teacher on the site of the future town of Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], and when the number of his followers reached 40 in 140/757, the group began to build permanent dwellings and recognised as leader a black named ʿĪsā b. Mazyad. Some 15 years later ʿĪsā was deposed, tortured, and executed, and replaced by Samghū. The sources offer in explanation only generalised accusations of misconduct by ʿĪsā, but it is possible to suppose from al-Bakrī's language (*Mughrib*, 149) that a growing presence of Miknāsa Berbers at the expense of blacks in the area around Sidjilmāsa may have led to the change. It is in any case from Samghū b. Wāsūl that the Ṣufrī Midrārid line of rulers would eventually issue [see MIDRĀR]. Whatever Ṣufrī identity the Midrārids maintained may have worked to preserve their independence from the neighbouring Ibāḍī Rustamid [see RUSTAMIDS] imāms, with whom they normally enjoyed friendly relations. (The succession conflict which raged in Sidjilmāsa between 221/835 and 224/838 suggests the importance which many attached to the state's maintaining a Khāridjite identity distinct from that of the Rustamids.) Their sectarian independence also allowed the Midrārids to sponsor non-Ibāḍī Khāridjite rebels elsewhere in the Maghrib. The Ṣufrī rebellion which a certain ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ led against the Idrīsids, and which reached the town of Fās (Fez) before being crushed in 292/904, appears to have been incited and supported by the Midrārids [see MIDYŪNA].

Ultimately, the Khāridjism which survived in North Africa was of the Ibāḍī, and not the Ṣufrī, variety. Just how quickly the Ṣufriyya died out or were absorbed into the Ibāḍiyya is impossible to tell. The final collapse of the Midrārid state in 366/976-7 must have hastened the process, although Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1065) was still able to observe that in his own day, the sole Khāridjite sects remaining were the Ibāḍiyya and the Ṣufriyya (*Fiṣal*, iv, 145).

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aghlabide, Paris 1966, 37-8, 73, 75; T. Lewicki, *The Ibâdites in Arabia and Africa*, in *Cahiers d'Hist. Mondiale*, xiii (1971), 3-130; M. Ismāʿīl [ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ], *al-Khawāridj fi 'l-Maghrib al-islāmī*, Beirut 1976, 55-6, 59-60, 76, 88, 91-2; ʿA. Khulayfāt, *Nashʾat al-ḥaraka al-ibāḍiyya*, ʿAmmān 1978, 133-4, 146 (n. 45); U. Rebstock, *Die Ibāḍiten im Maghrib*, Berlin 1983, 21, 23, 34-55, 117-23; J. Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib in the Islamic period*, Cambridge 1987, 37-53.

(K. Lewinstein)

ṢUFRŪY (colloq. Moroccan Ar., *Ṣefrū: nisba Ṣefrīwī*, pl. *Ṣefrāwa*; in European languages, Sefrou), a large town of over 30,000 inhabitants in north-central Morocco, located at an altitude of 850 m/2,790 feet in the foothills of the Middle Atlas just above the Sāʾis plain only 30 km/18 miles south of Fās. It is situated in a green, picturesque setting surrounded by gardens and fruit (most notably cherry) orchards that give it an oasis-like aspect. The area is watered by several streams that branch out from the main watercourse, the Wādī Aggay (frequently referred to simply as Wādī Ṣefrū) which meanders through the heart of the town, and in the past it has caused considerable death and destruction in times of flooding, e.g. in 1888 and in 1950. The town today consists of several quarters: the old walled city which includes the *madīna*, which is subdivided into four principal quarters, and the *mellāḥ*; the new traditional neighbourhoods outside the walls, such as the Darb al-Mitr, Ḥabbūna, Slāwī, Sīdī Aḥmad Tadlī, and Habitant, and al-Ḳalʿa, a walled traditional quarter, on the hill to the west above the old *madīna*. There is also the French-built Ville Nouvelle or al-Balad al-Djadīda, immediately up the hill to the west and south of the original town. The population of Sefrou has been increasing rapidly since the 1960s. Many of the newcomers are Tamazight-speaking Berbers from the countryside.

Sefrou was a settlement predating the Islamic conquest. It was supposedly named after the Ahl Ṣufrū, a Berber tribe professing Judaism. The lower course of the Aggay River is still called Wādī 'l-Yahūdī ("The River of the Jew"). However, this name may have originally been due to the fact that this part of the river runs along one side of the *mellāḥ*, or Jewish quarter [see mallāḥ], and the etiological legend was created as a later explanation. Sefrou and its environs were subjugated and Islamised in the early 3rd/9th century by Idrīs II [*q.v.*]. By the 5th/11th century, Sefrou was an important walled town on the caravan route connecting Fās, the Tafilalet, and the western Sudan (al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīkiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 147). Al-Idrīsī mentions that it is the first day's stop on the thirteen-day journey from Fās to Sidjilmāsa and that "it is a small, civilised town with few markets, and most of its inhabitants are farmers, who grow many crops and have camels, cattle, and sheep" (*Opus geographicum, Maghrib*, 76).

In 455/1053, the Almoravid leader Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn conquered Fās and Sefrou, which had been in the hands of Wānūdīn al-Maghrāwī, the ruler of Sidjilmāsa, and killed all of Wānūdīn's family members there (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 73). The city was captured and sacked again by the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin on 5 Muḥarram 536/10 August 1141. Because of its location on the principal route across the Middle Atlas and on the border between the urban and agricultural *bilād al-makhzan* and the pastoral Berber *bilād al-sība*, Sefrou suffered from periodic attacks and devastation during periods of civil strife over the centuries. The city seems to have always recovered. Leo Africanus, who visited it in the 1540s, states that "Sofroi's [*sic*] inhabitants are wealthy, but they dress poorly and their clothes are always full of olive oil stains" (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 310). During the 18th and 19th centuries, Sefrou frequently came under the domination of chieftains from the tribal hinterlands. The last of these was Ḳāʾid ʿUmar al-Yūsī, who was recognised by the Makhzan as *pasha* of the city until his assassination in 1904. It is a mark of the importance of Sefrou and the surrounding region that the first prime minister of independent Morocco was Sefrou's pasha Sī Mubārak Bakkāy, and the first minister of the interior was Ḳāʾid al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, the chief of the area's principal Berber tribe, the Ayt Yūsī.

It was among the Ayt Yūsī that there arose the maraboutic leader and scholar al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd, known as Sīdī Laḥsen Lyūsī (1040-1102/1631-91). His *zāwiya* is located to the southwest of the town and is a popular pilgrimage site for the Berbers, with an annual *mawsim*.

Sefrou is the home of several naturalist cults, the most important of which are those at the spring of Lalla Raḳiyya next to the *ḳubba* of Sīdī Bū ʿAlī Sarghīn and of the grotto known to the Muslims as *Kāf al-Yahūdī* ("the Cave of the Jew") and to Jews simply as *al-Kāf* or *al-Djabal al-Kabīr* ("the great mountain").

Until the mass exodus of Moroccan Jewry that began in the early 1950s, Sefrou boasted the seventh largest Jewish community in the French Protectorate, with close on 6,000 people, representing from one-third to two-fifths of the town's inhabitants. It was a centre of Jewish scholarship and claimed to be *Yerushalayim ha-qeṭana* ("the little Jerusalem") and *Yerushalayim shel Maroko* ("the Jerusalem of Morocco"). The Jewish community flourished in the 18th century. In addition to their prominence in commerce and scholarship, Sefrīwī Jews held patents from the Makhzan for the minting of coins. By 1715, the community was considered important enough to have its own *shaykh al-yahūd* (Hebr. *nagid*), or lay communal official recognised by the sultan. Muslim-Jewish relations in Sefrou were on the whole better than in neighbouring Fās, or indeed than in most Moroccan cities, a fact noted by the French explorer and spy Charles de Foucauld (*Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris, 1939, 166). The Jews of Sefrou spoke a very distinctive and unusual dialect of old urban Arabic.

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(N.A. Stillman)

SUFTADJA (a.), a financial term referring to a negotiable instrument in the form of a written bill of credit which is similar to the modern drawing of a cheque.

The *suftadja*, like the *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*] and the *ṣakk*, was used in mediaeval Islam to facilitate the speedy transfer of money over distances or to expedite the exploitation of assignments of taxation, in an age when movements of actual cash were hazardous. For the general use of such financial instruments in mediaeval Islam, see R. Grasshoff, *Die Suftaǧa und Ḥawāla der Araber*, Göttingen 1899, and W.J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of mediaeval Islam*, London 1937, 3-35. The etymology of the term is allegedly from Persian *sufta* "pierced", because the folded or rolled financial instrument was pierced in order to enable a

cord to be passed through it, which was then sealed. The *suftadja* thus enabled money to be instantly available in another land through what was in effect a letter of credit. The *modus operandi* was that (A), normally a broker, issues a bill for (B) to collect his money somewhere else from (C) who is an agent for (A). The *suftadja* differs from the *ḥawāla* in that it refers only to the transfer of money, whereas the *ḥawāla* is used to refer to transfers of all kind of claims whether money or goods; moreover, with *ḥawāla*, the safety factor is not the prime concern. Although *suftadja* is seen by Islamic law as a form of loan, both its formation and objectives are different from those involved in loans. The objective of a loan is the acquisition of money, while the objective of the *suftadja* is the avoidance of risk in transport. For Schacht, the difference between *suftadja* and *ḥawāla* rests in the "creation" of an obligation. "The obligation in the case of *suftadja* is created on purpose" while the obligation in the *ḥawāla* is "supposed as already existing". This can be contested by the fact that the *suftadja* debt does not really exist between the broker (A) and his agent (C). This is due to the fact that (C), the agent, is only an extension of (A), in the same way as are the branches of a bank.

The Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī schools consider the practice of the *suftadja* to be reprehensible because a debt should be repaid without any form of profit to the owner which results from the avoidance of risk (i.e. involved in an actual cash transfer). The Mālikīs only allow it on the grounds of necessity, while the Ḥanbalīs permit the practice so long as it is done without any material gain, such as commission, accruing to the person repaying the debt. Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳudāma permit the practice without reservation, since both the debtor and the indebted benefit. The term *ḥawāla maṣrafiyya* ("bank draft") seems to be replacing the term *suftadja* in many contemporary commercial transactions, although the main difference between a draft and a *suftadja* lies in the fact that the latter has a fixed value.

Bibliography: See also J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 78, 148; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, iv, 728, v, 178, S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 74-5.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SUFYĀN AL-ʿABDĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Sufyān b. Muṣʿab al-ʿAbdī, of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, an Arab poet of the 2nd/8th century. The date of his birth is not known and the date of his death is not generally agreed. On the one hand al-ʿĀmilī in his *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* has him die in 120/739, whereas al-Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr* cites the date as 178/794.

He was probably born and spent most of his life in Kūfa. According to the sources he is said to have known the famous Shīʿī poet al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789? [*q.v.*]), who is supposed to have said "were it not for al-ʿAbdī I would have been the greatest poet".

His relationship with the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]) is most important. He is said to have esteemed him highly and, in view of their importance to the Shīʿīs, exhorted people to teach his poems to their children. Those poems previously mentioned do in fact relate essentially to Shīʿism. It was probably for this reason that they were not compiled. An attempt has been made to reconstitute the *dīwān* of Sufyān al-ʿAbdī and to study the poems and fragments attributed to him (see below, *Bibl.*). This present article has profited from this thesis and the main ideas in what follows stem from it.

The poetic works of al-ʿAbdī are at present composed of 33 poems and fragments, some of doubtful authenticity, grouped into 302 verses. They have been neglected by Sunnī authors and preserved only thanks to Shīʿī ones, in particular later writers such as Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) in his *Manāḳib*, al-ʿĀmilī in *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxxv, and al-Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr*, ii.

His œuvre is composed chiefly of short fragments, of which 22 consist of 5 or less verses, and they barely conform to the plan of the classical *ḳaṣīda*. On the other hand, al-ʿAbdī uses classical metres such as *basīṭ* (7 times), *ṭawīl* and *khafīf* (6 times), *kāmil* and *wāfir* (4 times). The most frequently used letters in the rhymes are *rāʾ* (7 times), *mīm* and *bāʾ* (5 times).

Using a narrative style and easy language free from learned words, and thus accessible to the masses, al-ʿAbdī develops political and religious themes across all three poetic and classical genres, elegy, threnody and satire. His work essentially relates to the People of the House, *Ahl al-Bayt*, and to their adversaries, or Umayyad enemies and even ʿAbbāsid enemies. Primarily, it is the merits of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in general, and of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in particular, that are highlighted, and they are even sometimes presented as superior to the Prophet himself.

Then there is the narration of the misfortunes of the Shīʿīs and the description of the dramas or tragedies they experienced, in particular, the drama of Karbalāʾ and the killing of al-Ḥusayn (61/680). The feelings of anxiety or sadness conveyed in this narration are characterised by a simplicity of expression, and denoted the sympathetic attitude of the poet and his deep attachment to the Prophet's family. In his invectives, Sufyān strongly expresses his hatred and rancour toward his enemies, the usurpers of power from the ʿAlids, scarcely sparing the caliphs Abū Bakr (13/634) and ʿUmar (23/643).

In conclusion, the poetic works of Sufyān al-ʿAbdī, in the light of how they have been restored, may now be seen as partisan poetry of a propagandist nature. The poems were written to be declaimed in order to arouse pity for the lot of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and to distract them from their enemies.

Bibliography: See also, of sources, Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*; and Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*. For reference works, see Sezgin, *GAS*, and, especially, Abu ʾl-Suʿūd al-Ḥamīdī, *Sufyān b. Muṣʿab al-ʿAbdī, vie et œuvre*, unpubl. M.A. diss. Tunis 1981. (Taieb El Achèche)

SUFYĀN AL-THAWRĪ, Sufyān b. Saʿīd b. Masrūḳ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūfī (97-161/716-78), prominent representative of early Islamic law, tradition, and Ḳurʾān interpretation, founder of the Thawriyya law school and important link in numerous *ḥadīth* transmissions of juridical, religious and dogmatic subjects on a broad literary scale, including the major *musnad* works.

Born 97/715-16 in Kūfa, Sufyān al-Thawrī soon belonged to the exclusive Kūfan law circles around Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 120/737), Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī (128/745), Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir (132/749), and Sulaymān al-Aʿmash (148/764), and swiftly developed a profound reputation as a particularly *ḥadīth*-oriented legal scholar, thereby differing distinctly from the generally speculative ʿIrāḳī law system (that of *raʾy*), with Abū Ḥanīfa as its most effective exponent. Between 115/732 and 120/737 al-Thawrī started a major period of more than three decades of extensive travelling and *ḥadīth* transmitting in Khurāsān, Ḥidjāz, and especially Baṣra which—according to Ḥammād, as "a part of Syria"—developed a fast grow-

ing and most formative influence on al-Thawrī's intellectual curriculum.

Baṣran scholars like Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (131/748) and, in particular, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn (151/767) averted him from a probable Shīʿī inclination, quite common among Kūfan lawyers of the 2nd/8th century, and initiated contacts with Syria, especially with the great al-Awzāʿī (157/773 [*q.v.*]), thereby starting a long-term pro-Umayyad influence in legal and political reasoning. Al-Thawrī's religious and dogmatic thinking assumed a clearly rational, independent orientation through frequent contacts to early Muʿtazilīs like Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā' (141/758), ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (145/762), and Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā' (145/762), who excelled as a critic of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Consequently, al-Thawrī himself rejected the vacant post in Kūfa as *ḳāḍī*, tactically offered to him in 153/769, and evaded capture by escape to Ṣanʿā' where he continued a productive *ḥadīth* circle with Maʿmar b. Rāshid (153/769) and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī (211/826 [*q.v.*]), whose *muṣannaf* partly originated from this special interaction. Between 153/769 and 158/774 he seems to have left his Yemeni exile for various pilgrimages to Mecca and frequent visits to Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, where he repeatedly met with al-Awzāʿī and their common disciple Abū Isḥāḳ al-Fazārī (186/801), who later transmitted a selection of their legal statements in al-Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'*.

During his pilgrimage of 158/774, al-Thawrī managed to elude the caliph al-Manṣūr's repeated attempts at his arrest by another escape back to Baṣra, where he continued *ḥadīth* transmission, mainly to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ḳaṭṭān (198/813), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (198/813), and Abū Ḥudhayfa Mūsā b. Masʿūd al-Nahdī (220/835), who obtained parts of his Ḳur'ān commentary. Towards the end of his life, fatigued by constant pursuit, he agreed to an official reconciliation with the new authorities under al-Mahdī, but could not realise a planned meeting in Baghdād. At 64 he died in Shaʿbān 161/May 778 and was buried among renowned scholars of Baṣra like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī.

Al-Thawrī has to be counted certainly among the first literary generation in Islam. His works, partly perished, partly preserved, comprise 1. two (lost) *ḥadīth* collections (*al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr, al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*); 2. a compendium of inheritance law provisions (*Kitāb al-Farā'iḍ*, ed. and comm. Raddatz, in *WI*, xiii [1971]); 3. a fragmentary Ḳur'ān commentary (*Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān al-kabīr*, ed. ʿArshī, Rampur 1965); 4. various religious treatises (*al-Iʿtiḳād*, rev. Ibn Taymiyya, Ẓāhiriyya, madjm. 139/14, *Risāla ilā ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbād al-Arsūfī*, *Ḥilya*, vi, 376, *Waṣiyya ilā ʿAlī al-Sulamī*, *Ḥilya* vii, 82); 5. occasional references to al-Thawrī's interests in natural sciences and "unusual subjects/*gharā'ib*" (al-Ishbīlī, *Kitāb al-ādāb* (lost), *Risāla kīmiyā'iyya*, Ketâbkhâne-yedâneshgâh-e-Tehrân, *Fihrist*, iii/4, 2265, ms. 1178, fols. 134b-135b, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdima*, 125) with very fragmentary literary traces only.

Considerable parts of his legal thought are preserved in al-Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'* (ed. Schacht, Leiden 1933, on military law, and ed. Kern, Cairo 1902, on civil law), where his opinions on detailed questions of legal practice in the typically ʿIrāḳī form of speculative deduction are compared to other *madhāhib* (al-Awzāʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī). The immense variety of his being cited as an essential authority throughout the respective *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, and *ṭabaḳāt* literature, however, illustrates his formative position as a systematic *ḥadīth* developer—though methodologically criticised—within the Kūfan law school. Al-Thawrī's views and methods coalesce into an independent complex of legal and religious statements, frequently based on Companion or Successor and—more rarely—Prophetic traditions, thereby preparing, if not anticipating, a homogenously *ḥadīth*-oriented law system like al-Shāfiʿī's. His marked theoretical creativity and pronounced political, anti-ʿAbbāsid preferences secured a high degree of contemporary acceptance of his *madhhab* and contributed considerably to the peculiar expansion of the Thawriyya as far as Umayyad Cordova. Originating from Syrian-based disciples like Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī (212/827) and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Fazārī, the Thawriyya represented law as practiced in North Africa and Spain before Mālikī absorption in the 4th/9th century.

Al-Thawrī's religious and dogmatic statements, comprehensively rendered in Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilya* and Ibn Abī Ḥātim's *Taḳdima*, make up a basically orthodox, rationally-accentuated range of thought. Continuous recommendations of diligent religious studies (*ʿilm*), of efforts towards righteous intention (*niyya*) and action in daily practice (*ʿamal*), as well as trust in God's unfailing justice, based on a ceaseless awareness of God's predestining almightiness and eternal properties, place his theology in an intermediate position between the Khāridjites and the Ḳadariyya as well as the Ṣifātiyya, respectively. Positive affirmation of worldly life and its active design in preparation for the Last Judgement, combined with a pragmatic, *ḥadīth*-oriented legal codification, represent a clearly rational modification of the conservative *sunna* and a gradual anticipation of Muʿtazilī concepts without, however, the idea of God's absolute oneness and the resulting createdness of the Ḳur'ān, duly reflected in the fact that his moderately rational *tafsīr* is an important source for the orthodox al-Ṭabarī. While al-Thawrī's dogmatics may have had an influence on ascetics like al-Muḥāsibī and the Thawrī adherent al-Djunayd, many tendentious Ṣūfī claims may be set aside. The mystic postulation of complete renunciation of man's worldly endeavour and the negation of God's corresponding justice prove incompatible with al-Thawrī's constructive belief and conduct.

Thus his famous antagonism towards the ʿAbbāsid-inclined Murdji'a [*q.v.*] should be regarded as a result of not only his political, pro-Umayyad commitment but also of his active, though demanding, Last Judgement orientation. Occasional suspicion of his alleged sympathising with Shīʿī, including Zaydī, circles, possibly arisen for the same political reasons, points to an early, typically Kūfan *tashayyuʿ* without lasting effect on his tenets. Sufyān al-Thawrī appears today as a progressive element within the unfolding currents of the 2nd/8th century by his theoretical development and literary codification of *ḥadīth*-based law and reason-based *sunna* as stepping stones towards al-Shāfiʿī's jurisprudence and—to a more limited extent—the new Muʿtazilī rationalism, leaving very little justification for Shīʿī or Ṣūfī claims. The unusual aspect of his politico-religious pro-Umayyad, conservative attitude adds a historical facet to his intellectual independence, conditioning the major expansion of his *madhhab* into Spain.

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1907; idem, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1911; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, ix, Cairo 1930; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii/2, Ḥaydarābād 1941; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, Cairo 1932, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdima*, Ḥaydarābād 1952; Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1893; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, i; Ishbīlī, *Fihrist*, ed. Codera, repr. Baghdād 1965; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii; Horst, *Korankommentar Ṭabarīs*, in *ZDMG*, ciii; Ḳurṭubī, *Intiḳā'*, Cairo 1952; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, Heidelberg 1910; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, ii; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh*, Cairo 1911-32; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld 1842; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940-53, iii; Muḳaddasī; Schacht, *Origins*, Oxford 1950; Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *K. al-Kharādj*, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1886; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1872, i; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1931; Mez, *Renaissance*, Heidelberg 1922; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, ii, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1852-61; Faraḍī, *Ta'rīkh ʿulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1892; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, ed. Bergsträsser, Cairo 1933; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, i, ed. Nicholson, London 1907; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1940; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, Cairo 1925-30; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi; Schreiner, *Beiträge*, in *ZDMG*, lii-liii; Madelung, *Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1906; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1953; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967; H. Motzki, *Anfänge d. isl. Jurisprudenz*, Stuttgart 1991; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, Cambridge 1983.

(H.P. RADDATZ)

SUFYĀN B. ʿUYAYNA b. Maymūn al-Hilālī, a scholar of the Ḥidjāz, was born in Kūfa in 107/725. In his youth he moved to Mecca, where he died in 196/811. Although biographical sources also describe him as a Ḳur'ān commentator (*mufassir*) and a jurist (*faḳīh*), his fame is due mainly to his activity as a traditionist (*muḥaddith*). In his teens he studied with al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*], who remarked on his youthful intelligence, and he is considered one of the main transmitters of al-Zuhrī's *ḥadīth*s (examples in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 238 ff.). Other well-known traditionists from whom Sufyān transmitted are ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 126/744) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār (d. 127/745). Those who transmitted traditions from him include Sulaymān b. al-Mihrān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765), Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/766 [*q.v.*]) and Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. His own tradition collection has not survived independently (see Sezgin, i, 96 for surviving fragments). He is said to have known over 7,000 traditions; as is the case with many traditionists, he is reported to have had a phenomenal memory and never to have written down anything he had not already memorised. He is also reported to have practiced *tadlīs*, that is, he transmitted traditions from people who had not actually heard the texts from the persons who preceded them in the *isnād*, and he himself transmitted traditions from persons whom he had not actually heard [see ḤADĪTH].

Sufyān's Ḳur'ān commentary has not survived, but is known from later references (see Sezgin, *loc. cit.*). There is no evidence for any writings of *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], but some of his legal opinions can be gleaned from a manuscript collection of the responses (*masā'il*) of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Isḥāḳ b. Rāhawayh [*q.vv.*] compiled by the Ḥanbalī scholar Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Kawsadj al-Marwazī (d. 251/865), who, as a very young man, had heard Sufyān lecture in Mecca. Al-Kawsadj often frames a question by reporting an answer of Sufyān's and asking Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Rāhawayh their opinion of it (Ẓāhiriyya, *Fiḳh Ḥanbalī, 1* and *83*). Sometimes Sufyān's legal reasoning resembles that of his older contemporary Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*], and sometimes that of his younger contemporary Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*].

Despite his scholarly reputation and the large number of his teachers and students, little is actually known of Sufyān's life. He had eight or nine brothers, several of whom were also active as traditionists. Al-Shāfiʿī, who studied with Sufyān as well as with Mālik, is reported to have said: "Were it not for Mālik and Sufyān, knowledge would have departed from the Ḥidjāz."

Bibliography: For primary sources, see references in Sezgin, i, 96, and ʿUmar R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, Damascus 1957-61, iv, 235, and add Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-ʿIlal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, ed. Talât Koçyigit and Ismail Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963 (see index, *s.v.* Sufyān b. ʿUyayna and Ibn ʿUyayna). See also Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, in Wensinck, *Concordance*, viii, for a listing of traditions in which he figures prominently. Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1967, ii, discusses fully his role as a collector and transmitter of traditions.

(SUSAN A. SPECTORSKY)

AL-SUFYĀNĪ [see Suppl.].

SUFYĀNIDS, the branch of the Umayyad dynasty of Arab caliphs in early Islam who formed the first and shorter-lasting line of the dynasty, being predecessors of the Marwānids [*q.v.*]. The line took its name from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*], whose son Muʿāwiya I became caliph in 41/61, to be followed briefly by his son Yazīd I and the latter's young son Muʿāwiya II, who died in 64/683. The succession was then taken up by the parallel branch of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*].

For the general history of the Sufyānids, see UMAYYADS and the articles on the individual rulers, and for the post-132/750 eschatological figure of the Sufyānī, see AL-SUFYĀNĪ in Suppl. (ED.)

AL-ṢUGHD or AL-SUGHD, the name in early Islamic geographical and historical sources for the Soghdia of classical Greek authors, a region of Central Asia lying beyond the Oxus and extending across the modern Republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia in its wider acceptation. The same name (Old. Pers. Sugudu, late Avestan Sughda, Greek Sogdioi or Sogdianoi (the people) and Sogdianē (the country) was applied in ancient times to a people of Iranian origin subject to the Persians (at least from the time of Darius I, 522-486 B.C.) whose lands stretched from the Oxus [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] to the Jaxartes [see SĪR DARYĀ], according to the Greek sources. The language, and especially the terms relating to the calendar and festivals of the Soghdian Zoroastrians, are very fully dealt with in the Muslim period by al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 46-7, 233 ff., tr. idem, London 1879, 56-7, 220 ff. From al-Bīrūnī's information, modern Iranists (notably F.C. Andreas and F.W.K. Müller) were able to identify as Soghdian the language of numerous fragments of manuscripts found in Chinese Turkestan (commercial documents, Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian texts).

As in classical times, the Soghdians still appear in al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*, 45, l. 21) along with the Khʷārazmians as an indigenous people with a Zoroastrian civilisation in the lands beyond the Oxus.

In both pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, Soghdian merchants were great travellers through Inner Asia, including along the Silk Route through eastern Turkestan to northern China, and references to Soghdian colonies in these remote regions are to be found not only in Chinese but also in Islamic sources. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (*ca.* 370/980), tr. Minorsky, 99,

comm. 304, mentions the Soghdian colony in the lands of the Tukhsi Turks in the Semirečye called Bīglīligh ("home of the Beg's men") in Turkish and S.m.knā in Soghdian, and at tr. 95, comm. 274, five Soghdian villages belonging to a certain Beg-tigin in the Tarim basin, the land of the Toghuz Oghuz. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*], *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 29, 471, tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 84, 352, mentions the Soghdaḳ (the form also found earlier in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions) settlers in the region of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], i.e. in the Ču valley, who had adopted Turkish dress and manners. The fact proved by R. Gauthiot that the Uyghurs borrowed their alphabet from the Soghdians seems to have been known in Islamic times, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (beginning of the 7th/13th century) in E.D. Ross in *ʿAdjab nāma, a volume of oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 405. Turkish *kent* meaning "village, town" is already described as a Soghdian loan-word in the *K. al-Ḳand fī taʾrīkh Samarḳand* (text in W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, i, *Tekstī*, St. Petersburg 1898, 48).

As the name of a country, Ṣughd had a much narrower application in the Islamic period than in antiquity. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī (316), Ṣughd proper comprised the lands east of Bukhārā from Dabūsiyya to Samarḳand; he also says that others also included Bukhārā, Kish and Nasaf in Ṣughd. Kish sometimes appears as the capital of Ṣughd, e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 299, 14; it is possible that the oldest Chinese name for the region of Kish, *Suhiai* (old pronunciation *Su-git*) is a reproduction of the name Ṣughd; it is so taken by J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 57. In another passage (293), al-Yaʿḳūbī describes Samarḳand as the capital of Ṣughd; Kish and Nasaf are included in Ṣughd but Bukhārā is separated. It is not known what geographical connotation Ṣughd had for al-Bīrūnī; whenever he associates a Soghdian festival with a particular district, it is always some village in the territory of Bukhārā.

Early Islamic al-Ṣughd thus comprised essentially the valley of the Zarafshān (lit. "gold spreader") river, which rose in the Buttamān mountains to the north of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] and Rasht, and flowed westwards through the oases of Samarḳand and Bukhārā [*q.vv.*] before losing itself in the deserts to the north of the middle Oxus. It is this river which is described by the mediaeval geographers as the Nahr al-Ṣughd (e.g. by Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 486, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 466; al-Muḳaddasī, 19; the Nāmiḳ (?) in al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 293, tr. Wiet, 111, possibly echoing the ancient Iranian name of the river, Namik, Chinese transcription Na-mi); and by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 73, as the river of Bukhārā. The present name Zarafshān does not appear in historical sources before the 18th century, according to Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 82.

The Arabs first crossed the Oxus in the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān, apparently in 33/653-4, and subsequently attacked such Soghdian city-states as Kish [*q.v.*], Bukhārā and Samarḳand. The securing of Arab political control over Soghdia was, however, a protracted process, and the course of Islamisation even slower; for details, see MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR.

In his *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, 47, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 48, comm. 135-6, quotes a few expressions in Soghdian, cited as the local language of the city (see the discussion in Frye, *op. cit.*, 135-6), and according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 314, Soghdian was spoken there. The Middle Iranian language of Soghdian undoubtedly survived well into the Islamic period, though not so long, it seems, as Khʷārazmian, but was eventually overwhelmed by standard New Persian or Tādjīk and by Turkish. Some of the surviving Soghdian texts could date from as late as the 11th or 12th centuries. As noted above, the Soghdians were great travellers, and left documents and inscriptions in many distant regions, e.g. across the Karakoram mountains, via such passes as the one taken by the modern Karakoram Highway, and into the extreme north of modern Pākistān and India, where hundreds of inscriptions and graffiti of Soghdian travellers (unfortunately undated) have been found in recent years. Soghdian survives today in Yaghnōbī, a Neo-Soghdian dialect spoken in an isolated valley of eastern Islamic Soghdia, now in Tajikistan. See on Soghdian and its dialects, *GIrPh*, i/2, 334-44; *HdOr*, IV, 1, *Iranistik*, 52-6, 105-8; *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989; ĪRĀN. iii. Languages, in Suppl. In modern Central Asian topography, Ṣughd is only a part of the territory of Samarḳand and a distinction is made between "Half-Ṣughd" (Nīm Ṣughud) on the island between the two arms of the Zarafshān (Aḳ Daryā and Ḳara Daryā), and "Great Ṣughd" (Ṣughud-i Kalān) north of the Aḳ Daryā.

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(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SUGHDĀḲ (Sudak in Russian and Ukrainian; Σουγδαία or Σουγδία in Greek, Surozh in old Russian, Soldaia or Soldachia in mediaeval Italian), once a great seaport, now a small town on the coast of the Crimea (Ukraine) almost due north of the Anatolian port of Sinob [see SĪNŪB], and some 40 km to the south-west of Theodosia [see KEFE]. In the 12th and 13th centuries, it was the principal port for trade between Russia and the Islamic and Mediterranean worlds, while also attracting a portion of the silk and spice trade from South Asia and the Far East.

The origins of Sughdāḳ are less well documented than those of Theodosia; unlike the latter and other settlements on the Black Sea coast which were founded by Greek colonists in Antiquity, Sughdāḳ is believed to have sprung up as a Sogdian settlement (hence the name; see AL-ṢUGHD), possibly in the time of contacts between Central Asian Sogdians and the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine Greek element asserted itself since the time of Justinian I (6th century), and received still more immigrants during the Iconoclastic Controversy (8th century); recent excavations have uncovered archaeological evidence beginning with the 6th century; eventually there was a bishop (archbishop from the 10th century) in the predominantly Orthodox city. At the same time, the growth of the Khazar [*q.v.*] Kaghanate led to intermittent control of the Crimea by it, with the *tudun* or governor residing in Sughdāḳ. The town became a thriving commercial port, despite occasional Byzantine-Khazar hostilities. Its exports were chiefly furs, wax and slaves from the Slavic hinterland, and they survived the subsequent irruptions of the Turkic Pečenegs [*q.v.*] and Polovtsians (Cumans). Sughdāḳ, like the rest of the

Crimean coastland, developed as a cosmopolitan place, with Greek, Russian, and Ḳîpčaḳ elements existing side-by-side, and was frequented by merchants from Anatolia, Syria, Egypt and Byzantium; these were joined by Venetian merchants after the foundation of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople in 1204, although political domination fell to the Greek empire of Trebizond or to the Ḳîpčaḳ k͟hāns of the adjacent steppe. Ibn al-At͟hīr, while mentioning the first Mongol sack in January 1223, describes *madīnat Sūdāḳ* as "a city of the Ḳîpčaḳ ... on the sea coast, frequented by ships bringing cloths, which the Ḳîpčaḳs buy from them and sell them slave girls and boys, *burṭāsī* beaver and squirrel skins, and other products of their land ..." (*al-Kāmil*, xii, 386).

A curious episode was the brief conquest (probably in 1225-7) of Sug͟hdāḳ by an expedition sent by the Sald͟jūḳid sultan Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*]; the ostensible reason was chastisement of the local leaders for mistreating the sultan's subjects, and an effort was made to turn the Christian town into a Muslim one. This episode was followed in 1238 by another sack by the Mongols, this time as part of their definitive conquest of southern Russia. Nevertheless, Sug͟hdāḳ continued to prosper as a port. William of Rubruck, the Franciscan envoy from St. Louis to the Mongols, landed there in 1253 after a fortnight-long voyage from Constantinople, as did in 1260 two brothers of the Polo family on the way to the court of Berke; Marco Polo the Elder owned a house in Sug͟hdāḳ, which in 1280 he willed to the local Franciscans. The end of the Latin kingdom in 1261 favoured Genoa over Venice, but for the time being it failed to affect Venice's position in Sug͟hdāḳ. At the same time, the growth of the Golden Horde as a member of the Mongol empire and suzerain of the Russian principalities, had a further stimulating effect on the trade passing through ports like Sug͟hdāḳ. A 1281 treaty between the emperor Michael Palaeologus and the Mamlūk sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] illustrates the importance of Sug͟hdāḳ in that period. The treaty, whose Arabic version is quoted by al-Ḳalḳas͟handī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͟hā*, xiv, 72-8), stipulates unhindered passage of merchants of both countries to and from Sug͟hdāḳ with such goods as slaves of both sexes.

Meanwhile, Genoa made a vigorous entry into the competitive Black Sea trade. Genoese merchants in Sug͟hdāḳ are first documented for 1274. By 1365 the republic, firmly installed in Kefe since 1314, conquered Sug͟hdāḳ, and in 1380 Genoese commercial presence on Crimea's southern coast was formalised through a treaty with the Tatars as the colony of Gazaria (a name echoing the extinct K͟hazar Kag͟hanate), possessing the coast from Kefe (Theodosia) to Cembalo (Balaklava) and tied to the Golden Horde only by tenuous bonds of vassaldom and tribute. This colony then prospered until its conquest by the Ottomans. In the course of their two centuries-long presence in Sug͟hdāḳ, the Genoese transformed the harbour town into a stronghold whose fortifications still bear witness to past glory; it was administered by a consul subordinated to the principal consul in Kefe. Genoese possession, however, also caused Sug͟hdāḳ's decline well before the Ottoman conquest; for the Republic, favouring Kefe as the capital of the colony, gradually restricted the volume of activities permitted in other ports such as Sug͟hdāḳ.

Sug͟hdāḳ fell to the Ottomans in July 1475. At the end of the siege, some of the inhabitants took refuge in a church which then, according to local tradition, became their tomb after its doors and windows had been walled over; doubts about the genuineness of the account were dispelled by excavations undertaken in 1928.

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ṢUḤĀR, a mediaeval and modern town in ʿUmān conventionally Sohar (lat. 24° 23' N., long. 56° 45' E.).

It is situated in the middle of the flat and sandy bay which is found on the coast of Arabia between Masḳaṭ in the south-east and the peninsula of Musandam in the north-east. The site is of no particular use as a harbour, even though it has a broad opening on to the Gulf of ʿUmān. But the reasons for the development of the region are the long, fertile and well-irrigated coastal plain of the Bāṭina behind the site of the city, and also the east-west thoroughfare across the D͟jabal Ak͟hḍar which provides access to the Persian Gulf. Moreover, since ancient times, veins of copper have been exploited in the region; archaeological studies in metallurgy have shown that this ore has been mined in the region from the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. until the 11th A.D., and copper ingots which were found on the eastern coast of the island of Baḥrayn, south of the village of Zallāḥ, also came from this region which was then known by the name Magan or Makan (Makkan). Magan also supplied copper to Mesopotamia and Elam. Another mineral resource of the valleys of the D͟jabal Ak͟hḍar was olivine gabbro, a dark stone which becomes outstandingly fine after polishing. Among the statues made from this were those of Gudea, King of the ancient Sumerian city of Lagash.

Ṣuḥār is distinct from the other sites which at regular intervals mark out the coastline of the Bāṭina (Sīb, Barkā, Suwayḥ, K͟hābūra, Lawā and S͟hinās), for it forms a tell, which is 500-700 m in diameter and rises to a height of about 10 m above sea level. The circle of empty areas which surrounds the tell at the lower levels is a reminder of the greater extent of the town in the middle ages; it is further encircled by palm groves. Until 1980, when the modern reconstruction of the town was begun, there were dilapidated remains of houses and mosques from the 18th to the 19th centuries sporadically covering the site, but there was no archaeological evidence of any occupation from pre-Islamic times. But the soundings which were undertaken between 1982-6 have revealed stratified layers of occupation for the site which are uninterrupted from the beginning of the Christian era (at a depth of about 1.80 m above sea-level) until the premodern period (at the summit of the tell, some 8 m higher). From the time of its foundation, the town had commercial contacts with western India, as is attested by the presence of many fragments of polished red ceramics, an Indian imitation of Roman sigillated

pottery. In the higher levels, those corresponding to the Sāsānid period, there are fragments of Chinese glazed earthenware jars which provide the oldest evidence for maritime exchanges between ports on the Sea of ʿUmān and those in Southern China.

In the first centuries of the Christian era, Ṣuḥār was probably known as Omana, a toponym attested by Pliny the Elder as well as by the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (dated to the 1st century of this era), but that identification of the name remains uncertain. In the 4th century, the city was mentioned as a part of the Sāsānid empire under the name *Emporium Persarum* on the occasion of a mission carried out in Arabia by Theophilus the Indian. This bishop founded three churches in the peninsula, one of which was probably at Ṣuḥār. Consequently, the city and the region were designated by the Persian toponym Māzūn, which is preserved in Arab Islamic historiography, and also in certain Chinese texts, which continue to use it until the 17th century.

With the advent of Islam, the tribes of ʿUmān became divided regarding their support of the new faith and the representatives of the prestigious al-Djulandā family, who according to tradition received the messengers of the Prophet at Ṣuḥār in 8/629-30, had to take refuge in the mountains until the submission of the opponents of the Prophet in 12/633-4. The Persians, who controlled the Bāṭina and the stronghold of Rastāḳ in the interior, were driven out and this was about the time when the toponym Māzūn was replaced by that of Ṣuḥār. This was the name of a territory that had allegedly belonged to ʿĀd b. ʿŪṣ b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ, and attempts were made to pass it off as an anthroponym, to create a pseudo-authentic bond between the city and a very ancient Arab founder. Ṣuḥār was the official place of residence for the governors appointed by the caliph during the 1st century A.H., and it was through Ṣuḥār, by mediation of the ʿUmānīs established at Baṣra, that the Ibāḍī doctrine [see IBĀḌIYYA] penetrated ʿUmān. The reign of the first Imām, al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd, had barely begun (in 132/750) when it was brutally interrupted by an attack from an ʿAbbāsid army sent to take back the country under the tutelage of the caliph. But ʿUmān kept its *de facto* independence under the successors of al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd, the Yaḥmad, another branch of the confederation of the Shanūʾa, who lived in Nazwā.

In the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century, under the Imāmate of al-Wārith b. Kaʿb al-Kharūṣī, Hārūn al-Rashīd tried again to subdue the country, but his general, ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar b. Abi ʾl-Manṣūr, was defeated, imprisoned in the fort of Ṣuḥār and murdered there against the wishes of the Imām. In the last years of the same century, the rivalry between the "Yemenite" Ibāḍī tribes and the Sunnī Nizārī tribes degenerated into a civil war, in the course of which the orthodox Sunnīs called to their aid Muḥammad b. Nūr, the governor of Baḥrayn. He conducted a terrible repression in Nazwā and the whole surrounding area, causing the exodus of many Ṣuḥārīs to Shīrāz and Baṣra. When he departed, Muḥammad b. Nūr left behind a governor at Bahlā, who soon established himself at Ṣuḥār, for it seemed he favoured the commercial interests of the city. However, the Ḳarmaṭīs soon took control of ʿUmān and led raids against Baṣra from Ṣuḥār in 331/943 and 341/953, until in their turn they were conquered by the Būyids. After a mutiny by the Zandj and Daylamī contingents billeted at Ṣuḥār, which was severely put down by the Būyids, the town was devastated, and then again suffered through the Ghuzz invasion during its domination by the Saldjūḳs.

It seems that these events, though they were brutal, were also short-lived, and they did not deeply affect the prosperity of Ṣuḥār. The town had been established for centuries and had been reinforced at the beginnings of Islam by flourishing maritime trade links with India, East Africa and China. Commercial relations with these countries were obviously close, for Ṣuḥār was known as the "warehouse of China"; furthermore, Chinese chronicles recorded the name of a Ṣuḥārī, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh (Xin-ya-tuo-luo), who was called the director of foreigners at Canton in the 5th/11th century. There were other traders originating from Ṣuḥār, from Ḳalʿāt or from the interior who became famous in China, such as Abū ʿAlī (Bu-ha-er), who became the minister of the province of Fujian in the 7th/13th century. During the excavations of 1982-6, some traces of the beautiful houses of burnt brick which had belonged to the merchants and shipowners of the metropolis of the Bāṭina were brought to light once again.

Arab historiography of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries conjures up the splendour of the city in this period, in particular thanks to the testimony of the Palestinian geographer al-Muḳaddasī, who described it thus: "It is a flourishing place, well-populated, beautiful and pleasant to live in. There are elegant quarters lining the shore, and the houses are tall and stately, built of brick and teak wood. You can see the beautiful minaret of the Friday mosque rising close beside the sea, and inside the *miḥrāb* shimmers with reflections, now yellow, now green and red. But what delighted visitors above all was the *sūḳ* of Ṣuḥār, where commodities from the whole world could be found."

Archaeological excavations have clearly proved that the economic prosperity of Ṣuḥār came to an end in the course of the 7th/13th century. The series of events listed above probably played a large part, but there were also the incursions from Persia during the Mongol epoch (the arrival of Fakhr al-Dīn and of Shihāb al-Dīn in the second half of the century) which must have been the major cause, since these invasions are contemporary with the ruin of the city, as is evident from its archaeological stratigraphy. These incursions ended with the integration of Ṣuḥār into the empire of the princes of Hurmuz, and the building within the city of a fortress controlled by a Hurmuzī garrison. As a fortress, it was used to prevent the landing of cargoes in a port which had long been devoted to trade on the high seas, but rather to force them back towards Hurmuz, where the fiscal agents of the princes were awaiting them. Not one single piece of pottery imported from China has been found at Ṣuḥār in the levels corresponding to the period of the 8th-11th/14th-17th centuries.

The Portuguese, who conquered Ṣuḥār in 913/1507, pursued the same political ends as the princes of Hurmuz, and stationed their officers and garrison within the fortress; occasionally they made attempts to plunder the forbidden goods which flooded into the city for their own profit.

But the days of Portugese power in the region were numbered. Just at the time when they were chased from Hurmuz by the concerted action of the Ṣafawids and the English, Nāṣir b. Murshid al-Yaʿrubī was elected Imām. He and his successors, Sulṭān b. Sayf in particular, first chased the Portuguese and then the Persians from ʿUmān, and he set in motion an aggressive maritime and commercial policy involving vengeance against the former oppressors, where raids on

the Portuguese possessions of India were mingled with piracy and bargaining. When the Ṣafawids saw their maritime interests were suffering from these practices, they tried (without much success) to involve the European powers (England, Holland and France) against ʿUmān. In 1146/1738 they laid siege to Ṣuḥār, but the governor of the city, Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, opposed them with fierce resistance. This feat of arms was the original claim to prowess of the dynasty of the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], which is still in power in ʿUmān today.

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, Ṣuḥār still enjoyed a considerable amount of maritime activity. J.R. Wellsted described it as the second city of ʿUmān, with an annual revenue of 10,000 dollars from customs dues and with 9,000 inhabitants. Among them were about twenty Jewish families with a small synagogue, and still today there is a Jewish cemetery at Ṣuḥār which could date back to the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. On a number of the bricks used in the masonry of its tombs, as well as in the enigmatic wall which towers above them, are engraved Hebrew names in square characters.

The general economy of Ṣuḥār was run down because of the transfer of activity to Zanzibar and through the limitations imposed by the British authorities on the business which the ships of ʿUmān had been traditionally carrying out; the slave trade, in particular, was conducted specifically by the privateers of Sūr. Ṣuḥār was finally ruined by the attacks of pirates who, in the 19th century became established in the neighbouring fort of Shinās, and also by internal rivalries in the region, in which Wahhābī elements played a part.

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(MONIQUE KERVRAN)

AL-SUHAYLĪ, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN [see Suppl.].

SUḤAYM, called ʿAbd Bani ʾl-Ḥasḥās, meaning the slave of the Banu ʾl-Ḥasḥās (Asad, the clan Nufāsa b. Saʿīd b. ʿAmr of the Banū Dūdān), a slave-poet of the *mukhaḍram* who lived in Medina during the reign of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. He is not to be confused with his namesake Suḥaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī, a Tamīmī with a pure pedigree (as noted in the work of Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, i, 338).

The traditions concerning him are very contradictory and it is difficult to put together even an approximate biography of the poet. The only dateable event is his purchase by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, to present him to the Caliph ʿUthmān because of his poetic talent. But the caliph declined the offer and is supposed to have said that negro slave-poets address *hidjāʾ* to their masters when they are hungry, but when they are full they write lewd songs (*yushabbibūna*) about their women (*Shuʿarāʾ*, 241; *Aghānī*, xxii, 305; *Khizāna*, ii, 104).

The slave went back to his former master Djandal b. Maʿbad of the Banu ʾl-Ḥasḥās (*Simṭ*, 720). The precise date of his relationship with ʿUmayra, the daughter of Djanbal who is evoked in the *yāʾiyya*, is unknown. However, a poem by Suḥaym tells of a sale that was planned but ended abruptly because of the imploring and pleas made by the slave (*Dīwān*, 56, rhyme *rāʾ*, metre *ṭawīl*). He went back to Djandal and had another affair with a young woman. News of this affair spread and his masters put him to death by beating him with red-hot iron bars. His death occurred in 37/657-8 (*al-Muntaẓam*, v, 142).

It is hard to date the other recorded episodes, and some of the scenes described in his *Dīwān* can be considered as poetic fiction, and as such they are without literary-biographical significance; see for example *Dīwān*, 15-16, 37-8.

The poetry of Suḥaym was collected by grammarians in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries and has a pronounced linguistic character; see, in addition to the *riwāya* of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Aḥwal (died 259/873), those of Nifṭawayhi (died 323/935) and Ibn Djinnī (died 392/1002), which have all survived. Moreover, his verses seem to have found favour with the *nuḥāt* and with the lexicographers (Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, Cairo 1403/1983, i, 350; iv, 225; Thaʿlab, *Madjālis*, Cairo 1948, 20, 2849; Ibn Durayd, *Waṣf al-maṭar wa ʾl-saḥāb*, Damascus 1382/1963, 70; ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī, *al-Tanbīhāt*, Cairo 1967, 167; al-Zadjdjādjī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1382, 76-7, 130-1; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., i, 119-24; al-Suyūṭī, *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*, Cairo 1327, i, 189; idem, *al-Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., ii, 195; Ibn Sīdah, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Būlāḳ 1316, iv, 59, ix, 103, 108, x, 69, xii, 260; xiii, 232; *LʿA*, index of poets).

Only some 240 verses are still in existence, and they are divided between three major themes: tribal poetry, love poetry and poetry of rebellion. Five fragments totalling 31 verses constitute an altogether secondary side of his poetic talent, and in the poems of this genre Suḥaym certainly seems to play the role of

a commemorative poet, as he recalls the battles (*ayyām*) of Asad, such as Yawm al-Ras͟hā' (*Dīwān*, 49) and Yawm al-Liwā (*ibid.*, 38-9, with the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣimma and the flight of his brother Durayd, an episode which inspired one of the most famous threnodies of pre-Islamic poetry), as he praises the bravery of his "fellow-tribesmen", and as he frequently plays the role of the counsellor. The Banū G͟hadīra and the Naṣr b. Ḳuʿayn were given eulogies (*ibid.*, 49-50, 51, 52, 52-4).

But his main contribution was love poetry. There is not the slightest trace of *nasīb* in his work. On the contrary, his *yā'iyya* is a sensual hymn of praise to the complete woman. It is steeped in an atmosphere of licentiousness and his verses, which are knowingly obscene, portray a real woman to replace the ideally pure and somewhat conventional lady of the *nasīb* (*ibid.*, 16-33). However this hymn of passion delivers a serious blow to the woman's sense of self-respect, for he takes every opportunity to make disparaging remarks about his partner; G͟hāliya, Hind, Mayya, Asmā', Sulayma, Umm ʿAmr and their friends are all pictured scantily dressed and all exhibit an insatiable thirst for men. Nothing is left to the imagination; language which is certainly very crude verges on the obscene and gives explicit names to the sexual organs (*ibid.*, 34). The woman is very frequently presented as a sexual object and he never stops evoking details about positions and involuntary movements to express the carnal satisfaction of his partners in an atmosphere of sweat and scent. Terms that are visually vivid and convey fragrances play an essential role in his poetry. It is a poetry which is clearly anti-feminine and the virulence within it was hardly seen elsewhere during this period or even much later. Even in his most accomplished poems he finds an opportunity to take morbid pleasure in defiling women's bodies. Such novel motifs and new poetic tones provided an indispensable landmark for the emergence of the Ḥid͟jāzī school of poetry, and it could even be said that Suḥaym is one of the fathers of *tas͟hbīb*. The novelty of this poetry was astonishing. One perspicacious critic, Ibn S͟haraf al-Ḳayrawānī, could use only psychological means to explain the phenomenon, suggesting that such poetry was in itself a compensation for his ugliness and his state of servitude (*Rasā'il al-intiḳād*, 329-30, in Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasā'il al-bulag͟hā'*, Cairo 1365/1946).

To express his revulsion at his social condition (*Dīwān*, 54-5, 55, 56, 56-7, 57, 63-4, 65-6, 66-7) Suḥaym borrowed a unique, albeit well-known and predictable, motif. He affirms his right to take responsibility for his condition, proclaiming that there is a contradiction between outward appearances (i.e. his black colour) and spiritual superiority (his soul that was sparkling white). The same worn-out theme runs through the verses of ʿAntara or al-Ḥayḳutān, a negro poet contemporary with D͟jarīr (al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Fak͟hr al-sūdān ʿalā al-bīḍān*, in *Rasā'il al-D͟jāḥiẓ*, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 183-5).

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(A. Arazi)

SUHRAWARD, a town of mediaeval Islamic Persia in D͟jibāl [*q.v.*], the ancient Media. Nöldeke was the first to connect the name with Suhrāb, and Marquart followed him, so that one may assume older forms of the name to have been **Suxrāp-kart*, **Suhrāv-gerd*. Nöldeke thought that the eponym of the town was the Suhrāb who was a Persian governor of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. Although this does not mean that the town was not founded till the time of this governor—it is only a hypothesis that he, and no other of the many known bearers of the name Suhrāb, is the one in question—one should perhaps be careful not to date the foundation of the town at too remote a period. The classical geographers do not seem to have known the town; at least, no ancient name is known which could be applied to the place later known as Suhraward.

The site of Suhraward cannot be located with absolute certainty. We have the statements of the Muslim geographers, according to which the town lay on the road from Hamad͟hān to Zand͟jān to the south of Sulṭāniyya. This road, 30 *farsak͟hs* long, was, according to al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, used in times of peace as the shortest route to Ād͟harbāyd͟jān; in troubled times the circuit via Ḳazwīn was taken. Ibn Ḥawḳal states exactly the reverse about the use of these two routes. In the 4th/10th century, the town was already in the hands of the Kurds; the inhabitants were mainly K͟hārid͟jites (*S͟hurāt*), who then emigrated, with the exception of those who stayed in their native town out of lack of courage or love of their home.

The town, which had been walled, was destroyed by the Mongols; Mustawfī describes it as a little village with many Mongol villages around it. On account of the cold in the Median highlands, little was grown here beyond corn and the smaller fruits.

Bibliography: On the etymology, see Th. Nöldeke, *Über iranische Ortsnamen auf -kert und andere Endungen*, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii (1879), 143 ff., esp. 147; idem, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, 246 n. 1: J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 238; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. Suhrāb.—The passages in the Muslim geographers are briefly utilised by G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, 223, with references; those of the Arabs only fully in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, vii, Leipzig 1926, 731 ff.; see also Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 208.—The only map which attempts to locate Suhraward is map V in Le Strange's book.—On famous men of Suhraward, see in addition to the

biographical works, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Suhraward, and Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Suhrawardī.

(M. Plessner*)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, Abu 'l-Nadjīb ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakrī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, a Sunnī mystic who flourished in the 6th/12th century.

Born about 490/1097 in Suhraward [*q.v.*], west of Sulṭāniyya, in the Djibāl region, Abu 'l-Nadjīb, genealogically linked with Abū Bakr, died in 563/1168 at Baghdād. Abu 'l-Nadjīb moved to Baghdād as a young man, probably in 507/1113, where he studied *ḥadīth*, Shāfiʿī law, Arabic grammar and belles-lettres. A paternal uncle of Abu 'l-Nadjīb, ʿUmar b. Muḥammad (d. 532/1137-8), head of a Ṣūfī convent in Baghdād, invested him with the Ṣūfī *khirḳa* [see ṬARĪḲA]. Probably before his arrival in Baghdād, Abu 'l-Nadjīb already studied *ḥadīth* in Iṣfahān. At about 25, in Baghdād, he abandoned his studies at the Niẓāmiyya [*q.v.*], a Saldjūḳ institution, in order to lead a solitary life of asceticism. He returned to Iṣfahān to join the illustrious Ṣūfī Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.*]). When he went back to Baghdād he became a disciple of Ḥammād al-Dabbās (d. 525/1130-1) who, albeit considered an illiterate, stands out as a teacher of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]. Abu 'l-Nadjīb is said to have earned a living for a number of years as a water-carrier. He began to preach Ṣūfism, and he founded a convent on the western bank of the Tigris. In 545/1150-1 Abu 'l-Nadjīb was appointed to teach *fiḳh* in the Niẓāmiyya. However, in 547/1152-3 he was dismissed from office, as a result of the power struggle between the caliph and the Saldjūḳ sultan. Both before and after his appointment at the Niẓāmiyya, Abu 'l-Nadjīb taught *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* in his own *madrasa*, situated next to his *ribāṭ*, and he continued teaching Ṣūfism. In 557/1161-2 he left Baghdād for Jerusalem, but he could not travel beyond Damascus because Nūr al-Dīn Zangī [*q.v.*] and Baldwin had resumed their hostilities. After being received with honour in Damascus, Abu 'l-Nadjīb returned to Baghdād. Some years later he died and was buried in his *madrasa* there. His students were numerous and included, in *ḥadīth*, the historian Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*] and the traditionist al-Samʿānī. His disciple ʿAmmār al-Bidlīsī (d. between 590/1194 and 604/1207) occupies an important place in the history of Ṣūfism as a teacher of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [*q.v.*]. Abu 'l-Nadjīb had his most far-reaching influence, however, through his disciple and nephew, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], the famous author of the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*.

Abu 'l-Nadjīb was not a productive author. He wrote the *Gharīb al-maṣābīḥ*, a commentary on a popular *ḥadīth* collection, but his fame as a writer rests on his composition of the *Ādāb al-murīdīn*. However, the *Ādāb* became widely known only with the spread of the Suhrawardiyya order founded by his nephew ʿUmar after Abu 'l-Nadjīb's death. In the *Ādāb* Ṣūfism is viewed from the perspective of rules of conduct (*adab*). The book treats of, *inter alia*, common practices which did not conform to the strict etiquette required by Ṣūfī theory. By applying the traditional concept of *rukhṣa* ("dispensation", pl. *rukhaṣ*) in a novel way, Abu 'l-Nadjīb responds to the phenomenon of an affiliation of lay members to Ṣūfism. Whilst Abu 'l-Nadjīb also draws on various works of al-Sulamī, al-Sarrādj and al-Ḳushayrī [*q.vv.*], he betrays the closest dependence on Ibn Khafīf al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], whose *Kitāb al-Iḳtiṣād* he quotes throughout the *Ādāb*. However, he never identifies him when he excerpts from the *Iḳtiṣād*. The reason for this lies in the fact that Abu 'l-Nadjīb inverts Ibn Khafīf's fundamentally negative view of *rukhaṣ*: the very dispensations whose adoption by the "truthful novice" Ibn Khafīf interpreted as a failure to fulfill the requirements of *ṣidḳ* ("truthfulness"), are introduced in the *Ādāb* and vindicated by Abu 'l-Nadjīb. It may be argued that the *rukhaṣ* incorporated an element of instability into the Rule and that this heralded a decline from the "high ground" of the Ṣūfī spirituality of Abu 'l-Nadjīb's predecessors.

Bibliography: Suhrawardī, Abu 'l-Nadjīb, *K. Ādāb al-murīdīn*, ed. M. Milson, Jerusalem 1977; idem, *A Sufi Rule for Novices: Kitāb Adāb al-murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī. An abridged translation and introduction*, Cambridge, Mass. 1975; I.R. Netton, *The breath of felicity. Adab, aḥwāl and maqāmāt and Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī*, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its origins to Rumi*, London 1993, 457-82, repr. in *Seek knowledge. Thought and travel in the House of Islam*, Richmond, Surrey 1996, 71-92; F. Sobieroj, *Ibn Ḫafīf aš-Šīrāzī und seine Schrift zur Novizenerziehung (kitāb al-Iqtiṣād). Biographische Studien, Edition und Übersetzung*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1996; R. Gramlich, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī* (tr. of *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Wiesbaden 1978, 3-4; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1976/1396, vii, 307 (s.v. *al-Suhrawardī*); Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād 1357-9, x, 75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, Cairo 1386, i, 589-90 (s.v. *al-Suhrawardī*); idem, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1301, xi, 149 (s.a. 563); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1970, iii, 204; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1401-5/1981-5, xx, 475-8; idem, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar*, Kuwayt 1963, iv, 181-2; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ed. M. al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿA. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1383-8/1964-8, vii, 173-5 (no. 881); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Nawāʾī, n.p. 1336-9, 666; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, 1931 ff., xix, 48-9; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt ul-uns*, ed. Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 417; Shaʿrānī, *al-Anwār al-ḳudsiyya*, Beirut 1978, i, 31, 50.

(F. Sobieroj)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar (539-632/1145-1234), one of the most important Ṣūfīs in Sunnī Islam. He was born and grew up in the town of Suhraward [*q.v.*], later destroyed by the Mongols, in the Persian province of Djibāl, to the west of Sulṭāniyya. He should not be confused with other persons carrying the *nisba* "al-Suhrawardī", in particular, not with his contemporary the mystic Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl [*q.v.*], put to death in Aleppo in 587/1191 because of his heretical ideas in religious and political matters.

Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī came in his youth to Baghdād, where his uncle Abu 'l-Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], himself a famous Ṣūfī, introduced him to the religious sciences and made him also familiar with the duties of a preacher. Abū Ḥafṣ followed his uncle's courses both in the Niẓāmiyya and in the latter's *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] on the shore of the Tigris, a much-visited centre of the Ṣūfī way of life. He often mentions his uncle in his main work *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* (e.g. ch. 30, section on humility). Another important teacher of Abū Ḥafṣ in Baghdād was the Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī and jurist *shaykh*, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]. The close relationship of the still quite young al-Suhrawardī with the famous *shaykh*, who was already approaching the end of his life, was significant for al-Suhrawardī's later attitude towards religio-dogmatic questions. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir is said to have dissuaded al-Suhrawardī from occupying himself with *kalām* [*q.v.*]

and to have warned him in particular against the use of *ḳiyās* (see Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, i, 296-7). In doing so, he is said to have mainly talked him out of reading al-Djuwaynī's *K. al-Shāmil* and al-Shahrastānī's *Nihāyat al-aḳdām*, both leading works of Ashʿarī theology. Al-Suhrawardī was not a Ḥanbalī, as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was, but a traditionalistic Shāfiʿī, which was rather typical in Baghdād. With respect to al-Suhrawardī's spiritual career, it is important to note that his later violent attacks against the *mutakallimūn* corresponded to an initial personal interest in their doctrine (for other teachers of al-Suhrawardī, see Gramlich, *Gaben*, 6-13).

After his uncle's death in 563/1168, al-Suhrawardī followed "the path of seclusion". He preached and headed mystical meetings in Abu 'l-Nadjīb's *ribāṭ*, which soon extended to several other places in Baghdād. He was a trained orator, one of the most successful traditionalist preachers in the ʿAbbāsid metropolis. He put his audience into ecstasies, so that many cut their hair or were spiritually transported away from the world. His pulpit was made of clay, as prescribed by the ascetic way of life.

Al-Suhrawardī maintained friendly relations with Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Čishtī [*q.v.*], the founder of the Indian Čishtiyya order which, in its early period, orientated itself completely on al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif*. He maintained a particularly close relation with Nadjm al-Dīn al-Rāzī, known as al-Dāya [*q.v.*], a *murīd* of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [see KUBRĀ], whom he had met in 618/1221 in Malatya while the latter was on his way from Khwārazm to Asia Minor. Dāya submitted his *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* to al-Suhrawardī, who expressed his unrestricted approval and gave him a letter of recommendation for the Rūm Saldjūḳ Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I in Konya (see *Mirṣād*, 22-4).

Though referring to the doctrine of the "pious forefathers" [see AL-SALAF WA 'L-KHALAF], al-Suhrawardī in his mystical ideas went far beyond this, up to the point of even accepting, be it in a limited way, the *anā 'l-ḥaḳḳ* of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]. Yet the freedom which al-Suhrawardī permitted himself in his judgement of the executed mystic did not bring him into agreement with the doctrines of contemporary "freethinkers". In strong words, he turned against the pantheism of his contemporary Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. According to al-Suhrawardī, the latter had started to establish a despicable connection between *taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*] and elements of Greek philosophy. The often-quoted story of the meeting in Baghdād between the very famous and controversial Andalusian mystic and al-Suhrawardī, his elder by about twenty years (see Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 193-4), contains legendary elements (cf. Cl. Addas, *The quest for the Red Sulphur*, Cambridge 1993, 240-1, who discounts the story). His contacts with Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī [*q.v.*] (see Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 418) also belong to the realm of legend. On the other hand, his meeting with Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*], perhaps the most important mystical poet in the Arabic language, is historical. They met in the *ḥaram* of Mecca in 628/1231 during al-Suhrawardī's last pilgrimage (cf. al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, iv, 77-8; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 542-3; *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, 147).

The interest shown by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] in al-Suhrawardī's gatherings, and the ruler's first extraordinary marks of goodwill towards the *shaykh*, e.g. the foundation of the ribāṭ al-Marzubāniyya in 599/1202-3 (also known as ribāṭ al-Mustadjadd, situated on the shore of the Nahr ʿĪsā in West Baghdād) occurred in a period in which al-Nāṣir had intensively begun to promote the Ṣūfī branch of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] and to put it at the service of the caliphate. The development of a new *futuwwa*, led by the caliph as a *ḳibla*, was no less important to al-Nāṣir than it was to al-Suhrawardī. The caliph thus obtained a unique political instrument, while the *shaykh* in his turn saw his personal prestige spread far and wide outside Baghdād, as well amongst the circle of students which was gradually taking shape and from which the *ṭarīḳa al-Suhrawardiyya* [*q.v.*] later originated.

In his works, al-Suhrawardī supported the union of *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf*. Interpreting the *futuwwa* as a part of the *taṣawwuf* (*Idāla*, fol. 89a-b), he created the conditions necessary for both supporting the caliphate through the *taṣawwuf* and for sanctioning Islamic mystics by means of the highest Islamic institution, the caliphate. In his *Idālat al-ʿiyān ʿalā 'l-burhān* (fol. 88a), al-Suhrawardī considers the relation of a Ṣūfī teacher (*shaykh*) to his novice (*murīd*) as being analogous to that of the caliph, who is the mediator (*wāsiṭa*) appointed by God between the absolute One (*Allāh*) and the people (*nās*). However, a reference to the idea of consensus (*idjmāʿ*) is missing in this context. Al-Suhrawardī developed a theory which co-ordinates the concepts of *futuwwa*, *taṣawwuf* and *khilāfa* in an upward relation: "The supreme caliphate is a booklet (*daftar*) of which the *taṣawwuf* is a part; *taṣawwuf* in its turn is also a booklet of which the *futuwwa* is a part. The *futuwwa* is specified by pure morals (*al-akhlāḳ al-zakiyya*); *taṣawwuf* also includes the pious actions and religious exercises (*awrād*); the supreme caliphate comprises the mystical states, the pious actions and the pure morals" (*Idāla*, fol. 89a-b). The comparison of the caliphate with a booklet, which contains *taṣawwuf* and *futuwwa* in a subordinate way, is reminiscent of the hierarchy of the concepts of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa* and *ḥaḳīḳa* found in al-Suhrawardī's *Risālat al-futuwwa* (*Aya* Sofya 3155, fol. 186b), which are also linked in gradations. Here the *Sharīʿa* is the higher concept, used on the same level as *khilāfa*. In relation to one another both concepts represent a unity.

The bilateral relation which, according to al-Suhrawardī, existed between the caliphate and Ṣūfism explains why the caliph sent the *shaykh* several times to the courts of rulers as his representative. To the best-known diplomatic missions belong al-Suhrawardī's visits to the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*]. In 604/1207-8, after al-Nāṣir had declared himself the mandatory *ḳibla* for all members (*fityān*) of the *futuwwa*, he sent al-Suhrawardī to the courts of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir in Aleppo (cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, iii, 180), of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in Damascus (*op. cit.*, 181-2), and of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo (*op. cit.*, 182; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Djāmiʿ*, ix, 259). On his return to Baghdād, the *shaykh* was greeted by immense expressions of sympathy and processions in his honour, just as he had experienced during his journey. But al-Suhrawardī's new ostentatious pomp and his breach of the rules of a Ṣūfī way of life was not agreable to the caliph, who withdrew from him the direction of the *ribāṭ*s and banned him from preaching (cf. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, fol. 306b, which is lacking in the Ḥaydarābād edition; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 51-2). The event caused quite a public stir in Baghdād. Only the *shaykh*'s inner repentance, his renouncing property and money, and his complete return to the ideal of a Ṣūfī way of life brought about the lifting of the measures taken against him and reconciliation with the caliph. Never again was a cloud cast upon their friendship.

Ten years later, when the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, through the politics of the Khwārazm Shāh [see KHWĀRAZM SHĀHS], found itself in a difficult position,

both militarily and constitutionally, al-Suhrawardī was entrusted with a second important diplomatic mission. In order to defend the caliphate, al-Nāṣir sent him in 614/1217-8 to Hamadān, where the Ḵẖʷārazm Sẖāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad II, who was already marching against Bag̲h̲dād, gave him a chilly reception in his state tent. The Ḵẖʷārazm Sẖāh was not prepared to accept al-Nāṣir as caliph. On the decisive question, whether it was permitted to the caliph, by reason of the public interest, to keep members of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, namely his own son and the latter's family, in prison, or whether the *ḥadīth* should be applied according to which no harm could be caused to descendants of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], al-Suhrawardī did not reach agreement (cf. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Mirʾāt*, viii, 582-3; Nasawī, *Sīra*, 51-2; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 76); the mission failed.

On the other hand, al-Suhrawardī's mission in 618/1221 to the new Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād [see KAYḲUBĀD I], was successful. In the caliph's name the *shaykh* brought the sultan the tokens of rulership: the diploma with the titles and insignia of a sultan and of the delegated state power over the Islamic regions of Asia Minor, the ruler's robe of honour, the sword and the signet ring. Al-Suhrawardī was also successful in recruiting members for the caliph's *futuwwa*, which was joined in Konya by Kayḳubād and many officials and scholars. Al-Suhrawardī led the initiation ceremonies. The extraordinary friendly atmosphere is described by Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] in his chronicle of the Saldjūḳs. According to Franz Taeschner, al-Suhrawardī's political and Ṣūfī activities in Asia Minor could be interpreted as a secession from the caliph's *futuwwa*. On the basis of linguistic peculiarities in one of al-Suhrawardī's Persian epistles (see *Risālat al-futuwwa*, Aya Sofya 3155, fols. 185a-190b), e.g. because he uses *akhī* instead of *futuwwatdār*, and because the usual classification into *sayfī* and *ḳawlī*, common in the organisation of the *akhīs* [*q.v.*], as well as the term *tarbiya* are used, Taeschner surmised that the *futuwwa* represented by al-Suhrawardī was not identical with that of the caliph, but that there had been close relations between the *akhīs* of Anatolia and Persia and even a *futuwwa* of al-Suhrawardī's own (Taeschner *Schrift*, 280). Cahen (*Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 196 ff.) and Breebaart (*Turkish futūwah guilds*, 109-39), on the other hand, have shown that a consistent terminology was not yet common in Anatolia in the 7th/13th century. It can be assumed that there were strong rivalries within Ṣūfism, the *futuwwa* and the *akhīs* in Anatolia. Besides, the Anatolian *akhīs* did not form a definitely constituted professional organisation, as has been thought in the past; on the basis of their ethical principles they can rather be considered as a widely-spread *ṭarīḳa* (cf. Köprülü, *Ilk mutasavvıflar*, 212-13). A comparative study of al-Suhrawardī's terminology and that of other writers, including of anonymous contemporary authors, is still lacking.

Just as al-Suhrawardī spread the caliph's "purified *futuwwa*", he enjoyed support during his journeys by followers for his own Ṣūfī doctrine and his theological view of the world. He himself considered the latter as wisdom within the Prophet's inheritance, as a complete representation of all branches of religious knowledge and standards of behaviour. Yet there is also, especially in al-Suhrawardī's works of his last years, a mixture of traditionalist Ṣūfī concepts with heterogeneous thoughts which can be traced back to gnostic and Neo-Platonic elements. A conclusive investigation is still lacking. Al-Suhrawardī's numerous disciples and friends spread his doctrine mainly in Syria, Asia Minor, Persia and North India. His pupils—and not he himself as has been thought for a long time—founded the Suhrawardiyya, the famous order named after him. Next to the Čishtiyya, the Ḳalandariyya and the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.vv.*], the Suhrawardiyya became one of the leading Islamic orders in India, where it still exists. Among the most successful propagators of al-Suhrawardī's doctrine were his disciples ʿAlī b. Buzg̲h̲ush (d. 678/1279-80 in Sẖīrāz), Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ [*q.v.*], who founded the Suhrawardiyya in Sind and in the Pandjāb (cf. Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 504) and Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī [see TABRĪZĪ, DJALĀL AL-DĪN] who was active mainly in Bengal. According to a devotee of the orders of the 8th/14th century, the Suhrawardiyya was more subdivided than other orders, so that enumerating its establishments and members is not easy.

Works. Al-Suhrawardī left behind a sizeable number of writings, in which all traditions of classical Islamic mysticism and religious sciences are represented.

1. *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* is the title of his main work. It is a famous and comprehensive handbook (*vade-mecum*) for Ṣūfīs, which has influenced permanently the thoughts of millions of believers and which is still used today. In this work were incorporated the older Ṣūfī literature, the *tafsīr* of Sahl al-Tustarī [*q.v.*], the *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-tafsīr* of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī [see AL-SULAMĪ], and the handbooks of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj [see AL-SARRĀDJ], of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī [*q.v.*], of Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī [see AL-KALĀBĀDHĪ], and of Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī [see AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ] and other Ṣūfī *ṭabaḳāt* literature and commentaries on the Ḳurʾān. The themes treated comprise in 63 chapters the whole of Ṣūfī way of life, the relation of the novice to the *shaykh*, the latter's tasks, a human being's self-knowledge, the revelations of the Ṣūfīs on this point and the explanation of what happens when one is in the mystical "state" (*ḥāl*) and when in the "station" (*maḳām*). It is not known when the *ʿAwārif* was composed, but the *terminus ad quem* is 612/1215-16 (cf. Hartmann, *Bemerkungen*, 124-5), and thus it is certain that al-Suhrawardī wrote his work at a period in which his theoretical epistles on *futuwwa* also came into being. Persian translations and commentaries of the *ʿAwārif* were already made during the author's lifetime. The most important basis for the continuation of al-Suhrawardī's thoughts in the Persian-speaking world was the *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya* by ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī-i Kāshānī (d. 735/1334-5). This work contains most of the doctrines of the *ʿAwārif*, but adds personal ideas (Eng. tr. by H. Wilberforce Clarke, printed as a supplement to his translation of the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, Calcutta 1891). There still is no critical edition of the *ʿAwārif*. The best-known editions are those of Cairo 1358/1939 (printed in the margin of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*) and of Beirut 1966, but both are defective. The partial edition of Cairo 1971 contains only chs. 1-21 and is based on later manuscripts. In his German translation (*Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse*, Wiesbaden 1978), Richard Gramlich has corrected the mistakes of the existing editions by adducing better variants, thus providing for the first time a reliable basis for the text. There are several Turkish translations, the last one being Istanbul 1990.

2. *Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ al-īmāniyya wa-kashf al-faḍāʾiḥ al-yūnāniyya* (Reisülküttab 465, Köprülü 728) is a polemic against the arguments of the apologetic-dialectical theology (*kalām*), against Islamic philosophy and its ancient origins. In this work, composed in

621/1224, the author, already aged and almost blind, reveals to what extent his theological-mystical thinking had developed. The *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* was still completely grounded in the Shāfi'ī-Ash'arī orthodoxy, but the works of his old age, especially the *Rashf al-naṣā'iḥ*, show concepts and borrowings from the tradition of his intellectual adversaries, e.g. from the *falāsifa* on one hand, and from the refutation of the latter derived from the (crypto-) Ismā'īlī viewpoint of the heresiographer Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī [*q.v.*] on the other. In the *Rashf*, al-Shahrastānī's theology has become the basis of a peculiar concept of creation and of anthropology. This doctrine can be followed far back in Islamic gnosis, e.g. the myth of the cosmic marriage between spirit and soul as the starting-point of the origin of the universe, the participation of earthly man in the universal spirit and the universal soul, the world as macranthropos, man as a microcosmos, the classification of the strata of the earth in *djism* and *djirm*. Al-Suhrawardī adopts other ideas which he believed he was refuting: he draws up a hierarchical series of creatures which emanate from the primordial creature with the help of God's command (*amr*). This creature he calls "the mighty spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-a'ẓam*). It is identical with the *prima causa* of the philosophers, and it is "One" (*wāḥid*), just like God. While God is above existence (*mūdjid*), His first and most beloved creature has the tasks of a *necessitator* (*mūdjib*). The first to originate from it is "the intellect of the primordial quality" of the human being (*'akl fiṭrī*, i.e. the intellect of the prophets), the second is the soul, while "the intellect of the creational quality" (*'akl khalkī*, i.e. the intellect of the philosophers) comes only in the third place. Then follow the spheres, down to the sphere of the moon. Al-Suhrawardī unites these concepts with the Ash'arī doctrine of *sabab* and with popular mythologumena into an innovative conception of theological thinking.

The work is dedicated to the caliph al-Nāṣir, whom al-Suhrawardī quotes as an authority on *ḥadīth*. The political and religious aim of this work consists in the fact that the author unites contradictory dogmatic trends into an—in his eyes—purified traditionalism, in order to strengthen the 'Abbāsid caliphate by using *ḥadīth* as a tool and by involving *taṣawwuf* to reform the intellectual education. The work offers a politico-religious middle course (*wasaṭ*, *tawassuṭ*), from which were only excluded those who challenge the unicity of God (*waḥdāniyya*). These are, in al-Suhrawardī's opinion, the philosophers with their doctrine of the *prima causa* and their analogies, by which they have committed polytheism (*shirk*). That is why he calls them the enemies of the *umma*, while the Shī'īs, including the Ismā'īlīs, are not attacked.

There exist recensions of the *Rashf* with and without its Neo-Platonic adaptations. The work was translated into Persian by Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Yazdī (d. 789/1387) [*q.v.*], the historian of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] and provided with borrowings from Ibn al-'Arabī's theosophy (ed. Tehran 1365/1986). The Persian historiographer Muḥammad al-Īdjī [*q.v.*], who wrote *ca.* 781/1380, based the methodological part of his history of religions and cultures *Tuḥfat al-fakīr ilā ṣāḥib al-sarīr* (Turhan Valide Sultan 231), partly word-for-word on al-Suhrawardī's argumentation. In the 7th/13th century, a refutation of the *Rashf* was composed under the title *Kashf al-asrār al-īmāniyya wa-hatk al-astār al-ḥuṭāmiyya*. The author, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 655/1257-8), was a scholar from Shīrāz and a disciple and friend of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*].

3. *Idālat al-'iyān 'alā 'l-burhān* (Bursa, Ulu Cami, Tas. 1597), also a refutation of philosophy. This work was finished after the *Rashf*, between 622/1226 and 632/1234, and contains the same underlying ideas, but the linguistic style is more precise. Quotations from authorities and mythological themes are less frequently brought up. Instead, al-Suhrawardī develops an independent theory of the state in which caliphate, *futuwwa* and Ṣūfism, as described above, are linked together. In the third section, al-Nāṣir's grandson, al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] is mentioned as patron of the *futuwwa*.

4. *I'lām al-hudā wa-'akīdat arbāb al-tukā* (Aşır Ef. 416/10), composed in 632/1234, is a treatise on religion, in which the author tries to explain to the conservative Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād the theological arguments of the Ash'arīs concerning God and the theodicy. The author's aim is to promote the unity of the Muslim community in the face of the Mongol danger.

5. *Nughbat al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Kur'ān* (Hacı Beşir Ağa/Eyüp 24, dated 610/1214) is a commentary on the Ḳur'ān, which should be situated in the tradition of Ḳur'ān exegesis as practised by the Ṣūfīs al-Tustarī and al-Sulamī.

6. Al-Suhrawardī carried on an extensive correspondence, from which have survived, among others, letters to the theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*].

7. For his disciples, al-Suhrawardī wrote spiritual testaments (*waṣiyya*, pl. *waṣāyā*), in which he admonishes them to observe the duties of a Ṣūfī on the basis of the sciences approved by Ḳur'ān and *sunna*. Also in the *waṣāyā*, al-Suhrawardī speaks of the close connection between *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf*. Further writings and collections of sayings of al-Suhrawardī, as well as their manuscripts, are mentioned in the publications of H. Ritter, A. Hartmann and R. Gramlich (see *Bibl.*).

Al-Suhrawardī died in Baghdād at the age of 90 in Muḥarram 632/November-December 1234 and was buried in a *turba* in the *makbarat al-wardiyya*, the cemetery of the Ṣūfīs (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 74; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, fol. 359b). His tomb has been venerated as a sanctuary since the 8th/14th century. After Baghdād had been conquered by the Ottoman sultan Murād IV, the tomb, which had become dilapidated, was in 1638 restored, together with the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa and 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī.

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(Angelika Hartmann)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak, Abu 'l-Futūḥ, well known Persian innovative philosopher-scientist, and founder of an independent, non-Aristotelian philosophical school named "the Philosophy of Illumination" (*Ḥikmat al-Ishrāḳ*), which is also the eponymous title of his most widely-known text; he is thus commonly referred to as the "Master of Illumination" (*Shaykh al-Ishrāḳ*). He was born in the small town of Suhraward in northwestern Persia 549/1154, and met a violent death by execution in Aleppo in 587/1191, so ordered by the Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Recent studies have demonstrated that al-Suhrawardī's execution was directly linked to his involvement in politics, whereby he sought to implement the "Illuminationist political doctrine" which he had taught to several late 6th/12th century rulers, among them the prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubād; the Saldjūḳ Sulaymān Shāh, who commissioned the *Partaw-nāma*; the ruler of Kharpūt, Malik ʿImād al-Dīn Artuḳ, who commissioned the *Alwāḥ-i ʿImādī*; and, lastly, to the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's young son, the prince al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, governor of Aleppo (see Ziai, *The source and nature of authority*).

Al-Suhrawardī first studied philosophy and theology with Madjd al-Dīn al-Djīlī in Marāgha, then travelled to Iṣfahān to study with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī (d. 594/1198), who is said to have predicted his student's death (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 269; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 299-301). It is also known that Ẓahīr al-Fārisī, a logician, introduced al-Suhrawardī to the *Observations* (*al-Baṣāʾir*) of the non-Aristotelian Persian logician ʿUmar b. Sahlān al-Sāwadjī (*fl.* 540/1145) (see *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*, 146, 278, 352). Sāwadjī's novel ideas concerning the reconstruction of the Aristotelian nine-book logical corpus of the *Organon* into more logically consistent divisions of semantics, formal logic and material logic had a major impact on al-Suhrawardī's writings on logic.

Works

In his short 36 years of life, al-Suhrawardī is reported to have composed some 50 works, many of which remain unpublished. The published texts are also incomplete in that they do not include major sections on logic and physics. The most important texts in the philosophy of illumination are al-Suhrawardī's four major Arabic philosophical works: the *Intimations* (*al-Talwīḥāt*), the *Apposites* (*al-Muḳāwamāt*), the *Paths and havens* (*al-Mashāriʿ wa 'l-muṭāraḥāt*) (see H. Corbin (ed.), *Opera metaphysica et mystica I*), and the *Philosophy of illumination* (*Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*) (see idem, *Opera metaphysica et mystica II*). The four texts constitute an integral corpus and also define the "syllabus" for the study of the philosophy of illumination (see Ziai, *Knowledge and illumination*, 9-15). Other texts, especially the *ʿImādian tablets* (*al-Alwāḥ al-ʿimādiyya*) and *Temples of light* (*Hayākil al-nūr*)—both of which were composed in Arabic *and* Persian—plus the Persian *Epistle on emanation* (*Partaw-Nāma*) (see Corbin and S.H. Nasr (eds.), *Opera metaphysica et mystica III*) are of lesser theoretical significance, but are to be included in this category of Illuminationist reconstructions.

Next in order of significance are al-Suhrawardī's Arabic and Persian philosophical allegories: "A tale of the occidental exile" (*Ḳiṣṣat al-ghurba al-gharbiyya*); "The treatise of the birds" (*Risālat al-ṭayr*); "The sound of Gabriel's Wing" (*Āvāz-i par-i Djibrāʾīl*); "The red intellect" (*ʿAḳl-i surkh*); "A day with a group of Ṣūfis" (*Rūzī bā djamāʿat-i Ṣūfiyān*); "On the state of childhood" (*Fī ḥālat al-ṭufūliyya*); "On the reality of love" (*Fī ḥaḳīḳat al-ʿishḳ*); "The language of ants" (*Lughat-i mūrān*); and "The simurgh's shrill cry" (*Ṣafīr-i sīmurgh*) (see Corbin, *ibid.*; W.M. Thackston (tr.), *The mystical and visionary treatises of Shihabuddin Yahya Suhrawardi*; and O. Spies (tr.), *Three treatises on mysticism by Shihabuddin Suhrawardī Maqtul*).

The next group of works by al-Suhrawardī consists of devotional prayers and invocations, aphorisms and other short statements (see Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ii, 136-43). Of specific interest are two prayers and invocations composed in an especially rich allegorical and literary style, where al-Suhrawardī addresses "the great Heavenly Sun, Hūrakhsh," and invokes the authority of "the Great Luminous Being" (*al-nayyir al-aʿẓam*), praying to it for knowledge and salvation (published by M. Moin, in *Madjalla-yi Āmūzish wa Parwarish*; and one reprinted in M. Ḥabībī, *Si risāla az Shaykh-i Ishrāḳ*).

His Illuminationist philosophy

With a few exceptions, most notably Max Horten, Orientalist studies on al-Suhrawardī's Arabic and Persian texts have failed to recognise the systematic philosophical side of Illuminationist logic, physics and metaphysics. Al-Suhrawardī's own oft-repeated aim to compose a novel scientific system has been inadequately described by the use of such non-technical philosophical terms as "theosophy", "sagesse orientale", "transcendental theosophy", "Sophia perennis", and the like. Suhrawardī was a well-trained scientist-philosopher, whose works on logic, foundations of mathematics, cosmic continuum theories, unified epistemological laws, etc. all demonstrate his intention which may be summed as a rational attempt to, among other things, harmonise intuitive knowledge (*al-ḥikma al-dhawḳiyya*), with deductive knowledge (*al-ḥikma al-baḥthiyya*) (see al-Shahrazūrī, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*, 1-9).

Al-Suhrawardī's principal novel philosophical approach is founded on his critique of the universal validity of Aristotelian scientific methodology. He is one of the first philosophers to elaborate on an old tradition, whose roots are to be found in Plato's idea of sudden inspiration put forth in light imagery in the *Seventh letter* (341C, 344B), later discussed by Speusippus, who introduced the term ἐπιστημονικὴ αἴσθησις (see Merlan, 64, n*), and the subject of an entire treatise by St. Augustine (see R. Allers, *St. Augustine's doctrine on Illumination*). The favourite Platonic metaphor of light and vision of the *Republic*, V-VIII, is repeated in almost all Illuminationist texts, but incorporated in the Illuminationist unified epistemological theory named "Knowledge by presence" (*al-ʿilm al-ḥuḍūrī*).

Al-Suhrawardī expresses his concern with ambigu-

ities and inconsistencies which he discovered in the Arabic Aristotelianism of his time. They cover every domain of philosophy, e.g. in logic, concerning predication and the Law of Identity; in physics, concerning the discrete and numbered separate Intellects; but especially in early passages of the *Posterior analytics*, I.2:71b.20-72a.25. The latter concern the foundations of Aristotelian scientific method, summed up as: science rests on necessary, true, primary, and most prior premises, which are known not through syllogistic deduction, but by immediate, intuitive knowledge, 'Ανάγκη τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξ ἀληθῶν τ' εἶναι καὶ γνωριμωτέρων καὶ προτέρων καὶ αἰτίων τοῦ συμπεράσματος. Aristotle does not systematically present what is the intuitive mode, nor does he discuss an epistemological process that could describe primary intuition nor immediate knowledge. Science is defined as a deductive theory (an axiomatic system), based on ὅροι, ἀξιώματα, θεωρεῖν, where the latter may be known through primary ὑποθέσεις or αἴτημα or, ὁρισμός; this view is then further refined and expanded in the *Metaphysics* E.1, 1025b ff., when Aristotle defines kinds of theoretical sciences; and in *Metaphysics* M.10, 1086b. 5 ff., he examines the two ways the term *science* is said, and emphasises that scientific knowledge is universal (the same as in *De anima*, II.5, 417b). Al-Suhrawardī's main scientific aim was to construct a unified epistemological theory that describes intuitive knowledge in a "scientific" way. For example, "I intuitively know I exist/I think, that is the same", then generalised as "every self-apprehending being is the same as its substantial existence" (cf. the *Philosophy of Illumination, Part Two*, I.5, § 114 ff.). (Illuminationist philosophy also recovers Stoic sources, e.g. relating to reduction of categories, continuum theories, etc. See Ziai, *Knowledge and Illumination*, chs. I, II.)

Al-Suhrawardī's novel system is a scientific philosophical one intended to refine the scientific methods of the time, and closely parallels the ideals of Kant's "Critical philosophy" and Fichte's "Theory of scientific knowledge". The most widespread impact of Illuminationist philosophy has in fact been in the area of epistemology. Al-Suhrawardī argues against the validity of the Aristotelian *horos* and *horismos* in the foundations of philosophy, and considers ambiguous Aristotle's use of "intuition" as a starting-point of knowledge, because the Stagirite is not clear as to whether intuitive, immediate knowledge is opinion, δόξα, valid by *common acceptance*, ἔνδοξος, or something known ἐπιστητόν as scientific knowledge. Al-Suhrawardī's main claim is that in his reconstructed system, the Philosophy of Illumination, by which a new and more consistent scientific method, the "science of lights" (*ʿilm al-anwār*) is defined, the ambiguity is resolved. He constructs a unified epistemological theory, knowledge-by-presence, hailed since the 7th/13th century by such creative thinkers as al-Shahrazūrī and Ibn Kammūna, and up to the present, as one of Islamic philosophy's greatest achievements and the most valid process of obtaining and describing scientific knowledge of a wider range of things in every sector of the continuum Whole, e.g. the phenomenal and the noumenal (see M. Ha'iri Yazdi, *The principles of epistemology in Islamic philosophy*). Unlike Aristotle, the theory unequivocally posits primacy to a temporal, pre-inference and immediate mode of knowledge, which, in contemporary terms, is non-propositional intuitive knowledge prior to dyadic differentiation of subject-object.

The Illuminationist ontological position, called "primacy of quiddity", is a long-standing problem that distinguishes philosophical schools in the development of Islamic philosophy in Persia up to the present day. It is also a matter of considerable controversy. Those who believe in the primacy of being or of existence (*wudjūd*) consider essence (*māhiyya*) to be a derived, mental concept (*amr iʿtibārī*, a term of "secondary intention"); while those who believe in the primacy of quiddity consider existence to be a derived, mental concept. The Illuminationist position is this: should existence be real outside the mind (*mutaḥaḳḳaḳ fī khāridj al-dhihn*), then the real must consist of two things—the principle of the reality of existence, and the being of existence, which requires a referent outside the mind. And its referent outside the mind must also consist of two things, which are subdivided, and so on *ad infinitum*. This is clearly absurd. Therefore existence must be considered as an abstract, derived, mental concept (cf. William of Ockham, *Summa logicæ, Pars prima*, 15: "That the general term is not a thing outside the mind". The same is said in *the Philosophy of Illumination. Part One*, I.5: "On the [principle] that the general term does not exist outside the mind").

In sum, Illuminationist philosophy contests the Aristotelian position that the laws of science formulated as A-propositions are both necessary and always true, and that they are universal. Through an elaborate process of arguments, starting in logic in the four major texts mentioned, al-Suhrawardī establishes future contingency (*al-imkān al-mustaḳbal*) as a scientific principle. Using this principle and others, he further argues that, contrary to the Aristotelian position, laws of science cannot be universal.

Finally, Illuminationist philosophy is quintessentially different from philosophical "text books" composed by Muslim dialectical theologians and cannot be reduced to a state-sponsored "handmaiden of theology." Al-Suhrawardī's concepts such as *idrāk* ("apperception or "apprehension" similar to modern philosophy's replacing *noein* with *Vernehmen*); *al-iḍāfa al-ishrāḳiyya*, (comparable to non-predicative knowledge; *idrāk al-anā'iyya* (self-awareness, *Selbstgefühl*); *mushāhada ishrāḳiyya* (cf. *Selbstgefühl*, as well as *Ichheit*, as acts *Bewusstsein* of the cognitive intuitive mode, and *Anschauung*, meaning "seeing," applied to a "seeing subject," whose act of sight is identified as *Wesensschau*); and many other technical terms, are also not to be confused with their subjective use in Ṣūfism.

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SUHRAWARDIYYA, an order of Ṣūfīs of 'Irāḳī origin which flourished particularly in India; devoid of a centralised organisation, the *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] split into numerous branches.

1. *The order in 'Irāḳ and Persia.* The Suhrawardiyya traces its origin back to Abu 'l-Nadjīb Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], the disciple of Aḥmad Ghazālī [*q.v.*]. Through two of his students who became masters of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*] (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 417-18), also the *silsila* of the Kubrawiyya goes back to Abu 'l-Nadjīb. Some of Kubrā's major students, such as Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) and Yaḥyā Bākharzī (d. 736/1335-6), were either linked with Abu 'l-Nadjīb's nephew Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] or they were active in the propagation of the latter's work. Abu 'l-Nadjīb is also at the origin of the line of the mystic poet Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. probably 635/1237-8; R. Gramlich, *Derwischorden*, i, 9; H. Ritter, *Meer*, 473-6; see *Bibl.* below).

However, it is Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrawardī, trained in his uncle's *ribāṭ* in Baghdād, who deserves to be regarded as the actual founder of the order. On account of his close relationship with the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], for whom Shihāb al-Dīn acted as a court theologian and special emissary, he obtained the privileged position of a *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* within the Ṣūfiyya of Baghdād. The caliph had a lodge built for Shihāb al-Dīn, the Ribāṭ al-Mustadjadd, and he designated him as a patron of his knightly *futuwwa*. Shihāb al-Dīn prepared the propagation of his order through an extensive correspondence. He visited Ṣūfī lodges and received many distinguished visitors, upon whom he conferred the *khirḳa*, including, e.g., the poet Sa'dī [*q.v.*] and the historian Ibn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*]. In Baghdād, Shihāb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad Suhrawardī (d. 655/1257) as custodian of the Ribāṭ al-Ma'mūniyya (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 323). Other disciples, on Shihāb al-Dīn's orders, returned to their homelands or settled in new areas where they founded daughter lodges.

The spreading of Shihāb al-Dīn's *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, used by him as a teaching manual, became the prime concern for his disciples. Both in the propagation of his *magnum opus* and in the dissemination of the order, Ṣūfīs of Shīrāz, in general, and the line of Nadjīb al-Dīn 'Alī b. Buzghush (d. 678/1280), in particular, seem to have played a leading rôle: The latter's son Ẓahīr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 716/1216) translated the *'Awārif* into Persian, and a great-grandson of Ibn Buzghush wrote a commentary on his grandfather's translation. Apart from these renditions, the *'Awārif* were propagated in the Persian langnage through the compilations of Bākharzī and Maḥmud Kāshānī (d. 735/1334-5). The latter received the transmission of the *'Awārif* from two disciples of Ibn Buzghush, of whom 'Abd al-Ṣamad Naṭanzī may be mentioned here (Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 481; Gramlich, *Gaben*, 14; see

Bibl.). Naṭanzī left his mark as the master of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshī (d. 736/1335), who is noted for the correspondence he had with ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī [*q.v.*] in which he vindicated Ibn ʿArabī's [*q.v.*] philosophy of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* ("unity of being"; Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 483-91). Zayn al-Dīn Khʷāfī (d. 838/1435 at Harāt [*q.v.*]), initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Nūr al-Dīn Miṣrī, in Egypt, was equally linked with Shihāb al-Dīn through Naṭanzī. However, Khʷāfī established his own chain, the Zayniyya, which spread into the Ottoman Empire (Trimingham, *Sufi orders*, 78). Although Khʷāfī has originally been portrayed as orthodox, he came to be associated with the Ḥurūfiyya and Bektāshiyya ([*q.v.*]; H. Norris, *Mirʾāt al-ṭālibīn*, 59).

2. *The order in India.* In the Indian Subcontinent, the Suhrawardiyya has been one of the four major orders, besides the Čishtiyya, Ḳādiriyya—which has now widely overtaken the Suhrawardiyya in popularity—and the Naḳshbandiyya. The brotherhood was introduced to India from the beginning of the Dihlī Sultanate (13th-16th centuries) by three disciples of Shihāb al-Dīn, who each founded a regional branch: Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274) in the area of Dihlī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 641-2/1244) in Bangāla, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ Multānī (d. 661/1262 [*q.v.*]) in Multān. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, a man of Ḳuraysh descent who joined Shihāb al-Dīn in Baghdād after having studied in Bukhārā, was the most successful propagator of the order, and his line became its centre in India. Among the contemporaries of Shihāb al-Dīn, Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī [*q.v.*] of Sīstān also entered India. He settled in Adjmēr, where he founded the Čishtiyya order [*q.v.*]. The Čishtiyya used the *ʿAwārif* as their manual of instruction. The Shaṭṭāriyya order [*q.v.*], whose chain also links with the Suhrawardiyya, was introduced to India at the end of the 9th/15th century.

The continuous history of the order can be traced best through the successors, *khalīfas*, of Bahāʾ al-Dīn. Among his disciples, Sayyid Djalāl Bukhārī (d. 690/1291), called Djalāl Surkh, migrated from Bukhārā to Uččh [*q.v.*], where he founded the Djalālī branch of the order. Djalāl Surkh was the grandfather and namesake of Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī [*q.v.*], the so-called Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (d. 785/1384). The Shīʿī dervish order of the Khāksār is almost certainly to be seen as a Persian development of this Djalālī-branch (Gramlich, *Derwischorden*, i, 71).

Bahāʾ al-Dīn's most famous disciple was the Ṣūfī and poet Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ʿIrāḳī [*q.v.*], who originated from the area of Hamadān (Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 605-6). After a stay of 25 years in Multān with Bahāʾ al-Dīn, he was appointed one of his *khalīfas*; however, after Bahāʾ al-Dīn's death he left Multān. A hereditary principle became established within the line of Bahāʾ al-Dīn with the appointment of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿĀrif (d. 684/1286) as his father's successor (Djāmī, 504).

Among Ṣadr al-Dīn's disciples, the most learned was Amīr Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī (d. after 720/1320; Rizvi, *History*, i, 206; see *Bibl.*) who exchanged letters with the mystic of Tabrīz, Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. 720/1320; Djāmī, 605). The successor of Ṣadr al-Dīn, however, was his son Rukn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ (d. 735/1334-5). The latter was succeeded, according to the hagiographers, by a nephew, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, 475-7) by his grandson *shaykh* Hūd. Although the sultan decided the ensuing dispute in favour of Hūd, he had the *shaykh* executed as a result of accusations of embezzlement against Hūd. With this episode, the fortune of Bahāʾ al-Dīn's splendid *khānaḳāh* in Multān came to an end. The order thereafter started to flourish in the areas of Uččh, Gudjarāt, the Pandjāb, Kashmīr and in Dihlī.

In Uččh, Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, "Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān" infused the *ṭarīḳa* with new life. Makhdūm was also initiated, by Čirāgh-i Dihlī [*q.v.*], into the Čishtiyya order. Despite Bahāʾ al-Dīn's insistence that his Ṣūfīs should join one order only, from the 8th/14th century, Indian Ṣūfīs often became affiliated with both the Čishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya orders. Makhdūm, noted for his puritanism, opposed religious customs followed by some Muslims which were specifically Indian; he also disapproved of invoking God by names in Hindi (Schimmel 33; see *Bibl.*). His brother and successor Ṣadr al-Dīn Rādjū (d. after 800/1400) earned the *shuhra* "Ḳattāl" on account of his religious militancy. The order of the Bukhārī Sayyids spread further through the sons and grandsons of Makhdūm and Sayyid Ḳattāl.

Whereas various disciples and descendants of the Makhdūm established themselves in the provincial kingdoms of Kalpī [*q.v.*] and also Gudjarāt, the centre in Dihlī was founded by *shaykh* Samāʿ al-Dīn (d. 901-2/1496), a second generation disciple of Rādjū Ḳattāl. Samāʿ al-Dīn is noted as an author who wrote under the influence of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* and ʿIrāḳī's *Lamaʿāt*. The leading figure among Samāʿ al-Dīn's disciples was Ḥāmid b. Djamālī Dihlawī (d. 942/1536 [*q.v.*]), a widely-known poet and great traveller. In Harāt, Djamālī had discussions with Djāmī [*q.v.*], whose belief that the *Lamaʿāt* were inspired through Ḳūnawī [see ṢADR AL-DĪN] he disputed.

The Indian Suhrawardiyya had the greatest impact, however, in Kashmīr [*q.v.*]. This was partly due to the support they received from migrant Ṣūfīs of the Kubrawiyya order. Rinchana, the king of Kashmīr and former Buddhist chief from Ladakh who embraced Islam in the 8th/14th century, is said to have been converted by Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn [see BULBUL SHĀH in *Suppl.*], a disciple of one of Shihāb al-Dīn's *khalīfas* in Turkestan. In the 9th/15th century, various Suhrawardī *shaykhs*, mainly of the branch of the Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān, kept Kashmīrī Ṣūfism alive. There were clashes between Suhrawardīs and Shīʿīs in the 10th/16th century under the Čāk [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dynasty which patronised Shīʿism.

(a) Relations with the rulers. In the Sultanate of Dihlī, the Suhrawardiyya was an aristocratic order which justified the possession of wealth and enjoyed state patronage. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, like his master Shihāb al-Dīn, willingly cooperated with the government, trying to influence it in turn; Iltutmish, of the line of "Slave Kings", moved his troops against the governor of Uččh apparently under Bahāʾ al-Dīn's influence. Thereafter, the sultan conferred upon Bahāʾ al-Dīn the title of the *Shaykh al-Islām* for Sind and Pandjāb. Bahāʾ al-Dīn's successors also maintained close relations with the rulers. The sultans of Gudjarāt were devoted to the Suhrawardī *shaykhs*, and high government officials attached themselves to Ṣūfism under their influence. Samāʿ al-Dīn of Dihlī blessed the sultan Sikandar Lōdī during his coronation, and his disciple Djamālī accompanied the crown prince Humāyūn [*q.v.*] on his campaigns. Djamālī's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Gadāʾī assumed the powerful post of *Ṣadr al-ṣudūr* [see ṢADR. 5] under emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] and his *samāʿ* assemblies were attended by the emperor.

(b) Attitude to Hinduism. The Suhrawardīs supported the enforced conversion of Hindus. Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī was active in converting Hindus and

Buddhists to Islam, which occasionally involved the destruction of a temple and its replacement by a *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*. The brotherhood demanded formal conversion to Islam as a pre-requisite to initiation in mysticism. In the main, however, it seems that the Suhrawardiyya only succeeded in converting Hindus of high caste (Rizvi, *op. cit.*, ii, 398).

(c) Some traits of Suhrawardī spirituality. The order played an important part in the preservation of the Prophetic tradition, on which their *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* wrote numerous works. Suhrawardī mysticism, orientated more towards classical Ṣūfī doctrine than to Ibn ʿArabī's philosophy, was fully orthodox. Relatively uninterested in austerities, the Suhrawardīs emphasised canonical prayer, *d̲h̲ikr* [*q.v.*] and fasting in Ramaḍān. Modifications of the form of *d̲h̲ikr* exercises as a result of encounters with Yogis may be observed for the Čis̲h̲tiyya, but not for the Suhrawardīs. The practice of prostration before the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* (*zamīn-būs*) adopted by the Čis̲h̲tiyya was rejected by the Suhrawardīs.

Regarding *samāʿ* [*q.v.*], the Suhrawardiyya were little inclined towards the appreciation of poetry or music. Already S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn had taken a reserved stance against audition parties (*ʿAwārif*, chs. 22-5). S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn also criticised (D̲j̲āmī, 589) Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī, a typical representative of the *s̲h̲āhid* theory, for his contemplation of beauty in sensible objects (Ritter, *op. cit.*, 473), which often formed part of *samāʿ* assemblies. Notwithstanding this, ʿIrāḳī, the poet and—like Kirmānī—advocate of *s̲h̲āhid-bāzī*, followed Bahāʾ al-Dīn as his spiritual preceptor. Under the inspiration of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the Čis̲h̲tiyya, some of Rukn al-Dīn's disciples propounded the licitness of *samāʿ*. The Suhrawardī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Amīr Ḥusaynī viewed *samāʿ* as the exclusive domain of the spiritual élite—a notion which is echoed in D̲j̲āmī's story (602) about Bahāʾ al-Dīn's vindication of ʿIrāḳī against his disciples' reproaches. Thus, on the whole, the order did not succeed in enforcing a total rejection of *samāʿ*.

3. *Some modern developments.* While in recent times the Suhrawardiyya has largely disappeared from some Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, in ʿIrāḳ the order still continued to recruit adherents. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the contemporary Suhrawardiyya in ʿIrāḳ traditionally belong to the family of the Bayt Ṣāliḥ al-K̲h̲aṭīb. Some of them served as professors at the Madrasat S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and as *k̲h̲aṭībs* at the mosque attached to it. One Suhrawardī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* mentioned in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Suhrawardī's *Lubb al-albāb* (Bag̲h̲dād 1933, ii, 463-5; cf. F. de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques*, 230) is said to have served as the *imām* of the army of the ʿIrāḳī government.

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(F. Sobieroj)

SŪḲ (a.), pl. *aswāḳ*, market.

1. In the traditional Arab world.
2. In the Muslim West.
3. In Cairo under the Mamlūks and Ottomans.
4. In Syria.
   (a) Damascus under the Ottomans.
   (b) Aleppo.
5. In ʿIrāḳ [see Suppl.].
6. In Persia.
7. In Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans.
8. In Muslim India.

1. In the traditional Arab world.

Sūḳ, market, is a loanword from Aramaic *s̲h̲ūḳā* with the same meaning. Like the French term *marché* and the English *market*, the Arabic word *sūḳ* has acquired a double meaning: it denotes both the commercial exchange of goods or services and the place in which this exchange is normally conducted. Analysis of the *sūḳ* is thus of interest to the economic and social historian as well as to the archaeologist and the urban topographer. The substantial textual documentation which is available has as yet been analysed only very partially and the phenomenon of the market, fundamental to the understanding of mediaeval Arab culture, has not, to the present writers' knowledge, been subjected to a thorough and comprehensive conceptual study.

Since the beginnings of urban civilisation in Mesopotamia and in Syria, from the third millennium onwards, the Middle East had seen the development of commercial activities, local and long distance. On the contributions of the mercantile tradition to Islamic civilisation, the reader is referred to a perceptive and useful monograph by Maxime Rodinson which appears as a preface to P. Chalmeta's important work *El Señor del zoco* (Madrid 1973). For M. Rodinson, the Arabic *sūḳ* could be associated with an ancient Semitic term, the Akkadian *sūḳu*, from a root evoking tightness (if *sūḳu* < *ṣūḳu*) and, in early Hebrew texts, with the term *s̲h̲ūḳ*, denoting streets and squares and used to translate the Greek ἀγορά and the Latin *forum*. Intermediate Jewish sources between the 3rd and 6th-7th centuries A.D. refer to various functionaries supervising the market in the Talmudic era. The function of market inspector had been inaugurated in Mesopotamia, and the Greek term had passed into the Aramaic language of the Jews of Babylon and of Palestine where

the Jewish authorities appointed agoranomes entitled to impose their own prices on the market.

The prominent role played by the market and its physical centrality in the Hellenistic and Roman world induced the state to take a keen interest in its workings. Thus attention may be drawn to the appearance, in Athens and elsewhere, of colleges of agoranomes, entrusted with supervision of the maintenance and good order of the agora, but above all responsible for checking the regularity of the transactions conducted there. The function of agoranome seems to have disappeared from Greek institutions 300 years before the Arab conquest (Foster, *Agoranomos and muḥtasib*, in *JESHO*, xiii [1970], 128-44). However, if a solution based on chronological continuity is to be rejected, the *ʿāmil ʿalā al-sūḳ*, or *walī al-sūḳ*, or *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*, who appeared from the outset of Islam, in the time of Muḥammad, may be associated with the agoranomes of Palmyra of the 3rd century, who had a more exalted municipal function than simple market-policing and whom a bilingual inscription also calls *rabb sūḳ*. While agoranomy disappeared after the 3rd century, market inspectors continued, however, to operate in the adjacent world of Arabia. Regarding the five centuries which followed the Muslim conquest, there was a dispute between Claude Cahen and Eliyahu Ashtor over the question of the permanence of urban institutions, including control of the markets, in the Arab Orient.

It is also important to recall the importance of commercial activity for pre-Islamic and Islamic civilisation. The socio-economic structures of pre-Islamic Arabia are still inadequately known and have given rise to divergent interpretations, but the importance accorded there to the transport and exchange of merchandise seems clear. According to Rodinson, several maritime *emporia* were in existence (Aden, ʿUmān, Ubulla), as well as temporary markets or fairs distributed throughout the year, *aswāḳ al-ʿArab*, although it is not known whether there was anything resembling a unified or regional organisation of such phenomena. M.A. Shaban followed Rodinson in writing: "It is impossible to think of Makka in terms other than trade; its only *raison d'être* was commerce" (*Islamic history*, Cambridge 1971, i, 3). However, Patricia Crone has recently disputed the excessive importance attributed to Mecca as regulator of trade between Yemen and Syria. Excavations in the Arabian Peninsula have revealed conurbations including a group of three linked buildings: sanctuary, seat of power and market (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, *Ḳaryat al-Fāw*, 1981). Muslim tradition holds that Mecca was inhabited and controlled by merchants when the Prophet Muḥammad received there the revelation of the Ḳurʾān; the latter contains allusions to the coming and going of caravans and to the fairs which were held twice a year, close to the city.

On numerous occasions, it is evident that concepts deployed in the Ḳurʾān—which was initially addressed to the population of Mecca, a town occupied essentially by traders—assumed the existence of a "market" economy, especially in references to the relations between God and human beings, established in terms "of reckonings, of just and precise equivalences, of selling and buying" (Chalmeta, *El Señor del zoco*, 53); thus God has "bought from the believers their selves and their goods in exchange for Paradise" (Ḳurʾān, IX, 112). The Prophet himself disconcerted the Ḳurays̲h̲ with his preaching in markets (XXV, 8). After the seizure of Mecca, Muḥammad is said to have appointed in this place Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ to serve as *ʿāmil ʿalā al-sūḳ*. There were also numerous *sūḳ*s in Medina when the Prophet established himself there; their style of organisation remains entirely unknown, but the names of some of them have been preserved, in particular those belonging to the Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ [*q.v.*]. In the time of Muḥammad, women exercised the function of *ʿāmila ʿalā al-sūḳ*, possibly because the majority of shoppers were also women. An incident in the life of the Prophet involves the arrival of Banū Sulaym nomads from the neighbourhood, bringing butter and livestock for trade. It is known furthermore that Muḥammad designated an open space as a *sūḳ*, forbade any building work on this site, and even had tents erected there.

The obligations imposed by God on his creatures, as well as the relations which God requires human beings to uphold among themselves—marriage, repudiation, inheritance, exchange of goods or services, recognition of the power of a political leader—are presented according to a general pattern comparable to that of commercial contracts, clearly committing the two parties, according to strictly codified formulae. The mechanisms of the "market", taken in the broadest sense of the term, thus play a fundamental role. "Ideology attributes to the market a supreme dominance over life on this earth," Rodinson writes, quoting al-G̲h̲azālī, who compares a spiritual with a material market: "Let the *sūḳ* of this world below do no injury to the *sūḳ* of the Hereafter, and the *sūḳ*s of the Hereafter are the mosques". This enables him to conclude: "The Muslim economy is essentially a market economy. It celebrates the triumph of the market, extending for the first time over a substantial area of the earth's surface". The Arabs created the first "common market" covering an enormous space, stretching from the shores of the Atlantic to the frontiers of China, from the estuaries of the Volga to the Sahara, constructed on a unity which was initially political, then cultural, creating an institutional identity from one end to the other of the *Dār al-Islām*.

It is reasonable to speculate on the extent to which the pro-commercial ideology of the new conquerors directly influenced their urban policy in captured or newly-established towns. Chalmeta (*Señor del zoco*, 141 ff.) stresses the importance of the building of *sūḳ*s at the orders of His̲h̲ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik: according to him, it was this period which saw clear evolution towards what is now recognisable as the *sūḳ*, and its ultimate transformation into the constructed *sūḳ*, an enclosure with gates, with permanent shops (*ḥānūt*), a base for the levying of taxes. H. Kennedy (*The impact of Muslim rule on the pattern of rural settlement in Syria*, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam*, Damascus 1992, 296-7) relies on the results of the excavation of a presumed Umayyad *sūḳ* at Palmyra in proposing the notion that the steppe region became, with the Arab conquest, a place of revived commercial activity after a late Byzantine phase of stagnation.

The desert was henceforward an active space, bordered by points which could be animated, among other activities, by commerce. An obvious point of reference here is the work of O. Grabar, *City in the desert*, Harvard 1978. The article by Roll and Ayalon, *The market street at Apollonia-Arsuf*, in *BASOR*, (1987), 61-76 describes a town of regional importance, the only harbour serving a quite extensive hinterland, where the elements of a *sūḳ* have been established: a narrow commercial street 2.5 m wide by 65 m in length, within the fortified town, which was apparently in use from the late 7th/early 8th century, where Umayyad coins have been found. In sum, however,

in the absence of publications in sufficient number on the Umayyad period and of firmly-established chronologies, questions remain unanswered, especially for major cities such as Aleppo and Damascus where the transformation of the large central avenues into a *sūḳ* follows a chronology which, since the work of Sauvaget (*Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas*, in *REI*, viii [1934]) is still far from clarified (on the functioning of *sūḳs* in towns created by the Arabs, see A.J. Naji and Y. Ali, *The Suqs of Basrah. Commercial organisation and activity in medieval Islamic society*, in *JESHO*, xxiv [1981], 298-309).

These urban transformations have an undeniable religious, social and judicial dimension. In the Arabo-Muslim world of the first five centuries, one of the most respected functions was that of the merchant/disseminator of *ḥadīth*, who enabled all the inhabitants of this region to acquire the same access both to the commodities of material culture and to the fundamental elements of religious culture. In mediaeval Arabic literature, religious as well as secular, the travelling merchant plays a predominant role: he transports the goods which he buys or sells from one market to another, between the time of the dawn prayer and the time of the midday prayer. Similarly, he memorises or diffuses prophetic traditions, from one mosque to another, between the afternoon prayer and the final prayer. The *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], a branch of Islamic legislation precisely defining the functions of the *muḥtasib*, a civilian official appointed by the *ḳāḍī* to uphold Islamic order in the town and, in particular, to supervise the markets, is well understood, since numerous texts concerning it, often very concrete and practical, have been preserved. As will be seen especially with regard to the towns of the Muslim West, these documents make it possible to follow the daily functioning of the *sūḳ*.

Whether it was a case of ancient cities captured by the Arabs or newly-founded ones, all maintained certain similar, essential functions. The pattern of organisation of these large urban areas is well known: in the centre of the city, the *djāmiʿ*-mosque and the governor's palace, *dār al-imāra*, constituted a local outpost of caliphal authority, communal prayer, upholding of Muslim order and levying of fiscal revenues. These buildings/institutions symbolised the town, a space for mediation between Arab tribes belonging to traditionally mutually hostile confederations, or between Arab Muslims and converted *mawālī*, or even between the various officially recognised religious communities, Muslims and *dhimmīs*. Immediately adjacent to the centre, along thoroughfares radiating from this nucleus and delimiting homogeneous areas, the *sūḳs* supplied the third function of these cities, being the provider of wealth, of the exchange of goods and services. These *sūḳs* comprised a series of broadly similar booths established on a segment of the road, deployed on one or on both sides of the latter according to the type of commercial activity and of product. These booths, of little depth, were fronted on the street by a bench: they could be overlooked by residential areas or separated by a rearward wall from such zones. The latter could accommodate the family of the trader or the artisan, but in general there was no access between them and the shop and they were occupied by families unrelated to the user of the premises.

In general, each type of commerce was concentrated on both sides of one of the radial routes linking the central square to each of the gates, a sector to which it gave its name. Traditionally, close to the Great Mosque, in the heart of the city, were located the sellers of manuscripts and the copyists, *kutubī*; suppliers of perfumes, *ʿaṭṭār*, and of fine leather, slippers and furs; and trades associated with precious metals; changers, *ṣarrāf*, goldsmiths, jewellers, *ṣā'igh*, *djawharī*, trades often practised by Christian or Jewish artisans. Large central markets sold quality fabrics and items of clothing. Closer to the gates were those practising noisier crafts: carpenters, joiners and manufacturers of copper or brass objects, the latter often being Jews or Christians. Close by the gates of the citadel were saddlers and the sellers of weapons, such as swords, sabres, lances, bows and quivers. In the section of the town easily accessible to Bedouins, there were sellers of felt or cloth for tents, ropes, fur-lined capes, utensils and all other essentials for living in the steppelands. Located outside the city were those businesses which required abundant space or easy access to running water, or those which were dirty and malodorous: fullers, dyers, tanners, potters, wholesalers of fruit and vegetables, *sūḳ al-biṭṭīkh*, traders in sheep, horses, donkeys, mules, camels (on the variety of craft and commercial activities in the Middle Ages, see the list compiled by Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the medieval Islamic world*, Leiden 1994, 255-323).

Besides these linear *sūḳs*, there existed agglomerations located in the enclosed structures of a continuous wall, breached by an easily-controlled monumental gate, structures of one or two storeys, surrounding a space open to the sky. Often of considerable size these buildings were denoted by various terms: *ḳaysāriyya* [*q.v.*] (imperial establishment for the protection of stages on major commercial routes), *funduḳ* [*q.v.*] (hostel, *fondaco*, place for the lodging of visitors to the town), *khān* [*q.v.*], *wakāla* (meeting-place for commercial agents), *rabʿ* [*q.v.*] (facilities for temporary accommodation concentrated in a single building), *ḥawsh* (enclosed area, urban or suburban, of rural aspect, a yard of beaten earth, where cattle or poor immigrants could be accommodated) and when situated away from towns, isolated on commercial routes, *karawānsarāy* (from the Persian "caravan" and "palace", caravanserai).

Large in scale, supplied with lodgings, stables, sometimes with a mosque and a public bath, and comprising substantial warehouses, *makhzan*, *ḥāṣil*, the *ḳaysāriyyas* could maintain a high level of bulk trading, storage and processing by means of the workshops often located on the site. Situated either outside or within the city, close to a gate or linked to it by a well-proportioned street, these massive structures could be easily reached by heavily-laden dromedaries. The merchandise, resold semi-wholesale or retail, was distributed, outside these enclosed markets, through the narrow streets of the city, transported by donkeys or porters. These enclosures, set apart for a series of well-defined and restricted commercial or industrial activities, provided governments with an easy framework for operating fiscal levies [see MAKS], and the single gate, which could be locked, made it possible during the night to segregate transients from resident citizens. They were in fact the forerunners of customs offices. In Fusṭāṭ, from the Fāṭimid period onward, sales outlets specialising in the commerce of cheese, carpets, eggs or jewellery were leased on behalf of such a *dīwān* supplying the financial needs of Kutāmī Berber soldiers or other social groups (al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr, al-ḳism al-ta'rīkhī*, Cairo 1978, index, 134, s.v. *dār*; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987, i, 209, n. 1, bibl. of Dār Mānik; idem, *Le fonctionnement des dīwāns financiers*

d'après al-Musabbiḥī, in *AI*, xxvi [1992], 47-61).

Foodstuffs harvested on the land adjacent to the towns, often processed in urban or suburban workshops, were introduced into networks of exchange covering a vast expanse between the Atlantic and Central Asia, while merchandise originating from other horizons was offered to local consumers. The *sūḳ*, like the *ḳaysāriyya*, was thus the indispensable link between the city, its neighbouring territory and the *Dār al-Islām*. What is not properly understood is the mode of interaction between these *sūḳ*s and other urban commercial institutions, and those market sites which were temporary, mostly rural and located outside the town (see, in this connection, the typology of Chalmeta, *El Señor del zoco*, 71-198). Mediaeval geographers often refer to the rural markets of the Maghrib; thus al-Idrīsī, describing the still very fragmentary structure of Meknès in the period prior to his own time, indicates that at a certain distance from the nuclei of population, in the process of transforming themselves into a town, there existed an ancient rural market site, still functioning, called *al-sūḳ al-ḳadīma*, "a flourishing market to which people come from near and far every Thursday and where all the tribes of the Banū Miknās are gathered". Still in the Maghrib, a hypothesis of "non-evolution" of the places of concentration of rural products into towns has been put forward by A. Adam, *L'Agadir berbère: une ville manquée?*, in *ROMM*, xxvi (2nd quarter 1978), 5-12.

Whatever may have been the importance of places of rural exchange (and it must again be stressed that very little is known on the subject), the Muslim travellers of the Middle Ages who describe the towns of the *Dār al-Islām* define them principally by the presence of a great mosque and of markets. In the eyes of the peasantry of the regions surrounding the town, it is also, apparently, the market which constitutes its most specific element. Thus—outside the Arab domain—P. Centlivres, *Un bazar de l'Asie centrale* (Wiesbaden 1972), notes that the country folk living in the villages situated in the environs of Tāshḳurghān, in Afghānistān, refer to the town itself, in its entirety, by the term *bāzār*, synonym of *sūḳ*. In certain towns of the Maghrib, merchants are forbidden to conclude, except within the confines of the market and during its times of functioning, any transaction with peasants from the neighbourhood of the town; this is for the economic protection of the producer against the malice of a buyer operating outside the normal framework of competition (Chalmeta, *El Señor del zoco*, 83-6, 123, 212-13).

According to their range of activity or the circles in which they operate, it is possible to distinguish between different types of merchants and of "markets": Chalmeta places in totally different categories the shopkeeper (*ḥawāntī*) and the major trader (*tādjir*), corresponding to two quite distinct economic circuits. In the *K. al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, the Fāṭimid-period author al-Dimashḳī identifies the *khazzān*, the sedentary merchant who, by means of stocking or destocking, plays on variations of price as influenced by space, time and the quantities of the commodities traded; the *rakkāḍ*, the itinerant trader who owes his profits to his knowledge of the differences in purchase and sale prices according to the places where the transactions take place; and the *mudjahhiz*, the purveyor, who supplies travellers with all that they need (Y. Essid, *A critique of the origins of Islamic thought*, Leiden 1995, 220-8). Thus I. Lapidus stresses, in Mamlūk Egypt, the independence of the local and long-distance commercial circuits, the latter continuing to prosper while the former declined. At the risk of over-simplification, it should be possible first to define the "shopkeeper", dealing in local products, living in a universe of limited intellectual and economic horizons. In ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, this class of shopkeepers, with its thoroughly practical daily concerns, seems often to have been inspired by Ḥanbalism. The larger traders, sedentary wholesalers or travelling merchants, capable of more complex economic calculations since they need to take into account the risks of long-distance transport were attracted by Shāfiʿism, Ashʿarism, or eventually Ismāʿīlism in the East, Mālikism or Khāridjism in the West. Major financiers close to the centres of power, juggling with substantial abstract sums, tended rather towards Ḥanafism or Twelver Shīʿism or even Ismāʿīlism.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also TIDJĀRA. (TH. BIANQUIS and P. GUICHARD)

2. In the Muslim West.

In the Occident as well, the geographers refer to the countless *sūḳ*s which constituted the commercial heart of Muslim towns in all western regions. The diversity of these *sūḳ*s is well illustrated, for example, by Ibn Ḥawḳal, in the description which he provides of the markets of Palermo in the 4th/10th century, for which he lists some twenty-five different specialities (traders in oil, corn, fish, meat and vegetables, smiths, apothecaries, money-changers, drysalters, cobblers, tanners, joiners, potters, embroiderers, polishers, etc.). Regarding the late Middle Ages, the index of Brunschvig's survey of Ḥafṣid Tunisia (*La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides, des origines à la fin du XV^e^ siècle*, 2 vols., Paris 1940-1947) names some fifty different *sūḳ*s. It would seem to be appropriate to seek out, through detailed study of a town such as Fez on the eve of the colonial period, the still vibrant modern echo of these ancient structures (see Le Tourneau's classic work on *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949). It is evident that cities of the western Mediterranean linked to the Muslim world were remodelled according to patterns emanating from the East, or were constructed according to the same principles in the case of new foundations.

As regards the Maghrib, it is however somewhat difficult to glean precise information on the topographical and economic organisation of *sūḳ*s in the Middle Ages. It is known that at al-Ḳayrawān, before the Fāṭimids transferred commercial activities to Ṣabra Manṣūriyya, the sector of the *sūḳ*s extended along the Simāṭ, a main street which, traversing the whole city from gate to gate, skirting the Great Mosque and fringed by two rows of shops, served as the city's principal thoroughfare. In 275/888-9, at the time of the "insurrection of the dirhams", following a monetary reform ordered by the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm II, the traders closed their shops and rose in revolt. Calm having been restored after a skirmish between the local militia and the Ḳayrawānīs, the *amīr* sent a vizier to parade along this *simāṭ* as a means of appeasing the inhabitants (al-Bakrī, 25-6/59; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Colin/Lévi-Provençal and tr. Fagnan, i, 114/158). Also for the 3rd/9th century in Ifrīḳiyya, a very interesting source exists, the *Aḥkām al-sūḳ* of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, containing a wealth of detail regarding the daily life of the *sūḳ* (ed. Makkī in *RIEI*, iv [1956], 59-152 and tr. García Gómez, *Unas ordenanzas del zoco del siglo IX*, in *al-Andalus*, xii [1957], 253-316). But besides this compilation of judicial consultations relating to the *sūḳ*, Maghribī literature specifically concerning markets is rather meagre, and it would be necessary, for a clear understanding of

the market economy in the mediaeval Maghrib, to gather together a very dispersed and often allusive stock of documentation, since the sources currently available do not seem to allocate much importance to the "market".

In his synthesis of the politico-administrative institutions of the mediaeval Maghrib, Hopkins (*Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, London 1958, 135-6) supplies very little information on the administration of the market. The paucity of references to the specific jurisdiction of the *ḥisba* even leads him to believe that it was in fact the *ḳāḍī* who directly assumed the function of *muḥtasib*. Sometimes, the latter would even have been the personal prerogative of the sovereign himself: twice a month, the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf is supposed to have called together the *umanāʾ* (s. *amīn*) responsible for each of the professions to report to him on the state of the markets. The sources do, however, mention at about the same time a *muḥtasib* of Marrakesh. Atallāh Dhina, in his comprehensive survey of state institutions of the Muslim West in the 13th-15th centuries, supplies no additional information.

In his study of Zīrid Ifrīḳiya, Idris makes virtually no mention of magistrates being in charge of a single market, which in his opinion was the responsibility of a kind of secondary judge, distinct from the *ḳāḍī* and called *ḥākim*, probably exercising supervision over the *umanāʾ* responsible for the different professions, or a *nāẓir al-sūḳ*, mentioned in a document of 430/1038 (*Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, 2 vols., Paris 1962, 549-51). Besides a fairly thorough nomenclature (names of *sūḳ*s, straightforward mention of the *sūḳ*s of such and such a locality), *sūḳ*s, as a concrete reality, appear hardly at all in Brunschvig's survey of Ḥafṣid Tunisia, although there is mention there of the creation of markets by sovereigns (30, 345), and details of the revenues levied by the state on the different markets in the mid-8th/14th century (239-40). But under the Ḥafṣids, the role of the *muḥtasib*, if indeed it existed, had little importance (149-50). Regarding the late Middle Ages, the *Risāla fi ʾl-ḥisba* of al-Djārsifī, which dates from *ca.* 700/1300, nevertheless gives an interesting insight into the life of the urban proletariat of the *sūḳ*s in the towns of the western Maghrib, if, as Chalmeta believes, the work was indeed written in Fez or in Tlemcen and not in the Naṣrid kingdom as has also been suggested.

The situation in al-Andalus is quite different from that of the Maghrib. There the *sūḳ*s are in fact one of the better understood aspects of the economic history of the country, illuminated as they are by numerous texts of *ḥisba*. This type of source appears to be an Andalusian speciality, taking account of the fact that Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, cited above, was of Andalusian origin, considering also the doubts which remain over the geographical localisation of the work of al-Djārsifī. Information regarding Cordova is, however, not perhaps quite as precise, or abundant (in particular from a topographical and institutional point of view) as could be hoped. The description of the *sūḳ*s of the caliphal capital supplied by Lévi-Provençal (*Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, iii, 1967, 299-305) is very general and is based principally on his knowledge of the "traditional city" in western (Maghribī) Islam, and on data gleaned from manuals of *ḥisba* of which only one, the *Risāla* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, dates from the caliphal period (ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955; tr. R. Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i [1960], 5-38). A useful point emerging from this survey is the indication that the corporative system, which is thought to have operated in towns of the ʿAbbāsid East, did not exist in al-Andalus: there were no professional "corporations" as such, only *amīn*s or *ʿarīf*s recognised by the authorities and serving as responsible intermediaries between them and each profession (302). Chalmeta's fundamental work supplies much more abundant information.

Besides the information, perhaps rather theoretical, which may be drawn from it regarding the jurisdiction of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ/muḥtasib* of caliphal Cordova (relating to the supervision of prayer, marriages, etc.), the *Risāla fī adab al-ḥisba* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf provides some interesting details concerning the regulation of the *sūḳ*s of Cordova in the 4th/10th century, weights and measures and the types of fraud likely to be committed by artisans and merchants. But the two most important texts for the study of the *sūḳ* in al-Andalus are: the *Risāla fi ʾl-ḳaḍāʾ wa ʾl-ḥisba* by Ibn ʿAbdūn, which contains a wealth of detail regarding control of the market of Seville *ca.* 1100 A.D. (published by Lévi-Provençal in the afore-mentioned *Trois traités* and translated by him in *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle*, Paris 1947), and the *Kitāb fī adab al-ḥisba* by al-Saḳaṭī, which supplies similar information regarding Malaga of about a century later (ed. G.S. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba, traité d'Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad as-Saḳaṭī de Malaga*, 1931; tr. P. Chalmeta in *Al-Andalus*, xxxii [1967], 125-62, 365-97, and xxxiii [1968], 143-95, 367-434). All of these texts, which cover norms of activity for those responsible for the market, the regulations which they are expected to apply and safeguards against the more blatant forms of fraud, are more concerned with the control of professions and the policing of the market, thus its functioning and practical reality, than with the broader function of the *ḥisba*.

This seems to be due to the specifics of this control of the market in al-Andalus, where the Umayyad tradition seems to have preserved, better than was the case in the ʿAbbāsid East, a post for the policing of commercial activities, the one responsible retaining the title of *walī al-sūḳ* or *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*. There is no doubt of the existence of a particular magistrate entrusted with the *wilāyat al-sūḳ*, distinct from the *wilāyat al-madīna* since the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥman II (206-38/822-52). Information is available concerning numerous jurists who exercised this function, which was closely involved with the practical regulation of economic life, and constituted one of the echelons of a kind of *cursus honorum* of magistratures and senior official posts (Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, for example, seems to have been successively *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*, *wālī al-madīna*, then *wazīr*). For P. Chalmeta, confusion with the *ḥisba* was a late and rather deliberate development in al-Andalus, and among the populace, the functionary entrusted with this role was still seen primarily as "controller of the market". The later treatise, that of al-Saḳaṭī, is also the more precise and more vivid in regard to the ingenuity of fraudulent practices, the composition and manufacture of products: it provides an exceptionally clear insight into the daily life of a *sūḳ* which seems principally devoted to the promotion of a multiplicity of small and highly specialised businesses.

The Andalusian treatises often paint a detailed and colourful picture of a world of impecunious small tradesmen and rogues, seeming to exist on the very edge of survival. They have little to say of higher-level commercial activities, and are almost silent on the subject of costly merchandise (where luxury products are mentioned, it is their manufacture which is

described, rather than their marketing: thus for example the brocades and silk fabrics cited by Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, p. 353 of R. Arié's translation). Chalmeta draws a firm distinction between the closed world of small artisans and merchants of the *sūḳ* as such, defined by him as *ḥawāntī*, and the much more open one of the major traders, *tudjdjār*, who were not, in his opinion, subject to the jurisdiction of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*. He stresses the separation of the two commercial circuits, local and long distance, which in his view had very little in the way of coordination or interaction with each other, and even developed in divergent directions. In her study of commerce—and particularly large-scale commerce—in al-Andalus, O.R. Constable, while slightly modifying the notion of the non-intervention of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* in long distance commerce (in areas such as the supervision of vessels and of ports), agrees that texts dealing with control of the Andalusian *sūḳ* leave aside almost entirely precious products, major commerce and major traders. She believes that others were entrusted with this charge, but concedes that the sources say virtually nothing on the subject (*Trade and traders in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge 1994). It would probably be necessary to distinguish between different types of town. For his part, H. Ferhat provides a picture of Ceuta, a town which could be considered as representing Andalusian civilisation, where, in the 13th-14th centuries, "all the in habitants were merchants, settlers, traders and mariners" (*Sabta des origines au XIV[e] siècle*, Rabat 1993, 308 and *passim*, in particular the whole of the very interesting chapter on commerce, 305-45).

It would be helpful to have a better knowledge of the precise geography of the places, in the city, where commercial activities were practised. The *sūḳ* in the strict sense, the *ḳaysāriyyas* (article by L. Torres Balbas on the *Alcaicerías* in *Al-Andalus*, xiv [1949], 431-55; detailed description of a surviving edifice, the current Corral del Carbón of Granada), *funduḳs*, open markets, certainly also played an important role, without counting the extramural and rural markets, which are often evoked but of which virtually nothing is known (cf. for example Brunschvig, ii, 235; Chalmeta, 75-102). A systematic analysis of texts of all kinds would perhaps facilitate a more accurate identification of the places where different types of commercial transaction were concluded. A passage from the *Tashawwuf* of al-Tādilī (singled out as representing a somewhat exceptional case by H. Ferhat, *Sabta*, 310) refers for example to a purchase of corn made some time in the mid-12th century at Azemmour, by an Andalusian merchant who intended to export it to Malaga; the deal was struck in the port and not in the *sūḳ* (ed. A. Tawfīḳ, 1404/1984, 190).

Reference has been made above to a list of the revenues of different sales locations in Tunis in the 14th century cited by Brunschvig: it emphasises the meagre revenue of *sūḳ*s as such in comparison with the receipts earned by markets in public places and by *funduḳ*s. A survey which is currently in progress of collections of *fatwā*s of the Muslim West will perhaps facilitate a better understanding of the organisation of the "market" in its entirety (V. Lagardère). A detailed study of the traffic in slaves at Cordova has been conducted by M. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf in his *Ḳurṭuba al-Islāmiyya*, Tunis 1984, 113 ff., on the basis of the *fatwā*s of Ibn Sahl. But a more precise analysis of commercial activities as a whole and of the *sūḳ* as a physical commercial site often remains unattainable, in the absence of effective archives. Reference may be made for example to a judicial review conducted by a *wazīr ṣāḥib al-aḥkām wa 'l-sūḳ* of Cordova who, in 458/1066, intervened in a transaction involving a company consisting of two brothers, one based in Cordova and the other in Fez, who were in dispute with a third party to whom they had forwarded a number of dīnārs as payment for the manufacture on their behalf of ten pieces of silk, apparently for export (V. Lagardère, *Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Age. Analyse du Miʿyār d'al-Wanšarīsī*, Madrid 1995, 355). This would seem to contradict the notion expressed above that long-distance trade was immune from the jurisdiction of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ*, but this is only one particular case among many others which should be cited.

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(P. Guichard)

3. In Cairo under the Mamlūks and Ottomans.

The installation of political and military power in the Citadel of Cairo, effected by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), definitively opened up the Fāṭimid foundation of al-Ḳāhira [*q.v.*] to indigenous settlement and to economic activities which the privileged status of the city had not, however, greatly hindered: specialised markets are mentioned there from 364/975 onward, and al-Maḳrīzī has compiled a list, already long, of commercial centres dating back to the Fāṭimid period. But with the Ayyūbids the trend became more pronounced: the Andalusian traveller Ibn Saʿīd, who resided in Cairo between 638/1241 and 646/1249, then between 658/1260 and 675/1277, describes the stalls which invaded the square known as Between-the-two-palaces, *Bayn al-ḳaṣrayn*, robbing it of the dignity which it owed to the vision of the sultans who constructed it. The gradual decline of Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] contributed to this evolution.

It was in the Mamlūk period that the market quarter experienced the expansion which is described by the *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maḳrīzī, with their list of *sūḳ*s and of caravanserais and the precise localisation which they make possible. Although this census is probably not exhaustive, and although it is located in a period of relative decline in Cairo, it may be considered to give a reasonably accurate impression of what the market sector used to be under the Mamlūks. The area devoted to economic activities extended on both sides of the great Fāṭimid avenue, the Ḳaṣaba, between Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla. In a space of some forty hectares, 48 markets were concentrated (out of the 87 located by al-Maḳrīzī in Cairo) and 44 caravanserais (out of a total of 58). This was the site for the most important mercantile activities of Cairo. Other specialised markets were located alongside several major roads leading towards the suburbs, while elsewhere markets tended to be non-specialised ("small markets", *suwayḳa*) supplying products required for daily consumption.

The markets, *sūḳ*s, were open structures, located along roads or at road intersections, the conglomeration of shops generally having no architectural distinction. In these markets, professional specialisation was the rule, each activity occupying a fixed sector of the city, as is well indicated by al-Maḳrīzī's description. Although the terms qualifying them are quite variable (al-Maḳrīzī uses, in different cases, the words *funduḳ*, *ḳaysāriyya*, *khān* and *wakāla*), the caravanserais served similar functions (major commerce, wholesale trade and accommodation for merchants) and maintained a fairly constant architectural structure. These square or rectangular buildings opened on the street by means of a single, covered, monumental gateway;

their central courtyard, open to the sky, gave access to shops on ground-level, above which were accommodation facilities for traders. They were sometimes surmounted by a *rab*ʿ [*q.v.*], a building available for rent, comprising a variable number of apartments. Such is the appearance of the few specimens which have survived, from what is admittedly a rather late period: two *wakālas* constructed by Ḳāʾit Bāy in the centre of Cairo (881/1477, class. no. 75) and near the Bāb al-Naṣr (885/1480, no. 9), al-G͟hūrī's *wakāla* (909/1504, no. 64), monuments of remarkable architectural quality, considering their utilitarian function.

The district of markets and caravanserais which occupied the centre of Cairo reflected the evolution of the city as a whole during the Mamlūk era, with a phase of expansion and prosperity in the first half of the 9th/15th century, a period of decline between 748/1348 and 802/1400, and finally a period of restoration under the reigns of the sultans Barsbāy, Ḳāʾit Bāy, and Ḳānṣūh al-G͟hūrī in particular. To the last-mentioned sovereign is owed the construction of the K͟hān al-K͟halīlī (917/1511), the design of which evokes the Ottoman *bedesten*: this major commercial centre was furthermore intended for the Turkish merchants whose swelling numbers in Cairo were like a presage of the Ottoman conquest. The increasing importance of the Mediterranean in the life of the Mamlūk empire was also reflected by the decline of Old Cairo and the expansion of Būlāḳ [*q.v.*], which had become Cairo's principal outer harbour.

The Ottoman period (923-1213/1517-1798) was marked by an overall expansion of the city of Cairo, the population of which increased from 150,000-200,000 inhabitants, in 1517, to 250,000 in 1798; no doubt the numbers were higher still *ca.* 1750, when the town was at its zenith. This development is explained by the economic progress which led to the integration into the Ottoman empire of Egypt and of other Arab provinces: Aleppo evolved in much the same way as Cairo. On the other hand, Egypt continued to be an active centre of oriental commerce, in particular with the growth of the trade in coffee, which reached its highest point of prosperity between 1650 and 1750.

The economic dynamism of Cairo was illustrated by a remarkable extension of the central business area, on both sides of the Ḳaṣaba, to cover an area which may be estimated at some sixty hectares. In this region were included 57 markets (out of a total of 144) and 228 caravanserais (out of a total of 348), figures which give an impression of the development of business in Cairo since the Mamlūk period. The principal centres were the K͟hān al-K͟halīlī, the Bunduḳāniyyīn, the G͟hūriyya and the region of al-Azhar, with important extensions in the region of the D͟jamāliyya (trade with Palestine and Syria) and of Amīr al-D͟juyūs͟h. This was the zone dominated by the trade in coffee (no fewer than 62 *wakālas*) and in fabrics. The expansion of the city had led to the establishment of secondary nuclei of commercial activity, situated closer to the outskirts of the city. The most important were those of Bāb al-S͟haʿriyya (8 markets and 14 caravanserais), of Bāb Zuwayla (15 and 16 respectively), of Sūḳ al-Silāḥ-Rumayla (11 and 17), and of Ibn Ṭūlūn (9 and 14). The remarkable prosperity of Būlāḳ, in particular in the 10th/16th century, testifies to the importance of commercial connections within the empire; 65 caravanserais are cited there in 1798.

Commercial structures had undergone few changes since the Mamlūk period. Markets, *sūḳ*, were normally groups of shops, *dukkān*, *ḥānūt*, of such simple structure and low cost that they could be constructed in large numbers, often in the framework of pious foundations, *waḳf*. But Cairo has preserved an example of a market of architectural quality, the "Riḍwān *ḳaṣaba*", built by the *amīr* Riḍwān Bāy *ca.* 1640, to the south of Bāb Zuwayla: this covered market, which extends over some 50 m, comprises a double row of shops, a *rab*ʿ and a *wakāla* (class. nos. 406, 408). The caravanserais, henceforward known as *wakāla* (the term *k͟hān* being employed only in a small number of cases), had retained the pattern of their Mamlūk models: warehouses, *ḥāṣil*, and tiered accommodation, *ṭabaḳa*, ranged around a courtyard. But although their price could be exorbitant (a million *paras*), these were purely functional buildings with decoration reduced to the minimum: a monumental doorway and windows, *mas͟hrabiyya*, projecting from exterior and interior façades. The D͟hu 'l-Fiḳār Katk͟hudā *wakāla* (1084/1673, no. 19) constitutes the relatively rare example of a monumental structure designed horizontally (covering an area of 2,625 m^2), perhaps as a result of Syrian influences. The Bazarʿa *wakāla* (end of the 11th/17th century, no. 398) is a monument of very traditional vertical structure (area: 1,125 m^2), surmounted by a *rab*ʿ. The largest caravanserais were built at Būlāḳ, in the 10th/16th century: the Ḥasan Pas͟ha *wakāla* (7,560 m^2) and K͟harnūb *wakāla* (3,840 m^2). These exceptional dimensions are accounted for by the dynamism of this outer harbour and by the wealth of the governors of Cairo who often financed such buildings at this time.

The impressive scale of this economic investment reflects the activity of the city of Cairo, whose decline, due to internal causes (political crisis after 1186/1773, famines and devastating epidemics after 1194/1780) and external factors (effects of western commercial competition, perceptible from 1750 onward), was not to become irreversible until the last two decades of the 12th/18th century.

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(A. RAYMOND)

4. In Syria.

(a) Damascus under the Ottomans.

When the Ottomans entered Damascus in 923/1517, the topographical separation of skilled and commercial activities had been in effect since the Mamlūk period. It is true that already in 803/1402, the city had been sacked by Tīmūr and the leading representatives of the urban professions deported, with their families, towards Samarḳand (Ibn Ḳāḍī S͟huhba, *Taʾrīk͟h*, iv, year 803 [1400-1]); numerous *sūḳs* had ceased to function and some crafts had disappeared at least temporarily, especially the artistic professions

which depended on the patronage of the Mamlūk *amīrs*. However, these activities were gradually revived and at the end of the 9th/15th century, 139 *sūḳs* and 117 professions were counted by Ibn al-Mabrad (*Nuzha*, supplemented by his *Iʿānāt* and *K. al-ḥisba*). Once mapped, this information makes it possible to locate within the city (Ṣāliḥiyya, a major suburb separated from Damascus by gardens, preserved its autonomy with its *sūḳs*, its *khāns* and its *muḥtasib*) three sectors combining the majority of economic activities: a central intramural sector and, outside the enclosure, starting from a large square "under the Citadel", two great perpendicular axes, the one to the north, *al-ṭarīḳ al-sulṭānī*, following the left bank of the Baradā towards the northern towns and the villages of the Ghūṭa, and the other leading towards the south, *al-ṭarīḳ al-ʿuẓmā*, in the direction of the Holy Places and of the Ḥawrān.

The central intramural sector which, in the 6th/12th century was firmly implanted to the east of the Great Mosque, was gradually transferred towards the west and the south-west; it was henceforward located (with the 40 or so *sūḳs* recorded by Ibn al-Mabrad) in a zone bounded to the east by the Umayyad Mosque, to the west by the "intersection" of Bāb al-Barīd, to the south by the Street called Straight, the western part of which developed in the first quarter of the 9th/15th century, after the ravages of the Mongols, with the foundation of the Djakmak *sūḳ*, where two *khāns* of the Mamlūk period, Djaḳmaḳ and Dikka (a site for the sale of slaves transferred in the Ottoman period to the al-Ḥaramayn *khān*, also called the *djiwār khān*) are still in existence today. This sector concentrated in a series of *sūḳs* and *ḳaysāriyyas*, situated on these two axes and the perpendicular streets linking them, with certain traditional crafts, the principal commercial activities of the city. These comprised wholesale and retail sale of luxury or quality products in the immediate proximity of the Great Mosque, of superior merchandise on the periphery (the Street called Straight): markets for fabrics (and clothing) of silk, cotton and wool, for furs, a *sūḳ* for spices and drugs, markets for gold, silver, jewellery, weapons, a small *sūḳ* of copyists and booksellers, leatherwork and the manufacture of high quality shoes, carders and rope-makers.

Outside the walls to the north and west, at the gates and on the two major perpendicular arteries skirting the walls, *sūḳs* requiring extensive space developed, along with noisy or malodorous crafts, combining production and sale aimed at both urban and rural consumers. To the North, on the esplanade called "Under the Citadel", were markets which were transferred thither at the beginning of the Mamlūk period from the interior of the town (Sauvaget, *Décrets mamelouks*) in the interest of space: every morning, markets for horses and pack-animals were held, and on Friday morning that for camels and cattle. Around this space, which was animated by a variegated crowd of shoppers and strollers who came to be amused by public entertainers, were installed specialised markets "more or less closely associated with military life and the raising of horses" (traders in clothing and items of equipment, craftsmen dealing in metal and in wood, saddlers, manufacturers of panniers and of sieves, straw merchants) which had followed the livestock markets when the latter were transferred, markets of poor quality fabrics, and markets of fruit and vegetables (Dār or Khān al-Biṭṭīkh).

Towards the east, as far as the gate of Bāb al-Farādīs, were markets tending to specialise in the manufacture and sale of various consumer goods, giving their names to each part of the area (shoes for peasants, wooden boxes, domestic utensils and tools of iron or copper, flea-markets, etc.). Tanneries, which required abundant water, and also on account of the nuisance and the pollution that they engendered had been concentrated since the Middle Ages to the east, in the proximity of the Baradā river between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb Tūmā—these remained there until the early 1950s, and for a long time constituted an obstacle to the expansion of the city in this sector. On both sides of the major perpendicular artery, leading southward from the esplanade to Bāb al-Djābiya, various businesses associated with foodstuffs (sellers of vegetables, fruits, pastries, cooked meats, etc.) catered for strollers and itinerant visitors, in the vicinity of the *sūḳs* of wood-turners and of basket-weavers.

Outside these three major sectors and beyond the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, the southern gate, close to the gardens of the Ghūṭa, were located *sūḳs* of manufacturers of agricultural implements, wood-carvers, and the market for pigeons, the rearing of which was a popular pastime among Damascenes. Further to the south, in the suburb of Mīdān, were situated the markets for sheep and activities associated with the wholesale trade in vital consumer goods: transported from the Ḥawrān and also from the Biḳāʿ. Cereals were stored in open, unroofed spaces (*ʿaraṣāt*) in the Mamlūk period and, in the Ottoman period, warehoused in specially constructed closed buildings (*ḥāṣil* or *bāʾika*).

Manufacturing activities linked to the flourishing textile industry, in which numerous craftsmen were engaged, could not be gathered together in a single place; they were practised in shops or workshops dispersed throughout the city, some professions even being pursued in the home (Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs*). Some concentrations may however be noted: the Bāb al-Sarīdja and Ḳabr ʿĀtika (Ṣabbāgh, *Wathīḳa*), *khāns* accommodated workshops of weavers who produced a fabric (*ʿātikī*) sufficiently renowned to be exhibited in the markets of Cairo in the 11th/17th century (Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, index); installed nearby were craftsmen who produced the equipment (combs, shuttles, etc.) necessary for this industry. Later, in the 13th/19th century, weaving-shops are mentioned in districts to the south of Mīdān (von Kremer, *Topographie*).

In the intramural *sūḳs*, sources of the Mamlūk period mention numerous *ḳaysāriyyas*. Edifices dedicated to specific forms of commerce, they had the form of a gallery closed at both ends by gates, with a groundfloor of shops; in the centre were a water basin and one or more *maḳʿads*, each provided with a coffer (*khizāna*); and on the upper floor were warehouses (*makhzan*) or lodgings (*ṭabaḳa*) reached by an external staircase (*Waḳfiyyat al-Umawī*, fol. 49a). In the Ottoman period, governors of the province and local dignitaries built a score of large caravanserais, including a *bazzāzistān* or *bedesten* [*q.v.*], a base for traders in luxury fabrics, and they also built *sūḳs* in this central sector. These *khāns*, taking the place of the *ḳaysāriyyas*, closed and guarded at night, were constructed of freestone on two levels around an open central courtyard and, in more specifically Ottoman style, covered entirely by cupolas, the best examples being the al-Djūkhiyya *khān* of the 10th/16th century or the Asʿad Bāshā one of the 12th/18th century; they provided warehouses on the groundfloor, sometimes hostelries on the upper level, and they supplied, like the *ḳaysāriyyas* before them and along with the *sūḳs*, a significant proportion of the revenues for *waḳfs*.

Outside the major sectors which had concentrations of specialised markets, each district of the city—as was asserted by J. Sauvaget and confirmed for the Mamlūk period by Ibn al-Mabrad and for the Ottoman period by an Ottoman census of 1827-8 (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*, no. 19450, from 1243/1227-8)—possessed its own small market, *suwayḳa*, where numerous local businesses were established (between 30 and 100 shops for traders in vegetables and fruit, charcoal and wood, for butchers, bakers, etc. according to the census of 1827), offering services to local residents or as in Mīdān, to the south of the city, to a clientèle of peasants and of nomads. These *suwayḳa*s represented, with the mosques and the *ḥammāms*, the indices of urban expansion. Thus, in the Mamlūk period, on the axis of the Bāb al-Sarīdja, leading to the villages of the Ghūṭa in the south-west and towards Palestine, there developed an important *sūḳ* known as Khān al-Sulṭān and, at its western extremity, a Sūḳ al-Masā' (mentioned in the *waḳf* of the Tayrūzī Mosque founded in the 9th/15th century and still functioning today), which testify clearly to the urbanisation of this sector.

The Ottomans were content in the early stages to retain and enforce some of the regulations formerly decreed by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳā'it Bāy (873-97/1468-92), under the general heading of *iḥtisāb*, which had taken the place of the term *ḥisba* [*q.v.*]. Essentially, the *iḥtisāb* collected duties and taxes imposed on shopkeepers, craftsmen and merchants (Bakhit, *Ottoman province*), excluding duties on foodstuffs (cereals, fruits and vegetables), livestock markets and the weighing-tax; it was in fact the second largest source of revenue for the province, after that constituted by the taxes levied on alkalis used in the manufacture of soap, and was of equal value to the tolls and taxes which the Treasury sought to levy on products transported by caravans on the Pilgrimage route. The *iḥtisāb* was an annual tax-farming contract (*muḳāṭaʿa*), and the appointment depended on the senior local judge who exercised exclusive jurisdiction in matters of *ḥisba*, a function extended to the inspection of morality in public places, and on the *daftardār* of the province for the collection of revenues.

In the Ottoman period, artisans were united by an institutionalised solidarity in the framework of professional corporations (*ṭawā'if al-ḥiraf* or *aṣnāf* [see ṢINF. 1.]). In Damascus, in the early 12th/18th century, more than sixty different corporations were recorded in the registers of local tribunals, and a similar number is given in the census of 1827; of course, the number of actual professions followed was considerably higher (al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs*). Religious diversity within these groups seems to have been the norm, the faiths of all being respected. They exercised a virtual monopoly over the market: the quality of products was subject to internal control as well as to that of the state, and the conditions required for permission to practise a trade were particularly restrictive. Admission to a corporation and the promotion of the individual to different levels in the hierarchy, apprentice (*adjīr*), worker (*ṣāniʿ*), master (*muʿallim, usṭā*), were marked by an initiation ritual. Each professional corporation was headed by a *shaykh*, elected by its members; a *shaykh al-mashā'ikh* representing the artisans and a *shahbandar* [*q.v.*] for the merchants. Their precise role was unclear. But it was the senior judge of the city who confirmed the appointment of each *shaykh*, ruled on internal disputes within corporations and instituted legal proceedings between them and imposed punishments for professional misconduct.

Up to *ca.* 1860, the three major sectors experienced developments, the detailed history of which has yet to be studied (the division of markets, dating back as far as the Mamlūk period, displacements, disappearance of crafts and appearance of new ones) but which followed the gradual economic and demographic evolution of the city, which progressed from 50,000 inhabitants in the 16th century to approximately 140,000 at the end of the 19th (al-Ḳasāṭili, *al-Rawḍa al-ghannā'*, 8). As a result of the intensification of trade brought about by the incorporation of the city into the Ottoman empire, an increase in density is perceptible from the 16th century onward in the intramural commercial zone. *Sūḳ* and *khān* were built on residential sites in the centre; outside the walls, at Bāb al-Djābiya, the newly-founded Sūḳ al-Sināniyya, a broad complex of 74 shops (of unknown use and function) and 34 units (*ḥudjra*) on the upper level on both sides of the artery leading to Mīdān, represented an extension of the markets of the Street called Straight at the end of the 16th century. Separated from the other markets, the Sūḳ al-Sibāhiyya (later called Sūḳ al-Arwām), an enclosed market built in the 16th century in the neighbourhood of the Palace to the south of the Citadel and a site for brokers (*dallāl*) specialising in the purchase and sale of furniture and moveables belonging to the estates of the deceased, prefigured the progressive expansion of *sūḳ*s in this sector in centuries to come.

More significant and better-documented changes took place after 1860: greater openness to Europe led to an increase in the importation of manufactured goods, textiles especially, which began to invade the central *sūḳ*s, supplanting local products. In spite of resistance, the number of trades associated with textiles declined (al-Ḳasāṭilī, 123). On the other hand, the Crimean War, by halting the export of Russian corn to Europe, led to a demand for wheat from the Ḥawrān which was henceforward to be quoted on the London Stock Exchange. It is probably from this period that the multiplication of *bā'ika* constructions on the artery of Mīdān should be dated (the census of 1827 recorded 24, a survey conducted in 1994 showed about 60, but many have disappeared with the current modernisation of the city).

With the Ottoman Reform period, the desire for modernisation was seen in works of public utility and in urban projects which sought to change in a more decisive manner the landscape of the city: paving and enlargement of the major arteries and the streets of the *sūḳ*s by removing the benches (*maṣṭaba*) from the fronts of shops; these certainly constituted an obstruction but could be used in times of instability to construct barricades. There was the Excavation of new arteries, such as the western part of the Street called Straight or the section between the south-eastern corner of the Citadel and Bāb al-Barīd (1884-85), named Sūḳ al-Ḥamīdiyya in honour of the sultan, an operation followed by the filling-in of the ditches of the Citadel in order to create space for the extension of markets (western part of the Sūḳ al-Ḥamīdiyya) or the creation of new *sūḳ*s (Sūḳ al-Khūdja in 1905-6 on the site of the western ditch, and on Mardja Square, in 1878, a "closed market" (Sūḳ ʿAlī Bāshā al-djadīd). Changes in the use of buildings also occurred (the 16th century Darwīsh Bāshā *ḥammām*, in the centre of the major markets, became a *sūḳ* named al-Ḳīshānī, in reference to its earthenware decoration). Finally, the constitution of a new administrative nucleus around Mardja Square with the construction of the newly-created City Hall, the Court, police and postal headquarters and a proper hotel for travellers, attracted

professions (changers, clock-makers and seal-makers) which were previously located elsewhere in the city.

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(SARAB ATASSI and J.P. PASCUAL)

(b) Aleppo.

Little is known of the history of the emergence of the *sūḳ*s of Aleppo, particularly in reference to the transformation of the ancient avenue into a *sūḳ*, which seems to have begun in the Byzantine period. The first precise information dates back to the 6th/12th century. Ibn Djubayr (quoted by Sauvaget, *Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne*, Paris 1941. 119-20), evokes on the one hand the principal *sūḳ*, "in all its length", evidently corresponding to the Ḳaṣaba and extending from the Antioch Gate to the Citadel, on the other, the Ḳaiṣāriyya "which enfolds the Great Mosque", which does not seem to have adopted a basilical form, but that of linear *sūḳ*s. Trading at that time was mainly confined to fabrics and second-hand goods.

The descriptions of Ibn al-Shaddād in the 7th/13th century are more detailed (Arabic text by D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953; see also the passages quoted by Ibn al-'Adjamī in Sauvaget, *Les trésors d'or de Sibṭ ibn al-'Ajami. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire d'Alep*, Beirut 1950; analysis by Sourdel, in *Esquisse topographique d'Alep intramuros à l'époque ayyoubide*, in *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, ii [1951], 109-33). It appears that the *sūḳ*s and manufacturing activities were then located in a central zone broader and less exclusive than was the case in the Ottoman period: the economic activities mentioned, in the streets perpendicular to the Ḳaṣaba, especially to the south, such as the street of the falconers, of the dyers, of manufacturers of ovens, of traders in wood, animal fat, mats, the street of the smiths, the street of the glaziers, the *khān* of the bow-makers, etc., were almost all located in districts which are currently exclusively residential. Other concentrations of craft occupations in the districts to the north of the Great Mosque—soap-makers, stone-dressers, tanners, dyers—disappeared gradually or abruptly: the first century of Ottoman domination was marked in fact by a process of refinement of professions, a process which had perhaps begun earlier, and by the banishment to the suburbs of almost all manufacturing activities (A. Raymond, *Le déplacement des tanneries à Alep, au Caire et à Tunis a l'époque ottomane: un indicateur de croissance urbaine* in *Revue d'histoire maghrebine*, vii-viii [1977], 192-200).

Among the activities practised in the 13th century in the central *sūḳ*s, in the vicinity of the Great Mosque, very few are still to be found on their original site: fabrics and second-hand goods have been displaced, in particular, by rope- and shoe-making, against the *ḳibla* wall of the Great Mosque. Goldsmiths were then located further to the south, while traders in spices and drugs also seem to have been displaced, moving towards the central axis where they are currently situated. It is difficult to identify an immutable logic in these changing localisations, the classical concentration of goldsmiths and carpet and fabric sellers in the proximity of the Great Mosque having been gradually realised.

Other specialised or open-air markets have also been displaced and the most stable sites, up to the present day, are without doubt on the one hand the *sūḳ*s selling fresh foodstuffs, which have long been situated close to Bab al-Djinān and the *suwayḳa*s (small or specialised local *sūḳ*s), those of the Jews, of Ḥātim and of 'Alī, on the axis of Bāb al-Naṣr.

Another important change concerning the location of commercial activities is the concentration of the majority of the *khān*s close to the central *sūḳ*s and the Great Mosque, away from their former locations near the gates, or in relatively dispersed sites in outlying districts. This process was accentuated before the Ottoman period, especially with the construction of three monumental *khān*s and of numerous large and conventional *sūḳ*s in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The Ottoman foundations are, however, a more prominent factor in the contemporary urban landscape, by their extensive size, their architectural quality and the diversity of occupations which they accommodate.

The most ancient *sūḳ*s were not covered by stone vaults but by timber frames and possibly by tiles, and were thus at risk from frequent fires. Their arrangement was doubtless less uniform than that of the great Mamlūk or Ottoman *sūḳ*s on account of their more spontaneous mode of production, with the exception of major foundations by sovereigns. They were also narrower, comprising tiny shops like those which are still to be seen in the current cordage *sūḳ* or in a very small *sūḳ* to the south of the goldsmiths' *sūḳ*. The large *sūḳ*s, with much bigger shops and a high roof constructed from mixed materials and stone arches doubtless supporting a timber frame or ceiling, seem to date back to the end of the Mamlūk period. Roofing in stonework became standard in the Ottoman period, with sets of cupolas, then cradle-vaults, or cradle-vaults or groined arches, alternating with cupolas.

The ancient system combined commercial sites with other public buildings, in a mixed environment, where residence was not entirely excluded. The campaign of concentration and selection which reached its highest point in the Ottoman period created a quite different system, excluding all forms of permanent residence, except for visitors, but establishing among the *sūḳ*s or

in close proximity to them a substantial range of services, old or new, including mosques, *madrasas*, *ḥammāms*, cafés, public conveniences, buildings designed for temporary lodging, for bulk trading and manufacturing activities, *k͟hāns* and *ḳaysāriyyas*. Uses of these spaces diversified, especially between the 17th and 19th centuries, with the presence of western trade missions and consulates, and the consequent appearance of convents, religious schools and chapels. Banks, hospitals and modern schools were also been established in this neighbourhood, constituting in the 19th century an embryo of the modern centre.

The old *sūḳs* remain a powerful model for the management of modern commercial space, albeit on other sites and in terms of practice rather than architectural forms.

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(J.-C. David)

5. In ʿIrāḳ [see Suppl.].

6. In Persia.

The Persian equivalent word for Arabic *sūḳ* is *bāzār*, attested in Middle Persian written texts (MP *wāzār*; Sogdian *w'crn*; and as a loanword in Armenian, *vačar*), all with the sense of "market".

When Nāṣir-i K͟husraw entered Iṣfahān in 444/1052, he saw one lane of the *bāzār* with 50 caravanserais and another one with 200 *ṣarrāfs* or money-changers/bankers. The term which he uses for "caravanserai" is *tīm* (see *Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 123, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 98). This is still used in parts of the Iranian world, but has survived mainly in the diminutive form *tīmča* "a small *tīm* or caravanserai". This traveller's account seems to be the earliest description of a *sūḳ* or *bāzār* as the term came to be understood: a structural and functional ensemble of buildings for long-distance trade, for wholesale and retail trade and for banking.

There had existed in pre-Islamic times streets or lanes with workshops on each side, but the combination of streets or lanes hemmed in by shops, caravanserais and other buildings for commercial use behind these shops, seems to be product of Islamic civilisation before *ca.* A.D. 1000, at a time when long-distance trade within the Islamic lands was at a high level. Within this, the Persian economy had a central function, with diversification of function a key feature; hence it seems that it was the physical and functional shape of the *sūḳ/bāzār* which spread from it both eastwards and westwards.

In Persia, as everywhere else in the Islamic world, the main elements involved are lanes covered by wooden roofs, sheds made of canvas, reeds and straw, or vaults with shops (the Arabic *dukkān* being used here in New Persian). Behind such shops are *karwānsarāys* and *tīmčas*. The first of these are huge, usually two-storeyed buildings with a central courtyard and rooms and storerooms around this last (see further, K͟HĀN, the Arabic equivalent for caravanserai). Here in pre-modern times merchants came from far away and sold their goods; today, merchants have their offices and storerooms there. *Tīmčas* are small, courtyard structures or roofed galls with shops for retail sale around them. Functionally, they can be considered an extension of the *bāzār*. We find similar structures in the Arab East (e.g. at Aleppo), where they are called *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*], a term which has differing meanings in the Arab West, the Arab East and Persia. Whereas in Syria, small structures bear this name, in the Arab West and in Persia the central parts of the *sūḳ/bāzār* are called *ḳayṣariyya*. Thus the *ḳayṣariyya* of the *bāzār* of Iṣfahān is a complex system of *bāzār* lanes, *karwānsarāys*, *tīmčas*, *čahārsūs* (= "four directions") or *čahārsūḳs* ("four *sūḳs*, these being domed crossings of *bāzār* lanes with shops around), the royal mint and a bath-house or *ḥammām*.

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(H. Gaube)

7. In Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans.

The term *sūḳ* in Ottoman sources may be used in a very broad sense, as in statements that a given inheritance had been sold in the *sūḳ-i sulṭānī*. Here *sūḳ* encompasses both shops and markets, the entire business district of a town. But in other texts *sūḳ* is sometimes used in place of the more common term *čars͟hi*, which refers both to individual business locales and the covered markets (*bedestān*), which may encompass over a hundred shops. Here the term *čars͟hi* contrasts with that of *pāzār*, an open-air market held once or several times a week.

In Ottoman towns, the *sūḳ/čars͟hi* was clearly distinguished from the residential areas of a town. However, there was no absolute separation between the two. Some craftsmen practiced their craft at home, and had living-in apprentices, while certain shops, such as those of bakers and greengrocers, were located in the vicinity of the households which bought from them day by day. In 12th/18th century Aleppo, women apparently frequented shops in their own neighbourhoods; this was probably true of Anatolian and Rumelian towns as well. Yet in spite of well-attested commercial activity in residential quarters, the multitude of shops built and rented out by pious foundations reinforced the trend toward segregation of shops and dwellings. For *waḳf*-owned shops, well attested in the foundations' account books, were not normally accompanied by housing. Apart from widower masters or an occasional apprentice, the tenants of *waḳf*-owned shops needed to find residential space elsewhere.

Waḳf*s as builders of the* sūḳ/čars͟hi.

In 8th/14th and 9th/15th century Anatolia and Rumelia, both the Ottomans and other princely dynasties established shop complexes, *bedestāns* and *k͟hāns*, intended to supply revenues to a major mosque and/or *medrese*. This was presumably undertaken with the aim of re-animating urban life, especially in the sites chosen as temporary or permanent capitals, for many Anatolian towns had suffered greatly during the wars following upon the disintegration of the Rūm Seld͟jūḳ sultanate after the battle of Kösedag͟h (641/1243). The Ottoman sultans at first concentrated on Bursa. But Timurtās͟h Pas͟ha, a servitor of Bāyezīd I, and later his descendants Umūr Beg and (probably) Seld͟jūḳ Beg

b. Umūr Beg, established shops in Kütahya, Bergama and Sivrihisar as well. The monumental *ḥammām* founded by Sultan Meḥemmed I in Merzifon should be regarded in the same context. Among the other Anatolian dynasties, the Ḳaramān-oghullarî were active in Konya and Konya Ereğlisi, while the Dulḳadîr in the second half of the 9th/15th century built commercial structures in their capital Maraş.

On a much larger scale, the construction of a *sūḳ/čarshî* was sponsored in Istanbul by Sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ. The two *bedestāns* which even today form the core of Istanbul's Ḳapalî čarshî were built during his reign. A *waḳf* deed of 877-8/1473 informs us that the Old Bedestan contained 124 shops, while on the outside of this building, 72 additional business locales had been accommodated (Halil İnalcık, *The hub of the city. The Bedestan of Istanbul*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, i [1980], 9). Here valuable goods, such as textiles, jewelry and spices were traded, and the slave dealers (*esīrdji*) equally did business from the Ḳapalî čarshî. Meḥemmed II's foundations were to provide revenue for his monumental foundation complex in Istanbul, which, apart from the mosque, included 16 *medreses*, a hospice, a hospital, a library and the mausoleum of the founder. The mosque of Sultan Bāyezīd II, equally located in the new Ottoman capital, was also endowed with rows of shops, and so was the Süleymāniyye (completed 964/1557). Among the founders of *sūḳ/čarshîs* who were not members of the Ottoman dynasty, the most notable personage was probably Maḥmūd Pasha (executed 879/1474). Not only did he sponsor the Ankara *bedestān*, he also contributed extensively to the *sūḳ/čarshî* of Istanbul, with the intent of generating revenue for his mosque located in the vicinity of the Istanbul *bedestāns*; the district housing the Ḳapalî Čarshî is named after him. But even in the 12th/18th century, the establishment of a *sūḳ/čarshî* by means of a *waḳf* was still practised; when in 1139/1726-7, Aḥmed III's Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha elevated the central Anatolian village of Mushkara (today, Nevşehir) to the status of a town, he ordered the construction of both a *kerbānsarāyî* and a *khān*, both of which should have increased commercial traffic.

Markets and fairs.

Small and medium-sized towns possessed only a single *sūḳ/čarshî*, which usually included specialised open-air markets for the sale of bulky goods, such as grain, rice, sheep, yarn or firewood. Istanbul and Bursa in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries also possessed special women's markets; in 11th/17th century Bursa, women could sell their work there without paying taxes (H. Gerber, *Social and economic position of women in an Ottoman city, Bursa 1600-1700*, in *IJMES*, xii [1980], 231-44). In certain Rumelian towns, a market known as an *ʿaraba pāzārî* was recorded; presumably this was located on the outskirts of the town or along a major road in order to facilitate the access of carts.

Markets were also found in villages, a necessary condition if the Ottoman taxation system was to work; for these markets allowed peasants to earn the cash they needed in order to pay their money dues, and *tîmār*-holders to rid themselves of extra supplies of grain in exchange for horses and other necessities. *Ḳānūn-nāmes* of the 10th/16th century therefore often required that the peasant bring the *sipāhī*'s grain to the nearest market, with the proviso that this market was not be more than a day's travel away (Ö.L. Barkan, *XV ve XVIıncı asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, i, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 131, 175, 287, 321). These markets must have promoted the growth of originally rural district centres into towns.

In accordance with this political function of local markets, the early 10th/16th century *taḥrīrs* normally record merely one market per district (*ḳaḍā*), which was located in the district centre. But in the following decades, the number of village markets increased notably, and villages with no administrative function might acquire one. In addition to markets located in permanent settlements, we also find cases of markets held on summer pastures. The latter were often shared between several villages and nomadic groups, and therefore suitable for exchange. In front of rural *kerbānsarāyîs*, markets were also on record; presumably they functioned irregularly, namely, when caravans passed through. In the second half of the 11th/17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi noted that, in the coastal plain between Antalya and Alanya, at that time largely inhabited by nomads, a sizeable number of markets was in operation.

Fairs were of economic importance particularly in Thessaly and Thrace; often they had originally been established in connection with the feast of the saint to whom the local church was dedicated. But in the course of the 10th/16th century, these fairs became so profitable that Ottoman officials, including Ḳānūnī Süleymān's Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], took them over, built installations to accommodate hundreds of merchants, and assigned the dues paid by the latter to a pious foundation of their choice. The Thessalian and Thracian fairs formed a chain, so that traders could visit them in turn. By contrast, the Anatolian fairs, among which those held in the Aegean town of Nazilli and in the Içel district of Gülnar were particularly notable, seem to have functioned more or less in isolation from one another. The word *panayîr*, normally employed to designate fairs, was not always used in the *taḥrīrs* in connection with gatherings that must have fallen into this category. But when a complex of 157 shops was built by Sinān Pasha, *sandjaḳ begi* of Menteshe, in the minuscule settlement of Seki (Menteshe), we must assume that it was not in permanent use, but accommodated some kind of fair (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Sixteenth-century periodic markets in various anatolian* sancaks, in *JESHO*, xxii [1979], 68). As observed in other parts of the world as well, the settlements where even the largest fairs were held, such as the Thessalian village of Mashḳolur, did not expand into towns.

The sūḳ/čarshî *within the town.*

In major cities, the main *sūḳ/čarshî*, located in the city centre, might be supplemented by smaller agglomerations of shops on the outskirts; in Bursa, masters unable to join the guild of their craft were known to set up shop in outlying town quarters (İnalcık, *Capital formation in the Ottoman empire*, in *Jnal. of Economic History*, xix [1969], 117). In Istanbul, the different sections of the city had their own *sūḳ/čarshîs*; apart from the enormous area between the Golden Horn and the Sultan Bāyezīd Mosque, which serviced Istanbul *intra muros*, there were the smaller business districts of Galata, complete with its own *bedestān*, and the pilgrimage centre of Eyüp. On the Anatolian side, Üsküdar built its own *bedestān* at the end of the 10th/16th century, while Yeniköy, halfway up the Bosphorus, by the 11th/17th century even had developed its own money market, whose rates of exchange differed slightly from those practiced in Istanbul (Halil Sahillioğlu, *XVII. asrın ilk yarısında İstanbul'da tedavüldeki sikkelerin râici*, in *Türk Tarihi Kurumu, Belgeler*, i/1-2 [1964], 233).

The distinctive feature of all business districts of any importance were the *khāns*. These often belonged to *wakfs* within or even outside the city, and tenants paid rent for the right to exercise their trades there. Frequently, the *wakf* awarded the *khān* to a principal tenant after an auction. Sometimes *khāns* were rented out to craftsmen from one or a few related guilds; thus in 12th/18th century Urfa, the shoemakers gave their name to the Ḳawāflar Khānī, property of the Riḍwāniyye *medrese*. In Istanbul before foreign embassies established permanent quarters in Pera/Beyoğlu, ambassadors were also assigned *khāns* in the *sūḳ/čarshī*, notably the Elçi Hanı (Semavi Eyice, *Elçi Hanı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxiv [1970], 93-129). Foreign traders equally put up in *khāns*; in most Ottoman cities, only those traders intending a long-term stay rented private houses. *Khāns* as well as *bedestāns* were also used by tax collectors as safe places in which to store money; in such cases, alterations to the building fabric were sometimes undertaken in order to minimise the likelihood of theft. In some towns, special guards (*'ases*) were in charge of patrolling the *sūḳ/čarshī*. Transportation services could be found in the area; nomads and semi-nomads renting out camels were usually established in and around the *khāns*.

In the 12th/18th century, the Ottoman administration, by now in need of extra money, put increasing pressure for revenue on the *wakfs* which owned so many of the commercial buildings available, particularly in Istanbul. The *mütewellīs* attempted to increase the rents paid by craftsmen; in order to limit these increases, the artisans, apparently aided by sympathetic *ḳāḍīs*, developed the notion of *gedik*, which had not been entirely unknown in earlier times but came to be of major significance only during this period. In Istanbul, the *gedik* encompassed the workspace, tools and materials needed for the exercise of a given craft; these items could only be passed on to members of the relevant guild, thus limiting demand (Engin Akarlı, Gedik: *implements, mastership, shop usufruct and monopoly among Istanbul artisans, 1750-1850*, in *Wissenschaftskolleg—Jahrbuch* [1985-6], 223-32). In late 12th/18th century Bursa, however, the *gedik* apparently encompassed only the tools and materials and not the shop itself.

Collective workshops and streets named after crafts.

Related to the *khāns* tenanted by members of a single craft were the collective workspaces used by dyers (*boya-khāne*) or tanners (*debbāgh-khāne*). The latter were usually located on the outskirts of the town or city in question in order to minimise nuisances; when the town expanded, the *debbāgh-khāne* was moved, and the term *eski* (old) *debbāgh-khāne* came to denote a quarter like any other. In the case of the *boya-khāne* associated with the foundation supporting the library which Sultan Aḥmed III had built in the Topkapı Palace precincts, enough documentation survives to give us some idea of its functioning. The artisans in question had been granted a monopoly for the dyeing of certain fabrics, which was worded in a rather vague fashion so that the limits of the monopoly at times needed to be re-defined by recourse to the *ḳāḍī*. Only artisans possessing access to the *boya-khāne* were allowed to participate in the monopoly. Access was controlled by the dyers already in place, who formed a guild with their own *ketkhudā*. They could accept new members and also exclude people they considered undesirable, who thereby lost their access to the *boya-khāne*. In the latter case, the expelled dyer possessed the right to a money payment, presumably his investment plus a share of the accruing profits. *Boya-khāne* buildings were owned by one or even several *wakfs*, and while *wakf* administrators might decide to relocate the *boya-khāne* and concomitantly increase the rent, the dyers possessed no recourse against such a decision.

In most *sūḳ/čarshīs*, there were individual lanes, equally known as *čarshī*, which bore the names of the craftsmen who occupied or at least had occupied them at some time in the past. For 10th/16th century Anatolian towns, these lanes are documented in the *wakf* registers, as shops located in these specialised craft streets, which produced rent for a given pious foundation, are enumerated among the assets of the *wakf* in question. Textile crafts were the most widespread, including dyers, felt makers, dealers in woollens, cotton fabrics and silks, in addition to the ubiquitous skull-cap makers. In addition to *wakf*-owned shops, there must have been shops held as private property. But shop-lined streets containing no *wakf* property are not recorded in official registers. However, it is hard to say to what extent the separation by craft, implied in the very names of the lanes making up the *sūḳ/čarshī*, was actually applied "on the ground". *Wakf* records provide contradictory evidence. While in some cases we do find concentration by craft, in other instances shops were tenanted by craftsmen totally unrelated to the craft which was supposedly being practiced in the street in question. At least in the case of Istanbul, there survive a number of records concerning the collection of *iḥtisāb* dues, which enumerate the tenants of individual shops and thus enable us to reconstruct the composition of a given street. Where members of a single craft were concentrated in one neighbourhood, this enabled the masters to supervise one another. Not only could those who ignored official price regulations or did not conform to locally accepted standards of quality be easily detected, socially unacceptable behaviour such as the excessive beating of an apprentice could also rapidly be brought to the notice of the relevant guild authorities.

The physical appearance of Ottoman shops before the 13th/19th century is documented mainly through the miniatures of the two illustrated *sūr-nāmes*, which record circumcision festivities held in 990/1582 and 1132/1720. Here various craftsmen are shown at work, and the miniatures also document the insides of bakeries, *kebābdjis* or glassblowers' workshops. The *sūr-nāme* of 1132/1720 even contains a miniature of a *ḥammām* model, in which bath attendants served their customers. However, these models were meant for display, particularly of pantomime and craft skills, and therefore should not be regarded as completely accurate representations. In the second half of the 13th/19th century, European photographers and their Levantine colleagues made numerous photographs not only of shops but particularly of the *petits métiers* exercised on the street. However, here the aim was to show what a European clientèle regarded as picturesque, so that these photographs should not be viewed as authentic depictions of reality either; the photographer may well have arranged a scene in a manner similar to that of the miniature painter of earlier ages (G. Beauge and Engin Çizgen, *Images d'empire. Aux origines de la photographie en Turquie/Türkiye'de fotoğrafın öncüleri*, Istanbul n.d. [1992?], 146 ff.).

Mosques in the sūḳ/čarshī.

The *sūḳ/čarshī* district was normally located close to the town's Friday mosque. Markets held on a Friday were often more popular than their competitors convened on other days of the week, as peasants from the surrounding area appreciated the chance of attend-

ing Friday prayers before returning to their villages. In certain towns, there existed mosques specifically designated as the Čarshî Djāmiʿi. This close connection of mosque and *sūḳ/čarshî* was at times expressed architecturally as well; the Istanbul mosque of Rüstem Pasha (*wakf-nāme* dated 968/1561), located in the middle of Istanbul's *sūḳ/čarshî* district, was built on a terrace over an elaborate substructure housing shops, even though we do not know whether the latter were part of the original design. In addition, the *sūḳ/čarshî* might contain mosques named after one of the local guilds, and possibly built by one of their richer members; in Ankara, there exists a 8th-9th/14th-15th century mosque named the Ṣābūnī, presumably built or repaired by a soap maker or soap merchant (Gönül Öney, *Ankara'da Türk devri dini ve sosyal yapıları*, Ankara 1971, 38-9). In 12th/18th century Bursa, where money *wakfs* were documented more intensively than elsewhere, many guildsmen donated money to local mosques to supplement the *imām*'s salary, or to provide funds for matting and lighting. Only the more important among these foundations were administered by special *mütewellīs*; in most other cases, the *imām* was in charge of the money *wakfs* attached to his mosque. This meant that he needed to acquire information on the solvency or otherwise of prospective borrowers, and present accounts periodically to the *ḳāḍī*. This arrangement further strengthened the link between urban mosques and the commercial activity carried on around them.

Transformations during the 13th/19th century.

Ottoman urbanism of the 13th/19th century was directed mainly at public buildings, such as *ḥükūmet binālarî*, hospitals or barracks, in addition to a number of seaside palaces in Istanbul. However, this construction activity had direct repercussions on the *sūḳ/čarshî* as well. In Istanbul, the concentration of imperial palaces and the dwellings of high officials led to the growth of a new *sūḳ/čarshî* in Beşiktaş. This contained mainly bakers, grocers and greengrocers who delivered their wares to the *ḳonaḳs* in the vicinity; and since many of these shops received their supplies by sea, there were numerous boatmen and porters who waited for employment in the local coffee-houses (Hagop Mıntzuri, *İstanbul anıları (1896-1907)*, Istanbul 1993). In the old *sūḳ/čarshî* area of *intra muros* Istanbul, there was considerable rebuilding following the series of fires which swept the old city. The principle was to make the major streets accessible to carts and coaches, and do away with cul-de-sacs in order to allow fire brigades easy access everywhere. Building in stone was officially recommended, and Dīwān yolu was widened as far as the Ḳapalî Čarshî. Apart from these utilitarian concerns, there was also an interest in making the major monuments visible by clearing the space surrounding them. After the fire of 1281-2/1865, a square was thus opened up in the area near the Ḳapalî Čarshî, around the column of Constantine (Çemberlitaş), which involved the partial destruction of the Çemberlitaş *ḥammām* (compl. 991/1583) (Zeynep Çelik, *The remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*, Seattle and London 1986, 49-81). A number of new *khāns* was also built in Galata.

More importantly, the trade in luxury goods shifted from the Ḳapalî Čarshî to another new shop-lined street, known as the Grand' Rue de Péra (today, İstiklal caddesi). Along this street restaurants, coffee houses and pastry shops alternated with department stores and *modistes*. Among the shopkeepers and artisans, Ottoman non-Muslims were a prominent presence, but immigrants from France and Italy were equally in evidence. Many of them lived in the vicinity, for instance, in the district then known as Tatawla (today, Kurtuluş) or in the side streets of the Grand' Rue de Péra. While most restaurants were reserved for a male clientèle until well into the 20th century, women of the Ottoman upper class, whose families came to reside in the vicinity in growing numbers around 1900, could patronise the shops of the Grand' Rue. In the area of today's Bankalar Caddesi, the Jewish banking family of Camondo, whose main residence after 1285-6/1869 was located in Paris, sponsored the construction of a financial centre closely modelled on its Paris counterpart (Nora Seni, *The Camondos and their imprint on 19th century Istanbul*, in *IJMES*, xxvi [1994], 663-75).

Moreover, the shopping district of Pera/Beyoğlu doubled as a centre of entertainment. French and Italian troupes, not excluding Sarah Berhardt, performed before a public at first consisting of only the local Levantines, but young Muslims of the upper class soon patronised these theatres as well. Performances, at first limited to male audiences, became increasingly available to women as well, at first in the shape of separate matinées or of special boxes from which they could follow the proceedings without being seen. The installation of street lighting and a modern water supply further enhanced the attraction of this district.

The transformation of the *sūḳ/čarshî* area could also be observed in the major provincial towns. İzmir already possessed a tradition of *frenk-khāne*, buildings in a European style, intended to house European merchants during their more or less extended stays in the city. In the 12th/18th century, these buildings, often located by the sea and provided with storage spaces for goods, were rented out by *wakfs*, some of them in places as distant as Manisa. In the course of the 13th/19th century the "Frankish" street, now known as the "Kordon", became one of the city's important shopping districts. Theatrical entertainment was also available in this part of town; the first theatre was established in 1188-9/1775, and in 1257-8/1842, Bellini's *Norma* was performed in the Theâtre Euterpe (Rauf Beyru, *Social life in İzmir in the first half of the 19th century*, in *Three ages of İzmir, palimpsest of cultures*, tr. Virginia Taylor Saçlıoğlu, Istanbul 1993, 145-216, good illustrations). In Selanik as well, the modernisation of the quais around 1900 led to the transformation of the surrounding area, where hotels and shops were now concentrated. In Bursa, the straight street built by Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha equally attracted the more modern shops (Beatrice St. Laurent, *Un amateur de théâtre: Ahmet Vefik pacha et le remodelage de Bursa dans le dernier tiers du XIX^e siècle*, in P. Dumont and Fr. Georgeon (eds.), *Villes ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire*, Paris 1992, 94-114).

The style of the newly erected buildings was at first eclectic, with "Renaissance" features prominent, particularly in the banking houses. A miniature version of the famous "Spanish steps" of Rome connected the building which housed the urban administration of Istanbul's "Altîndjî Dāʾire" (Pera/Beyoğlu) with the shopping district on the hill. An interesting re-importation was the *pasazh*, a shop-lined covered street, which can be regarded as a 13th/19th century version of the *ārāsta*. Some of the examples surviving in modern Beyoğlu show traces both of the Paris or Brussels models and the local tradition. After 1900, features of Ottoman and Iranian palace architecture took the place of the previously popular "Renaissance" features, and were regarded as symbols of

national revival (Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve birinci ulusal mimarlık dönemi*, Ankara 1981, 147 ff.). However, the structure of these buildings reflected their resolutely modern functions: office buildings, banks, hotels and apartments.

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8. In Muslim India.

In India, different terms have been in use for markets and market places, e.g. *sūḳ* (*Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ms. Bankipur, fol. 90), *čawk*, *bāzār*, *bāzār-i khāṣṣ*, *čakla*, *katra*, *mandī*, *darība*, *nakhkhās*, etc. Occasional or seasonal markets, which brought together commodities from far and near and established cultural and economic links, were called *peth* or *mela*. The *bāzār-i khāṣṣ* was the market on the principal streets of the city (e.g. *Čandnī čawk*, *Bāzār-i khānum*, *Čawk Saʿd Allāh Khān* in Mughal Dihlī). *Čawk*s were usually located at places where four roads met; *gandj* generally meant a grain market; *katra*s were usually known after the commodity sold there; *mandī* was the place where different commodities, particularly corn, were brought from outside and sold in bulk; and *darība* was a short lane or street, usually one where betel leaves were sold. At the *nakhkhās*, slaves as well as animals—elephants, horses, cows, etc.—were sold. In coastal areas, *bāzār*s were arranged according to the arrival and departure of ships. Some markets and fairs were held annually at places of religious importance.

The urban transformation which came in the wake of the establishment of Muslim rule in India led to the rise of new *sūḳ*s, with extended scope for the functioning of the market system. The flourishing condition of *sūḳ*s in India was referred to by a large number of geographers and travellers, from al-Idrīsī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, to Finch, Bernier, and others.

The city of Dihlī had a number of gates (13 according to Amīr Khusraw; 12 according to Baranī; 28 according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; and 10 according to Tīmūr), some of which had become famous as market places for specific commodities (e.g. the Pālam Gate for slaves; the Badāʾūnī Gate for corn, etc.).

It appears that in India markets of special commodities arose very early. Djūzdjānī refers to a *bāzār-i bazzāzān* (market of cloth merchants) in Dihlī (tr. Raverty, i, 646). During the Mughal period, there were many markets named after different professions and goods (*katra*s like *katra-yi ḳaṣṣābān, katra-yi rūdgarān, katra-yi nīlgarān*, etc.; *mandī*s like *gul furūshōn kī mandī, sabzī mandī, mandī ṣābūn*, etc.; and *kuča*s like *čarkhay wālā, batāshāy wālā*, etc.; see Nizami, *Dilli tārīkh kay āʾīna main*, Delhi 1989, 85-8). These *katra*s and *mandī*s have survived to this day, though with changed character and patterns. According to Bernier (tr. Constable, 249), most of the markets in Dihlī were of mixed commodities, except the fruit market where fruits were brought from Persia, Balkh, Bukhārā and Samarḳand. According to Darga Ḳulī Khān (*Muraḳḳaʿ-i Dihlī*, ed. Anṣārī, Dihlī 1982), shops in the Čāndnī *čawk* were replete with unique objects procured from different parts of the world. Small shop keepers in Dihlī had their residential quarters on the roofs of their shops (Bernier, tr. 245). The *nakhkhās* in Agra, Patna and Lahore had covered buildings.

The nature of a market place depended largely on the requirements of people living in that locality. In the capital cities, the demands of aristocracy conditioned the nature and quality of goods brought and sold in the market; *ḳaṣba*s and small towns generally concentrated on supplying daily needs of the people. The village people got what they needed at *peth*s and *mela*s.

During the time of the Dihlī sultan Balban, there was an *amīr-i-bazāriyān* (officer of the market) (Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1862, 34). The market control of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī was regulated from the *sarāy-i ʿadl*, where the prices of commodities were fixed. An officer known as *shahna-i mandī* looked after the market. Abu ʾl-Faḍl refers to the appointment of several market inspectors to check oppression and irregularities in buying, selling, weighing, measuring and pricing the commodities in the Agra market (*Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1878-9, iii, 396). The *mutaṣaddī*s issued permits to merchants who brought their merchandise into the market for sale and issued passes for goods which were taken out of the city. He checked also the register of sale and purchase (*siyāha-yi kharīd u farūkht*).

Humāyūn devised a market on boats, *djahāz-i sūḳī*, where all sorts of articles were sold (Khwāndamīr, *Ḳānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, ed. Bibl. Indica, 1940, 61). During the Mughal period, *mīnā bāzār*s were arranged in the palace. These were in the nature of fêtes, in which the ladies of the nobles set up shops and the Emperor, along with his queens, made purchases in a convivial atmosphere (Nizami, *Dillī tārīkh kay āʾīna main*, 79-80).

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(K.A. NIZAMI)

SŪḲ AL-SHUYŪKH, a small town in southern ʿIrāḳ, on the right bank of the Euphrates (lat. 30° 53' N., long. 46° 28' E.). It lies some 40 km/25 miles to the south-east of al-Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*] and at the western end of the Khawr al-Ḥammār lake and marshlands region, about 160 km/100 miles as the crow flies from Baṣra. The town is surrounded by date-groves extending along the river bank, but the marshy country, that extends into Baṣra, makes the air very unhealthy.

Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh was founded in the first half of the 18th century as a market-place (*sūḳ*) of the confederation of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] Arabs; 4 hours to the east there was formerly the residence of the chief Shaykh of the Muntafiḳ, called Kūt al-Shuyūkh; the plural *shuyūkh* designates the members of the clan of this chief. To the end of the 18th century, Sūḳ was a small town with a mosque and surrounded by earthen walls (Beauchamp), and at the beginning of the 19th century it is described as an extremely dirty town, inhabited by 6,000 families and having a lively commercial intercourse with Baṣra and even with Būshīr and Bombay. According to Fraser, the Muntafiḳ Shaykh disdained to live in the town, but in Petermann's time (1854) he had a house there; this last-mentioned traveller estimated the number of the population at 3,000. At the end of the 19th century the number 12,000 is given (Cuinet, Sāmī), of whom 2,250 were Sunnīs possessing two mosques (*djāmiʿ*), and 8,770 Shīʿīs with one sanctuary (*masdjid*). The population also included 280 Jews and 700 Mandaeans or Ṣubbā. The latter lived for the greater part in the suburb Ṣubbūye on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. Before 1853, the Mandaean population had numbered 260 families, but the oppression of the Muntafiḳ had caused 200 families to emigrate to ʿAmāra. The German orientalist Petermann in the year 1854 visited in Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh the high priest of the Mandaeans, Shaykh Yaḥyā. As elsewhere, these people are here silversmiths; they are also builders of a special type of boats.

Under Ottoman Turkish administration, Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh became the capital of a *kaḍāʾ* of the same name in the *sandjak* of Muntafiḳ. In post-Ottoman ʿIrāḳ, the town was involved in the 1920 tribal uprising and in the unrest of 1935-6. In Republican ʿIrāḳ,

it now comes within the governorate of Dhū Ḳār, and continues to be a centre for date-growing and for the cultivation of rice along the western and north-western fringes of the Khawr al-Ḥammār.

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SUKAYNA bt. al-ḤUSAYN, the *laḳab* of a granddaughter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. There are different versions of her name; she is called either Umayma (according to Muḥammad b. al-Sāyib al-Kalbī, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo, n.d. 140), or Amīna or Āmina (*Aghānī*[3], xvi, 139-41); there is a preference for the last of these names because of the *khabar* cited by al-Madāʾinī about the origins of the character differences between her and her eldest sister Fāṭima: *wa-(i)smuhā Āmina wa-hādhā huwa al-ṣaḥīḥ*, her authentic name is certainly Āmina (*K. al-Murdifāt min Ḳuraysh*, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 68; *Aghānī*, xvi, 139).

Her mother, al-Rabāb bt. Imriʾ al-Ḳays al-Kalbiyya, belonged to one of the most illustrious Kalbī clans. Her grandfather, ʿAdī b. Aws b. Djābir, and her father, Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. ʿAdī, were the undisputed military leaders of Kalb (Muḥammad b. Sāʾib al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr*, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 583). In a very ancient tradition, al-Kalbī reported that the grandfather of Sukayna went to see ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and swore an oath of allegiance to him. Although he was a Christian, the caliph made him chief of the armies of the Ḳuḍāʿa, who had been converted to Islam after the conquest of Syria by the Muslim armies. It is said that he also received the signal honour of marrying his three daughters into the family of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, one to himself and one each to his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (*ibid.*, ii, 584).

When compared to that for other female figures of this period or even later, the biographical details which have been retained in the sources are very considerable, but it is naturally difficult to distinguish between what must have been entertaining and probably anecdotal stories and the historical facts. To trace her biography it is best to use the most ancient account (which is also the least tricky), that of *K. al-Murdifāt* composed less than a century after the death of our heroine. The lacunae that are attested in her *sīra* have been filled in with details borrowed from serious works which have nothing to do with the amusing *adab*. The *Aghānī* remains a valuable source for studying her cultural activities.

At the time of her father's martyrdom at Karbalāʾ in 61/680, Sukayna seems to have been a young child (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 232). In this case the affirmation of al-Madāʾinī (*op. cit.*, 64) copied by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (*Aghānī*, xvi, 149) may be contested. According to him ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib, who also died at Karbalāʾ, had married her and had already consummated the marriage.

For a short time she was forced to stay at Damascus (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, xix, fol. 442; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, xlv, 155, 169, 194). Then she returned again to Medina, where she was brought up by her mother, who passed on to her a pronounced taste for intellectual matters (Vadet, *Une personnalité féminine*, 268, who states that her mother al-Rabāb was a poet). In about 67/686, at the time of the revolt of her brother ʿAbd Allāh, she married Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, and was provided with an immense *mahr*. This inspired the epigrams and maxims of the intelligentsia of the day (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 282-3; *Aghānī*, xvi, triplet of Anas b. Abī Unās or of ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām). As a result of this marriage, al-Rabāb was born, but the union was brutally cut short at the time of the reconquest of ʿIrāḳ by the Umayyads in 72/691 by the violent death of Muṣʿab.

After this ʿIrāḳ interlude, she returned to Medina, where in great haste Ramla, her sister-in-law, organised a new marriage for her; it was to be with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, a distinguished member of the aristocracy of Ḳuraysh in Medina and who was attached to the Zubayrids (al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 232-3). This haste seems to have been motivated by the justified concern of Ramla to keep her safe from a possible marriage with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. The new union seems to have developed peacefully and resulted in the birth of two boys and two girls. The date of the death of her second husband, ʿAbd Allāh, has not been established.

There now followed two strange episodes involving two damaged unions. The one was with al-Aṣbagh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, which took place before the 21 Rabīʿ II 86/April 706, the date of his premature death (al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, Beirut 1411/1991, ii, 213-4, § 793) provoked the opposition of ʿAbd al-Malik. The second was with Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwf, and it was a means of allaying the gossip of the people of Medina who were in a state of consternation at the long widowhood of this great lady (*al-Murdifāt*, 68, where Zayd should be replaced by ʿAbd Allāh).

Her third marriage (and effectively her last) was a union lasting for many long years between her and Zayd b. ʿUmar, the grandson of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān; it lasted from 87/705 until his death (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 120). After this Sukayna faded into anonymity; all that is recorded of her is the date and place of her death, Thursday, 5 Rabīʿ I 117/23 March 736, at Medina.

The pious classes and the puritans of her generation, and later the authors of *adab* and *ṭabaḳāt*, were astonished, indeed even scandalised, by Sukayna. There is an ambivalence in the portrait of her drawn by the sources which can be explained by many factors; there was her very strong personality, her reputation for caustic repartee, her much flaunted and extreme feminism, her undisguised scorn for the masculine race who would fall prey to some outrageous tricks which she would constantly play on the traditionalists (Sulaymān b. Yasār was one such victim, *Aghānī*, xvi, 144), on the puritans (*ibid.*, xix, 157) and on important officials of the region (such as the chief of police in Medina, *ibid.*, xvi, 145). It was certainly known that she had an illustrious lineage; she was good-looking, deeply chaste (*ʿafīfa*) and did not lack generosity or courage; she is even said to have confronted those who would insult her grandfather in the mosques (*ibid.*, xviii, 143). It seems that she was something of a feminine counterpart to the Medinan *sayyid sharīf* of her day.

However, these same sources also strongly emphasise the dark side of the personality of the woman, as well as her negative behaviour, which was regarded as not altogether consistent with the conduct of a respectable woman. Despite her youth and beauty she was never veiled (she was *barza*) nor followed the rules of a confined life-style. Moreover, she exhibited culpable coquetry in the way that she showed off her beauty with a special hair-style, a style which was actually named after her as *al-ṭurra al-sukayniyya*, "Sukayna-style curls."

Another way in which she laid herself open to very sharp criticism was in her relations with the poets of the *tashbīb*. It is certainly known that ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] made her the heroine of one of his pieces (*Sharḥ dīwān ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa*, Beirut 1412/1992, 67), and perhaps also the same applies to al-ʿArdjī (*al-Murdifāt*, 69). Her marriages and love life are represented in a tendentious manner, more like the excesses of a less scrupulous woman, as if she were ready to marry anyone. But it is easy to forget that for a woman to have many husbands was a common occurrence in Ḳuraysh society. What is portrayed in her literary salon and her *madjlis* are the social gatherings of a bohemian with dissolute morals (Vadet, *L'esprit courtois*, 66-7). Apart from her profligacy, by her conduct and by her happy and ironic irrepressibility Sukayna seems to prefigure the libertines (*mudjdjān* [see MUDJŪN]) of the 2nd/8th century.

But Sukayna stood out from her companions, the ladies of the Ḥidjāzī aristocracy (as listed in Vadet, *op. cit.*, 68-72; for other names see *Murdifāt*, 60-80) because of her cultural involvement in the spheres of poetry and music.

The place of her residence in Medina attracted many poets, well-known singers and lovers of good music. All this activity was encouraged by the prevailing atmosphere of peace in the region after 79/698. Very often the great *ghazal* poets of the Ḥidjāzī school came to recite their poems, to listen to remarks, and to flaunt their talent. It is known that they broke with the traditional *nasīb* [*q.v.*] and introduced into ancient Arab poetry small narrative expositions, by using exchanges on the subject matter between the principal protagonists. Sitting beside ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa they would quote al-Aḥwaṣ, Djamīl b. Maʿmar, Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and their transmitters. Among those who went there when they were in the neighbourhood were Djarīr and, in particular, al-Farazdaḳ.

Several kinds of schemes were given approval there. It was Sukayna who would open the discussion thus: "Was it you who wrote the following verses?", she would enquire. The poet who replied in the affirmative would find himself rewarded with money. At other times, she would make remarks on the inadequate use of an expression, an overlapping of elements, or a motif that had appeared in the verses that were cited (*Aghānī*, xxii, 277, where she shrewdly points out the clumsy expression of the motif of the self-sacrifice of the lover in al-Namir b. Tawlab). Much less often she would embark on a comparison, citing the same motif as it had been used by someone else (*ibid.*, xvi, 161-3, the famous *madjlis* with Djarīr, al-Farazdaḳ, Kuthayyir, Djamīl and al-Aḥwaṣ). It is easy to imagine the scene; one can also speak of an embryonic literary discussion with fragmentary remarks on certain points of detail.

Sukayna's support revived the knowledge of elegiac poetry in her epoch. In this way, she encouraged the *ghazal* poets to continue in their style of poetry during the time when they were being censored by the higher spheres of society. Moreover, it is possible to detect within her a preference for what could be called natural composition (*maṭbūʿ*), which worked to the detriment of the poetry of effort. This was why in her eyes the poetry of Djarīr was superior to that of al-Farazdaḳ (*Aghānī*, xxi, 366-7), and the compositions of Djamīl surpassed those of his peers. Nevertheless, she esteemed truth more highly than any other quality, and this led her to condemn a triplet by al-ʿArdjī and a threnody dedicated by ʿUrwa b. Udhayna to the memory of his brother Bakr, because of the discrepancy between what was reality and the much-embellished portrait that had been drawn by the piece (*Aghānī*, xviii, 328, 334; Ibn ʿAsākir, fols. 444-5).

Sukayna had a lasting influence on music in the Ḥidjāz, and Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*] considered himself her protégé. He would reserve for her the freshness of all his new creations, and more than once she would send him verses and ask him to set them to music for her. He is reported to have forsaken music after his conversion but he did not come any less frequently to her house; he came for three days at a time to sing with ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ (*Aghānī*, xvii, 46-7).

Gharīḍ was the slave of Sukayna, and it was she who discovered the musical talents he possessed, presided over his training and decided what his speciality should be. The *Aghānī* reports that Sukayna sent her slave, who was called ʿAbd al-Malik, to Ibn Suraydj and demanded that he teach him the funeral melodies (*niyāḥa*). On the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya he was entrusted with the singing of the funeral songs. He excelled so much in this duty that the women cried out, "Lamentations like these are overwhelming (*gharīḍ*)!", which is why he was given the epithet Gharīḍ (*Aghānī*, i, 255).

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(A. ARAZI)

SUKHF (A.), a word which the Arab lexicographers apply almost exclusively to the intellect (*ʿaḳl* [*q.v.*]), connecting it etymologically with the form X verb *istakhaffa*, and giving its root meaning as "thinness", "lack of substance". The adjectival form is *sakhīf*: a man is *sakhīf* "when he is shallow-minded (*nazik*) and frivolous (*khafīf*)" (Ibn Durayd, *Djamharat al-lugha*, Ḥaydarābād 1345/1926-7, s.v.). It is often used indiscriminately to designate "obscenity" (which is, more properly, *fuḥsh*), in which cases it frequently goes hand-in-hand with *mudjūn* [*q.v.*].

The mediaeval Arab literati appear not to have used *sukhf* as a designation of a poetic genre, preferring *mudjūn*. It is difficult to determine when *sukhf* and *sakhīf* mean "shallow-wittedness" and when they mean "obscene": see e.g. the opinion expressed by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. *ca.* 232/847 [*q.v.*]) concerning the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr [*q.v.*], that he had the least tendency to *sukhf* (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo 1952, 53), "levity", or "foolishness", and its rebuttal by the poet-caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]), who construes it as meaning "obscene", quoting two verses of a vulgar and abusive nature (al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, ed. by ʿA.M. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1965, 59-60) (see further G.J. van Gelder, *The bad and the ugly*, Leiden 1988, 16); Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]), in his *Kitāb al-Zahra*, ed. I. al-Samarrāʾī and N. al-Ḳaysī, Baghdād 1975, 169, connects it with *safah*, "folly"; a two-fold use of the root is found in the *Dīwān al-Maʿānī* of al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005 [*q.v.*]), Cairo 1352, i, 205 (*sakhīf* = shallow-witted, of some verses by Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*]), and i, 211 (*sakhīf* = obscene, of poetry the transmission of which should not be neglected). In the *Maḳāma al-Ṣaymariyya* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008 [*q.v.*]), ed. M. ʿAbduh, Beirut 1973, 212, al-Ṣaymarī tells how on his peregrinations he amassed "the poems of the witty and the frivolities of the entertainers" (*ashʿār al-mutazarrifīn wa-sukhf al-mulhīn*); in his *Rasāʾil* "the *sakhīf* or exponent of *sukhf* is defined ... as 'the one who is heedless about the consequences to him of what he does, and the one whose crown of the head is unperturbed by a blow'" (C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, Leiden 1975, i, 64), a definition similar to that offered of *mādjin* by Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*[1], s.v.

It is with the Būyids and with al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], in particular, that *sukhf* meaning "obscenity" became a slogan of the age, characterised by a fascination with the more sordid aspects of life and society which centred around, and was fuelled by, the interests of Ibn ʿAbbād. His patronage and predilections gave such a fillip to the taste for the obscene that it became a literary vogue and a social accomplishment. Its emergence (connected with burgeoning sophistication and urban progress, as well as with literary phenomena, being, along with *mudjūn* poetry, a reaction-formation to the poetry of *madīḥ* and *zuhd* [*q.vv.*]) was a response to a change in the reading public, catering to the popular taste. Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj's poetry, of both a traditional and an "underground" stamp, was hugely popular throughout the Islamic lands and brought him high rewards. It reflects the biparous nature of *sukhf* itself: many of his traditional panegyrics contain items of frivolity, while his "alternative", scabrous pieces defined a poetic type, imitated by subsequent centuries.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Cairo 1287/1870, ii, 143-64 (a ch. devoted to *sukhf* and *mudjūn*); A. Mez, *Abulḳâsim. Ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, Heidelberg 1902; J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam*, ²Leiden 1993; J.S. Meisami, *Arabic* Mujūn *poetry: the literary dimension*, in F. de Jong (ed.), *Verse and the fair sex*, Utrecht 1993; J.E. Montgomery, *For the love of a Christian boy: a song by Abū Nuwās*, in *JAL*, xxvii/2 (1996). (J.E. Montgomery)

SUKKAR, from Pers. *shakar* or *shakkar*, from Skr. *carcarā*, Prakrit *sakkarā*, the sap crushed from the sugar-cane (*ḳaṣab al-sukkar*) and solid sugar.

The origin of sugar cane and its early domestication cannot be precisely determined, but it evidently derived from the family of large *Saccharum* grasses which grow in India and Southeast Asia. From India, cultivation of the plant spread westward. Clear references to cultivation in Persia belong to the period immediately following the Islamic conquest, but it was possibly known somewhat earlier; papyrus evidence indicates that sugar cane was grown in Egypt by the mid-2nd/8th century and diffusion across North Africa was steady although its entry into areas of the Iberian peninsula under Muslim domination may not have occurred until the 5th/11th century. From Crusader times, the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and later Cyprus, were important sources of supply for Christian Europe.

Plant terms in Arabic frequently varied from region to region and possibly over time as well. Supposed synonyms can further lead to confusion. The same is true of the by-products of the sugar-cane resulting from different stages of preparation and refinement, that is, pressing, filtering and decocting. For example, two common terms for types of sugar are (*sukkar*) *ṭabarzad* and *sukkar nabāt*. Maimonides states they are the same, the latter replacing the former in Egypt, while Ibn al-Ḳuff lists them separately as distinct varieties. The difference appears to be that *ṭabarzad* set hard in moulds (sugar loaf) while *nabāt* set on palm sticks placed in the recipient where it was being prepared; *nabāt* was also produced from other substances such as rose syrup or violet syrup. Al-Anṭākī, on the other hand, describes *ṭabarzad* as produced by adding to the sugar one-tenth of its bulk in milk while the mixture cooked (*Tadhkira*, i, 195). This, however, may only have reflected a practice in Syria. Another common type of sugar was called *fānīd*, made in elongated moulds and which "melted quickly in the mouth" (Ibn al-Ḳuff, 314); its highly refined state was produced by adding the oil of sweet almonds or finely-ground white flour to the process of decoction. Finally, a sugar called *sulaymānī*, was made from hardened "red sugar" (*sukkar aḥmar*) broken into pieces and further cooked to remove any impurities (*Tadhkira*, i, 194).

Sugar was one of several substances used as a "sweetening" agent in mediaeval cooking as well as medical preparations. Honey, molasses (*dibs*) and fruit sugars were also commonly used. At times, their purpose served as a preserving agent for certain foods. It is impossible to judge the relative popularity of one sweetener over another. One medical writer, al-Tamīmī (d. late 4th/10th century) wrote of sugar that although "not one of the manna fallen from the sky" it was the "full brother of honey, its equal and associate". Its benefits included aiding the performance of ingested drugs, both laxative and non-laxative varieties, because it broke up their bitterness, softened any coarseness in their mixtures and eased their acceptance by the body, "conducting them to the very depths of the bodily organs" (Marín and Waines, *Manuscripts*, 130). Sugar was described in Galenic terms as hot and moist. Despite its many benefits, sugar was nonetheless judged to be harmful to the stomach at times

when yellow bile prevailed in it; the *ṭabarzad* variety, however, because it was less warm and moist than other sugars, was therefore less likely to be transformed into yellow bile. A number of medical receipts employing sugar are preserved in Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr's *K. al-Mudjarrabāt*, although they are considerably outnumbered by those using honey.

On the other hand, in a late culinary manual, the *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, sugar appears more frequently in preparations than honey. Moreover, unlike medical receipts in which sugar and honey rarely occur together, this is often the case in dishes prepared in the domestic kitchen. Dishes containing meat and vegetables were broadly classified as either "sour" (or "acidic", *ḥāmiḍ*) or else "sweetened" by virtue of the presence of a sweetening agent which, in the case of sugar, could be added either during, or sprinkled on top of the dish at the end of the cooking process. The intention in other preparations was to produce a "sweet-sour" effect by combining vinegar with a sweetener. Sugar used in the household seems to have been purchased in a state which required it to be "crushed", "pounded", "powdered" (*madjrūsh, mahrūs, madķūķ*) in the kitchen itself; recipes instruct that the sugar used should be "pounded (in a mortar) and sieved". Sugar was used, therefore, in a wide variety of preparations including, naturally, sweetmeats such as the popular *kunāfa* and *sanbūsak*, pickle preparations and other condiments. Finally, it may be noted that sugar was also an ingredient in several kinds of "home remedies" such as the electuary (*maʿdjūn*), the stomachic (*djawarsh*) and medicinal powders (*safūf*) prepared in the household as aids for the maintenance of the general health and welfare of its members.

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al-SUKKARĪ, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. Abī Ṣufra b. al-Muhallab, Arabic philologist from Baghdād, noted for his expertise in Arabic poetry, d. 275/888. His Muhallabid [*q.v.*] ancestry seems to be rather a link of clientage, as was the case with other scholars also (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Muhallabī). Al-Sukkarī marks a milestone in the process of collection and composition, commenting and edition of poetic *dīwāns*. The exact dimensions of his personal contribution to the shape of materials which he received from his teachers or informants is hard to assess in detail, since old pieces of evidence are rare. We may perceive from what is preserved of his works, however, that he transmitted and edited collections, and also gathered and composed poetic *dīwāns* himself.

Born in 212/827-8, he cannot have met with the early authorities in this field, e.g. Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī, as Yāķūt rightly points out (*Udabāʾ*). Even so, he often refers to them in his commentaries; much of the material seems to have come to him through Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb [see ibn ḥabīb], who is the most important of his teachers. Al-Sukkarī transmitted his *al-Muḥabbar*, *Naķāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaķ* and possibly *al-Mughtālīn* (*GAS*, ii, 179), and used Ibn Ḥabīb's collection of verses and commentaries as a starting-point for his editorial activity as editor-transmitter. In this manner, al-Sukkarī's redactions of the—preserved—*dīwāns* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. W.N. ʿArafat, i, 11), ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ķays al-Ruķayyāt (ed. N. Rhodokanakis, p. iii), Imruʾ al-Ķays (ed. Ahlwardt, p. vi), al-Ḥuṭayʾa (ed. N.M.A. Ṭāhā, 13), al-Akhṭal (ed. A. Salhani, 3), Djarīr (ms., *GAS*, ix, 281), Surāķa b. Mirdās al-Aṣghar (ed. S.M. Husayn, in *JRAS* [1936]) are related to the authority of this teacher. A short version (*mukhtaṣar*) of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamharat al-nasab*, a work also transmitted by Ibn Ḥabīb, is attested as a redaction of al-Sukkarī as well (W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, 100). This list can in no way lay claim to completeness, but may give an impression of the importance of the materials which he handed down to us.

Al-Sukkarī is also known for his "composition (*djamʿ*) of *dīwāns*" as al-Dhahabī expresses it (*Siyar*, xiii, 126), and most famous among his works of this kind is the edition and commentary of the tribal *dīwān* of the Hudhayl [*q.v.*]. Another tribal *dīwān* in his redaction was that of Taghlib as used by ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat al-adab*, i, 304, 309; cf. *GAS*, ii, 2 338). Also, the poetry of individual poets was gathered together and edited by him, like that of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (ed. T. Kowalski, 1) and many others. Ibn al-Nadīm has a long list of poets whose *dīwāns* al-Sukkarī gathered or transmitted (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 178). No manuscripts of his works on lexicology and poetry have, it seems, survived, but Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel) testifies, apart from *dīwāns*, to a *Kitāb al-Wuḥūsh* and *al-Abyāt al-sāʾira*. Fragments of his editorial work in poetry, as well as narrative materials about poets, are to be found scattered in classical Arabic literature, mainly in the *Khizānat al-adab* and, of primary importance, the *Aghānī*; here, for instance, a collection of the poetry of Ghaylān b. Salma is quoted from a copy of al-Sukkarī's own handwriting (*Aghānī*[3], xiii, 231) and his famous *Akhbār al-luṣūṣ*, parts of which are also preserved with the *dīwān* of Ṭahmān b. ʿAmr al-Kilābī (ed. W. Wright, in his *Opuscula arabica*), are mentioned (*Aghānī*[3], xxiv, 169).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I[2], 108-9, SI, 168; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii (poetry), viii (lexicography), ix (grammar), passim (see indices). For the *Aghānī*, see M. Fleischhammer, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-Aġānī*, Halle/Saale 1965 (unpublished ms.), ch. 3, no. 36, and ch. 4, no. 42; in addition to the biographical literature mentioned in these reference works, see Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, xiii, 126. (S. Leder)

SUKNĀ (a.), lit. "abode". This is a Ķurʾānic legal term referring to a women's right upon her husband to provide shelter for her (XL, 6). It also refers to her right to stay in the matrimonial house during her waiting period following divorce or death (XL, 1). A famous statement of Fāṭima bt. Ķays is recorded by al-Bukhārī and Muslim in their collections of *ḥadīth*, that *suknā* and *nafaķa* were not granted to her by the Prophet when she was irrevocably

divorced. Her statement lead to a disagreement among scholars. Ḥanafīs follow the view of ʿUmar and ʿĀʾis̲h̲a who rejected Fāṭima's statement on the ground of the strength of the opposing Ḳurʾānic verse and prophetic traditions. Other scholars, including ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās and the Imāmī school of the S̲h̲īʿa, deny both *suknā* and *nafaḳa* on the grounds of Fāṭima's statement. These two rights are only given to a woman who has not been irrevocably divorced. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Ḳudāma extended the range of exclusions to include a woman divorced before the consummation of the marriage. The S̲h̲āfiʿī and Mālikī schools maintain that the right to *nafaḳa* would be lost following a final pronouncement of divorce, unlike the right to *suknā*, since it is specified by Ḳurʾān, LXV, 6. The Ḥanafī tendency unreservedly to give a divorcee both *nafaḳa* and *suknā* seems to be the tendency adopted by some modern Muslim Family laws, including the Pakistani Ordinance, 1961.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mug̲h̲nī*, Cairo 1989, ii, 354-5; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, vii, 657; Sayyid Sābiḳ, *Fiḳh al-sunna*, Beirut 1977, ii, 158; Arshad Mubeen Anwari, *The manual of family laws*, Lahore n.d., 68, 75.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SUḲRĀṬ, the Greek philosopher Socrates. There is no specific discussion of the teachings of Socrates on the part of the Arabo-Muslim authors who mention his name. This also applies to bibliographers such as Abū Sulaymān al-Sid̲j̲istānī (*Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*), Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*), Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ḥukamāʾ*) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*). The small amount of information supplied by these diverse authors is, furthermore, repetitive. According to Abū Sulaymān, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle acquired Egyptian wisdom from Pythagoras. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, Paris 1935) merely states that Socrates was a disciple of Pythagoras, adding that "He confined himself, in philosophy, to the study of the metaphysical sciences. He scorned the pleasures of this world and rejected them, and publicly proclaimed his disagreement with the Greeks over the worship of idols". According to Ṣāʿid, it was this opposition to idolatry which led to the condemnation of Socrates. He relates a legendary episode and concludes by attributing to Socrates "sublime counsels", remarkable "institutions" and memorable statements. "He possessed opinions similar to those of Pythagoras and of Empedocles on the divine attributes. Nevertheless, on the subject of the Afterlife, he professed unfounded notions, far removed from sound philosophy and verified doctrines" (61). It may be noted that Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's analysis is influenced by his Muslim sensibilities. In particular, no doubt referring to Plato's *Phaedo*, he attacks a conception of the immortality of the soul which takes no account of the resurrection of the body. This treatise by Ṣāʿid inspired Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī numbers Socrates among the Five Sages, with Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle. Only Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa refers specifically to one of Plato's writings, under the title of *Kitāb Iḥtid̲j̲ād̲j̲ Suḳrāṭ ʿalā ahl At̲h̲īniya*, which could be the *Apology*. But it seems certain that, for the *falāsifa*, there was no distinction between the thought of Socrates and that of Plato.

Bibliography: Given in the text; see also I. Alon, *Socrates in Medieval Arabic Literature*, Leiden 1991.

(R. Arnaldez)

SUKŪN. In philosophy and in grammar, [see al-ḥaraka wa 'l-sukūn].

SUKŪT (a.), lit. "silence", a term of Islamic law. Here, *sukūt* refers to an individual's action of not actively expressing an opinion when involved in an action or contract that requires acceptance or rejection. This "tacit" manifestation of will can only be clarified by circumstance. The concept is highlighted by the legal maxim that states "no statement can be ascribed to a silent person, but silence when a need arises is a manifestation of will". The application of this rule can be found in the silence of a landlord who demands an increase on the former rent. The continuation of tenancy is viewed as including positive acceptance of the old rent (*Mad̲j̲alla*, art. 438). In contrast to this is the silence of the owner who is asked to lend his property; this is considered to mean a negative answer (*Mad̲j̲alla*, art. 805). This appears to create a situation in new cases when the arbitrary decision of the judge is the only factor for deciding what needs manifestation and what does not.

The contrasting variation of the "value" of silence in Islamic law seems to place significant importance on the psychological "state" of individuals performing contracts. This is best represented in the *sukūt* that is taken as acceptance (*riḍā*) in wedding ceremonies when a virgin bride is asked, "do you take this man to be your husband?" This is based on the grounds that she is too embarrassed to say "yes". This contrasts with the previously married woman who is expected explicitly to declare her will.

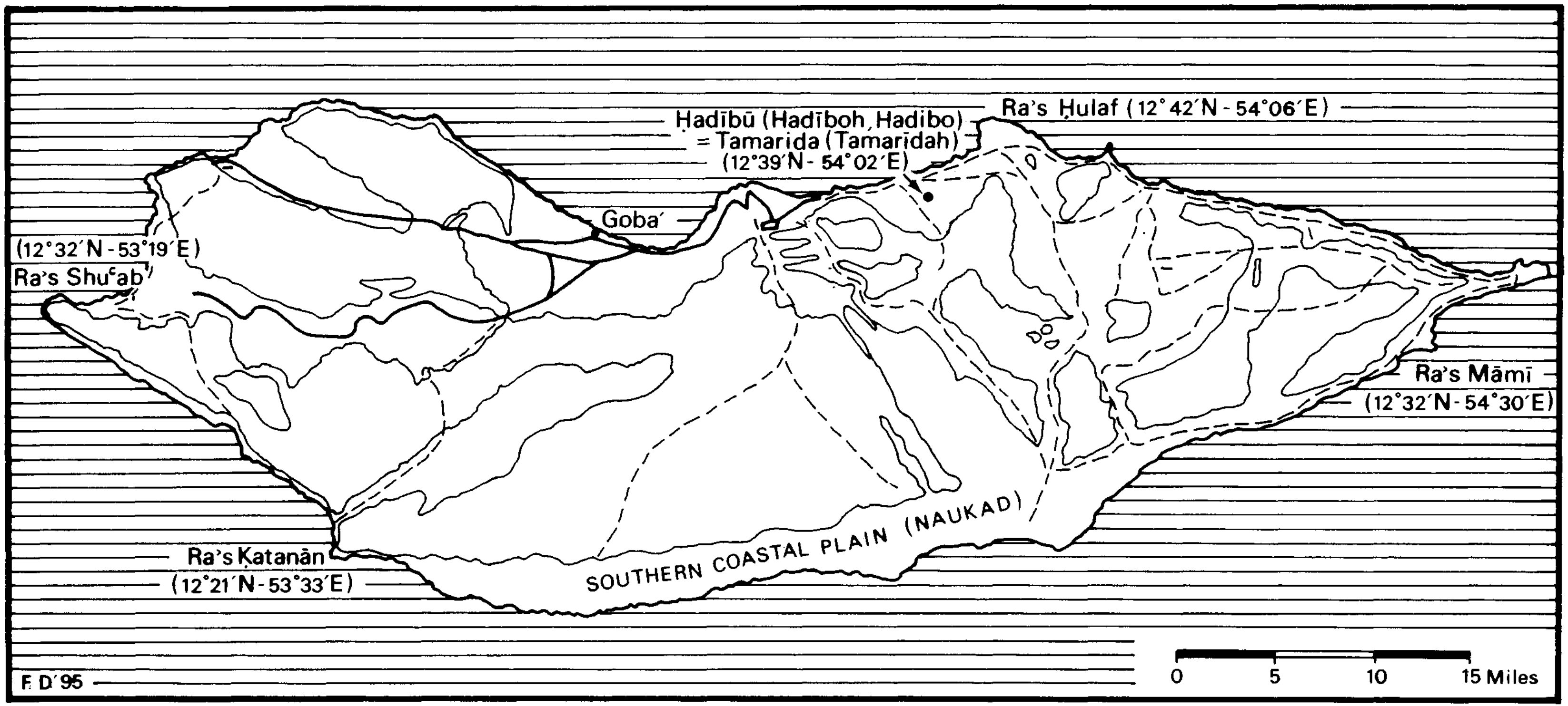
Bibliography: Salīm Rustum Bāz al-Lubnānī, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Mad̲j̲alla*, repr. Beirut 1986, 344, 447, 244, 1180; A. Zaydān, *al-Madk̲h̲al li-dirāsat al-S̲h̲arīʿa al-Islāmiyya*, Bag̲h̲dād 1967, 94. (M.Y. Izzi Dien)

SUḲUṬRA (other transcriptions: Suḳuṭrā, Suqutra, Soqotra, Soḳoṭrā, Socotora and Socotra; in Arabic, the final letter may be an *alif maḳṣūra* or a *tāʾ marbūṭa*), is an island in the Indian Ocean, at a distance of approximately 300 km/186 miles from the coasts of Arabia (Ras Fartak) and 240 km/150 miles from Ras Asir (Cap Guardafui) in Africa. Its geographical coordinates are, from east to west, Raʾs Māmī (12° 32' N. 54° 30' E.) to Raʾs S̲h̲uʿab (12° 32' N. 53° 19' E.), and from north to south, Raʾs Ḥulaf (12° 42' N. 54° 06' E.) to Raʾs Ḳatanān (12° 21' N. 53° 33' E.).

The dimensions of the island change according to the sources:

Source	*Length*	*Breadth*	*Surface*
EI[1] (1934)	132 km	40 km	km² 3579.2
West Arabia (1946)	138 km (75 miles)	37 km (20 miles)	
Red Sea Pilot (1967)	129 km (70 miles)	37 km (20 miles)	km² 4801 (1,400 sq. miles)
D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiya (1971)	—	—	(1,400 sq. miles)
Les Yemen (1979)	130 km	40 km	

It is part of an archipelago which includes at least three other islands: ʿAbd al-Kūrī (12° 12' N., 52° 13' E.) and the "Brothers", that is, D̲j̲azīrat Samha (12° 09' N., 53° 03' E.) and D̲j̲azīrat Darsa or Darza (12° 06' N., 53° 16' E.). According to *EI*[1], the population was estimated at 13,000 "Moslems"; the editors of *West Arabia* (1946) calculated that it was between 6,000 and 8,000; according to the *D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiya*, its inhabitants are 1,500; and finally, Alain Rouaud states that in 1979 the population was around 20,000, to whom 200 inhabitants of ʿAbd al-Kūrī must be added.


Ḥadībū (Hadīboh, Hadibo)
= Tamarida (Tamarīdah)
(12°39′N - 54°02′E)
Ra's Ḥulaf (12°42′N - 54°06′E)
Goba′
(12°32′N - 53°19′E)
Ra's Shuʿab
Ra's Māmī
(12°32′N - 54°30′E)
Ra's Ḳatanān
(12°21′N - 53°33′E)
SOUTHERN COASTAL PLAIN (NAUKAD)
F. D′95
0 5 10 15 Miles

SUKUṬRA

1. Topography and demography.

Situated near the track of vessels bound to and from the east, Suḳuṭra is generally sighted by vessels entering or leaving the Gulf of Aden; but being exposed to both monsoons and having no harbours in which vessels can at all times anchor with safety, it is but little visited. Jabal Haggier is the summit of the island, and attains an elevation of 1,419 m/4,654 feet.

The south-western part of the island is arid and barren, but much of the remainder is comparatively fertile, being well-watered by the monsoon rains of July and December. The southern coast preserves a nearly unbroken line, but the northern and western coasts are broken into a succession of small bays, generally with streams at their head, affording anchorage according to the seasons, but none of them is safe at all times of the year. Over a broad area, hills rise abruptly in vertical cliffs several hundred feet high, but at other places there are plains, which attain a breadth of as much as 9 km/5 miles between the base of the hills and the coast. On the southern side is the plain of Naukad, the largest plain, which, extending nearly the whole length of the island, is for miles covered with dunes of drift sand. On the northern side, these plains occur chiefly at the mouth of streams, and are the sites of the only places which may be called towns.

The internal part of the island may be roughly described as broad, undulating, and intersected by limestone plateaux, with an average elevation of about 300 m/984 feet, that flank westward, southward and eastward, a nucleus of granite peaks, which attain elevations of over 1,200 m/3,936 feet. These are seldom free from clouds, but when the weather is clear their appearance is broken and picturesque. The whole of this hilly region is deeply intersected by ravines and valleys, which, in the rainy seasons, are occupied by roaring torrents, but the majority are empty in the dry season. There are, however, many perennial streams.

The population has a composite character that struck the travellers of Antiquity: Arabs, Indians, Somalis, and Blacks, the descendants of mixed slaves.

Inland, they are nomad "Bedouins" and live in caves. They practise a rotation of the pasture land to feed their flocks of goats, sheep and camels. They also gather the resin of dragon's blood (Dracaena Cinnabari), incense and aloe, and make the most of some palm groves and tobacco plants. The southern coast is deserted. The habitants of the northern coastline are scattered in some twenty small villages: they practise fishing and exchange their surplus with the "Bedo" against meat and milk.

The language spoken in the island is Suḳuṭrī (Soqotri, Socotri, etc.); see below, 3.

2. History.

The long history of Suḳuṭra extends back into mythology. One suggested derivation of the name is from the Sanskrit, *Dvipa Sukhādhāra* according to *Western Arabia*, or *dvīpa sukhātara*, according to J. Tkatsch in *EI*[1], which are to be translated "Isle of the Abode of the Bliss" or "l'île heureuse". There is also a theory that this was corrupted into *Sūḳ al-Ḳaṭra* "market of the exudations", but this is apparently untenable on philological grounds.

Suḳuṭra has been identified with the Panchaia of Virgil, which is connected with the story of the Phoenix, which lies down to die in a perfumed nest of cinnamon and frankincense sprigs. A connection has also been suggested with Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, whence possibly the Roman name Dioscoridis Insula. To this day, the Arabs call dragon's-blood *dam al-akhawayn* "the blood of the two brothers".

Iskuduru, one of a list of countries conquered by Darius (5th century B.C.), is believed to have been Suḳuṭra. The island was apparently visited, along with the Land of Punt, by the ancient Egyptians in order to obtain frankincense by the direct sea-route. The anonymous writer of the *Periplus* referred to Suḳuṭra as containing (1st century A.D.) a mixed Greek-speaking population, trading with Arabia and India, especially in turtle-shell of high quality; while Cosmas Indicopleustes, visiting it in the 6th century, thought that the Greek-speaking people had been placed in "Dioscorides" by the Ptolemies. Traders from Muza (the Arabian Red Sea coast) and Barygaza (the Gulf of Cambay) visited the island for turtle-shell. The island is mentioned in pre-Islamic inscriptions from Ḥaḍramawt, spelt in the *musnad* script *s³krd*, as an appanage of Ḥaḍramawt. In Islamic times, as far back as the 10th century it was a noted haunt of pirates from Cutch and Gudjarāt. Marco Polo, among other writers, described the harpooning of whales round its coasts for ambergris and sperm oil.

Several Arab geographers, among them Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Idrīsī, al-Baghdādī (d. 739/1338) and al-Ḥamdānī (d. 945/1539), mention Suḳuṭra in their descriptions. The information which they give is, however, limited to mentioning the gathering of aloes [see ṢABR] and dragon's blood, and they state that most of the inhabitants are "Christian Arabs". Al-Idrīsī adds that Alexander the Great had replaced the primitive inhabitants of the island with Greek immigrants on the advice of his tutor and friend Aristotle. In 1507, the Portuguese Afonso de Albuquerque conquered the island, but this occupation did not last long; it was, however, the first contact with expanding Europe.

The islands for long formed part of the domains of the Imām of Masḳaṭ and the Mahri Sultan of Ḳishn and Suḳuṭra. The island was occupied by a British force, following an agreement with the Sultan in 1834, for about five years while the Government of India was negotiating the purchase of the island as a coaling station. In 1886 the Sultan accepted a Protectorate Treaty. All the islands then became part of the Aden Protectorate, administered from India through the Resident at Aden, till the transfer of the Protectorate to the Colonial Office in London in 1937. The Sultan, whose capital was Hadibu, ruled with the help of his *wazīr* and of headmen appointed from the coastal settlements and the pastoral clans of the interior.

The first landing ground for aircraft was established on the Hadibu plain in 1940. This was replaced in 1942 by a larger landing-ground on the northern coastal plain, some 2 miles west of Kathub. According to Alain Rouaud, "the Soviet Union apparently used the same landing grounds for their planes operating in the Indian Ocean; they also established a base for their fleet of submarines and 30 other boats. The presence of these military bases explains the thick veil and the absence of information which the South Yemenis kept over the island, since camps for political prisoners were to be found there. Situated at the same distance from Mogadishu and Addis Ababa on the petroleum route that passes by the Cape of Good Hope, or on that going through the Suez Canal, Suḳuṭra is a particularly strategic centre in a zone of conflicts".

On 22 May 1990, the Arabic Republic of Yemen and the Popular Republic of Yemen joined to form

the new state of the Republic of Yemen, in which Suḳuṭra is now included.

Bibliography: Most of the bibliographies, even those dealing specifically with the Arabian Peninsula, ignore the existence of Suḳuṭra. Moreover, the scattered information already published is not recent or up-to-date. With reference to the historical part of the period before the appearance of Islam, the reader should refer to the *EI*[1] art., where detailed information can be found.

1. Geographical co-ordinates and place-names. *People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Official standard names gazetteer*; United States Board on Geographic Names 1976, Washington D.C. (A list of *Soḳoṭrī* names was supplied by the *Permanent Committee on Geographical Names* (*U.K.*); they are the result of field work by the late Professor Tom Johnston of S.O.A.S., London.)

2. Description of the island. *EI*[1], art. *Soḳoṭrā* (1934); Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, Appendix F, Socotra, 609-15; *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden pilot, comprising the Suez Canal, etc. Socotra and its adjacent islands*, 11th ed. London 1967 (contains a detailed description of the coasts and anchorages of the islands); *Djughrāfiya Djumhūriyyat al-Yaman al-dīmūḳrāṭiyya al-shaʿbiyya*, Cairo 1971; A. Rouaud, *Les Yemen et leurs populations*, Brussels 1979, 224, Soqotra (île de-), 129-30, Soqotri (langue), 30, 129.

3. History. G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early medieval times*, Princeton 1951, new augmented ed. by J. Carswell, Princeton 1995, index, s.vv. Socotra, Dvipa Sukhatara; G.R. Tibbets, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, being a translation of* Kitāb al-Fawāʾid fī uṣūl al-baḥr wa ʾl-qawāʾid *of Aḥmad b. Mājid al-Najdī*, London 1971, index, s.vv. Socotra, ʿAbd al-Kūrī, Darza, Samḥa. (G. Oman)

3. Language.

The term Suḳuṭrī/Soḳoṭrī denotes both an inhabitant of the island of Suḳuṭrā and the language of the Yemeni islands of Suḳuṭrā and ʿAbd al-Kūrī and the nearby islet of Samḥa, situated in the Gulf of Aden off Cape Guardafui. Suḳuṭrī (S), realised as [sḳʌṭri], is one of the six languages of the group known as "Modern South Arabian Languages" (MSAL) currently spoken in Yemen and in ʿUmān and belonging to the southern branch of western Semitic, as do Arabic and the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. It should be stressed that there is no inter-comprehension between Arabic and the MSALs, nor between S and the other MSALs. The number of speakers is hard to reckon in the absence of recent official figures; the population of Suḳuṭrā may, however, be estimated at approximately 50,000 (Naumkin and Porkhomovskiy, 1981, 3), that of ʿAbd al-Kūrī at around 260 (Naumkin, 1993, 342, 359 n. 2), that of Samḥa at less than 50 (University of Aden, 1986, 9, Arabic section). S, not a written language, is the mother tongue of all the inhabitants of the islands; it is used in all facets of private life and in social intercourse, as well as in oral literature (songs, poetry, anecdotes, traditional tales); outside the islands, it is spoken within communities of expatriate islanders (especially in the Emirates). Arabic, the national language, is the second language of the islands in question, spoken in administrative contexts. It is taught in schools and through contact with Arabophones living on the northern coast of Suḳuṭrā, in particular in Ḥadībo or, for the fishermen of ʿAbd al-Kūrī, with Arabophones on the coast of Ḥaḍramawt. Many Bedouin women living in remote regions of the islands, born before the 1960s and never having had access to education, possess little or no knowledge of the national language. Arabic also serves as the language of communication with speakers of one other MSAL, Mahrī [*q.v.*], which for historical, geographical and economic reasons is the only MSAL having contact with S.

The first document regarding S dates back no further than 1835, when J.R. Wellsted compiled a list of 246 words and expressions in this language. At the end of the 19th century the Viennese scholar, D.H. Müller, in the context of the *Südarabische Expedition*, provided Semitic scholars with a veritable library of texts in S from Suḳuṭrā and ʿAbd al-Kūrī, studied and analysed by M. Bittner, W. Leslau and E. Wagner. Studies conducted since 1966, by T.M. Johnstone, V. Naumkin and the *Mission Française d'Enquête sur les Langues du Yemen* (A. Lonnet and M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle) have revealed a rich dialectology and made it possible to complete and revise certain assertions which were formerly applied to only a small number of S dialects, the only ones studied in previous works.

Among the MSALs which, it may be recalled, present a number of traits original and internal to the southern group of western Semitic, S occupies a particular place; its geographical and historical isolation has definitely been the cause of an evolution different to that of the MSALs of the mainland, in permanent contact with one another.

In terms of phonology, as with the other MSALs, the consonantal system of S is characterised by the existence of ejective glottalised consonants: ṭ, ḳ, ṣ, ṣ́, ṣ̌ (these correspond to the Arabic series of emphatics, with the exception of ṣ̌, a supplementary phoneme peculiar to the MSALs), of two lateral fricatives (of which traces are found in the writing of ancient South Arabian languages, in Hebrew and in Geʿez) including ṣ́ (the Arabic homologue of which is the letter *ḍād* [*q.v.*], which seems to have exhibited a lateral articulation, cf. the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi).

It should be stressed that, contrary to what has sometimes been stated, the velar fricatives x and ġ form part of the phonological system of S, although it is true that, in some dialects, there has been coalescence with the pharyngals: in Ḳalansiyya, xte "night" and ġayž "man" correspond to ḥte and ʕɛyž in Ḥadībo. On the other hand, within the MSALs, S is distinguished by a consonantal system lacking interdentals.

From the purely phonetic point of view, there are two traits typical of S which should be noted. One is the consequence of rules of accentuation: the existence of a so-called "parasitic" h which permits the prolongation of a syllable which has become short and unaccented (méṣ̌əher "stable", but in the dual məṣ̌éri; férhim "daughter"). The other is the pronunciation of certain consonants in a "whispered" form: the emission of the phoneme is such that the vocal cords are not fully engaged, and the auditive impression is that of a breath accompanying the consonant; it is transcribed as ^{h}: gém^{h}ɛl "camel", léš^{h}ən "tongue".

Other phenomena of phonetic combination, also existing to varying degrees in other MSALs, are present in S: the palatalisation of voiceless, glottalised and voiced velars: icœ́tab "he writes" (ktob "he has written"), mərbī́cəh "poisoned" (f.) (rībək "he has been poisoned"), diçáʕnəhən "scorpion", ʕɛyž "man", in certain dialects ʕḗg^y "man"; the fricative realisation [ź] of /l/: åź (for /al/, negative particle), ʔə́sʌź "he helped", åźźah "Allah".

The vocalic system of S differs from that of other

MSALs, in that certain dialects include ö and œ in addition to the i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, ə, of the "basic" MSA system. The timbre and vocalic quantity are closely linked with accentuation and, as in Djibbālī [see SHIḤRĪ], contrast in vocalic duration seems to have no phonological relevance. The syllabic structure is of the Cv or CvC type. The accent, in comparison with the other MSALs, is "retracted" towards the beginning of the word; it applies to the penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable (except in certain conjugations) and under its effect, the vowel is often realised long (xɔ́məh "five"). Vowels play an important morphological role. In nouns, they contribute to distinction of gender: ṭáḥrər (masc.) and ṭáḥrer (fem.) "wild goat", kέrkam and kέrkim "yellow", śībœb "old man" and śībib "old woman" and to distinction of number: ʕāṭɔm (sing.) and ʕɛṭɔm (pl.) "big", náḥrər and náḥrur "nose/noses". They have a similar function in verbs where, in addition to gender and number, they indicate the person and the diathesis: tkœ́təb "you write" (m. sing.) and in the fem. tkḗtəb, tấ "he ate, they (fem.) ate" and tœ́ "they (masc.) ate", ḳɔ́rɔṣ̂ "he shaved" and ḳūrɔṣ̂ "he is shaved".

The noun is not supplied with case endings; it possesses two genders, masc. and fem., and three numbers, singular, dual and plural. In words where the fem. is indicated, it is by the suffix -əh, -ɛh, -ɔh, and -t in the dual: ʕɛ̄nɔh "year", ʕénīti "two years". The nominal dual is very active; it is marked by the suffix -i and, unlike in the other MSALs, it is not necessary followed by the numeral trœh (masc.), trih (fem.) "two". Nouns have both internal and external plurals and often several plurals for one singular.

As in the Mahrī spoken in the Yemen Republic, but different from the MSALs spoken in ʿUmān, there exists in S no definite article.

The morphology of autonomous and incorporated personal pronouns includes a form of the dual, including the first person; with all the persons (excepting the dual) there is distinction of gender. The verbal system does not differ from that of other MSALs; it comprises three simple forms: Cɔ́CɔC and CCɔC (active voice), CéCəC (middle voice) and CíCəC (passive voice), four derived forms (by internal modification, prefixation or infixation): Cɔ́CɔC (intensive-conative), ʔɔ́CCəC (factitive and "intermediate" value), šəCCəC and šəCéCəC (causative-reflexive), CɔtCəC and CɔtéCəC (reflexive). The verbal paradigms, as in Arabic, are arranged in prefixal and suffixal conjugations (corresponding to the imperfect and perfect aspect). In contrast to Arabic, S, with the MSALs, is distinguished by the existence of a dual in three persons. In the perfect state, the two first persons sing. and dual, as well as the second of the plur., have the ending -k; the third person fem. has the endings -əh, -ɔh: ʔəṣk "I have been afraid", ʔəṣki "the two of us have been afraid", ʔəṣɔh "she has been afraid", and -t when the verb is followed by a complementary pronoun: baʕárəh "she has spat" and baʕárət-š "she has spat it". The subjunctive differs from the indicative in its particular vocalic scheme and it includes a prefix l- added to the first persons sing. and dual, and to the third persons masc. sing., pl. A certain number of verbs, especially simple passive verbs, are conjugated in the inaccomplished aspect without the prefixed personal indicators y- and t-; however, the subjunctive has l- in all persons, except the first of the plural. Some derived forms have an imperfect tense with a supplementary -n. S is the only one of the MSALs to possess no specific form for the future. The jussive is expressed by the imperfect indicative, but the prohibitive is expressed by a negative particle followed by the subjunctive: zœ́ʕœm "you sit, sit!", ʕa lɔ́zʕam "do not sit!"

In syntax, two features clearly distinguish S from the other MSALs. The notion of possession is expressed by a prepositional syntagm (the preposition is followed by the independent or incorporated pronoun referring to the possessor) *preceding* the noun which refers to the thing possessed: dihoʰ bébe mey šem ʕali (of-me [independent pron.] father of-him [incorporated pron.] name ʿAlī) "my father, his name is ʿAlī". For the construction of negation, S is the only MSA language in which the negative particle is always anteposed to the element negated; furthermore, it differs (except in the dialect of ʿAbd al-Kūrī) in terms of the mode of the verb: ʔal with the indicative in assertive or interrogative phrases and ʕa (or ḥa) followed by the subjunctive in prohibitive phrases.

As regards the lexicon, in S numerous roots are encountered which belong to ancient Semitic lexical stock; but what is striking is the number of original words, original even in terms of the MSA lexicon, which cannot, in the present state of knowledge, be associated with any of the languages (African, Indian, European) which could have been in contact with S. It should only be noted that the dialect of ʿAbd al-Kūrī has been strongly influenced in its phonetics and its vocabulary by the Arabic dialect of the region of the Ḥaḍramawt, with which contact is regular and continuous.

Bibliography: References to the MSALs as a whole are to be found in T.M. Johnstone's art. MAHRĪ. All references to S by the scholars of the *Südarabische Expedition* of Vienna, D.H. Müller and M. Bittner, are to be found in W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri*, Paris 1938. Numerous lexical terms are also present in Johnstone, *Mehri lexicon*, London 1987. For works subsequent to E. Wagner (*Syntax der Mehri-Sprache* ..., Berlin 1953) and not quoted by Johnstone (1986), see Johnstone, *The non-occurrence of a t- prefix in certain Socotri verbal forms*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi/3 (1968); A. Lonnet and M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle, *La phonologie des langues sudarabiques modernes*, in A. Kaye (ed.), *The phonology of selected Asian and African languages*, Wiesbaden 1995; V. Naumkin, *Sokotriytsî* ("The Soqotris"), Moscow 1988; idem, *Island of the Phoenix*, Reading 1993; Naumkin and V. Porkhomovskiy, *Očerki po etnolingvistike sokotri* ("Studies on Soqotri ethnolinguistics") Moscow 1981; Simeone-Senelle, *Récents développements des recherches sur les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *Procs. of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress 1987*, Vienna 1991; eadem, *Notes sur le premier vocabulaire soqotri: le Mémoire de Wellsted (1835)*, in *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques* (*MAS*), n.s. 3,4 (1991, 1992); eadem, *L'expression du futur dans les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *MAS*, n.s. 5 (1993); eadem, *La négation dans les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *MAS*, n.s. 6 (1994); eadem, *Aloe and Dragon's Blood, some medicinal and traditional uses on the island of Socotra*, in *New Arabian Studies*, ii (1994), 186-98; eadem, *Magie et pratiques thérapeutiques dans l'île de Soqotra: le médecin-guérisseur*, in *PSAS*, xxv (1995); eadem and A. Lonnet, *Lexique des noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes*, in *MAS*, 3, n.s. (1985-6, 1988-9); eadem, *Lexique soqotri: les noms des parties du corps*, in *Semitic studies in honour of Wolf Leslau*, Wiesbaden 1991, ii; eadem, *Compléments à Lexique Soqotri: les noms des parties du corps*, in *MAS*, n.s. 4 (1992); D. Testen, *The loss of the person-marker in Jibbali and Socotri*, in *BSOAS*, xlv (1992); University of Aden, *Research Programme Socotra Island*,

Aden 1986; E. Wagner, *Der Dialekt von ʿAbd el-Kûri*, in *Anthropos*, xliv/2-3 (1959).

(M.-Cl. Simeone-Senelle)

SULAḤFĀ, Sulaḥfāʾ, Sulaḥfāʰ, Sulaḥfiyya, pl. *salāḥif* (a.), feminine substantive denoting the tortoise or turtle in general, terrestrial as well as aquatic. The root *s.l.ḥ.f.* is drawn from an ancient and unidentified language, unrelated to Arabic. Besides this classical term and the synonyms *g̲h̲aylam* for the male and *ṭuwama* for the female, dialectal names are encountered according to regions: thus in the Mag̲h̲rib, *fakrūn, fakir, afkir*, pl. *fakāʾir, fakārin* derived from the Berber *īfakrūn*, pl. *īfkar, īfkaran*; in Syria and Lebanon, *kurkaʿa*.

I. Species. The order of Chelonians with a carapace, *sulaḥfiyyāt mudarraʿāt* (Greek χελώνη, Latin *testudo*), comprises three families:

A. *Terrestrial Chelonians, barriyyāt* or chersites, including, in Arab countries: (1) Hermann's tortoise (*Testudo Hermanni*); (2) The Greek or Moorish tortoise (*Testudo graeca, mauritanica*); (3) The Caspian emyde (*Mauremys caspica*); (4) The bordered tortoise (*Testudo marginata*); and (5) The Barbary tortoise (*Testudo ibera*).

B. *Marsh Chelonians, munkaʿiyyāt* or elodites, including the European cistude (*Emys orbicularis*).

C. *Marine Chelonians, baḥriyyāt*, including: (1) The lute turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*), which can exceed 2 m in length and 500 kg in weight; (2) The caret or caouane turtle, *ḥanfāʾ, aṭūm* (*Caretta caretta*); (3) The green turtle or true chelon, *lad̲j̲ʾa k̲h̲aḍrāʾ* (*Chelonia mydas*); and (4) The imbricated chelon, *lad̲j̲ʾa sahfiyya* (*Chelonia imbricata*).

II. Utility. A. The shell of the tortoise, *d̲h̲abl*, has always been highly valued for the manufacture of combs and bracelets, *masak*.

B. The carapace, *bayt al-sulaḥfā*, of large marine turtles is used, especially among nomads, as a cradle for new-born infants. It is also employed in various domestic functions, serving, e.g. as a basket or a basin. It should not be forgotten that in ancient times, this carapace, fitted with vibrating strings, constituted the original lute, *ʿūd*, ancestor of the lyre which among the Greeks and the Romans was attributed to Hermes/Mercury.

C. The meat of certain turtles was a popular foodstuff, as were their eggs; consumption of these is permitted according to Ḳurʾānic law.

III. Specific Properties. In a place of ice and intense cold, if a living tortoise is laid on its back, feet in the air, the atmosphere immediately becomes clement. The blood of the tortoise is an effective ointment for all maladies of the joints. Carrying on one's person the tail of a tortoise supposedly favours sexual endeavours and finally, seeing a tortoise in a dream foretells an attractive bride, perfumed and finely adorned, or the acquisition of great wisdom.

IV. Astronomy. *Al-Sulaḥfāʰ* is one of several names for the nineteenth boreal constellation of the Lyre situated between Hercules and the Swan. The Arabic term has given rise, in ancient and mediaeval treatises, to the following renderings: *eçulhafe, açolhafe, açulhafe, acolhafe, açulafe, aculhaffech*.

V. Proverbial usage. Al-Damīrī cites the adage *ablad min sulaḥfāʰ* "more stupid than a tortoise", but it is not clear what aspect of the behaviour of this useful creature is supposed to justify such an assertion.

Bibliography: Aristotle, *Histoire des animaux*, tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, *passim*; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1937, ii, 24-5, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, in margins of al-Damīrī (see above), ii, 328-9. D. Chenu, *Encyclopédie d'histoire naturelle*, Paris 1874, vol. *Reptiles et poissons*, 18-40; Amin Malouf (Amīn al-Maʿlūf), *Muʿd̲j̲am al-ḥayawān, An Arabic zoological Dictionary*, Cairo 1932, (s.vv.); A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algers (1951), ix, 131; G. Diesener and J. Reichholf, *Batraciens et reptiles*, Paris 1986, 100-19.

(F. Viré)

AL-SULAMĪ, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī al-Sulamī al-Naysābūrī, important Ṣūfī hagiographer and Ḳurʾān commentator. He was born at Nīs̲h̲āpūr (Naysābūr) in 325/937 or 330/942 and died in the same city in 412/1021. He belonged to the tribe of the Azd on his father's side and to that of the Sulaym on his mother's. When al-Sulamī's father left Nīs̲h̲āpūr to settle at Mecca, al-Sulamī's education was entrusted to his maternal grandfather, Abū ʿAmr Ismāʿīl b. Nud̲j̲ayd (d. 366/976-7), who was a disciple of Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Ḥīrī (d. 298/910), a S̲h̲āfiʿī scholar of *ḥadīt̲h̲* and an adherent of the ascetic tradition of Nīs̲h̲āpūr. Al-Sulamī received a teaching certificate (*id̲j̲āza*) from the Ḥanafī Abū Sahl al-Ṣuʿlūkī (296-369/909-80) and, some time after 340/951, the Ṣūfī cloak (*k̲h̲irḳa*) from the S̲h̲āfiʿī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Naṣrābād̲h̲ī (d. 367/977-8) who, some ten years before in 330/942, had become a Ṣūfī at the hands of Abū Bakr al-S̲h̲iblī [*q.v.*] at Bag̲h̲dād.

An avid student of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, al-Sulamī travelled widely throughout K̲h̲urāsān and ʿIrāḳ in search of knowledge, visiting Marw and Bag̲h̲dād for extended periods of time. He travelled as far as the Ḥid̲j̲āz, but apparently visited neither Syria nor Egypt. His travels climaxed in a pilgrimage to Mecca, performed in 366/976 in the company of al-Naṣrābād̲h̲ī, who died shortly after the Pilgrimage. When al-Sulamī returned to Nīs̲h̲āpūr about 368/977-8, his teacher Ismāʿīl b. Nud̲j̲ayd had passed away, leaving him his extensive library. This library became the centre of the small Ṣūfī lodge (*duwayra*) which al-Sulamī established in his quarter of the town, the *sikkat al-Nawand*. There he spent the remaining forty years of his life as a resident scholar, probably visiting Bag̲h̲dād on a number of occasions. By his later years, he had become highly respected throughout K̲h̲urāsān as a S̲h̲āfiʿī man of learning and an author of Ṣūfī manuals.

Al-Sulamī was a prolific author who eventually employed his future biographer, Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-K̲h̲as̲h̲s̲h̲āb (381-456/991-1064), as his attendant and scribe. He composed the long list of his works, amounting to more than a hundred titles, over a period of some fifty years from about 360/970 onwards. Some thirty of his works are known to be extant in manuscript; many have appeared in print. These writings may be divided into three main categories: Ṣūfī hagiographies, Ṣūfī commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, and treatises on Ṣūfī traditions and customs. Each of these categories appears to be represented by a major work.

The substantial *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ṣūfiyya*, listing the biographies of a thousand Ṣūfīs, is known only through extracts incorporated in later sources. It was probably an amplified version of the *Taʾrīk̲h̲* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bad̲j̲alī, known as Ibn S̲h̲ād̲h̲ān al-Rāzī, who died in 376/986 at Nīs̲h̲āpūr. The *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya* (ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, and N. S̲h̲arība, Cairo 1969) is a shorter version, listing summary biographies of 105 Ṣūfīs with selections of their sayings. The writings of al-Sulamī on Ṣūfī traditions and customs, often referred to as *Sunan al-ṣūfiyya*, are lost today. Extracts of its contents were integrated into the major works of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066). Judging by these extracts, al-Sulamī's *Sunan* probably resembled

a variety of minor treatises on Ṣūfī practices. His principal commentary on the Ḳur'ān, *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr*, is a voluminous work which still awaits publication as a whole, although extracts of it have been published by Massignon and Nwyia. Some time after the completion of the *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr*, al-Sulamī wrote a separate Ḳur'ān commentary entitled *Ziyādāt ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* (ed. G. Böwering, Beirut 1995), an appendix to the former extant in a unique manuscript. This work was compiled some time after 370/980, the date by which, in all probability, the *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* had been completed. Significant portions of both Ḳur'ān commentaries were integrated into the *'Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaḳā'iḳ al-Ḳur'ān* (2 vols., Cawnpore 1301/1884) of Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī (d. 606/1209).

Bibliography: For al-Sulamī's life and work, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 671-4; the introds. to the editions of Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*; S. Ateş, *Sülemî ve tasavvufî tefsiri*, Istanbul 1969; G. Böwering, *The Qur'ān commentary of Al-Sulamī*, in W.B. Hallaq and D.P. Little (eds.), *Islamic studies presented to Charles J. Adams*, Leiden 1991, 41-56; idem, *The minor Qur'ān commentary of Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn as-Sulamī (d. 412/1021)*, Beirut 1995; idem, *The major sources of Sulamī's minor Qur'ān commentary*, in *Oriens* (1995). Extracts from Sulamī's *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* were published by L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, ²1968, 359-412; P. Nwyia, *Le Tafsīr mystique attribué à Ǧa'far Ṣādiq*, in *MUSJ*, xliii (1968), 181-230, repr. in 'Alī Zay'ūr, *al-Tafsīr al-ṣūfī li 'l-Ḳur'ān 'ind al-Ṣādiḳ*, Beirut 1979, 125-212; P. Nwyia, *Sentences de Nūrī citées par Sulamī dans Ḥaqā'iq al-Tafsīr*, in *MUSJ*, xliv (1968), 145-7; idem, *Trois œuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans*, Beirut 1973, 23-182. The items of Ibn 'Aṭā''s Ḳur'ān commentary included in Sulamī's *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* have been tr. into German with introd. by R. Gramlich, *Abu 'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā': Sufi und Koranausleger*, Stuttgart 1995. Minor works attributed to Sulamī known to have appeared in print: *Risālat al-malāmatiyya* (ed. Abu 'l-'Alā' al-'Afīfī, Cairo 1364/1945); *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, Ḥaydarābād 1369/1950; *Kitāb Ādāb al-ṣuḥba*, ed. M.J. Kister, Jerusalem 1954; ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Badyawī, Beirut 1410/1990; *Djawāmi' ādāb al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. E. Kohlberg, Jerusalem 1976; *'Uyūb al-nafs wa-mudāwātuhā*, ed. idem, Jerusalem 1976; ed. Madjdī Fatḥī al-Sayyid, Ṭanṭā 1410/1990; *Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, ed. S. Ateş, Ankara 1397/1977; cf. also F. Taeschner, in *Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen septagenario*, Copenhagen 1953, 340-51; *al-Muḳaddima fi 'l-taṣawwuf wa-ḥaḳīḳatih*, ed. Yūsuf Zaydān, Cairo 1408/1978; ed. Ḥusayn Amīn, Baghdād 1984; *Manāhidj al-'ārifīn*, ed. Kohlberg, in *JSAI*, i (1979), 19-39; *Manāhidj al-'ārifīn, Daradjāt al-mu'āmalāt, Djawāmi' ādāb al-ṣūfiyya, al-Muḳaddima fi 'l-taṣawwuf, Bayān aḥwāl al-ṣūfiyya, Mas'ala daradjāt al-ṣādiḳīn, Sulūk al-'ārifīn, Nasīm al-arwāḥ, Bayān zalal al-fuḳarā'*, ed. S. Ateş, in *Tis'a kutub li-Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Sulamī*, Ankara 1401/1981, 1-212; *Ṣifāt al-dhākirīn wa 'l-mutafakkirīn*, ed. Abū Maḥfūẓ al-Karīm al-Ma'ṣūmī, in *Madjallat al-madjma' al-'ilmī al-hindī*, ix (1404/1984); *Uṣūl al-malāmatiyya wa-ghalaṭāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Aḥmad al-Fāwī Maḥmūd, Cairo 1405/1985; *Daradjāt al-mu'āmalāt*, ed. Aḥmad Ṭāhirī 'Irāḳī, Tehran 1369; *Nasīm al-arwāḥ*, ed. idem, Tehran 1372; *Kitāb kalām al-Shāfi'ī fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, ed. idem, Tehran 1372; *Kitāb al-Samā'*, ed. N. Pūrdjawādī, Tehran 1372; *Dhikr al-niswa al-muta'abbidāt al-ṣūfiyyāt*, ed. 'Irāḳī, Cairo 1413/1993. Many of these minor works of al-Sulamī are being reprinted collectively in N. Pūrdjawādī (ed.), *Madjmū'a-yi āthār-i Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī*, i, Tehran 1369; ii, Tehran 1372; iii, Tehran, forthcoming. (G. BÖWERING)

AL-**SULAMĪ**, 'IZZ AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Dimashḳī, Sulṭān al-'Ulamā', Abū Muḥammad, Shāfi'ī jurist who was born in Damascus in 577/1181-2 (or 578) and died in Cairo 10 Djumādā I 660/1 April 1262.

The scion of a modest family originally from North Africa (al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya*, Beirut 1987, ii, 84), 'Izz al-Dīn al-Sulamī "the Damascene" was the leading Shāfi'ī authority of his generation, the majority of biographers attributing to him the status of *mudjtahid*, a distinction not often awarded at this time (according to al-Suyūṭī, quoting Ibn Kathīr, at the end of his life al-Sulamī regarded himself as an "absolute" *mudjtahid* whose judicial opinions were no longer tied to any constituted school, see *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1968, i, 315 and idem, *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā man akhlada ilā 'l-arḍ*, Beirut 1983, 76, 193).

In Damascus, in terms of law (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]), his masters were Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir (d. 620/1223)—the Banū 'Asākir were one of the most prestigious scholarly families of Shāfi'ī and Ash'arī persuasion in Damascus—and the *ḳāḍī* Djamāl al-Dīn b. al-Ḥarastānī (d. 614/1217) while Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233) instructed him in the *uṣūl*, this meaning either the methodology of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]) or theology (*'ilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*]) or both (the term *uṣūl* can denote either of these two disciplines and al-Āmidī was an eminent exponent of both of them).

A Shāfi'ī jurist and Ash'arī theologian—this latter tendency caused serious tension between him and the Ayyūbid sovereign al-Ashraf Mūsā who was, if al-Subkī is to be believed, won over by the doctrines of the Damascus Ḥanbalīs (see *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., viii, 218-29) where his profession of faith is reproduced)—al-Sulamī also took a very close interest in Ṣūfism, becoming a convert to it under the influence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), author of *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*. In Egypt, where he spent the last twenty years of his life, 'Izz al-Dīn was a frequent visitor to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) and the latter's "successor" (*khalīfa*), Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 685/1287), and he readily attended sessions of *samā'* [*q.v.*], organised by Ṣūfīs but denounced by most of the other jurists. The profound influence of Ṣūfism on the "juridico-spiritual" thought of al-Sulamī is furthermore illustrated, as al-Subkī acknowledges, in his master-work *al-Ḳawā'id al-kubrā* (published under the title *Ḳawā'id al-aḥkām fī maṣāliḥ al-anām*, 2 vols. in 1, Cairo 1934; another ed., Cairo 1968), in which, in particular, he considers "discourse on the detailed questions of Ṣūfism" (*al-kalām fī daḳā'iḳ al-taṣawwuf*) to be a "laudable innovation" (*bid'a mandūba*) (ed. Cairo 1934, ii, 173). Similarly, the identification of the notions of *iḥtiyāṭ*—the "prudence" in legal matters characteristic of the Shāfi'ī school—and of *wara'*—the "spirit of scruple" advocated in so-called "sober" Ṣūfism—practised by al-Sulamī in the same book (ii, 14) is an eloquent expression of the pertinence of Ṣūfī doctrines for judicial theory. His affirmation (ii, 199), according to which the genuinely spiritual mission of prophecy (*al-nubuwwa*) takes precedence over its legislative function (*al-irsāl*) betrays the same influence. This is in fact a fairly typical feature of a major trend in the legal thinking of the time, and al-Sulamī's work is just one of its representatives. His more strictly judicial thinking is centred around the notion of "the interest of the community" (*al-maṣāliḥ*) which is, likewise, scarcely original for its time.

His extensive reputation, his popularity during his lifetime and his posthumous renown, the "Sultan of the scholars" (*sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ*), the nickname given to him by Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (d. 702/1302), his most eminent pupil—all of these owe less to the quality of his bibliography or to the originality of his thought than to his exemplary life, to his militancy placed exclusively at the service of the community, to his independence in dealing with political authorities—"he avoided praising kings, rather, he lectured them" (Ibn Ḳāḍī al-Dimashḳī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1987, i, 441)—and the zeal with which he conformed to what he regarded as the most important mission of the scholar in society, sc. to command the good and to forbid the reprehensible (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*). It is definitely this image of the militant sage which accounts for the renewed popularity of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī and of his works in the contemporary Arabo-Muslim world (in Damascus, Cairo and Beirut, editions of his texts have proliferated in recent years).

Thus the biographers pay particular attention to various episodes in the life of ʿIzz al-Dīn. In Damascus, while he was officially responsible for preaching the sermon (*al-khuṭba*) at the Friday mosque of the Umayyads, he abolished "numerous innovations introduced by preachers" (dressing in black, preaching in verse, etc.; Ibn Ḳāḍī al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*). When, in 638/1240, the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, then ruler of Damascus, made an alliance with the Frankish invaders against the Ayyūbid ruler in Cairo, and ceded to them towns, fortresses and territories in exchange for their aid (see al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd, *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, Paris 1994, 71-3), in the course of one of his sermons ʿIzz al-Dīn expressed his courageous and public opposition to the policies of al-Ṣāliḥ, who had him imprisoned. It was on this occasion that ʿIzz al-Dīn, having been released (very quickly) from detention, decided to leave Syria and make his way to Egypt. He was accompanied by the eminent Mālikī jurist Djamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1248) who had supported him in Damascus; both men settled permanently in Egypt.

It seems that he was well received by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 637-47/1240-9). He was appointed preacher and *ḳāḍī* at the great mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ, but before long his intransigence in dealings with the political authorities and especially with military élites of servile origin—apparently ʿIzz al-Dīn refused to recognise them as of free status (*aḥrār*) and for this reason would not validate any of their transactions (al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, viii, 216-17)—led him into difficulties. Feeling himself incapable of performing his functions correctly and independently, he preferred to resign voluntarily, and nobody pressed him to reconsider this decision.

ʿIzz al-Dīn then undertook a career as a teacher of Shāfiʿī law at the Ṣāliḥiyya, a college founded in the heart of Cairo by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ which had then barely been completed and which was, in Egypt, the first establishment providing instruction in the four rites (see K.A.C. Cresswell, in *BIFAO*, xxi, 33-4). The biographers indicate that he was the first to teach Ḳurʾānic commentary in Egypt (al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i, 315; he composed a brief *tafsīr* which has not survived). Furthermore, it was with his customary zeal—a little too much for the taste of al-Isnawī—that he continued, as *muftī*, to pursue his mission of the scholar closely involved in issues concerning the community. The biographers refer to two compilations of his judicial decisions: *al-Fatāwā al-mawṣiliyya* and *al-Fatāwā al-miṣriyya* (1987 Būlāḳ ed. of a work intitled *Fatāwā Sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ al-ʿIzz b. ʿAbd al-Salām*).

Besides the above-mentioned *al-Ḳawāʿid al-kubrā*, in which he was largely inspired by the *Shuʿab al-īmān* of al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066) and of which he composed a summary (*al-Fawāʾid fī ikhtiṣār al-maḳāṣid al-musammā bi 'l-Ḳawāʿid al-ṣughrā*, Cairo 1988), al-Sulamī is the author of a *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān* which earned a certain notoriety (*K. al-Ishāra ilā 'l-īdjāz fī baʿḍ anwāʿ al-madjāz*, Cairo 1896) and which he also abridged. Other texts attributed to al-Sulamī have been published under titles which do not correspond to those mentioned by his early biographers (see for example al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, viii, 247-8).

One of al-Sulamī's sons, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 695/1296 in Cairo), was also a jurist (see al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, viii, 312) and seems to have composed a biography (*sīra*) of his father, claimed by al-Subkī as direct inspiration for the long article devoted to al-Sulamī in his *Ṭabaḳāt*.

Bibliography: A very characteristic member of the intellectual élite in post-classical Sunnī Islam, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī definitely deserves the distinction of a separate monograph. In addition to works cited in the article, the following of his texts have been published: *Ḥall al-rumūz wa-mafātīḥ al-kunūz*, Cairo 1899; *al-Fawāʾid fī mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*, Kuwait 1967; *Masāʾil al-ṭarīḳa fī ʿilm al-ḥaḳīḳa*, Cairo 1904; *Nudjdj al-kalām fī nuṣḥ al-Imām*, Cairo 1991.

(E. CHAUMONT)

SULAWESI, formerly Celebes [*q.v.*], sometimes Selebessi, derived from *sula besi*, iron knife or *kris* (?), one of the four biggest islands in Indonesia, stretching from 4° N. to 7° S. and 118° to 126° E. The island consists of four major peninsulas, linked together by a central part. Administratively, it is divided into four provinces: South, Southeast, Central and North Sulawesi. Its population comprises a number of ethnically and linguistically quite different tribes. While the seven tribes of Minahasa (northern tip of the island) and the Toraja (northern part of South Sulawesi) predominantly, and the people of Central Sulawesi to a large extent, became Christians, Islam became the decisive religious factor in most of the other areas, except some parts of the interior where traditional religions still survive.

Makassar [*q.v.*], situated in South Sulawesi, was the most powerful sultanate on the island. The forceful Islamisation of the neighbouring Buginese kingdoms, which started immediately after the two Makassarese kingdoms Gowa and Tallo' united themselves after their Islamisation was completed in 1607, resulted in an enduring enmity with Bone, the greatest Buginese kingdom. In 1660, a member of the royal family of Bone who became famous as Arung Palakka (d. 1696), raised an abortive rebellion against the sultan of Makassar. After his defeat he fled with his followers to Java and asked the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) for shelter. When the Dutch, on their part, launched their final attack against Makassar in 1667-9, Arung Palakka came to their help and brought Makassarese rule over the Buginese kingdoms to an end and likewise its suzerainty over other kingdoms in the region like Sumbawa [see SUNDA ISLANDS], Buton and Manado (in the north of Sulawesi). In 1672, Arung Palakka became king of Bone.

The expansionist zeal of Makassar after its Islamisation had strained relations with the sultanate of Ternate which, since its ruler had gone over to Islam in 1490, had established its own sphere of influence over most of the spice islands, including the southern Moluccas

with Amboina, and the eastern and southeastern parts of Sulawesi. There, on the island of Buton and its twin island Muna off the southern shores of Southeast Sulawesi, a small sultanate had emerged. In 1542 the sixth *rāḏjā* (king) of Buton, Sultan Murhum, was converted to Islam, influenced by an Arab teacher named ʿAbd al-Waḥīd from Gudjarāt. His dynasty had apparently assumed power at the beginning of the 15th century and had close relations with the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, from where Hinduism was introduced to Buton. When Majapahit was Islamised early in the 16th century, many Hindu noblemen and scholars sought refuge in Buton. This explains the heavy resistance by them and the native people against their forcible conversion to Islam. However, many pre-Islamic beliefs were continued after this conversion, and Islam itself was understood according to its Ṣūfī tradition. To this effect, relations must have been established with Aceh [see ATJÈH], the cradle of Malay *taṣawwuf* in the archipelago, and with Java [see DJĀWA, and also INDONESIA]. A constitution of the sultanate, promulgated during the reign of the fourth sultan La Elangi (1578-1615), with the help of a divine named Sharīf Muḥammad, was based on the notion of the "seven worlds", or "levels" (Mal. *martabat tujuh*). Politically, Buton had accepted the sultanate of Ternate as overlord, and it resented the aggressive expansion of Makassar. A Makassarese expedition in 1666 of roughly 15,000 men against Buton to protect their interests there against the Dutch, was destroyed by the VOC and their ally, Arung Palakka, and was thus one of the preludes to the final attack on Makassar itself. The sultanate of Buton was, like the other sultanates still existing (with the exception of Yogyakarta), abolished after the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed.

After the defeat of Makassar, the VOC finally implemented rigorously its policy of a trade monopoly in the Eastern islands and ordered all clove trees to be cut down except those on Amboina. As a result, poverty spread among the people, and particularly the Makassarese merchants, additionally hit by Arung Palakka's raids, whilst Buginese sailors and traders lost their incomes and moved in great numbers to other areas or contributed decisively to a new tide of piracy. Many of them settled down in Gorontalo on the northern peninsula of Sulawesi and became active, too, in the promotion of Islam, which soon spread to the neighbouring principality of Bolaang-Mongondow.

In Manado, the Portuguese allies of Makassar were driven away, and the Spaniards withdrew to the Philippines. Thus Minahasa became an open field for Christian missions. Because of its relative secure situation, however, the Dutch used it also as place to resettle Muslim rebels from other islands, especially during the 19th century. Famous among them was Kyai Mojo, the spiritual adviser of Prince Diponegoro who initiated the "Java War" (1825-30). The Kyai and some of his followers were resettled near Tondano lake and founded there Kampung Jawa Tondano.

Later on, other exiled Muslims were added to their community which until now maintains its "Malay" Islamic identity. Prince Diponegoro himself was exiled to Makassar (Ujung Pandang), where he died in 1855; his tomb still attracts many pious visitors. Also, Imam Bonjol, one of the famous leaders of the Padri [*q.v.*] War in West Sumatra (1821-37) found himself exiled to a village at the outskirts of Manado where he, too, established a Muslim community which until now has preserved its Islamic character amidst a predominantly Christian neighbourhood.

After the independence of Indonesia was acknowledged by the Dutch in December 1949 and the Republican government under Soekarno began restructuring the state, South Sulawesi became the scene of one of the different Darul-Islam rebellions which shook Indonesia for many years. This one was led 1950-65 by Kahar Muzakkar, a Buginese who had received religious training in the Muʿallimin college of the Muhammadiyah, an Indonesian "modernist" Islamic organisation in the tradition of the Salafiyya, in Solo, and who had served in the Indonesian armed forces. In spite of the many atrocities committed during its campaigns against both Muslims and non-Muslims, this Darul-Islam movement needs careful analysis also in order to understand its real roots and the intentions of its leader against the background of the special character of Islam as maintained by the Buginese (see Barbara S. Harvey, 1989 in *Bibl.*).

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ṢULAYB, the generic and proper name of a tribal group in the northern half of the Arabian peninsula and in the adjacent deserts to the north in what are now Jordan, Syria and ʿIrāḳ. Ṣulayb seems to be a diminutive form, as often, found with a contemptuous meaning, sing. Ṣulabī, colloquially Ṣlebī. They are one of the Ḥutaym tribes, often described as pariahs, as also such gypsy groups as the Nawār. For lists of their subsections, their living areas, etc. see Musil, *Arabia deserta*, 231; French Government in Syria, *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, 71; von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iv, 150; *EI*[1] art. *Ṣulaib*.

The reasons for their low status centre around occupation, political independence and origin. Each affects the others and they are, to some degree, inter-dependent. The distinctions drawn between Ṣulayb and other Ḥutaym and Bedouin distance the two categories on the basis that the Bedouin provide their own security and are independent, while the Ḥutaym are not able to do this and buy security from the Bedouin. Different authorities, whether western scholars or Arab tribal experts, emphasise one area or another as the fundamental ground for seeing the Ṣulayb as distinct, sometimes to the extent that Ṣulayb are seen as non-Arab in origin. The more exotic behaviour and origins attributed to the Ṣulayb thus parallel their ascribed social position.

The Ṣulayb call themselves Awlād Ṣalībī or Awlād Ghānim; the Bedouin use Ṣulayb, Ṣulabba or Ṣulbān. Earlier derivations of the Ṣulayb from Sabaean or Christian (sometimes Crusader) origins have been refuted by Caskel (in von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 148), who sees Ṣulayb as a classificatory term for widely-spread groups of different origins; those of al-Ḥasā coming from southern Persia between the end of the 13th and the 15th century, while those of Syria and western Arabia may be the descendants of groups defeated by Wahhābīs, following a suggestion by Rousseau or by "fanatical Bedouin". Butler suggested they are aboriginal inhabitants.

Arab tribesmen see the Ṣulayb as without genealogy, and sometimes as probably unbelievers or Jews (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i, 326), but usually as Arabs. Some Ṣulayb told Doughty that they did not know

their lineage, others that the name of their ancestor was Mʿaybī. At Medāʾin Ṣāliḥ, Doughty met a Ṣulayb family from Wadjh who said that they were formerly Bedouin with herds and villages who had become weak and, in order to live, had taken up smithing and hunting.

The Ṣulayb spread over the northern half of the Arabian peninsula, roughly from Medina to Riyāḍ and as far north as Aleppo and Mawṣil. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, 515, says that Ṣulayb had large settlements with their own headmen outside Kuwait town and Zubayr. The desert-dwelling Ṣulayb lived among the tribes on friendly terms.

Musil describes Ṣulayb social organisation, which has a subdivision into clans, called *āl*, like the Bedouin *benī*. The *ahl* is the vengeance group, while the *ʿāʾila* is the ensemble of man, woman and children living in one tent. Each Ṣulaybī *ahl* paid its Bedouin an agreed sum for protection, and the tribe appointed one or more "brothers" who compensated its Ṣulayb for property taken from them by other tribesmen. Musil, *op. cit.*, 231-3, gives a list of the "brothers" of the Ṣulayb in northern Arabia. Each Ṣulayb section had a chief, some of whom, according to Dickson, owned large flocks and herds of camels and were up to a point respected.

The distinction between Bedouin and Ḥutaym, including Ṣulayb, was epitomised in that no Bedouin would marry from the Ḥutaym, because the Ḥutaym bought protection, and therefore were not independent. They had honour, according to Musil, "as white as that of the Rwala, but were not held in esteem"; this was recently reiterated by a Rwelī. Ṣulayb would not marry a slave or a smith; they were free, whereas slaves and smiths were not.

The Ṣulayb have often been characterised (see Caskel, in *op. cit.*, 103-11) as following despised occupations, like other Ḥutaym, but in their case, as concentrating almost exclusively outside herding; as hunters, as wood, metal and leather workers, and as doctors of animals and people, as professional poets and musicians, as fortune tellers and makers of witchcraft potions, as scouts for pasture and hunting, and as noted breeders of donkeys sold in Baghdād and Damascus (Musil, *op. cit.*, 269). Some occupations were seasonal, and some geographically limited, like gazelle hunting in eastern Syria. Ṣulayb also herded camels, sheep, goats, just as Bedouin hunt, work in metal, wood and leather, compose poems and tell fortunes on occasions. The difference was that the Ṣulayb, in addition to supplying their own needs, worked for profit.

The Bedouin respected the Ṣulayb for their knowledge of the inner deserts, referring to them as people who could live in regions where the Bedouin with their camels cannot subsist in a particular year, but where the Ṣulayb can with their donkeys and goats. Doughty remarked the Ṣulayb were called *el-Khlûa* or "the desolate" because they lived apart from each other, and that the Bedouin used the same term of themselves when they camped on their own. The Ṣulayb were able to use the inner desert in the summers because of their knowledge of small wells and their hunting skills. Doughty quoted the Bedouin as saying that the Ṣulayb "are like herdsmen of the wild game". Musil reported that families of Ṣulayb owned particular valleys and slopes of the desert, and that the family of a young man gave a portion of their property to the father or brother of his bride, which was then hunted on only by his wife's father and brothers. This expert knowledge meant that Ṣulayb were hired by Bedouin as finders of pasture, as guides on long-distance raids, and for finding men lost on raids.

The Ṣulayb were unique in being outside the raiding economy of the Arabian peninsula; other Ḥutaym groups did raid. The Ṣulayb, because of their knowledge of the desert, provided rescue services, and were a protected neutral group, whose security was rarely contravened.

Many authors from Burckhardt to Musil and von Oppenheim, comment on the appearance and customs of the Ṣulayb, especially the wearing of gazelle-skin smocks and cloaks, on their gazelle-skin tents and dancing (Dickson, *op. cit.*, 518-20: Montagne, *Contes poètiques bédouins*, 98). Most Ṣulayb dances are common to those seen among other tribes; the dancing of men and women together, described by Dickson and said to be considered disgraceful, is not unknown.

Musil mentioned that the Ṣulayb "worship the enormous boulder of *al-Weli abu Ruzuma*" in the Syrian desert. Dickson reported that the Ṣulayb "are said to be Muslim, but few pray properly." Commonly assumed to be unbelievers, they suffered Wahhābī raids, with a notorious massacre in the Wādī ʿArʿar.

After the suppression of the Ikhwān rebellion by Ibn Suʿūd, the Ṣulayb were compensated. By 1937, the Ṣulayb could enrol in the ʿIrāḳī Army and Police, where they had a high reputation as trackers. By the Second World War, they were enrolling in the Kuwaiti Army and Police. With the diminution of game, the decline of camel-herding and increased participation by the Bedouin in national economies, the Ṣulayb have also changed their methods of livelihood. Some herd their own camels, sheep and goats; others work as shepherds for Bedouin owners or in the oil companies and service industries of the new towns along the pipe-lines. Some have urban properties and live from rents or other investments; while others are now employed as teachers, accountants, security personnel and other mainstream occupations. Some continue to practise particular types of traditional medicine. In *ca.* 1990, the term Ṣulayb was formally abandoned as a social category in Saudi Arabia; some assumed the identity of the tribes with whom their section had been associated, but many continue to call themselves Ṣulayb.

Bibliography: J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, London 1831, i, 14; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, index s.v. Solubba; J.-B. Rousseau, *Voyage de Baghdad à Alep (1808)*, Paris 1899; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i, Berlin 1899, 220 ff.; Capt. A. Butler, *A journey from Baghdad to Jauf*, in *GJ*, lxxviii (1909), 527; W. Pieper, *Der Pariastamm der Ṣlêb*, in *Le Monde Oriental*, xvii (1923); A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, 231; idem, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouin*, New York 1928, 325, 644; French Government in Syria, *Les tribus nomades et seminomades des Etats du Levant placés sous mandat français*, Beirut 1930, 71; R. Montagne, *Contes poètiques bédouins*, in *BEO*, vi (1935), 33-120; H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, 515; W. Dostal, *Die Solubba und ihrer Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte Arabiens*, in *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, ix (1956), 15-42; J.B. Glubb, *The war in the desert*, London 1960; W. Caskel, introd. to von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*. iv. *Pariastämme in Arabien*, Wiesbaden 1967, 121-53; *EI*[1] art. *Ṣulaib* (Pieper).

(W. and Fidelity Lancaster)

ṢULAYḤIDS, an Ismāʿīlī dynasty ruling over much of the southern highlands and Tihāma [*q.v.*] region of the Yemen between the years 439-532/1047-1138 approximately.

1. *History*. Firstly, a word should be said about sources. Ismāʿīlī sources have in the past always been difficult of access and we still suffer from their general policy of secrecy in this matter. Still a major source is ʿUmāra's *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman* (the author died in 569/1174) and the best edition of it remains Kay's (see *Bibl.* below). The work is scarcely ideal, however; the author, writing for the high officials of the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo (see Kay, 1, and H. Derenbourg, *ʿOumara du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre*, PELOV, IVᵉ série, x-xi, Paris 1897-1904, 92-3), produces a confused account in which dates in particular are often lacking. He also appears to have known little of the internal affairs of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the Yemen (see M.L. Bates, *Notes on some Ismāʿīlī coins from Yemen*, in *ANS Museum Notes*, xviii [1972], 149-62, 150). We are fortunate, however, to have available al-Hamdānī's *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn* (see *Bibl.*), for the author was able to draw on mediaeval Ismāʿīlī sources not available to other scholars.

The period of Ṣulayḥid history in the Yemen can be divided into two: the Ṣanʿāʾ years, 439-80/1047-87 approximately, and those of Dhū Djibla, 480-532/1087-1138. The founder of the dynasty, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, came from the mountainous region of Ḥarāz to the south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ and appears to have had an orthodox Shāfiʿī upbringing, but at a young age in the early years of the 5th/11th century, he was befriended by the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* in the Yemen, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zawāḥī. The latter, it seems, gradually taught his friend, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the doctrines of the Ismāʿīlī cause and eventually appointed him to the rank of *khalīfa* within the *daʿwa*. The sources differ concerning the date, but it was probably in 439/1047 that ʿAlī rose to arms on Djabal Maswar in his native Ḥarāz region. He marched on through the Ḥadūr area between Ḥarāz and Ṣanʿāʾ. In the latter he fought off Zaydī [see ZAYDIYYA] and Sunnī Nadjāḥid [see NADJĀḤIDS] armies. By 455/1063 he was in control of the whole of the south of the Yemen below Ṣanʿāʾ and the capital itself. He appointed governors in Tihāma, al-Djanad, near Taʿizz, and al-Taʿkar, a massive mountain fortress in the southern highlands near Ibb. Suddenly the sources fall silent. We are not even sure of the date of ʿAlī's death, 459/1066 or 473/1080. At any rate, he was murdered by the Nadjāḥid ruler Saʿīd al-Aḥwal in al-Mahdjam in northern Tihāma and his wife Asmāʾ was taken captive.

ʿAlī was succeeded by his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad. Confident after their killing of ʿAlī and taking captive of his wife, the Nadjāḥids were able to recover much land previously controlled by them in Tihāma and they even pressed the Ṣulayḥids hard in their strongholds of Ḥarāz and al-Taʿkar. It is quite possible that at this time Ṣulayḥid territory was reduced to the Ṣanʿāʾ area. In 460/1068 al-Mukarram Aḥmad succeeded in rescuing his mother from the grasp of the Nadjāḥids, and his Ṣulayḥid armies began to fight back on all sides.

Once again we slip into a confused period of Ṣulayḥid history. In 461/1069 al-Mukarram Aḥmad married a lady who was to become renowned even outside the country, al-Sayyida Arwā bt. Aḥmad. In either 467/1074 or 479/1086 he handed over the affairs of state to his wife, who had borne him four children. Perhaps in 480/1087, Arwā renounced Ṣanʿāʾ as the capital of the Ṣulayḥid state and left for a small town, founded in 459/1066, which lay beneath the towering mountain of al-Taʿkar in the southern highlands. Thus begins a period of rule by the Ṣulayḥids from Dhū Djibla, a period of some brilliance, presided over by the famous Yemeni queen Arwā bt. Aḥmad, Bilḳīs al-Ṣughrā as she is known in Yemeni tradition.

The Dhū Djibla phase of the history of the Ṣulayḥids is very much the history of Arwā bt. Aḥmad herself and her henchmen. The town was only about twenty years old when she arrived with her followers, and we are told that she converted the original palace into a mosque. The *djāmiʿ* can still be seen to this day and the tomb of the queen is still preserved in it (see R. Lewcock and G.R. Smith, *Two early mosques in the Yemen: a preliminary report*, in *AARP*, iv [1973], 117-30). To replace the original palace Arwā built a new one, a grand building called Dār al-ʿIzz, which, if it is not the same construction as the present-day palace in the town, is probably on the same site and its original building materials provided those of the present structure.

The queen appointed three state officials. The first, Sabaʾ b. Aḥmad, was famed for his fierce hostility towards the Nadjāḥids, against whom he fought with great vigour. Although he married Arwā after the death of al-Mukarram Aḥmad, he never appears to have succeeded in persuading her to consummate the marriage.

The second, another strongly loyal supporter, was al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Barakāt, the lord of al-Taʿkar, the lofty stronghold to the south of Dhū Djibla to which reference has already been made. He had originally been appointed by al-Mukarram Aḥmad, and it appears to have been under his supervision that the Ṣulayḥid treasures were transferred to al-Taʿkar for reasons of security. Al-Mufaḍḍal also participated frequently in the wars against the Nadjāḥids in Tihāma.

The third official associated closely with Queen Arwā's rule centred in Dhū Djibla was Ibn Nadjīb al-Dawla. He entered the Yemen in 513/1119, despatched, it would seem, by the Fāṭimids in Cairo in an attempt to revive the flagging fortunes of the Ṣulayḥids in the Yemen. Operating from al-Djanad, he did much to pacify the southern areas and keep them within the Ṣulayḥid fold, as well as joining in the general effort to keep the Nadjāḥids at bay. In 519/1125, however, arguing that the queen's mind was no longer fit to rule over the territories of the dynasty, he attempted to overthrow her and lock her away in seclusion. But Arwā fought back and her supporters besieged Ibn Nadjīb al-Dawla in al-Djanad. He was brought, humiliated, to the queen in Dhū Djibla. Her judgment was that he be sent back to Egypt in a wooden cage, and that is how he left the Ṣulayḥid capital. He never reached Egypt, however, dying at sea. Our sources peter out; Arwā died at the ripe old age of 88 in 532/1138. There was no one of the dynasty to carry on.

2. *Mints and money*. The earliest coins struck by the Ṣulayḥids from 445/1053 so far published are the dīnārs of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad minted in Zabīd and described by P. Casanova (*Dinars inédits du Yémen*, in *Revue Numismatique* [1894], 200 ff.). N.M. Lowick (*Some unpublished dinars of the Ṣulayḥids and Ẓurayʿids*, in *Num.Chron.*, 7th series, iv [1964], 261-70) publishes other dīnārs minted in Dhū Djibla and Aden. It was the Ṣulayḥids, al-Mukarram to be precise, who in 479/1086 instituted a new variety of dīnār called the *malakī*. The date is given in ʿUmāra (Kay, 37) who also quotes the inscription. The *malakī* outlived the Ṣulayḥids and the Zurayʿids [*q.v.*] (473-569/1080-1173), originally their vassals, later the independent rulers of Aden. We know, for example, that they were used in Ayyūbid Aden (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, 138).

Bibliography: Apart from those sources mentioned in the text, there are H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892; Ḥusayn b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī, with the collaboration of Ḥasan Sulaymān Maḥmūd al-Djuhanī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn wa 'l-ḥaraka al-Fāṭimiyya fi 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1955; G.R. Smith, *The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion (1-945/622-1538)*, in W. Daum (ed.), *Yemen, 3000 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt am Main [1988], 129-40, 132. There is a useful article, Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii* (eds.), *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, ii, 573-4.

(G.R. SMITH)

SULAYM, an Arabian tribe, a branch of the so-called Northern Arabian federation of Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*]. Its genealogy is given as Sulaym b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. Khaṣafa b. Ḳays ʿAylān. The tribe's territory was in al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]. The *ḥarra* or basalt desert [see ḤARRA. 1] that was once called *Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym*, and is now called *Ḥarrat Ruhāṭ*, is roughly located at the centre of their former territory. The *Ḥarra* was easy to defend because cavalry could not operate in it, and the *ḥimās* [*q.v.*] or protected pasturing areas of Sulaym were along its eastern and western slopes. The Baṣra and Kūfa pilgrim roads and the inland road between Mecca and Medina passed through Sulamī territory, which meant that both towns had to be on good terms with the Sulaym.

The Sulaym were divided into three subdivisions. The Imruʾ al-Ḳays, perhaps the strongest one, lived on the eastern slopes of the *Ḥarra* and included three tribal groups: the Khufāf b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays, which in turn contained ʿUṣayya, Nāṣira, ʿAmīra and Mālik. The most prominent family among the ʿUṣayya was the Sharīd. The Bahz b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays included Mecca's rich ally, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿIlāṭ, who owned the gold mines in the land of Sulaym (M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym. A contribution to the study of early Islam*, Jerusalem 1989, 133-4; cf. P. Crone, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Princeton 1987, 93-4). The ʿAwf b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays were divided into the Mālik b. ʿAwf and the Sammāl b. ʿAwf. The Mālik b. ʿAwf included the following clans: Riʿl (led at the time of Muḥammad by al-ʿAbbās b. Anas), Maṭrūd and Ḳunfudh.

The Ḥārith subdivision generally inhabited the western slopes of the *Ḥarra*. It contained the following tribal groups: Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥārith, the members of which settled in Medina before the arrival there of the Aws and Khazradj [*q.vv.*] and were in due course Judaised; Ẓafar b. al-Ḥārith, part of which was incorporated into the Aws; Rifāʿa b. al-Ḥārith; Kaʿb b. al-Ḥārith, a member of which was the last custodian of the idol Suwāʿ (Ḳurʾān, LXXI, 23) located in Ghurān; and ʿAbs b. Rifāʿa b. al-Ḥārith, which included the Djāriya family. One of the Djāriya, the poet and warrior al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās [*q.v.*], worshipped before his conversion to Islam an idol called Ḍimār or Ḍamār. Al-ʿAbbās was put by Muḥammad in charge of levying the *ṣadaḳa* from the brother tribes Sulaym and Māzin. A member of the ʿAbs was the last custodian of the idol al-ʿUzzā [*q.v.*] located in the Ḥurāḍ valley which drains into Nakhla [*q.v.*] al-Shaʾmiyya.

The Thaʿlaba subdivision contained two tribal groups. The Mālik b. Thaʿlaba, also called Badjla after their mother, broke away from the Sulaym and became the "protected neighbours" of the ʿUḳayl [*q.v.*]. But far more important were the Dhakwān b. Thaʿlaba (also referred to as "Thaʿlaba") who on the eve of Islam were Mecca's closest Sulamī allies. Before they formed an alliance with Mecca, one of them, Muḥammad b. Khuzāʿī, was reportedly crowned by Abraha [*q.v.*] and put in command of a troop from Muḍar [see RABĪʿA and MUḌAR]. The Dhakwān married into some of the most important Ḳurashī families, and their member, al-Ḥakīm b. Umayya, in his capacity as *muḥtasib* in pre-Islamic Mecca, supervised law and order with the consent of all the clans of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*]. The Prophet's Companion Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal ([*q.v.*] and Lecker, *op. cit.*, 91-2, 111), living in Medina, was an exception among the Dhakwān.

Sulaym's genealogy was of major political and military importance, as shown by the fact that their links with other Ḳays ʿAylān tribes, above all the Hawāzin [*q.v.*], were far closer than those with other tribes. Among Sulaym's pre-Islamic *ayyām* [see AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB], there were several long-range expeditions into the Yemen as well as battles against tribes living in southwestern Arabia on the road to the Yemen. For instance, in order to carry out a raid against the Zubayd and Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*], al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās recruited warriors from all the clans of Sulaym. In addition, a battle against Kinda took place near Ṣaʿda and the Ḳuḍāʿa killed, again near Ṣaʿda, a brother of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās. The Yemenī expeditions should possibly be linked to Sulaym's activity in escorting caravans. Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Hibat Allāh mentions that the Sulaym and Hawāzin used to conclude pacts with the kings of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. They would take the kings' merchandise and sell it for them in ʿUkāẓ and in other markets (see *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, eds. Darādika and Khrīsāt, ʿAmmān 1404/1984, ii, 375). These pre-Islamic expeditions, which involved other Ḳaysī tribes as well, are relevant to the debate about the origin of the Ḳays—Yaman antagonism (cf. Crone, *Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?*, in *Isl.*, lxxi [1994], 1 ff.).

Many Sulamīs were agriculturalists, before Islam and in early Islamic times, a fact which may easily be overlooked because the bulk of our literary evidence relates to the military exploits of the tribe. The 3rd/9th century geographer ʿArrām al-Sulamī said about the Sulamī stronghold of al-Suwāriḳiyya that it belonged to the Sulaym alone and that each of them had a share in it. It included fields, dates and other kinds of fruit. The Sulamīs born in al-Suwāriḳiyya, he added, lived there while the others were nomadic (*bādiya*) and roamed around it, supplying food along the pilgrim roads.

The Sulaym had friendly relations with Medina. Sulamīs brought horses, camels, sheep and clarified butter to the markets of Medina. An idol called Khamīs was worshipped by both the Sulaym and the Khazradj. Before Islam, the Sulaym once intervened in the fighting between two clans of the Aws, and at the time of Muḥammad al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās lamented the expulsion of the Jewish al-Naḍīr [*q.v.*] (Lecker, *op. cit.*, 99-100).

The Sulaym played an important role in the struggle between Muḥammad and Ḳuraysh. Under ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] (who was not a Sulamī, but a member of the Djaʿfar b. Kilāb), several Sulamī clans carried out in Ṣafar 4/625 the attack at Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*] (M.J. Kister, *O God, tighten Thy grip on Muḍar...*, in *JESHO*, xxiv [1981], 242-73, at 255-6; idem, *The expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in honor of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 337-57). In the battle of Khandaḳ [*q.v.*] (5/627), the Sulaym under Sufyān b. ʿAbd Shams of the Dhakwān still co-operated with Ḳuraysh. However, when

Muḥammad set out to conquer Mecca in Sha'bān 8/January 630, the Sulaym or most of them were already on his side. Several weeks later, the Sulaym participated in the battle of Ḥunayn with the exception of Abu 'l-A'war (the son of Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams), who fought with the pagans.

At the time of Abū Bakr, several clans of the Sulaym apostatised [see RIDDA in Suppl.] and were crushed by forces loyal to Medina. The rebels included the 'Uṣayya, especially the Sharīd family, the 'Amīra (one of whom was the famous rebel al-Fudjā'a), the 'Awf b. Imri' al-Ḳays, the Djāriya family of the 'Abs and also perhaps the Dhakwān. Soon afterwards, we find the Sulaym among the forces heading to 'Irāḳ and Syria.

Although there were no doubt Sulamīs among 'Alī's supporters (cf. *MME,* iv [1989], 177), Sulaym's contribution to Mu'āwiya's success was fundamental. At this point, it should be observed that the evidence about Sulaym's history in the first decades of the Islamic era, and particularly during the time of Muḥammad, was probably influenced by their role in the 'Alī-Mu'āwiya conflict. This can be illustrated by the dispute regarding the Companion status of the aforementioned Abu 'l-A'war, who became one of Mu'āwiya's generals (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba,* ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, iv, 641).

Some Sulamīs appointed as governors in early Islam owed their nomination to pre-Islamic ties with Ḳuraysh.

1. The wealthy Companion 'Utba b. Farḳad (Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith) was closely connected with Mecca and his mother was of Ḳuraysh. In 20/641 'Umar appointed him as the governor of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*] and later he made him governor of Ādharbaydjān [*q.v.*].

2. Abu 'l-A'war (Dhakwān) was under Mu'āwiya the governor of al-Urdunn [*q.v.*]. His mother and grandmother were of Ḳuraysh (M.J. Kister, *On strangers and allies in Mecca,* in *JSAI,* xiii [1990], 113-54, at 134; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashḳ,* facs. ed. xiii, 463 ll. 10,20, 464 ll. 16,-6; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba,* iv, 641). The assumption that Abu 'l-A'war's mother was Christian [see ABU 'L-A'WAR] is based on a corrupt text (in Ibn Rusta, 213; cf. *Muḥabbar,* ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 305). 'Ubayda b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Dhakwān) was probably governor of Ādharbaydjān under 'Umar II. Under al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik he was governor of al-Urdunn, and in 110/728 he was appointed by Hishām to Ifrīḳiyā [*q.v.*]. 'Ubayda was said to have been Abu 'l-A'war's nephew (Crone, *Slaves on horses. The evolution of the Islamic polity,* Cambridge 1980, 125) but his detailed pedigree (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb,* 264 l. 2, where he is called 'Ubayd) shows that he was Abu 'l-A'war's great-grandson.

3. 'Ubayd Allāh, the son of Mecca's rich ally al-Ḥadjdjādj b. 'Ilāṭ (Bahz), was appointed by Mu'āwiya over the *arḍ* Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*].

4. Al-Ḥadjdjādj b. 'Ilāṭ's grandson, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Naṣr, was appointed to Mu'āwiya's *dīwāns.*

Sulaym supported 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], and 600 of them were reportedly killed in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (64/684 [*q.v.*]). In 73/692-3 the Sulaym under al-Djaḥḥāf b. Ḥakīm al-Dhakwānī fought against the Taghlib [*q.v.*] at al-Bishr [*q.v.*] in eastern Syria.

After the conquests, some Sulamīs settled in Kūfa, while others went to Baṣra and Khurāsān. Several governors are relevant here:

1. Mudjāshi' b. Mas'ūd (Sammāl) was under 'Umar in charge of the *ṣadaḳa* of Baṣra.

2. Ḳays b. al-Haytham (Sammāl), the governor of Khurāsān under Mu'āwiya, was appointed by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir, whose mother was of the Sammāl.

3. 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim (Sammāl), a relative of Ḳays b. al-Haytham, was already appointed to Khurāsān by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir at the time of 'Uthmān. 'Abd Allāh, who under Mu'āwiya replaced Ḳays b. al-Haytham as governor of Khurāsān, was also its governor under Ibn al-Zubayr. He lost the governorship when he refused to accept 'Abd al-Malik's letter appointing him on Khurāsān.

4. Kathīr b. 'Abd Allāh ('Uṣayya) who was nicknamed Abu 'l-'Ādj "the tusked one" because of his long middle incisors, was briefly the governor of Baṣra under Hishām.

5. One of the governors of Khurāsān under Hishām was al-Ashras b. 'Abd Allāh (Ẓafar b. al-Ḥārith).

6. Also Manṣūr b. 'Umar b. Abi 'l-Kharḳā' (Ri'l) was governor of Khurāsān under Hishām.

However, most of the Sulamīs who left their Arabian territory emigrated to northern Syria and from there to the Djazīra. There is an intriguing case of continuity with regard to Sulamī governors in Armīniyā [*q.v.*]:

1. Usayd b. Zāfir (Ḳunfudh) was governor there under the Marwānids.

2. Usayd's son, Yazīd, was governor under al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*, at vol. VI, 427] and his son al-Mahdī [*q.v.*, at vol. VI, 1238].

3. Yazīd's son, Aḥmad, was later in the 'Abbāsid period governor of al-Mawṣil and Armīniyā.

Other Sulamīs remained in Arabia, as is shown by the Sulamī rebellion of 230/845. The Ḥarb [*q.v.*], who probably came from the Yemen and settled between Mecca and Medina towards the end of the 9th century, gradually absorbed the original inhabitants of that area, including the Sulaym. In the 5th/11th century, the descendants of Sulamīs and Hilālīs [see HILĀL] who had settled in Egypt left it and spread into the predominantly Berber North Africa [see AL-'ARAB. iv], conquering within a short period Barḳa [*q.v.*] and Tripolitania. At the end of the 12th century, the Sulaym invaded Tunisia [*q.v.*] and Morocco, making North Africa both Bedouin and Arab and pushing the Berber element to the background (Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī [*q.v.*] al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab bi-ta'rīkh djāhiliyyat al-'arab,* ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Ammān 1982, ii, 519-23; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar,* ii, 308-9; vi, 12 ff.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḳalā'id al-djumān fi 'l-ta'rīf bi-ḳabā'il 'arab al-zamān,* ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo 1383/1963, 123-4).

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(M. LECKER)

SULAYM B. **ĶAYS** al-Hilālī al-'Āmirī, Abū Sā'ī, a Kūfan and, according to Shī'ī tradition (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* ed. Flügel, 119; al-Ḥillī, *Ridjāl,* Nadjaf 1963, 83), a contemporary of 'Alī, at least at the end of the latter's life, and one of his most fervent partisans.

He was pursued by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], who aimed at killing him, and found refuge with the Shī'ī traditionist Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh, who was then only 14 years old (Abū 'Alī, *Muntahā,* 151; al-Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ,* ii, 53). It was to him—again according to the Shī'ī tradition—that Sulaym, just before his death, entrusted his *K. al-Aṣl,*

which contained the "unpublished" traditions concerning ʿAlī and his descendants. In his turn, two months before his own death, Abān gave this work to another Shīʿī, ʿUmar b. Udhayna (d. before 169/785), and it is to this last that we owe the book, much venerated by the Shīʿa of all shades of belief. If this tradition is to be believed, Sulaym b. Ḳays must have lived during the 1st century A.H., spanning the 7th and early 8th centuries A.D. He is said to have then died during al-Ḥadjdjādj's life-time, i.e. before 95/714.

Nevertheless, the very existence of this man, and of his work, should be regarded with caution, since, apart from Ibn al-Nadīm, of the older biographers, only a few Shīʿīs mention him, and then only in a very terse and laconic fashion. Ibn al-Nadīm himself drew his information on Sulaym from a Shīʿī source, probably from the ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAḳīḳ (d. after 298/911), whose information is also reproduced by later biographers, such as al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), amongst others. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, a scholar of rare erudition and one fully conversant with Shīʿī works, openly questioned the existence of Sulaym, by asserting that he had heard people say "that this man was nothing but pure invention of the imagination, no such writer having had any earthly existence and his alleged book being nothing but the apocryphal work of a forger" (*Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1965-7, xii, 216-17).

Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd certainly did not mince his words. He probably alludes to certain Imāmī or Twelver scholars, such as Aḥmad b. ʿUbayda (d. 333/941) and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghaḍanfarī (d. 411/1020), who denied the authenticity of Sulaym's book on the following bases:

(1) One of the pieces of information in the work indicates that the Imāms numbered 13 contradicting the Shīʿī tradition limiting them to 12;

(2) A second piece of information states that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] censured his dying father, whereas the son was at that time only 3 years old.

(3) It is alleged that the book was transmitted solely by Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh, when the latter was only some 14 years old.

Al-Ḥillī attacked this thesis (*Ridjāl, loc. cit.*), but without much success; his arguments were too unconvincing to sweep away such doubts. Other, later Shīʿī biographers were content to reproduce verbatim al-Ḥillī's words without adding anything. Moreover, Abān, the prime source for the work, was equally attacked. Thus Ibn Khallikān affirmed that certain traditionists of high authority, such as Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]) taxed Abān with lying. This is why this traditionist was excluded from the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Hence one would seek in vain for his name amongst the *isnāds* of these two scholars (*Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 339). This information in Ibn Khallikān, added to that of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, leads one to adopt a circumspect attitude towards the book as must be adopted towards its presumed author.

Whatever the truth, this *K. al-Aṣl* or *K. Sulaym* is considered by Shīʿī scholars as one of the oldest sources for Shīʿism and as being equal to the four master-works of Islamic tradition (sc. the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal and the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik) (al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, 318). Others go so far as to say that "it is the alphabet of Shīʿism, which no Shīʿī can do without" (al-Māmaḳānī, ii, 54; Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, ii, 152). It is clear that this work was a collection of traditions about ʿAlī and his descendants. It is said that Sulaym allegedly gathered his information from the mouths of eminent men, beginning with ʿAlī himself, via Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī and Salmān al-Fārisī to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and his brother al-Ḥusayn [*q.vv.*]. At all events, the work was a main source for Shīʿī writers, notably al-Kulīnī, who took from it a considerable number of traditions for his *Uṣūl al-kāfī* (i, 44, 46, 297-8, 529, ii, 391, *et passim*).

If Ṭihrānī (ii, 156-7) is to be believed, there exist at least five mss. of Sulaym's work preserved in the private libraries of certain Shīʿī scholars of Nadjaf, including those of Muḥammad al-Samāwī and Shaykh al-Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā'. A third one exists at Tehran (Ibn-i Yūsuf, *Kitābkhāna*, v, 150). The book was published at Nadjaf in 1961.

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SULAYMĀN, the name of a range of mountains running roughly south-north and to the west of the Indus river in modern Pākistān.

The Sulaymān rise from the low tract of the Dēradjāt [*q.v.*] which lie along the right bank of the Indus and run, in a series of long, sharp-backed ridges and jagged peaks, from the Bugtī and Marī districts of north-east Balūčistān in the south to the Gomal Pass [see gūmāl in Suppl.] and river in the north, thereafter continuing as the Wazīristān hills (i.e. they lie between latitudes 28° 50' and 32° 20' N.). It is at the northern end that the highest peak of the range, Takht-i Sulaymān, is situated (3,374 m/11,066 feet). The range can only be crossed through the defiles and chasms carved out by the few rivers running through it, and it has accordingly formed, all through history, a barrier to movement between the middle Indus valley and Afghānistān.

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SULAYMĀN, Mawlāy, Abu 'l-Rabīʿ b. Muḥammad, ʿAlawī sultan of Morocco who reigned from Radjab 1200/March 1792 to 13 Rabīʿ I 1238/28 November 1822. He was the son of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and his mother belonged originally to the tribe of the Aḥlāf. He spent his youth in Sidjilmāsa, and it was he who brought the *bayʿa* of the inhabitants of this region to his brother Mawlāy al-Yazīd in 1204/1790. On the death of the latter on 20 Djumādā II 1206/14 February 1792, several of his brothers competed for power, notably Mawlāy Hishām, recognised as sultan of the Sūs at Azammūr, and Mawlāy Muslama, proclaimed in the north-west of Morocco. A third brother also laid claim to the Sharīfian throne, and this was Mawlāy Sulaymān, who was declared sultan at Fās and at Miknās (Meknès) on 17 Radjab 1206/11 March 1792, and at Salé and Rabat a month later, 20 and 21 Shaʿbān/13 and 14 April.

This prince rapidly extended his authority over the north of the country, and an unavoidable struggle developed between him and his brother Mawlāy Hishām, now his only rival; in 1208-9/1794 the latter

retained control only of his capital at Marrākush. In addition, the previous year his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām, who governed the province of Agadir and supported him hitherto, had entered into alliance with Mawlāy Sulaymān. Furthermore, the entire Moroccan fleet was controlled by this Sharīf, who had denounced as rebels the Pashas of the ports to the south of Rabat, who for their part recognised the authority of none of the claimants. A short-lived rebellion had erupted at Salé, where there were aspirations towards the formation of an independent republic.

By 1796, Mawlāy Sulaymān was effectively considered the undisputed sovereign of Morocco by the majority of European nations. In Radjab 1211/January 1797 he finally subdued the troublesome province of the Shāwiya, and then, recognised by the ʿAbda and Dukkāla, he succeeded in taking possession of Marrākush in early December of that year/late Djumādā II 1212. The unity of Morocco was realised, and the defeated claimant took refuge in the al-Sharābī *zāwiya*.

Taking advantage of the anarchy which had persisted for five years, the Algerians had occupied Wudjda. Having consolidated his authority, Mawlāy Sulaymān requested the withdrawal of Muḥammad Pasha from the town and the surrounding region, and the province was once again under Moroccan control (1211/1796-7).

Although the sultan had succeeded in regaining control of his eastern frontier, throughout his reign he was obliged to confront continual opposition on the part of the Berber tribes, especially those of the Middle Atlas where a certain *murābiṭ*, Sīdī Muḥammad U-Naṣīr Amhāush, exerted a major influence. Between 1213/1798 and 1235/1819-20 there was a series of expeditions against these tribes. During the fourth campaign against the Ayt U-Malū of the Fāzāz in 1234/1818-19, the son of the sultan, Mawlāy Ibrāhīm, was killed. There were three expeditions against the tribes of the Rīf, and against the Ayt Idrāsan, the Garwān, the Ayt ʿAtta, the tribes of the Sūs, of the Drāʿ and the Sahara, military interventions followed one another in rapid succession. All these movements of troops contributed to famine in the countryside, and there were serious outbreaks of plague, especially in 1233-5/1818-20. In 1220/1805, intervening on behalf of the people of Tlemcen in their conflict with the western Bey, Muḥammad Mukallash, Mawlāy Sulaymān came into collision with the powerful brotherhood of the Derkāwa.

Although the inhabitants of Fās had been supporters of the sultan at the beginning of his reign, towards the end they rebelled against their governor al-Ṣaffār, appealed to some of the Berber tribes for aid and chose another sultan, a certain Mawlāy Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, to whom they offered their allegiance on 24 Muḥarram 1236/1 November 1920. The latter died shortly after this in Tiṭṭiwān (Tetouan) and was replaced by his brother Mawlāy Saʿīd b. Yazīd. Mawlāy Sulaymān was then obliged to leave Marrākush and to lay siege to Fās, which he captured in Radjab 1237/March-April 1822. In the same year, the sultan attacked the Sharrardiyya *zāwiya* near Marrākush. Not only was he defeated but he was actually taken prisoner for a short time, before being sent back to Marrākush, where he died on 13 Rabīʿ I 1238/28 November 1822 after designating as his successor his nephew Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām.

Mawlāy Sulaymān was an energetic builder and a number of monuments are owed to him; in Fās, he was responsible for the construction of four great mosques, three gates and a bridge; he also had mosques built in Wazzān, Tiṭṭiwān and Salé, and he restored the palaces of Miknās and the great mosque of Marrākush.

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SULAYMĀN, SHĀH, Ṣafawid ruler, reigned 1076-1105/1666-94; oldest son and successor of Shāh ʿAbbās II born to a Circassian mother, Nikāḥat Khānum, in December 1647 or January 1648.

Originally named Ṣafī Mīrzā, Shāh Sulaymān was first crowned as Ṣafī II on 30 September 1666, an event preceded by a great deal of court intrigue.

Having spent his entire life in the confines of the harem, Ṣafī II was ill prepared for his task as ruler. Once crowned, he threw himself into a life of pleasure, also engaging in many acts of generosity, liberally granting favours and fiefs, and filling all vacant administrative positions, all of it at the expense of the treasury, which by 1668 was reportedly empty. The resulting impecuniousness, coinciding as it did with Özbeg and Cossack raids across the northern borders, earthquakes in Shīrwān and Tabrīz, and drought followed by famine, convinced some court astrologers that the Shāh's coronation had occurred at an inauspicious moment. Ṣafī II thus was re-crowned Sulaymān on 20 March 1667.

He now underwent a radical shift from liberality to frugality. The number of troops of the royal guard was drastically reduced, many posts were left vacant for long periods of time, and the military budget was curtailed. At the same time, royal revenue was increased through new and higher taxes. This policy not only exacerbated Persia's military weakness but also furthered the deterioration of the country's economic base, so that there were frequent merchant bankruptcies and the circulation of a great deal of debased money. Widespread poverty and food riots in Iṣfahān in the 1670s were the result.

Eyewitness observers lay much of the blame for this state of affairs on Shāh Sulaymān, portraying him as a lethargic and superstitious weakling and drunkard, with resultant irrational, cruel and violent behaviour. Modern scholarship has built on this image to dismiss his entire reign as a period of effeminate sloth and uneventfulness. Sulaymān has been especially criticised for refusing all overtures by Western powers to lure Persia into an anti-Ottoman alliance. A closer look at the sources, however, reveals that his pacifism was not a matter of principle or simply a question of cowardice. Under him, the Persian army set out to counter Özbeg raids and Balūčī aggression. The Shāh's decision to preserve peace with the Ottomans and not to enter an alliance with the European powers was rather based on strategic calculations of relative military strength and potential benefits. It is also not true that he did nothing to counteract economic prob-

lems or to remedy abuse. Most of his measures, however, were short-lived and rendered ineffective, such as a half-hearted currency reform of 1684. He made a judicious choice with his selection of Shaykh ʿAlī Khān, an official of integrity, who served him as Grand Vizier for almost twenty years. However, a lack of lasting royal support undercut Shaykh ʿAlī Khān's reform efforts and turned him into a timid servant rather than an effective counsellor.

Internal divisions grew as the Shāh increasingly relied on the inner palace and its residents. His institution of a privy council consisting of the principal palace eunuchs shifted most power to their ranks and marginalised the *dīwān* administration. In his later years, Sulaymān became increasingly more removed from the daily affairs of state. Following the advice of his astrologers, he often did not appear in public for weeks or even months, during which time the Queen-Mother and the court eunuchs were in control. In this period, the signs of crisis multiplied, with Özbeg raids in Khurāsān, rebellions in Georgia and Kurdistān, and Balūčī incursions in the Kirmān area. He died on 29 July 1694, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sulṭān Ḥusayn [*q.v.*].

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SULAYMĀN b. **ʿABD** al-**MALIK**, seventh caliph of the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*], *r.* 96-9/715-17, born probably in Medina about 55/675, son of the subsequent caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [*q.v.*] and of Wallāda bt. al-ʿAbbās b. Djaz' from the Banū ʿAbs, a tribe considered part of the Northern Arabian confederation of the Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*].

There is almost no substantial information on the first three decades of Sulaymān's life. It is likely that he came to Syria during the initial stage of the Second Civil War (60-73/680-92) in the company of other members of the Marwānid branch [*q.v.*] of the Umayyads emigrating thither. In 81/701 he led the *ḥadjdj*. At the latest after the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [*q.v.*] (85/704), brother of the then ruling caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and his successor as designated by their father Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Malik nominated as successors his own sons al-Walīd [*q.v.*] and Sulaymān.

During the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86-96/705-15), Sulaymān acted as governor of the *djund* Filasṭīn [*q.v.*], where he was engaged in developing al-Ramla as the new capital of Palestine. Some time after 90/710, Sulaymān granted asylum to some clansmen of the Muhallabids [*q.v.*], who had been in disgrace with al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], but had escaped from jail. Among these refugees was Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who later became Sulaymān's governor of ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān. Though the reasons are not known, the behaviour of Sulaymān points to a certain disagreement with al-Ḥadjdjādj and also with al-Walīd. The sources do not provide sound arguments whether there was a connection with the efforts to exclude Sulaymān from the succession in favour of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Walīd, which are said to have been supported by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In this respect, it should not be overlooked that al-Walīd, in his endeavour to designate his own son as his successor, acted in the same way as all his Umayyad predecessors. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, after the death of al-Walīd (13 Djumādā II 96/24 February 715), Sulaymān acceded to the throne unchallenged. Syrian sources prove that he obviously chose Jerusalem as his principal seat of government. In 97/716 he led the *ḥadjdj*, and it is likely that he soon afterwards moved to Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] in northern Syria, the supply centre for the campaign against the Byzantine empire of 97-100/716-18. It was at Dābiḳ that he died on 12 Ṣafar 99/24 September 717.

To form an appropriate picture of Sulaymān's reign is difficult because of his short term of office. Basically, the policy under Sulaymān seems to have been the same as under his predecessors, even though in probably every province of the empire new governors were appointed. The choice of governors does not give the impression of bias—e.g. towards favouring a certain tribal fraction—except that the appointments might have been aimed at having closer control over the empire by nominating loyal functionaries and by breaking with arbitrary conditions under long-established and powerful governors. Prominent cases of the latter are: Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Spain, and his sons; the clan of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (who had himself already died in Ramaḍān 95/June 714); ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī in Medina; Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] in Mecca; and Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān, who fell victim to an insurrection by Wakīʿ b. Abī Sūd (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 96/August 715), subsequently self-appointed governor and soon dismissed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of al-ʿIrāḳ, then additionally of Khurāsān.

The expansion of the Arabo-Islamic empire more or less came to a standstill—not least caused by the appearance of effective counterforces; only the conquests of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān deserve mention. But that does not mean that the impulse of expansion and conquest slackened under the rule of Sulaymān. As proof of this may serve the huge campaign against Byzantium, which was launched by the end of 97/716 under the supreme command of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] via land, and at the beginning of 98/716 via sea under the command of ʿUmar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī. This campaign culminated in an unsuccessful siege of Constantinople (early summer 98/717 summer 99/718).

With a hoped-for conquest of Constantinople and with the approaching year 100 of the *hiḏjra* came chiliastic expectations. The popularity and effectiveness of messianic ideas at that time and in those circumstances is as difficult to evaluate as the actual meaning and function of the relatively numerous references to Sulaymān as the expected Mahdī [*q.v.*], which appear in the panegyrics of Ḏjarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. While the role of Sulaymān as the "rightly-guided one", who restores justice after oppression, has a more or less clear contemporary and authentic base, this can hardly be said about his appearances in the world of literary anecdotes and religious instructions. There he is depicted on the one hand as a glutton, a conceited and cruel voluptuary, well-versed in the use of Arabic, while on the other hand, he typifies the unjust ruler (*ẓālim*) who, contrite and humiliated, falls a victim to sermons by pious religious figures. In a similar way, Sulaymān figures in descriptions of his alleged relations with his successor ʿUmar II, the famous exception among the Umayyad caliphs, credited with the reputation of having been exemplarily pious.

In nominating a successor, Sulaymān most probably was not bound by the testament of ʿAbd al-Malik in favour of the two subsequent caliphs Yazīd II and Hishām [*q.vv.*], and so like all his Umayyad predecessors he designated his own son, Ayyūb, who, however, already died before his father (about the end of 98/717 or the beginning of 99/717). Ample space in the sources is given to accounts which attribute to Radjāʾ b. Ḥaywa [*q.v.*]—a somewhat enigmatic figure appearing as a kind of court theologian or spiritual counsellor in the period from ʿAbd al-Malik to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—the leading role in securing the nomination of and the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] to ʿUmar II. Most of these traditions are connected more or less directly with Radjāʾ b. Ḥaywa himself, and it is very likely that his role during the events in Dābiḳ at the time of Sulaymān's death has been exaggerated. More reasonable seems a succession of ʿUmar II by means of traditional patterns, like seniority and well-founded claims; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān had never denied the ones which he had.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Arabic works of *taʾrīkh*, *adab*, poetry and "religious learning", dealing with early Islam, and quoting more or less explicitly hitherto lost earlier works, such as Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, index; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (relevant parts are to some extent still in ms.); Ibn Saʿd, index; Fasawī, *K. al-Maʿrifa*, ed. al-ʿUmarī, index; *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Gryaznevič, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (provides several early source materials not quoted in other works; most of the relevant parts are still in ms.); *Aghānī*, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, index. Besides these and other works of more general content, it is worth consulting local histories, and, furthermore, relevant Armenian, Byzantine, Latin and Syriac sources listed in the secondary literature.

2. Studies. Besides general studies of Umayyad history, such as J. Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 157-67, 273-80; M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 76-81; idem, *Islamic history. A new interpretation, I: A.D. 600-750*, Cambridge 1971, 127-31; G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad caliphate A.D. 661-750*, London-Sydney 1986, 72-6; see also the monograph of R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987 (provides further information on sources and secondary literature). (R. Eisener)

SULAYMĀN b. **ʿALĪ** b. **ʿABD ALLĀH**, early ʿAbbāsid prince and uncle of the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr [*q.vv.*], d. at Baṣra in Djumādā II 142/October 759 aged 59 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 141).

He was appointed governor of Baṣra, including also eastern Arabia and western Persia, by al-Saffāḥ in 133/750-1 (*ibid.*, iii, 73), and remained in this important power base until forced out of the governorship in 139/756. As one of the *ʿumūma* or paternal uncles, whose position vis-à-vis their nephews the caliphs was ambiguous, Sulaymān sheltered for many years the failed rebel ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], until ʿAbd Allāh was handed over to al-Manṣūr on a promise of *amān* or safety (promptly violated by the caliph), although al-Manṣūr did not encompass ʿAbd Allāh's death until after Sulaymān's own death.

Sulaymān and his family, including his sons Muḥammad and Djaʿfar, carried out extensive public works in order to develop the region of Baṣra, much enriching themselves in the process. Hārūn al-Rashīd eventually confiscated the wealth and property of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, amounting to 60 million dirhams, on the latter's death in 173/789, as part of his policy of reducing the power of independent-minded members of the ʿAbbāsid family (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 607-8; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 289-92 = §§ 2496-7; etc.).

Bibliography: See the indices to Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953; J. Lassner, *The shaping of ʿAbbāsid rule*, Princeton 1980; H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate, a political history*, London 1981. (C.E. Bosworth)

SULAYMĀN b. al-**ASHʿATH** [see abū dāʾūd al-sidjistānī].

SULAYMĀN b. **DĀWŪD**, the biblical King Solomon, is an outstanding personality in Islamic legends.

There were, as the Arab histories recount, four great world-rulers, two of whom were infidels, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar; and two of whom were believers, Alexander the Great and Solomon. Of these, the last was the most resplendent figure. Special emphasis was placed on his wonderful powers of magic and divination. The most puzzling riddles and the most abstruse subjects were within his ken. Perspicacity and discernment dwelt in his eyes; wisdom and justice were graven on his forehead. His knowledge was deeper than the Jordan Valley. In the Ḳurʾān itself he is frequently mentioned, and along with Alexander enjoys the distinction of being designated a true Apostle of God, a divine messenger and prototype of Muḥammad. The Ḳurʾānic passages tell how at an early age he even surpassed his father David [see dāwūd] in skilful administration of justice (XXI, 78, 79). When David died, Solomon was chosen from amongst the other sons as successor (XXVII, 16). He had admirable endowments. God had granted him esoteric knowledge. He was acquainted with the speech of birds and animals (XXVII, 16, 19), a tradition based on I Kings iv. 33. A strong wind was subjected to him (XXI, 81; XXXVIII, 36). It blew in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month, while a fountain of molten brass was made to flow for his benefit (XXXIV, 12). At his command were legions of satans to do whatever he wished. They were employed, for example, in diving for pearls (XXI, 82; XXXVIII, 37). The *djinn* were forced to work his will. If they disobeyed they were threatened with the pains of hell (XXXIV, 12). They constructed for him

shrines and statues and costly vessels (*ibid.*, 13). His armies were recruited from men and *djinn* and birds. The hoopoe (*hudhud*) was the first to bring him tidings of the kingdom of Saba and of its illustrious queen, Bilḳīs [*q.v.*]. Solomon, as a prophet, corresponded with her and summoned her to Islam. And after an exhibition of his strength and wisdom, she submitted (XXVII, 20-44). The devils frequently sought to convict him of infidelity, but in vain (II, 101). On a certain occasion he failed in the observance of his religious duties, and that was when his admiration for his stud of horses led him to forget his prayers. In atonement he sacrificed them, cutting their legs and necks (XXXVIII, 31-3). For a time he seems to have lapsed into idolatry. As a punishment he lost his kingdom, his throne being occupied by some one in his own likeness. When he had asked forgiveness, he was restored to his place, and promised divine favour in Paradise (XXXVIII, 34, 35, 40). When he died he was resting on his staff, and no one knew of his death until a worm bored its way through the prop and the body collapsed. Then the *djinn* were released from their labours (XXXIV, 14).

Later legendary lore has magnified all this material, which is chiefly Rabbinic in origin. Solomon's control over the *djinn* and his use of them in his building operations are derived from the *Midrash* on Eccles., ii. 8. His kingdom is even made universal, perhaps after the analogy of that of the 40 (or 72) kings of the Pre-Adamite *djinn*, who were each named Solomon (Lane, *Arabian nights*, Introd., n. 21; d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, v. 372). His renowned wisdom included "the wisdom" for which Egypt was famous, i.e. occult science. Pythagoras is said to have received his knowledge from Solomon in Egypt (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr*, i, 27). Solomon is said to have been the pupil of Mambres the Egyptian Theurgist (G.R.S. Mead, *Thrice-greatest Hermes*, iii, 283 n.). Hence his reputation in tales as a magician. This magic power of his was effected by means of a talismanic ring engraved with "the most great name" of God. Permission to use this was also vouchsafed to his *wazīr*, Āṣaf b. Barakhyā [*q.v.*], who transported the throne of Bilḳīs from Sheba to Jerusalem in the twinkling of an eye. Solomon was in the habit, when he performed his ablutions, of laying aside this ring from his finger, and entrusting it to one of his wives, Amīna. Ṣakhr, one of the Satanic spirits, assumed the form of the king, purloined the magic seal, and for forty days ruled, while Solomon was forced to wander as an outcast. The demon, however, lost the ring in the sea, whence Solomon recovered it when he cut open a fish which had swallowed it. Thus he regained his throne. It is said he was punished in this way because of the idolatry of the royal consort, Djarāda, the daughter of the king of Sidon. Some say the counterfeit body that occupied his throne was his son who died. The 13th of the month is regarded as unlucky because, on that day, Solomon was exiled by God. The Persian *Nawrūz* festival [*q.v.*] and its customs are said to date from the restoration of Solomon to his kingdom (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of ancient nations*, ed. Sachau, 199). Because he boasted that 1,000 wives would bear him 1,000 warrior sons, he had one son only who was misshapen, with one hand, one eye, one ear, and one foot. Then in humility he prayed to God, and his son was made whole. In his capacity of warrior, he conquered many kingdoms (al-Bayḍāwī, v, 19).

Some of the marvellous works of Solomon may be briefly mentioned. Shortly after his accession he was in a valley between Hebron and Jerusalem, when he received his authority over winds, water, demons and animals from the four guardian angels in charge of these spheres. Each one gave him a jewel which he placed in a ring composed partly of brass and iron. With the brass he sealed his orders for the good *djinn*, while with the iron he sealed his orders for the evil *djinn*. The seal is said to have held a mandrake (J.G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii, 390). Solomon's seal (*khātam Sulaymān*) is a common charm, in the form of a six-pointed star, often inscribed on drinking cups. The Table of Solomon (*mā'idat Sulaymān*) and other marvellous relics, according to legend, found their way to Spain, where they were discovered by Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād at the capture of Toledo [see ṬULAYṬULA]. They had been taken from Jerusalem as booty (Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales du Maghreb*, ed. Fagnan, 37 ff.; al-Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, iv, 183; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 5). The Table was made of green beryl, had 360 legs, and was inlaid with pearls and rubies. There was also a magic mirror which revealed all places in the world (Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, 122).

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (*Shamir*) which the demon Ṣakhr procured from the sea-eagle. Solomon sheltered himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghānistān by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile djinn. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in Palestine, Arabia and elsewhere (see *Revue des traditions populaires*, ix, 190; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 204). Besides the building of the Temple, during which he outwitted the djinn, the Farther Mosque is likewise claimed as his work (Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, ii/1, 76). He is even credited with founding a mosque in Alexandria (al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i, 37). Part of his leisure time was spent in acquiring the art of basket-weaving, that he might have some means of earning a livelihood if the need arose (Mīrkhwānd, *op. cit.*, 79). The tradition seems Rabbinic in character. His throne was constructed of pure gold. The whole natural world was so completely under his sway that, on one occasion, the sun stood still to enable him to say his evening prayers. The evil djinn he imprisoned in vessels of lead (cf. Zech., v. 8). 'Aydhāb, on the Red Sea, was assigned by him as a place of incarceration for the demons (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *op. cit.*, 297). His knowledge of the speech of the animal world enabled him at times to display his clemency. Once he turned aside his armed hosts in order to avoid smashing the eggs of a bird; while on another occasion, he had compassion on a colony of ants (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 199; sūra XXVII, 17, 18).

A claim is put forward that he invented the Arabic and Syriac scripts, and that he was the author of many Arabic treatises on magic. He is compared with Djamshīd, and there were, undoubtedly, Iranian influences at work in the Solomon saga. His personal appearance is variously given, e.g. as "a large-headed man riding on a horse" (Mīrkhwānd, ii/1, 83), and as being "fair, well-built, of lustrous beauty, with a plentiful supply of hair, and clothed in white garments" (al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, 254). When he died he

was aged 53, having reigned for forty years. The exact location of his tomb is uncertain. Some place it in Jerusalem, in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra; others near the Sea of Tiberias. The Prophet said (according to al-Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, *Chronique*, i, 60) that it was "in the midst of the sea ... in a palace excavated in a rock. This palace contains a throne on which Solomon is placed with the royal ring on his finger appearing as though he were alive, protected by twelve guardians, night and day. No one hath arrived at his tomb except two persons, Affān and Buluḳiya" (Lane, *op. cit.*, xx, 96; see Mīrkhʷānd, 102-3). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayan folklore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii, 418; idem, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii, 476-7). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W.B. Stevenson, in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow 1920, 104-5, and the references therein. The Ethiopic legends of Solomon and Mākedā, Queen of ʿAzēb, may be found in C. Bezold, *Kebra Negast*, and in E.W. Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelik* [see BILḲĪS]. Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 202; Jacques de Vitry, in *PPTS*, 17.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see for older works the Bibl. to the *EI*[1] art., the salient items here being Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 200 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 572-97; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 111-12 = § 106. Of additional references and more modern works, see Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophet of al-Kisaʾi*, Boston 1978, 288-308 and index; G. Salzberger, *Salomons Tempelbau und Thron in der semitischen Sagenliteratur*, Berlin 1912; J. Walker, *Bible characters in the Koran*, Paisley 1931; D. Sidersky, *Les légendes musulmanes de la Bible*, Paris 1933; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen in Qoran*, Grafenhainischen 1938, repr. Hildesheim 1961; H.J. Hirschberg, in *Eretz-Israel*, iii (1954), 213-20 [in Hebr.]; idem, art. *Solomon, in Islam*, in *Encycl. Judaica* (Jerusalem), xv, 108; P. Soucek, *The Temple of Solomon in Islamic legend and art*, in J. Gutmann (ed.), *The Temple of Solomon. Archeological fact and medieval tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish art*, Missoula 1976, 72-123; J. Pirenne, *Bilqis et Salomon. La Reine de Saba dans le Coran et la Bible*, in *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, xxxiii (1979), 6-10; C. Schedl, *Sulaiman und die Königin von Saba: logotechnische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Sure 27, 17-44*, in *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift für M. Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*, Graz 1981, 305-24; H. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and extra-biblical legends in Islamic folk-literature*, Walldorf 1982; D. König and H. Venzlaff, *Salomo und das Rätsel der Perle*, in *Isl.*, lxii (1985), 298-310; A.H. Johns, *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's treatment of the Quranic telling of the story*, in *Abr-Nahrain*, xxiv (1986), 58-82; S.S. Ali, *King Solomon's strategy of deception*, in *IQ*, xxiv (1990), 59-65; P. Soucek, *Solomon's throne/Solomon's bath: model or metaphor?*, in *Ars Orientalis*, xxiii (1993), 109-34.

Solomon figures prominently in manuals of practical magic, and likewise plays an important role in Islamic esotericism, notably in Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (partial tr. T. Burckhardt, *La sagesse des prophètes*, Paris 1968; full tr. R. Austin, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, Ramsey, N.J. 1981) and the school of his commentators, in which he incarnates the "word of the mercy-bestowing wisdom".

(J. WALKER-[P. FENTON])

SULAYMĀN B. DJARĪR AL-RAḲḲĪ, Zaydī *kalām* theologian from al-Raḳḳa, active in the second half of the 2nd/8th century. Little is known about his life. He is said to have pledged allegiance to the ʿAlid pretender Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and participated in debates with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*], and the Ibāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd in the circle of the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid. In legendary reports he is accused of having poisoned the ʿAlid Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh in the Maghrib at the instigation of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd or of Yaḥyā b. Khālid. Although such reports were transmitted even by Zaydīs, their reliability is doubtful.

In his doctrine on the imāmate, Sulaymān stood near the Batriyya [*q.v.* in Suppl.], among whom he is sometimes included, although in some respects he came closer to the more radical Djārūdiyya [*q.v.*]. In agreement with the Batriyya, he denied that there had been a divinely-inspired appointment (*naṣṣ*) of ʿAlī by Muḥammad and held that the imām should be chosen by consultation (*shūrā*). ʿAlī was, however, entitled to the imāmate after Muḥammad because of his impeccability (*ʿiṣma*). In choosing the less excellent (*mafḍūl*), sc. Abū Bakr, the community had committed an error (*khaṭaʾ*), which did not, however, amount to a grave offence (*fisḳ*). Obedience to the "less excellent" imām, once properly chosen, was obligatory so long as he displayed sound knowledge and good conduct. ʿUthmān had lost legitimacy by his reprehensible acts. After ʿAlī, his and Fāṭima's descendants were entitled to the imāmate by *shūrā* because of their collective authority in religion.

In his theology Sulaymān espoused predestination, while attempting to avoid determinism. He thus held that God was from eternity angry at the infidels and pleased with the faithful, but, against the Sunnī traditionalist doctrine, God did not will acts of disobedience. Human ability to act (*istiṭāʿa*) exists before the act and is used up by it. Sulaymān was opposed to anthropomorphism and interpreted the Ḳurʾānic face (*wadjh*) of God as God's self. Against Muʿtazilī doctrine, however, he affirmed the reality of divine attributes of knowledge, power, will, etc., describing them as neither identical with Him nor other than Him. About the nature of the Ḳurʾān, he seems to have taught that whatever constituted divine knowledge in it was uncreated and whatever constituted command or prohibition was created.

After his death, Sulaymān's theological school prevailed in ʿĀnāt, but his followers there were converted to Muʿtazilism by Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir (d. 234/848-9). Later Zaydī tradition was generally hostile towards his teaching, and the Imām al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ wrote a refutation of his predestinarian views.

Bibliography: (Ps.) Nāshiʾ, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, in J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971, 44-5; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. H.S. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, 68; Nawbakhtī, *Firāḳ al-Shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 9, 55-7; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, index; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imāmat Zaidite au Yemen*, Leiden 1960, esp. 80-2; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, esp. 61-6; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1991-, ii, 472-85, v, 53-62.

(W. MADELUNG)

SULAYMĀN B. ḤASAN (d. 1005/1597), the grandson of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, the twenty-fourth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, was a deputy of Dāwūd b. ʿAdjabshāh (d. 997/1589), the twenty-sixth *dāʿī*, in Mukhā [*q.v.*], the famous coffee port and a great trade centre on the Red Sea coast of Yaman. Three years after the succession of Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbshāh as the twenty-seventh

dāʿī, Sulaymān claimed the succession for himself. The great majority of the community in India upheld the succession of Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbs͟hāh, whereas a minority, mainly in Yaman, accepted Sulaymān's claim. Because of this schism the former became known as the Dāwūdīs while the latter as the Sulaymānīs [*q.v.*].

Contemporary Dāwūdī sources give a detailed account of this schism, which is corroborated by independent Mug͟hal sources in its main outlines. The Sulaymānī sources, on the other hand, are spotty and apologetic. According to these sources, two widows of the late Dāwūd b. ʿAd̲j̲abs͟hāh, their two sons, and a confidential scribe of the late *dāʿī*, were accused of embezzling money from the treasury. To counteract those charges, the accused schemed to challenge Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbs͟hāh's authority by forging a document of succession in favour of Sulaymān by using the stolen seal of the late *dāʿī*, a plan in which their kinsman by marriage, Sulaymān, acquiesced. Sulaymān then announced his claim as the twenty-seventh *dāʿī*, but the plot was uncovered and Sulaymān was dismissed from his position. Unable to garner support in Muk͟hā, Sulaymān went to Ḥarāz, was rebuffed by the chief deputy of the *dāʿī* in Yaman and others, hence went to Nad̲j̲rān, inhabited by the influential Banū Yām [*q.v.*], a subdivision of the large and ancient tribe Hamdān who had embraced the Ismāʿīlī faith, and succeeded in winning their support. Soon he was imprisoned by the Turkish authorities, until after three years he managed to escape and fled to India. He arrived in Aḥmadābād in 1003/1595 and tried to assert his claim by resorting to litigation against Dāwūd b. Ḳuṭbs͟hāh at the court of the Mug͟hal emperor Akbar. But before the case was decided in favour of Dāwūd, Sulaymān died in Lahore on 25 Ramaḍān 1005/12 May 1597; his body was taken to Aḥmadābād and interred there.

He was an eloquent speaker and wrote several works on Ismāʿīlī doctrines, asserting his claim and refuting that of his opponents, but most of them are lost.

Bibliography: I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 242-4; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs. Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 304-5 (his statement that Dāwūd b. ʿAd̲j̲abs͟hāh died in 999/1591, or in 997/1589 according to the Sulaymānīs, is incorrect), 318; Ismāʿīld̲j̲ī Badripresswala (ed.), *Ak͟hbārud duʿātil akramīn* (in Gud̲j̲arātī), Rajkot 1356/1937, 110-68. See also SULAYMĀNĪS.

(I. POONAWALA)

SULAYMĀN B. KAT͟HĪR al-K͟huzāʿī, Abū Muḥammad, *dāʿī* of the Hās͟himiyya in K͟hurāsān.

He figures as an authority on Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's campaign in D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān in 98/716-17, and it was perhaps as a member of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's army that he left Kūfa for K͟hurāsān, where his brother D̲j̲ābir or Ḥārit͟ha b. Kat͟hīr campaigned against the Turks in 106/724-5, and where his father, Kat͟hīr b. Umayya, fell in battle against the Turks as an old man in 119/737 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1323, 1480, 1601 [wrongly Kat͟hīr Abū Umayya]). Sulaymān himself was *min ahl al-dīwān* in Marw when he was recruited for the Hās͟himī cause, allegedly in 100/718-19, by Bukayr b. Māhān, a *mawlā* who had himself participated in Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's campaign in D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān (*Ak͟hbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. ʿA.-ʿA. al-Dūrī and ʿA.-D̲j̲. al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 191, 199). Sulaymān recruited his son, brothers, brothers-in-law and other K͟huzāʿīs, as well as some prominent non-K͟huzāʿīs, for the movement and rose to the position of *naḳīb* (*ibid.*, 202, 216, 219, 220, 271; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1954, 1358; al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 115 [makes him a *mawlā* of K͟huzāʿa]). He was arrested in 117/735-6 along with other *dāʿīs*, but soon released (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1586 ff.), and was the prime leader of the *daʿwa* until the arrival of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], whose take-over he opposed and who liquidated both him and his son after the accession of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās in 132/750 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1960 ff., iii, 61; *Ak͟hbār*, 271 ff., cf. 220; al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 168).

Bibliography: All the standard chronicles on the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods mention Sulaymān, but usually add little to the works cited in the article. The main secondary works are J. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927; F. Omar, *The ʿAbbāsid caliphate 132/750-170/786*, Bag͟hdād 1969; E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule, 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983; idem, *Revolt, the social and military aspects of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Jerusalem 1990.

(PATRICIA CRONE)

SULAYMĀN B. ḲUTULMÎS͟H b. Arslan Isrāʾīl, member of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ family and founder of the sultanate of Rūm (d. 479/1086).

His father was killed in 456/1064 during a succession struggle with his kinsman Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], and at least four of his sons appear to have escaped eventually to the west (see Cl. Cahen, *Qutlumush et ses fils avant l'Asie Mineure*, in *Isl.*, xxxix [1964], 14-27; on the form of the name Ḳutulmis͟h, see *ibid.*, 14 n. 1, and M.F. Köprülü, *Türk onomastique'i hakkında*, in *İstanbul Üniv. Edebiyat Fak. Tarih Dergisi*, i [1950], 227-30). Sulaymān, the most prominent of them, appears in 467/1074 as the chief of a large group of Türkmens in Anatolia (Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī [the most important source on his life], *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1968, 174-5; cf. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, xviii [1948], 5-67).

After an abortive attempt to intervene in Syrian affairs (see Sevim, *Suriye ve Filistin Selçuklulan tarihi*, Ankara 1983, 68-70), Sulaymān withdrew into Anatolia, and taking advantage of the confusion there and the collapse of the Byzantine defence system after Malāzgird [*q.v.*], he moved westwards with his Türkmen followers, and took possession of Nicaea and its environs, perhaps as early as 467/1075 (al-ʿAẓīmī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ed. Ali Sevim, Ankara 1988, 16). Greek sources state that the Emperor Michael VII hired Sulaymān to help crush the rebellion of Nicephorus Botaniates, the general in command of Anatolia, but that Sulaymān in fact joined the latter, so that with Türkmen assistance, Botaniates achieved the throne in Constantinople in 1078. Sulaymān, meanwhile, from his base at Nicaea was able to overrun most of western and central Anatolia (see the Greek sources in S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley, etc. 1971, 105-6). An expedition sent against him by the Great Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sultan Malik S͟hāh under Bursuḳ [*q.vv.*] failed to bring Sulaymān to heel, although it killed his brother Manṣūr, and, since Alexius Comnenus had to withdraw troops from Anatolia for the Balkans, the Emperor concluded a treaty with Sulaymān acknowledging his suzerainty in the territories under his control (Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E.R.A. Sewter, Harmondsworth 1969, 198). Around this time, Greek sources refer to Sulaymān as "sultan"; unfortunately, no coins of his have come to light.

Sulaymān now turned his ambitions eastwards, possibly with the intention of challenging Malik S͟hāh

for control of the Saldjūḳ empire, and attacked Cilicia and northern Syria, capturing Anṭākiya (Antioch) in 477/1084 and turning the cathedral there into a mosque (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, x, 138-9; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, ii, 86-8; Ibn Shaddād, *al Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, tr. A.-M. Eddé Terrasse, *Description de la Syrie du Nord*, Damascus 1984, 243-5; Sevim, *op. cit.*, 107-12). Four years later he was able to kill the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil and Aleppo, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, but this provoked a powerful reaction from Tutush b. Alp Arslan [*q.v.*], ruler of Syria, and his commander Artuḳ defeated and killed Sulaymān in a battle near Aleppo in Ṣafar 479/June 1086, capturing Sulaymān's son Ḳilidj Arslan also (Sibṭ, 236-40; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, 97-9; Sevim, *op. cit.*, 119-26). The latter only succeeded in escaping to Anatolia after Sultan Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092.

Sulaymān emerges as a proto-typical Türkmen chief, operating independently on the frontiers of the Saldjūḳ empire; there is no evidence that it was Malik Shāh who originally sent him to conquer and rule Anatolia.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 73-8; *IA*, art. *Süleyman-Şah* (O. Turan) (= actually, a history of Anatolia in the time of Sulaymān, repr. as ch. 2 of his *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, Istanbul 1971, main points summarised in his ch. *Anatolia in the period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks*, in *Camb. hist. of Islam*, Cambridge 1970, i, 234-6); Sevim, *Anadolu fatihi Kutalmışoğlu Süleymanşah*, Ankara 1990, differing from Turan in several respects but without presenting specific evidence. (G. Leiser)

SULAYMĀN B. MIHRĀN [see AL-AʿMASH].

SULAYMĀN B. ṢURAD b. al-Djawn al-Khuzāʿī, Abu (ʾl-)Muṭarrif, leader of the pro-ʿAlid Tawwābūn ("penitents") movement [*q.v.*]. There is disagreement whether he was a *ṣaḥābī* or a *tābiʿī*. The former is the prevalent view; according to most biographical sources he was originally called Yasār, was given the name Sulaymān by the Prophet, and was 93 years old when he died. Lammens suggested that reports of Sulaymān's longevity were circulated in order to reinforce the claim that he was a Companion (*Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, Beirut 1921, 129, n. 3).

Sulaymān was among the early settlers of Kūfa, where he built a *dār* on land allotted to his tribe. Together with other *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*], he protested against the land policy of Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṣ [*q.v.*]. A number of sources report that Sulaymān fought alongside ʿAlī at the Battle of the Camel; others maintain that he was not present and was rebuked by the caliph for his absence. There is general agreement that he participated in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Sulaymān strongly objected to the arbitration agreement, was critical of al-Ḥasan for abdicating in favour of Muʿāwiya and, after al-Ḥasan's death, unsuccessfully attempted to prevail upon al-Ḥusayn to rise against the Umayyad caliph. After Muʿāwiya's death, Sulaymān was the first signatory of a letter in which the Kūfans urged al-Ḥusayn to come to Kūfa; he was also among those who did not come to al-Ḥusayn's aid.

Abū Mikhnaf (as cited by al-Ṭabarī) reports that after the Karbalāʾ massacre, five leaders of the Tawwābūn met at Sulaymān's home in al-Kūfa and nominated him as their commander (*amīr al-tawwābīn*). Sulaymān obtained messages of support from the Shīʿīs of al-Madāʾin and Baṣra, but the movement remained clandestine until the death of Yazīd (Rabīʿ I 64/November 683). At that point, the *ashrāf* of Kūfa expelled ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī (ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's deputy in al-Kūfa) and recognised Ibn al-Zubayr as caliph. Ibn al-Zubayr appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī al-Anṣārī as governor of Kūfa. One week before Ibn Yazīd's arrival, al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] entered the town. Al-Mukhtār called on the Shīʿīs of Kūfa to support him in seeking vengeance for al-Ḥusayn, and dismissed Sulaymān as a useless old man who had no experience of politics or warfare and who would only get himself and his followers killed. Al-Mukhtār won the support of some Shīʿīs, but most remained loyal to Sulaymān, whom they regarded as *shaykh al-shīʿa*, and Sulaymān made preparations to meet the Syrian army which had been dispatched to the Djazīra.

According to Abū Mikhnaf, Sulaymān and his party of horsemen left Kūfa on 1 Rabīʿ II 65/15 November 684 and camped at al-Nukhayla [*q.v.*]. Sulaymān checked the register (*dīwān*) of those who had given him the oath of allegiance and found that of 16,000 (or 12,000) who were listed there, only 4,000 had joined him. The party left al-Nukhayla three days later and proceeded to Aḳsās Mālik (on the bank of the Euphrates), where Sulaymān discovered that another thousand or so were missing. The following morning they arrived at al-Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalāʾ, and then eventually reached Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*]. The town's ruler, the Ḳaysī Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, advised Sulaymān to get to ʿAyn al-Warda [see RAʾS AL-ʿAYN] before ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād in order to gain control of its springs, and there to await the Syrians in fortified positions; Sulaymān followed this advice.

The first skirmishes between the two sides took place a few days after the Tawwābūn had reached ʿAyn al-Warda, with Sulaymān's men inflicting casualties on the Syrian army. Then ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dispatched al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr [*q.v.*] at the head of an army of 12,000 men. Fighting broke out on 22 Djumādā I 65/4 January 685. On the first day Sulaymān's men were successful, but very soon the Umayyads brought up reinforcements of about 10,000 men. In the ensuing battle, a large number of Syrians were killed or wounded, but Sulaymān was fatally wounded by an arrow (24 Djumādā I 65/6 January 685). In accordance with the instructions which Sulaymān gave in advance, al-Musayyab b. Nadjaba took command and fought on until he too was killed; the battle ended in complete defeat for the Tawwābūn.

From Abū Mikhnaf's account, it emerges that about six weeks passed between Sulaymān's departure from Kūfa and his death. This is contradicted by the information in al-Balādhurī. Here, too, the date of Sulaymān's departure from Kūfa is given as 1 Rabīʿ II 65/15 November 684; yet the first encounters between the Syrians and the Tawwābūn are said to have taken place some time after the death of Marwān five months later (*Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, 204, 210, 298-9). If these reports are to be trusted, then Sulaymān's death may well have occurred in the spring or summer of 65/685, i.e. at least several months after the date given in al-Ṭabarī.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamharat al-nasab*, i, table 197, ii, 518; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿA.-S.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981, 6-7, 205, 313, 400-1, 519; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *K. al-Fitan*, ed. S. Zakkār, Beirut 1414/1993, 43, 47, 48; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Beirut, iv, 292-3; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, Nadjaf 1386/1967, 177, 258; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 291; Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1360-4, ii/ii, 1; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 182, 198, 210, 243;

Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1379/1960, ii, 257-9; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut 1397/1977, 48, 149, 151, 157, v, ed. S.D.F. Goitein, index; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, Beirut 1406/1986, i, 499, ii, 120, iii, 224-8, 230-2, 236-40, 243-6; Ṭabarī, index; Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, Beirut 1401/1981, i, 163-5; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 1976, 1979, 1981, 1982; idem, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, Beirut 1993, 285; al-Mufīd, *K. al-Djamal*, Nadjaf 1368, 36; idem, *K. al-Irshād*, Beirut 1399/1979, 203, tr. I.K.A. Howard, London 1981, 303; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut 1408/1988, 171-2; Ṭūsī, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1381/1961, 20, 43, 68; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 649-51; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, i, 200-2; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAṭā and Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAṭā, Beirut 1412/1992, vi, 35-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1385-6/1965-6, index; idem, *Usd al-ghāba*, Tehran n.d., ii, 351; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal*, Beirut n.d. [1978-9], 111; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, ed. ʿU.ʿA.-S. Tadmurī, v, Beirut 1410/1990, 45-8, 122-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, viii, 251-5; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, 200-1; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ed. ʿA.-K. al-Arnāʾūṭ and M. al-Arnāʾūṭ, Beirut 1406-14/1986-93, i, 290; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1956-74, xlv, 355-61; J. Wellhausen, *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, tr. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer, Amsterdam etc. 1975, index; al-Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl*, Nadjaf 1349-52/1930-3, § 5218; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, vii, Beirut 1406/1986, 298-301; A.A. Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705*, London 1971, index; S.H.M. Jafri, *The origins and early development of Shiʿa Islam*, London and New York 1979, index; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, index; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983, 103-4; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index; G.R. Hawting, *Two citations of the Qurʾān in "historical" sources for early Islam*, in G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qurʾān*, London and New York 1993, 260-8; H. Halm, *Der schiitische Islam*, Munich 1994, 30-2.

(E. KOHLBERG)

SULAYMĀN B. WAHB [see WAHB].

SULAYMĀN B. YAḤYĀ, nicknamed Ibn Abi 'l-Zawāʾid, minor Medinan poet of the period straddling the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid dynasties. He was of Arab origin from the tribe of the Saʿd b. Bakr (Hawāzin) and seems to have owed his nickname to a malformation of the legs (fleshy excrescences showing on the legs); in *al-Aghānī* (xv, 34), the poet is nicknamed *dhu 'l-zawāʾid* ("he who has fleshy excrescences"). The ancient sources, with one exception only, are silent regarding him; *K. al-Waraḳa* and the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, while mentioning numerous Baghdādī artisans of the same social level as Ibn Abi 'l-Zawāʾid, simply ignore all extra-ʿIrāḳi literary activity.

Biographical information concerning him is by no means negligible: the major part of his life was spent in Medina. In spite of his responsibilities as *imām* of the great mosque of the city, he led an active social life; he frequented the houses of *ḳaynas*, inns (*Aghānī*, xiv, 127) and the promenades of Medina (*ibid.*, 128-9), accompanied by *udabāʾ* (Ibn Daʾb), poets (Ibn Abi 'l-Saʿlāt) and members of the Medinan aristocracy (Thābit, al-Zubayr and Khubayb, great-grandson of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr). During the reign of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) he made his way to Baghdād, but did not enjoy life there, as is shown by a poem in eight verses which he composed, bemoaning the irritations caused by the fleas of the great metropolis and expressing nostalgia for his natal town (*ibid.*, 126); the light-hearted tone is indistinguishable from that of verses evoking the same motif attested in the poetry of *al-ḥanīn ilā 'l-awṭān* from the 2nd/8th century onward (al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-58, v, 385-92). The place and date of his death are both unknown.

The wife, the spouse, but also the mistress and the singing slave-girl, constitute the basic theme of what survives of his poetry; the spouse is evoked here as an old, hideous and decrepit woman, and the tone is extremely coarse (*Aghānī*, xiv, 123-5), in a manner reminiscent of the poems of the Kūfan Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmmār al-Asadī; the *ḳayna* poems reveal an ambivalent attitude: hatred and fear in relation to the sin of fornication (*ibid.*, xiv, 123), while on the other hand he sings the praises of Baṣaṣ, the *djāriya* of Ibn al-Nafīs, who has been bought by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. As for the mistress, here he displays a delicacy which is at odds with the other verses dedicated to the wife.

Bibliography: Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 449; *al-Aghānī*[3], xv, 27, 34. (ED.)

SULAYMĀN B. YASĀR [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA, in Suppl.].

SULAYMĀN AL-MAHRĪ, in full Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Mahrī, an Indian Ocean sea captain (*muʿallim al-baḥr*) of the 16th century A.D. Attributed to him are five treatises on navigation which were translated into Turkish by the author and admiral Sīdī ʿAlī Čelebi [*q.v.*] and included in his work *al-Muḥīṭ* written in 1554. According to Sīdī Čelebi, Sulaymān finished the treatise called *ʿUmda* in 917/1511. He was a native of Shiḥr [*q.v.*] and was dead by the time Sīdī Čelebi was writing. That is all that is known of him personally. However, he was probably a pupil of Aḥmad b. Mādjid [see IBN MĀDJID] in the late 1400s. He quotes Ibn Mādjid and builds the structure of his works on the form derived from the latter's work. The Arabic form of these treatises has survived, together with the earlier treatises of Ibn Mādjid in several manuscripts. Those which include the works of Sulaymān are four, (a) Paris, B.N. Arabe 2559 (dated 961/1554); (b) Leiden no. 8660 (2) (dated 1059/1649); (c) Yale Arab ms. 1480, 1535, 1536-7 (dated 1097/1686); while the fourth is in private possession in Bahrain (dated 1091/1680). The treatises are named (1) *al-ʿUmda al-Mahriyya fī ḍabṭ al-ʿilm al-baḥriyya*; (2) *al-Manhadj al-fākhir fī ʿilm al-baḥr al-zākhir*; (3) *Tuḥfat al-fuḥūl fī tamhīd al-uṣūl*; (4) *Sharḥ al-tuḥfa*; (5) *Ḳilādat al-shumūs wa'stikhrādj al-usus*.

The *ʿUmda al-Mahriyya* is the earliest of these works, and is quoted by both the *Tuḥfa* and the *Manhadj*. It quotes the *Ḥāwiya* of Ibn Mādjid, the plan of which is followed approximately by Sulaymān in his work. A skeletal plan is noticeable in all these navigational works, but the authors have great difficulty in keeping to the subject. The *ʿUmda*, however, is the work which keeps closest to a plan, although even here Sulaymān gets side-tracked easily. Unlike Ibn Mādjid, who had literary ambitions, Sulaymān's style is simple and straightforward. His aim was to produce a treatise which would be of practical use for a navigator sailing in the Indian Ocean. His intention was to take the main points of navigational science as chapter headings and then include everything relating to each point in the relevant chapter. This, as noted above, he finds difficult, but his final order of headings is Ch. 1, first principles, properties of the heavenly sphere, stars used by navigators as rhumbs

(*akhnān*) and as Pole Star altitude measurements (*ķiyās*), i.e. a chapter of general theory. Ch. II, use of stars as compass bearings. Ch. III, bearings between ports around the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Ch. IV, bearings around islands. Ch. V, list of values of Pole Star altitudes for ports of the world. Ch. VI, monsoon seasons for sailing out from various ports. Ch. VII, descriptions of routes throughout the Ocean.

This arrangement is not very logical, and lends itself to confusion. Sulaymān was not satisfied with the result. He began a second work, the *Tuḥfat al-fuḥūl*, in which he intended to write down only the theory of navigation, omitting the lists of Pole Star altitude results and tables of bearings which are found in the *ʿUmda*. This was a short treatise taking only six folios in the Paris ms. Its chapters are arranged in a logical sequence and it gives only the basic theory necessary for navigation. The order of chapters is 1. Generalities, 2. Compass bearings, 3. the *zām*, 4. Types of routes, 5. *ķiyās* theory, 6. Theory of *masāfāt* (distances measured along the line of latitude), 7. Theory of winds. Later, Sulaymān complemented this with a "commentary" (*sharḥ*) similar to the commentaries of classical writers written round the Ķurʾān or some legal work. Of this he seems to have been proud, and it was probably his last work. However, it does not help either the scholar or the Indian Ocean navigator who already has the original *Tuḥfa*. For although it was five times as long as the original work, it had little more to say. He states a sentence from the *Tuḥfa*, prefixing it with the word *ķultu* ("I have said"), and then after the word *aķūlu* ("now I say"), he expands it, stretching out phrases, sometimes to great length, attempting to explain something which was quite clear before. Rarely does he clear up any obscure point; occasionally he adds something which he has omitted in the *Tuḥfa* but which occurs in one of the other works. Therefore, with the other works in one's possession, the commentary to the *Tuḥfa* is completely unnecessary.

The list of results (latitudes, bearings etc.) which were in the *ʿUmda*, but which he omitted when completing the *Tuḥfa*, were reserved for the *Manhadj al-fākhir*. Although this work may contain corrections to actual values it is not as rewarding for the modern scholar as the *ʿUmda*. It loses that straightforward plan of theory plus results equals descriptions of set voyages, which the navigator would appreciate and perhaps Ibn Mādjid himself might have been aiming for but never actually achieved. The real value of the *Manhadj* is that corrected values give a more accurate picture of those parts of the Indian Ocean in the higher latitudes, i.e. around Djidda, Raʾs al-Ḥadd and Chittagong (Shātīdjām). It also gives distances along the line of latitude (*masāfāt*) not listed before except incompletely in Ibn Mādjid's *Ḥāwiya*. It also has a section on birds, seaweed, etc. (*ishārāt*) which was not given in the *ʿUmda*, but at this stage, Sulaymān has begun to lose his purpose again and a section on the revolutions of the sun and moon is irrelevant. This material is not strictly navigational, and introduces theory which has been avoided so far in the *Manhadj*. Theory of winds and cyclones is out of place here, although a list of specific types of wind would be relevant. What one might expect would be a list of sailing dates which depend on the monsoon winds. Sulaymān closes the *Manhadj* with a revised survey of the set voyages in South-East Asia and the Bay of Bengal, although not the rest of the Ocean. We have no universal series of sailing directions as we are given in the *ʿUmda*, and generally, the *Manhadj* is inferior when compared with the former work.

One other treatise remains. This is the *Ķilādat al-shumūs*, which gives calculations necessary for converting Muslim years to solar, Byzantine, Coptic and Persian years and vice-versa. As the seasons for sailing—in fact, all navigational dates—are given in days after the Persian (Yazdigirdian) Nawrūz, this treatise has a very practical advantage. It consists of just over two folios of important formulae, written clearly after the manner of the *ʿUmda* and it is possible that it comes from the same period as the latter work.

Bibliography: For his *EI*[1] art. on Sulaymān, G. Ferrand worked entirely from the Paris mss. A French version of this article appeared in *Annales de Geographie*, xxxii, 298-312, as *Les instructions nautiques de Sulaymān al-Mahrī*. The Arabic text of Sulaymān's work was published from the B.N. ms. by Ferrand as *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, 3 vols., Paris 1921-8. A critical edition of the four ms. versions of the texts was prepared by Ibrahim Khoury, *Arab nautical sciences: navigational texts and their analysis* (*al-ʿUlūm al-baḥriyya ʿind al-ʿarab*), 4 vols., Damascus 1970-2. There are no complete translations of Sulaymān's works into European languages, only extracts in works on geography, navigation, etc. These are many, but the most detailed are probably in Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, 2 vols., Paris 1913-14; G.R. Tibbetts, *A study of the Arabic texts containing material on South-east Asia*, London 1979. The Turkish text of Sīdī Čelebi's *Muḥīṭ*, which includes what is virtually a translation of Sulaymān's five works, is not in print but only appears in partial translation in English by J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Extracts from the Moḥīṭ, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian Seas*, in *JASB* (1834), 545-53, (1836), 441-68, (1837), 805-12, (1838), 767-80, (1839), 823-30, and in German by M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek, *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels, Moḥīṭ*, Vienna 1897. Detailed bibls. can be found in works on Arab Indian Ocean navigation in the 16th-17th centuries such as T. Shumovskiy, *Kniga pol'z ob osnovakh i pravilakh morskoy nauki*, Moscow 1985; G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, and in the work of I. Khoury mentioned above. Other works of interest are given in the bibliographies to the arts. IBN MĀDJID and MILĀḤA. Useful works in Arabic are A.I. al-Nashamī, *al-Milāḥa fi 'l-khalīdj al-ʿarabī*, Kuwait 1969 and Ḥasan Ṣāliḥ Shihāb, *Fann al-milāḥa ʿind al-ʿarab*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1982.

(G.R. Tibbetts)

SULAYMĀN PASHA, al-Faransawī (Sèves or Sève Pasha, 1788-1860), one of the French officers serving in Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's [*q.v.*] army.

Joseph Anthelme Sève was the son of a Lyons draper. When fifteen years old, he enlisted as a gunner in the French army, and later served in the Hussars. He fought in Napoleon's Prussian campaign (1806-7) and was promoted to the rank of adjutant, and during the "Hundred Days" (1814), he served on the staff of Marshal Grouchy. Dismissed by the royal government, he went to Egypt in 1815, and was eventually attached to the staff of Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. Sève became an instructor of the infantry, consisting of Albanian, Syrian and Maghribī "Arab" as well as "Turkish" Ottoman subjects. He established a training camp at Aswān [see USWĀN], where from 1823 onwards he was able to form six regiments of infantry, and was given the title of *Bey*. From 1824 to 1827,

he served under Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a in the Morea [see MORA] against the Hellenic insurgents. In 1831 he became a major-general. He served in the war against the Ottoman Sultan, and distinguished himself in the battle of Konya (1248/1832), upon which he became a *Pas̲h̲a*, afterwards successfully organising the retreat to Suez.

In his later years, he was relegated to minor tasks. In 1833 he supported the activities of the "Saint-Simoniens" led by "le Père" Enfantin in Alexandria, and in 1834 he assisted Linant de Bellefonds in the construction of dams in the Nile delta. He maintained a grand life style, including a harem in his palace in Cairo, where he received many prominent guests from France e.g. the painter Horace Vernet, Marshal Marmont, Gustave Flaubert and Maxime Du Camp. His conversion to Islam must have greatly benefited his relationship with his trainees. His principal consort, Sittī Maria, gave him a son, Iskandar Bey. His lasting reputation was evident from a statue and a street named after him in Cairo till 1956.

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SULAYMĀNĪS, a branch of Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, so called after Sulaymān b. Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who claimed the succession for himself after Dāwūd b. ʿAd̲j̲abs̲h̲āh as the twenty-seventh *dāʿī mutlaḳ*. They are predominantly to be found in Yaman, where their total number may currently be placed at more than 70,000, living mainly in the northern districts and on the northern border region between Yaman and Saudi Arabia. Besides being represented amongst the Banū Yām of Nad̲j̲rān, the Sulaymānīs are settled in Ḥarāz, D̲j̲abal Mag̲h̲āriba and in Hawzan, Lahāb and ʿAttāra, and in the district of Hamdān and in the vicinity of Yarīm. The Sulaymānīs of India, on the other hand, called the Sulaymānī Bohras, number a few thousand only and live mainly in Bombay, Baroda, Aḥmadābād and Ḥaydarābād Deccan. There are also some Sulaymānīs in Pakistan. Most recently, some families from the subcontinent have migrated to England, America and Canada.

Sulaymān was succeeded by his minor son D̲j̲aʿfar, hence the affairs of the *daʿwa* were run by Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Makramī (d. 1042/1633 [*q.v.*]), one of the earliest supporters of Sulaymān during the Dāwūdī-Sulaymānī succession dispute and originally from Ṭayba, a town northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ. After winning the confidence of the influential Banū Yām, settled in the Nad̲j̲rān region, he adopted Badr as his residence, and this subsequently became the capital of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa*. His son Ibrāhīm succeeded as the 30th *dāʿī* in 1088/1677. Since then the office has remained in the Makramī family except for a few interruptions. The Makramī *dāʿīs* not only ruled the Yām but, at the height of their power, their influence extended to the Mik̲h̲lāf al-Sulaymānī in the north and to Ḥaḍramawt in the east. In 1174/1764 they felt strong enough to invade Nad̲j̲d and inflicted a crushing defeat on the rising power of the Wahhābīs. However, they were unable to curb the subsequent Wahhābī encroachment against Nad̲j̲rān, as they had also to withstand the hostilities of the Zaydī Imāms in Yaman. Their rule over Nad̲j̲rān came to an end in 1934 when it was annexed to the Suʿūdī kingdom, and their 45th *dāʿī*, ʿAlī b. Muḥsin Āl S̲h̲ibām, was pensioned off by the Suʿūdī government. This marked the end of the political significance of the Makramī family of Sulaymānī *dāʿīs* and their followers in Yaman. Because of this close association of the Makārima (pl. of Makramī, see MAKRAMIDS) with the Sulaymānī *daʿwa*, the term Makārima itself is often used synonymously with that of Sulaymānīs in Yaman. The present *dāʿī*, al-S̲h̲arafī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Makramī, succeeded to the office in 1396/1976.

The Sulaymānīs continued the traditions of the post-Fāṭimid Yamanī Ṭayyibīs. The *dāʿīs* do not use honorific titles and are simply addressed as *Sayyidnā*, and are known in Yaman as the *dāʿīs* of the *ḳabāʾil Yām*. In India, the *dāʿī*'s chief representative, known as the *manṣūb*, resides in Baroda, and is assisted by a number of *ʿāmils* or *mullās* residing in various cities where the Sulaymānī Bohras live. The assistants conduct the communal prayers, perform religious ceremonies, and collect the dues for the *dāʿī*. In India the official language of the Sulaymānī *daʿwa* is Urdu, but Arabic is used in correspondence between them and their *dāʿī* in Yaman.

In Yaman, the Sulaymānīs have enjoyed a great degree of cohesion and have become an effective fighting force. In India, the Sulaymānī Bohras, in contrast to the Dāwūdīs, have developed closer ties with other Muslims in terms of language, dress and customs. They have also experienced a much greater degree of freedom from their *dāʿīs* and their *manṣūbs*. As a result, the small Sulaymānī community not only represents a progressive group, approving of social change and encouraging modern secular education, but has also produced, proportionately speaking, a significant number of prominent public figures. Asaf Ali Asghar Fyzee (1899-1981), an outstanding Islamicist and eminent scholar of Muslim law in the Indian subcontinent and India's ambassador to Egypt, belonged to the well-known Tyabji family of Sulaymānī Bohras of Bombay. Badr al-Dīn Tyabji, another member of this family, was the first Muslim president of the Indian National Congress in 1887.

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SULAYMĀNIDS [see MAKKA. 2. ii].

SULAYMĀNIYYA, a town and district in southern Kurdistān, since the Ottoman reconquest of ʿIrāḳ from the Ṣafawids in the 11th/17th

century under nominal Ottoman suzerainty, and since the aftermath of the First World War in the kingdom and then republic of ʿIrāḳ. The town lies in lat. 35° 32' E. and long. 45° 27' N. at an altitude of 838 m/2,750 feet, and is 90 km/54 miles east of Kirkūk [*q.v.*], to which it is connected by road.

The historical region of Sulaymāniyya lies between what is now the ʿIrāḳ-Persia frontier, the Diyāla [*q.v.*] and its upper affluents the Tandjaru and Sīrwān, the region of Kirkūk and the upper basin of the Little Zāb. To the northeast of the basin of these affluents of the Tigris rise the ranges making up the Zagros massif and running northwest to southeast (see further on the geography of the region, KURDS, KURDISTĀN, D.).

1. History to 1920.

The district of Sulaymāniyya is known from the earliest times. Mount Niṣir (in Lullutu: Kiniba), where according to the Babylonian epic the ship of Gilgamesh rested during the Deluge, can only be Pīr-ʿUmar-Gudrūn. The region of Sulaymāniyya corresponds to the land of Zamua occupied by the Lullutu people, the southern frontier of which was on the col of Babite (the modern Bāziān). In 880 B.C., Assur-nāṣirpal conquered all the kings of Zamua. A stele found at Darband-i Gawr, north of Ḳara-dagh, seems to belong to a Lulltu king. Brzozowski mentions another ancient bas-relief at the entrance to the defile of Derbend through which the Little Zāb forces a passage, to the extreme northwest of the territory of Sulaymāniyya. Herzfeld (in *Isl.*, xi, 127) mentions ruins at Sītak in the canton of Sērōčik. In 745 B.C. Tiglat Pileser III transplanted to Mazamua (*Māt-Zamua*, Forrer, 43) Aramaeans who had lived in northern Mesopotamia. In the Sāsānid period we have in the extreme southwest of the territory of Sulaymāniyya the famous monument of Paikuli (cf. SHAHRIZŪR). In the history of the Syrian church the district of Sulaymāniyya formed part of the diocese of Bēth Garmai (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 253).

In the Islamic period, the history of the region was at first involved with that of Shahrizūr. Sulaymāniyya had a more or less autonomous existence from the end of the 11th/17th century to 1267/1850. The local dynasty was called Bābān. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Khān Bidlīsī (i, 280-8), the first chief and the eponym of this family was Pīr Būdāḳ Babē (probably about 1500). The home of this tribe seems to have been to the west of Ḳandīl [see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ]. The direct descendants of Babē were soon supplanted by their subordinates, but this second line disappeared also and about 1005/1596 the tribe had no recognised chief. A new line (of the clan Saḳir of the tribe of Bilbās; Rich, i, 270) came from the village of Darishmāna to the canton of Piždar; it had a legendary genealogy claiming descent from a young "Frank" woman called Kēghān, whom their ancestor had taken prisoner in a battle. The true founder of this third dynasty, Bābā Sulaymān, came to the front in 1088/1677, and in 1111/1699 took service at the Ottoman court. Rich (i, 381-5) gives a list of his descendants, who include 17 Bābān Pashas. The representatives of this local dynasty cleverly maintained their position between the two rival powers, Turkey and Persia, but they were really under the Pashas of Baghdād, who themselves held a very subordinate position with respect to the Sublime Porte. Maḥmūd Pasha, who received Rich on his memorable journey through Kurdistān and in whom Rich (i, 322) tried to arouse the Kurd national pride, finally submitted to the Persians. The latter invaded Sulaymāniyya in 1842 to re-establish Maḥmūd Pasha, but by the treaty of 1847 Persia withdrew all claims on the town and *sandjaḳ* of Sulaymāniyya in favour of the Turks. The last ruler of the family of Bābān, ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, was deposed by the Turks in 1267/1850 (Khurshīd Efendī, 209).

It may be mentioned that the Bābān family was simply a conquering and warrior caste. Alongside the Bābān and under their suzerainty lived several other warrior tribes (*ʿashīrat*), of which lists are given by Rich, i, 280, and Khurshīd Efendī, 217. The principal of these tribes was Djāf [see SANANDADJ and SHAHRIZŪR]. Later we often find mentioned the turbulent tribe of Ḥamāwand of Čamčamāl which claimed to have come from Persian Kurdistān (its name resembles those of the Lur tribes). The Hamāwand in the course of their razzias used to come down as far as the banks of the Tigris (Cholet, *Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, Paris 1892, 295-311).

Beside the clans which had kept their tribal organisation there were in Sulaymāniyya, as elsewhere in Kurdistān, the peasants (*gūrān, kelowspī* "white caps", according to Rich, i, 80).

At first the capital of the Bābāns was at Shara-Bažār (Shahr-i bāzār) in the first valley conquered by Pīr Būdāḳ Babē, but Ibrāhīm Pasha moved his residence to the canton of Sar-činār, where he founded about 1199/1784 (Rich, i, 387) the town of Sulaymāniyya on the site of the village of Malik Hindī (Malik Kendi?) built around an ancient mound which had to be cleared away on the occasion. The town was called after Büyük Süleymān Pasha (of the family of Georgian Mamlūks), governor of Baghdād in 1780-1802 (Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Baghdad*, Paris 1901, 159). Towards 1820, the town had 2,000 households of Muslims, 130 of Jews, 9 of Chaldaean Catholics (who had a little church) and 5 of Armenians, in all 10,000 souls. There were 5 mosques in Sulaymāniyya. In 1868 Lycklama estimated the population at 6,000 Kurds, 30 families of Chaldaeans and 15 of Jews.

Under Ottoman rule, Sulaymāniyya remained the nursery of an indefinite Kurdish movement. The local Kurds supplied Turkey with a large number of officials and, particularly, armed officers. Several Bābāns became distinguished in Istanbul like Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha, Unionist minister and diplomat in 1909-14. After the deposition of the Bābāns, a great part in politics was played by the family of religious *Shaykhs* of the family of Barzandja, whose ancestor Ḥādjdjī Kaka Aḥmad enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and is buried at Sulaymāniyya.

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Efendī, *Siyāḥet-nāme-yi ḥudūd*, Russ. tr. 1877, 205-32; Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie* etc., Paris-Amsterdam 1875, iv, 75-84; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii, 868-73; Korab-Brzozowski, *Itinéraire de Souleimanieh en 1869*, in *Bull. soc. géogr. de Paris* (1892), 250-64; Dickson, *Journeys in Kurdistan*, in *Geogr. Journ.* (April 1910), 376; A. Adamov, *Irak Arabski*, St. Petersburg 1912, 387 ff.; E.B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, [2]London 1926, 163-209; Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs. Politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq 1919-1925*, London 1957, 52-9 (with genealogical table of the Bābān family at 53). (V. MINORSKY*)

2. Since 1920.

There was provision in the Treaty of Sèvres of August 1920 for an Autonomous "Southern Kurdistan", but this topic became linked with the question whether the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, of which Sulaymāniyya had been a *sandjak* under the Ottomans, should remain Turkish-controlled or whether it should become part of the new predominantly Arab state of ʿIrāḳ [see AL-MAWṢIL. 2.]. In the end, Sulaymāniyya was included in the territory awarded to ʿIrāḳ, though a League of Nations decision of December 1925 granted a certain amount of local autonomy to the Kurds there. Unrest had already broken out in Sulaymāniyya in 1919 under the Kurdish Shaykh Maḥmūd Barzandjī, and over the next five years, Barzandjī returned to Sulaymāniyya on three separate occasions until air raids in 1923-4 drove him back across the Persian frontier to a bandit existence.

Sulaymāniyya became almost depopulated through this fighting, but by the end of 1924, 20,000 of its people had returned. Yet it remained disturbed, including at the time of the 1929 ʿIraḳī election, and Maḥmūd Barzandjī again invaded the *liwāʾ* of Sulaymāniyya in 1930, until he again fled to Persia in the next year; he eventually made his peace with the ʿIrāḳī authorities and in 1938, when the Sulaymāniyya region was unusually quiet, his confiscated properties were restored to him. He returned to Sulaymāniyya from provincial exile in southern ʿIrāḳ in May 1941 during the Rashīd ʿAlī al-Gaylānī [*q.v.*] coup, ostensibly to raise forces "to support the British".

In the post-1945 period, Sulaymāniyya continued to be a centre of unrest, for Kurdish aspirations and for other elements aiming at the destabilisation of the Hāshimite monarchy in ʿIrāḳ, such as the underground Communist Party of National Liberation, which could from Sulaymāniyya make contact with other Communist forces across the Persian border. Hence a certain merging of Communist activities with Kurdish nationalism took place, and Sulaymāniyya was particularly disturbed in 1948.

The proclamation of the ʿIrāḳ Republic in July 1958 initially aroused Kurdish enthusiasm, but the history of the ensuing decades has been one of continuing disturbance in the Sulaymāniyya region. In March 1961 Muṣṭafā Barzandjī proclaimed an independent Kurdistān stretching through northern ʿIrāḳ as far east as Sulaymāniyya and the Persian border. During the succeeding phases of ʿIrāḳī-Kurdish conflict, possession of Sulaymāniyya was maintained by ʿIrāḳī government troops, with the surrounding countryside usually held by the Kurds, until in spring 1991 the Kurds briefly captured the town and then, in the summer, recaptured it more lastingly. Sulaymāniyya is now the chef-lieu of the autonomous Kurdish region of ʿIrāḳ, with the whole region having a population of 951,723 (1987 census), and has a Kurdish-language university of its own.

Bibliography: S.H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950, a political, social and economic history*, London 1953; C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs. Politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq 1919-1925*, London 1957, 79-96 and index; *EI*[1] art. *Sulaimānīya* (V. Minorsky); *EI*[2] art. *Kurds, Kurdistān*, iii. C. (ED.)

SULDUZ, SÜLDÜZ, a Mongol tribe which played a considerable role in mediaeval Islamic history of the Mongol and Il Khānid periods.

According to Berezin, the correct Mongol form would be Süldes (pl. of *sülde* "good fortune"; Vladimirtsov interpreted *sülde* as "le génie-protecteur habitant le drapeau"). L. Ligeti, *Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgis*, in *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, i (1925), saw in the ending of Suld-uz, as in Ḳïrḳ-ïz, the remains of an ancient Turkish plural suffix (cf. *biz* "we", *siz* "you", etc.) and as a hypothetical singular quoted the name of a Ḳïrghïz clan Sult, Sultu. Rashīd al-Dīn classes the Sulduz amongst the *dürlükin* Mongols, i.e. of "common" origin, in contrast to the *nirun* "pure" ones, who were, however, descended from the *dürlükin* through Alan Goʾa, the miraculous grandmother of Čingiz (Činggis) Khān.

Sorḳan Shira Sulduz one day saved the life of Čingiz whilst the latter was fighting with the Tayičiʾüt, and this exploit gained the Sulduz great prestige with Čingiz Khān and his successors.

Sorḳan Shira
|
Djilawḳan
|
Sodo Noyon (Sodun)
|
Tudan
|
Malik
|
Čoban

The children of Sodo Noyon came to Persia with Hülegü, whose wife Yesündjin, the mother of Abaḳa, was a Sulduz. Malik is said to have overrun Persian Kurdistān. In 688/1289, under the Il Khān Arghun, an act of bravery brought to the front Čoban, son of Malik, and he afterwards distinguished himself in the reigns of Ghazan and Öldjeytü [*q.vv.*]. The *Taʾrīkh-i Üldjāytū* written by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳāshānī (ed. Māhīn Hambly, Tehran 1969), in a list of *amīrs* mentions Čoban (*amīr-i buzurg muḳaddam-i Tāzīk wa Turk*) in the second place next to Ḳutlugh Shāh Manḳut, but adds that in ability he is superior to them all. There is extant a letter from Pope John XXII, dated Avignon, 12 November 1321, addressed to "Zoban Begilay" (Čoban?). In spite of the Shīʿī leanings of Öldjeytü, Čoban remained a Sunnī. When the young Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] ascended the throne, Čoban became regent, and in 719/1319 married Sātī Beg, daughter of Öldjeytü. The detailed history of Čoban and his sons and grandsons over the next generation or so may now be followed in the article ČŪBĀNIDS.

After the murder of Čoban's grandson Ḥasan Küčik at Tabrīz in 744/1343 (see below), the Sulduz are only occasionally mentioned by the historians. Under 807/1404, Mīrkhwānd mentions the instructions given by Tīmūr to the Khaladj of Sāwa to reinforce the troops under Pīr ʿAlī Sulduz in Rayy. In the early 20th century, there was still a body of Sulduz in this region among the Shāh-seven [*q.v.*] of Sāwa.

Several women of the Čobanids had remarkable

careers. Besides Baghdād Khātūn, one may mention: (1) Sātī Beg, widow of Čoban, who was first the wife of the Il Khān Arpa and in 739/1338-9 was herself placed on the throne by the grandson of her first husband, Ḥasan Küčik. Finally, the latter married her to the new pretender Sulaymān, who reigned 740-4/1339-43. (2) Dilshād Khātūn, daughter of Dimashḳ Khʷādja, first of all married Abū Saʿīd (at the same time as her aunt Baghdād Khātūn) and then Ḥasan Buzurg Djalāʾir. (3) Malik ʿIzzat, wife of Ḥasan Küčik, whom she killed in an indescribable and atrociously cruel fashion. She was executed by her husband's relatives, who cut her into pieces which they then ate.

In Mongolia in the time of Čingiz, the encampments of the Sulduz seem to have been not far from the river Onon. But in the time of Rashīd al-Dīn, the *yurt* of the Sulduz was near the forests inhabited by the forest-dwelling Uryangḳit. The Chinese list of Mongol encampments published in 1867 (*Meng-gu-yu-mu-tsi*, Russ. tr. P. Popov, St. Petersburg 1895) no longer mentions the Sulduz. In Turkestan, the Sulduz, with their subdivisions (?) Nukuz and Tamadur, are mentioned among the troops of Shaybānī Khān [see SHAYBĀNIDS] at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Later, the Sulduz rejoined Bābur (*Shaybānī-nāma*, ed. Melioranski, St. Petersburg 1908, 137, 176; cf. the *Scheibaniade* of N. Vambéry, Vienna 1885, 273, 350). According to A.Z.V. Togan, Özbeg genealogies (*shadjara*) mention the Sulduz among the 92 Özbeg clans; the people of the canton of Altîn-kul in Farghāna [*q.v.*] were in the early 20th century Sulduz, and there must be some in Khīwa (Khʷārazm) alongside of the Nukuz.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, in *Trudî Vostoč. Otdel*, esp. vii, St. Petersburg 1861, 224 ff. and indices to v, 1858, and xv, 1888; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 172, ii, 119-25, Eng. tr. Gibb, i, 109, ii, 338-42; E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 54, 170. See further the *Bibl.* to ČŪBĀNIDS. (V. MINORSKY*)

SULDŪZ, a small district of western Ādharbāydjān in Persia, to the south-west of Lake Urmiya, on the lower course of the Gādir-čay, which here receives on its right bank the Bāyzāwa and Mamad-shāh and flows into the Lake. To the west it is bordered by Ushnū, which lies on the upper course of the Gādir, from which it is separated by the Darband gorge through which the river runs; to the north it is bounded by the little district of Dōl (cf. Dōl-i Bārīk, in Sharaf al-Dīn Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 288) belonging to Urmiya; to the south and the east by the cantons of Paswa and Shāri-wērān which go with Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.v.*].

Suldūz is a fertile plain producing much wheat. It is often flooded by the waters of the Gādir, which near its mouth forms marshes and salt beds (*kopi*). On the south side, Suldūz is bordered by the heights of Firangī, at the foot of which are numerous springs impregnated with lime. The crest Bahrāmlū separating Suldūz from Shāri-wērān is also of limestone formation.

We know that in 703/1303 the Il Khānid Ghazan distributed the land in fiefs. It is possible that it was at this time that the name of the tribe (Suldūz, in Kurdish: Sundūs) replaced the old name of the district now lost.

According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, in the time of the Turkoman dynasties (about the 15th century), i.e. long after the Čōbānīs [see ČŪBĀNIDS] had disappeared, the Mukrī Kurds occupied the district, the old inhabitants of which were probably reduced to servitude. The same authority (i, 280) in a sentence now mutilated in the ms., and undated, says that Pīr Budāḳ of the Kurd tribe of Bābān (Babē) took Suldūz from the Ḳîzîlbāsh, which may refer to one of these sudden outbursts of fighting on the frontier in the time of the Ṣafawids.

In 1828 the Ḳādjār prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā gave Suldūz as a fief to 800 families of the Ḳara-papakh [*q.v.*]. The newcomers were allowed to levy and collect the taxes (12,000 *tūmāns* a year), and in return had to maintain 400 horsemen at the disposal of the government. At this period, there were in Suldūz 4-5,000 families of Kurds and Muḳaddam Turks, but gradually the lands passed into the hands of new Shīʿī masters.

In the early 20th century there were 123 villages and small towns in Suldūz with 8,000 families. The chief settlement is Naghāda (Nahāda), with a thousand houses. This little town lies on the bank of the Bāyzāwa around an ancient artificial mound. Another important centre is Rāhdāna (Rah-dahna), where there is a good bridge over the Gādir, which provides communication between Urmiya and Sāwdj-Bulāḳ.

The south-east corner of the district is occupied by the canton of Mamad-shāh, the name of which is mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* (i, 290). The early 20th-century inhabitants were Shamsaddīnlu Turks. With their chief Māsī Beg, they came into Persia and received from ʿAbbās Mīrzā 3 villages with 100 families of Kurd peasants (*raʿiyyat*).

The Sunnī Kurds of the tribes of Mamash, Zarzā and Mukrī numbered in the early 20th century 2,000 families, or a quarter of the total of the population. They entirely occupied 10 villages (Ghilwān, Wazna, etc.), and 11 others (Čiāna, Naghāda, Mammiand, etc.) they shared with the Ḳara-papakh.

Suldūz, like Ushnū, is mentioned among the Nestorian bishoprics (Assemani, iv, 423; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig 1880, 204: Saldus, Saldōs), but in 1914 there were only 80 Christian families left in Naghāda. The Jews were more numerous (120 families in Naghāda) and were probably the oldest element in the present population of the district; virtually all have now emigrated to Israel.

Under the Turkish occupation of 1908-12, the Shīʿī Ḳara-papakh suffered considerably, as the Turks regarded them as Persian agents. The Turks, without success, however, tried to destroy the tribal organisation and to emancipate the *raʿiyyats*. During the First World War, the village of Ḥaydarābād (on Lake Urmiya) became a Russian naval base, and a light railway was built through the district. Suldūz changed hands several times, but after the departure of the Russians and Turks it has since 1919 remained within Persia.

Bibliography: Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey from Tabrīz*, *JRGS*, x (1840), 13-14; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix/2, 602, 939; Minorsky, in *Materialî po izuč. vostoka*, ii, Petrograd 1915, 453-7. (V. MINORSKY*)

SÜLEYMĀN (926-74/1520-66), the tenth and most illustrious of the Ottoman sultans. There is a tradition of western origin, still current, according to which he was really Süleymān II, but that tradition has been based on an erroneous assumption that Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*] was to be recognised as a legitimate sultan; he was one of the sons of Bāyezīd I, who established himself at Adrianople after his defeat at Ankara. He received the epithet *Ḳānūnī* "the lawgiver" at an unspecified date; this is first mentioned at the beginning of the 18th century in the work of the historian Dimitri Kantemir (see C. Kafadar, in *Süleyman the Second and his time*, 41), while he was known in the west as Süleymān the Magnificent, the Great Turk, or the Great Lord.

Early years

He was born at Trebizond where his father, the future sultan Selīm I, had his residence as a *sandjak beg*. Three different dates have been suggested for his birth: 6 November 1494; 27 April 1495; and April or May 1496 (see Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i). One tradition, apparently going back to Jovius (see A. Fisher, in *Süleymān the Second* 9, n. 20), has it that his mother Ḥafṣa, a Tatar, was the daughter of the Crimean *khān* Mengli Giray, or of a Turkish woman; a document relating to a mosque founded in her name at Manisa showing her to be a convert to Islam denies this legend (Ç. Uluçay, *Padişahlarin kadınları ve kızları* (1980) 27).

His childhood was spent at Trebizond, where he was taught by a certain Khayr ul-Dīn Efendi, who remained in his entourage and where, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, he learned how to be a goldsmith from a Greek master-craftsman. He first governed as prince (*shehzāde*) at Kefe [*q.v.*] (Caffa, Feodosiya) in the east of the Crimea. In 1513 Süleymān became *sandjak beg* of Manisa, a post which he occupied until his actual accession in 1520. In the interim, however, there were two separate occasions when Selīm appealed for his help during his absences. In 1514-15, during the campaign in Persia, he ensured that the lieutenancy for his father was maintained in Istanbul; and in 1516-18 he was put in charge of the defence of Adrianople in the campaign against the Mamlūks. He returned to Manisa on the premature death of his father (see Uluçay, in *Kanunî armağanı*, who publishes the registers of the transactions of the *shehzāde*).

His accession

Eight days later he had arrived in Istanbul, where his accession took place without any problems or unrest, for there were no brothers who were likely to dispute the claims of Süleymān to the throne. His reign began on 17 Shawwāl 926/15 September 1520 and was the longest in Ottoman history. It coincided with the zenith of empire, when power and prestige were at its height. Observers of Ottoman decline were in retrospect to see this as a golden age and an absolute reference point, which justifies considering it as a unit (cf. e.g. the *ʿadālet-nāme* of 1595 in Inalcik, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4, 104-5). Nevertheless, there is an opinion that the period of his reign could be subdivided into two which is very old (Ḳoči Beg, for example, thought that the threat of Ottoman decline could be traced from the end of his great reign).

At the beginning, the new sovereign was scarcely known and he was overshadowed by the overwhelming power of his awesome father, but he was seen as a just and peace-loving young man (cf. for example the Venetian forecast in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 29, Venice 1890, col. 357). His first actions, even though they were always symbolic, clearly pointed in this direction. At the same time, the energy and pugnacity of the new master were glaringly apparent to the world. The *beglerbeg* of Syria and Palestine, Djānbardī al-Ghazālī, a former Mamlūk chief, thought that the time had come to start a rebellion, but he was quickly subdued by a punitive force. Above all, there began an impressive series of "imperial campaigns" (*seferi-i humāyūn*) from the spring of 1521 onwards, ten in Europe and three in Asia, in which the sovereign participated in person.

Military campaigns 1521-36

Momentarily forsaking the Persian scene in which his father had been involved, he turned to the West to seek his primary objectives, this time not only with an eye to their strategic value but once again also for their symbolic significance. Taking as a pretext the ill treatment inflicted on his emissary Behrām Čawush, Süleymān forced the surrender of Belgrade on 29 August 1521 after his armies had taken Sabacz and Semlin and had ravaged the countryside between the Save and the Drave. He was then able to go on and seize the "key to Hungary" and to succeed where his great-grandfather Meḥemmed II "The Conqueror" had failed in 1456.

His next target was the island of Rhodes, which was a fearsome stronghold held by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and a base for regular piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean [see RODOS]. Süleymān launched a fleet of some 235 vessels against Rhodes and mobilised about 200,000 men. The siege went on into the winter and the fleet took shelter in the Sea of Marmara. The Knights capitulated on 21 December 1522, but only after five months of ordeal. The Conqueror kept his promise which he had made to them, that they could leave the island in freedom, and this contributed to his reputation for reliability. After these two great feats, there followed a period of military inaction on the part of the sultan, and then he decided to embark on a new campaign, against Louis of Hungary, to whom a second emissary had been sent in 1524 but in vain.

Süleymān and his Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] set out on a march in April 1526, but because of the severity of the weather the army was only able to reach Belgrade in July. In the end, the Hungarian heavy cavalry was hewn to pieces by the fire of the Ottoman artillery, and Süleymān pursued them as far as Buda, which he entered on 11 September, without having met any opposition.

He occupied the Hungarian capital only for about ten days and then hastened to return to his own capital, constrained by news learned in the course of his retreat of the serious Turkoman revolts which had broken out in Cilicia and in Ḳaramān; these were not crushed until the summer of 1528. After his dazzling successes of 1526, Süleymān contented himself with annexing the two counties of the region south of the Danube, Szerém and Valko, as well as with the rich booty he had gathered from Buda.

The Voivode of Transylvania, Janós Szapolyai or John Zapolaya (1487-1540), took advantage of the fact the Ottomans had abandoned the centre of the kingdom and had himself elected as king by an assembly of nobles at Székesféhervár (11 November 1526). But the brother of Charles V, Ferdinand of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, soon to become king of Bohemia in February 1528, was also being enthroned (by a more limited assembly, the Diet in Bratislava, 17 December 1526).

Süleymān was obliged to choose between these two rivals, each of whom sent him ambassadors. On the advice of Ibrāhīm and his favourite Aloïs Gritti, the natural son of the Doge, he quite logically opted for Szapolyai; he made him his vassal in February 1528 after negotiations in Istanbul with Hieronymus Laski, the palatin of Sieradz (December 1527-February 1528). But Ferdinand did not disarm, and his troops took possession of Buda. Therefore, despite the immense difficulties involved in these enterprises because of the distance and the problems of administration, a third Hungarian campaign was forced upon Süleymān.

The sultan left his capital on 10 May but did not reach Belgrade until 17 July. On 18 August, when again passing through Mohács, a place now symbolic to him, he gave an audience to János Szapolyai, who

did homage to him, and Süleymān confirmed him as king of Hungary. He retook Buda without any difficulty and then made for Vienna, which he did not reach until 27 September. Then there began the famous siege, which was to be lifted on 14 October after four vain attempts to attack before the rapid arrival of winter.

The Ottoman failure was obviously linked to problems of climate and insurmountable logistics, but it was deliberately masked by Ottoman propaganda. Süleymān confirmed his support of Szapolyai, to whom he restored the crown of St. Stephen. This allowed him in 1538 to have an inscription engraved in the citadel of Bender: "I am the Sultan who seized the crown and the throne of Hungary and restored them to a humble slave" (M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana*, Bucharest 1958, 167, facs. no. 7; idem, *L'inscription turque de Bender relative à l'expédition de Soliman le Magnifique en Moldavie (1538/945)*, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, i [Bucharest 1958], 175-87).

During this period, rivalry with the Habsburgs reached its height, Hungary being only one of the stakes of a profound antagonism which placed the Ottomans against the Habsburgs. Charles V, who had been elected as head of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire from 1519, had himself crowned by Pope Clement VII at Bologna in 1530; Ferdinand, who had been elected King of the Romans by the diet of Cologne in January 1531, subsequently had himself crowned as such at Aachen in January 1532.

Süleymān was master of the world, unique by nature, hence his refusal to acknowledge that the Habsburgs had any imperial title. Charles V was for him only "the king of Spain" (*Ispanya ḳirali*) and Ferdinand only "the king of Vienna" (*Beč ḳirali*) or "king of the Czechs" (*Čeh ḳirali*). Charles V, even more than Ferdinand, was to be the principal target of the fourth campaign of Süleymān in Europe, termed the "German campaign against the King of Spain" (Chr. Turetschek, *Die Türkenpolitik Ferdinands I. von 1529 bis 1532*, [Vienna 1968]). The triumphal arches, the exceptional pomp flaunted by the sovereign, the unusual tiara crafted at that time by a consortium of the Venetian goldsmiths, all served one purpose of clearly intimating to Christendom the claims of the Ottomans (O. Kurz, *A gold helmet made in Venice for Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent*, in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, lxxiv [1969] 249-58; for the interpretation of this object, see G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *Suleymân the Magnificent and the representation of power in the context of the Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal rivalry* in *The Art Bulletin*, lxxi [1989]).

From a military point of view, the campaign was less brilliant, and was principally outstanding because of the laborious siege of the little town of Güns (Köseg) and the devastating raids into Styria, at the heart of the patrimonial possessions of the Habsburgs, and in Slavonia (*Tārīkh-i sefer-i-ẓāfer-i Alaman*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Kadi-zade Mehmed küt., no. 557; Feridūn Beg, i, 577 ff.; von Hammer, v, 158-75). However, the threat was sufficiently impressive to drive the Habsburgs to seek a truce. Süleymān granted this to them in July 1533 on the basis of the status quo in the dividing up of Hungary between Ferdinand and Szapolyai, who were both to become tributaries of the Sultan.

Until then, Süleymān had appeared more pragmatic than his father with regard to the Ṣafawids of Shīʿī Persia, who exerted their religious influence on the Turkoman *ḳizilbash* of Anatolia. It is true that the death of Shāh Ismāʿīl in 1524 had brought with it the long-standing minority of his successor Shāh Ṭahmāsp, thus weakening the Ṣafawid state. Since his accession, Süleymān had put an end to the commercial blockade against Persia and was content to address warnings (*tehdīd-nāme*) to the young Ṭahmāsp to renounce his Shīʿism.

However, the schemings of provincial governors on both sides were to give him the excuse to intervene. The first of these was in 1528 and concerned the offer to surrender of a Ṣafawid governor, Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Beg, who had seized Baghdād and had refused to acknowledge the authority of the Shāh. He was executed shortly afterwards, but he provided a pretext for Ottoman claims to Baghdād. Then in 1530-1 it was the turn of the Ṣafawid governor of Ādharbaydjān, Olame Takalu, to come and offer his services to Istanbul, where he began by obtaining the disgrace of his personal enemy, Sheref Beg, the *amīr* of Bitlis. The latter left to seek the aid of the Shāh, who unwisely took his part and thus triggered the Ottoman reprisal. *Fatwās* were issued which obliged the sultan to restore the *sharīʿa* and to root out heresy (*rafḍ u ilḥād*). At the end of 1533, Ibrāhīm Pasha, once again appointed *serʿasker*, was despatched at the head of a great army to recover Bitlis, which had reverted to the Ottomans before his intervention, and to prepare to take Baghdād and Arab ʿIrāḳ.

In the following spring, he embarked on the conquest of Persia and reached Tabrīz in mid-July. Shāh Ṭahmāsp had abandoned it to him, having resolved never to enter into combat with the Ottoman army. The sultan had left Istanbul with a reinforcement army in June 1554 and rejoined Ibrāhīm in Tabrīz on the 28th of the following September, after a journey through Erzindjan, Erzurum and the southern fringes of Lake Van. The Ottoman army then headed for ʿIrāḳ.

The sultan entered Baghdād on 30 November without meeting any opposition. In the winter which followed, he devoted himself to organising new conquests and marked his conquest of Baghdād with several acts of religious significance, including pilgrimages to Nadjaf and Karbalā, the building of a dome over the remains of the great lawyer Abū Ḥanīfa and the restoration of the tomb of the founder of the Ḳādiriyya, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī. But on learning that the Persians were threatening to take Van, Süleymān brought his stay in Baghdād to an end to go to Tabrīz in pursuit of the Shah. But when, after a laborious journey across the Zagros, the sultan again reached the capital of Ādharbaydjān, Ṭahmāsp, true to his tactics of avoidance, had already abandoned it. In August, Süleymān gave the order to return to Istanbul, which he did not reach until the beginning of 1536. From this campaign, known as that of the "Two ʿIrāḳs", the empire retrieved Baghdād and the regions of Erzurum and Van, which would remain the long-term bastions of the eastern frontier.

Two months after the end of the campaign, in the night of 14-15 March 1536 Ibrāhīm Pasha was strangled in a bedroom of the Topkapı palace. This is how that brilliant protagonist, a product of the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], the friend from his youth of a master who had raised him to the position of Grand Vizier and had supported him there for thirteen years as a mark of his continuing favour, left the stage. The elevated position enjoyed by Ibrāhīm was clearly far superior to that of any of the Grand Viziers before or after him, and was marked by his use in foreign correspondence of unprecedented titles such as *ḳāʾimaḳām-i salṭanāt*, *serʿasker-i sāmī mertebet*, and above all *serʿasker-sulṭān*, used during the campaign of the "Two ʿIrāḳs".

The question arises as to whether he took advantage of the weakness of the sultan or whether they had come to an agreement over the division of roles. The end of Ibrāhīm at least attested the wish of Süleymān to put a stop to that experience, even if the immediate causes of the event must remain conjectural.

The military campaigns of 1537-55

It was this turning point in his reign that brought to a close the period of his most spectacular conquests, but it in no way ended the military activity of Süleymān. On the contrary, in the remaining thirty years of his life he was to lead seven more campaigns. During the course of these operations, the fleet which had already been put to the test at Rhodes became increasingly important. However, the sultan understood that it needed to be reinforced in order to be able to withstand the maritime threat of his adversaries, in particular, of the Habsburgs, in the Mediterranean. The latter had had at their disposal since 1528 the assistance of an admiral of the first order, the Genoese Andrea Doria. This was the reason for the eager welcome given by the sultan to offers of service by privateers, the most important of whom was Khayr ul-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*], the holder of power in Algiers, who was not only a mariner but an organiser on a large scale, and he made him his *ḳapudan pasha* in 1533.

This was also the period when the two parties concerned tried to bring about a diplomatic revolution for the age; the alliance between the Most Christian King Francis I and the Ottoman ruler. After the plea for help from the Frenchman, who was defeated and made captive at Pavia (1525), the Ottoman realised the advantage of holding a pawn on the chessboard of Christian Europe.

This alliance of the two principal enemies of the Habsburgs was given new impetus at sea through Barbarossa, once he had become *ḳapudan pasha*, and this gave an increased opportunity of producing actual military results. The instructions given to the French ambassador Jean de la Forêt did not only include the pursuit of commercial and judicial guarantees but also comprised plans of joint action against Charles V: Francis I was to penetrate into Lombardy, while Süleymān would attack the kingdom of Naples by land and sea from a base in Albania, with the French fleet envisaged as joining up with that of Barbarossa. But things did not proceed as expected. Francis I did not attack Milan. His fleet was very much delayed and did not reach Avlonya until 10 September. Süleymān, for his part, gave up his attack on Naples, and because his relations with Venice had deteriorated, on 26 August he arrived at last at Corfu in order to mount a siege against this possession of the Most Serene Republic. He lifted it when the French fleet eventually arrived, for it was growing late in the season. Though Corfu was saved, Barbarossa went on to seize the greater part of the Aegean islands which were still in the possession of the Venetian patricians.

Apart from this, on 28 September 1538 he achieved the greatest Ottoman naval success at Preveze [*q.v.*] in the Gulf of Arta, where he put to flight the joint naval forces of Spain and Venice led by Andrea Doria. Venice was driven to making concessions. The *ʿahd-nāme* in the form of a *nishān* which was issued by the sultan on 2 October 1540, was to establish peace between the two powers until the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. The sultan acquired Nauplia and Monemvasia in the Peloponese, Vrana and Nadin on the Bosnian frontier as well as numerous Aegean islands (such as Naxos, Paros, Santorino and Andros). There was control of access by Venetian ships to Ottoman ports, and guarantees necessary for the smooth running of commerce between the two states were formulated.

In the same summer of 1538, Süleymān intervened on his own account on the Lower Danube, where he went to quell a vassal, the Voivode of Moldavia, Petru Rareş, who was suspected of intrigues with Vienna and whose designs on Pokucia (the region of Kolomiyya and Snyatyn) risked impairing the alliance between the sultan and Poland. From 15 to 22 September 1538, Süleymān occupied Suceava, nominated a new Voivode and withdrew from Moldavia, but not without annexing the south-east of the country, the region between the Prut and the Dniestr (Budjaḳ [*q.v.*]) along with the fortress of Bender (Rum. Tighina). Thus he completed the Ottoman military system north of the Black Sea and secured land links with another vassal, the *khān* of the Crimea.

In the years which followed, the attention of Süleymān was redirected to Hungary where the situation remained ambiguous and unstable. His tributary Janós Szapolyai remained under the thumb of Ferdinand of Habsburg, who had in February 1538 imposed on him the secret treaty of Varad (Oradea), by which both protagonists kept their title of King of Hungary and their respective possessions in the country; but Szapolyai was committed to transferring his rights to Ferdinand after his death. Now a late marriage to Isabella, one of the daughters of Sigismund of Poland, produced a son who was born several days after his own death in July 1540.

His chief advisor, Georges Martinuzzi-Utiešenović, the bishop of Varad, had the infant proclaimed king at Buda and asked the sultan to recognise "the son of King John", the one whom ~~the Ottomans were~~ to call "Istefan". Meanwhile, Ferdinand rallied to his cause most of the Hungarian lords and laid siege to Buda from May 1541 onwards. Süleymān reoccupied Buda at the end of July. He finally decided on the transformation of the central part of the kingdom into an Ottoman province (the *beglerbegilik* of Budun) and allocated to Istefan, whose guardian was to be "brother George", "the land of Transylvania", which meant in reality not only the actual voivodate of Transylvania but also all the eastern region of the ancient former kingdom of Hungary, with the northern and western parts of the country remaining to Ferdinand.

For the Banat of Temesvár, the sultan recognised more especially the authority of Petro Petrovics, a Serb by birth who was related to Szapolyai, on whom he conferred a *sandjaḳ* by investiture. From 1543 onwards, Transylvania paid him a tribute of 10,000 pieces of gold which then increased to 15,000. In the summer of 1543, Süleymān set out again for Hungary, having prepared his campaign particularly carefully and having provided on an unprecedented scale for its provisioning and logistics. Numerous places were conquered (Valpo, Sziklos, Pécs, and especially important, Esztergom and Székesféhervár), but it took more than that to knock Ferdinand out of the game.

The Ottoman policy of attrition continued during the following summer, this time led by the *beg* of the frontiers. The projected campaign for the summer of 1545 was nevertheless abandoned in view of the progress of negotiations with Ferdinand, on whom it also managed to apply pressure. The successful outcome of these negotiations led to successive truces, and a five-year peace treaty was concluded in June 1547. While this peace treaty confirmed the territorial status quo, it also instituted the payment of

a tribute to the Sublime Porte of thirty thousand ducats per year by the Archduke.

From this time onwards, Süleymān had his hands free for affairs on the Persian frontier where, since 1536, tension had been limited to sporadic border incidents. A pretext for intervention was provided for him by the flight of Elḳas Mirzā, the brother of Shah Ṭahmāsp and governor of Shirwān, who came to Istanbul to seek the sultan's help (cf. *İA* art. *Elḳas Mirza*; J.R. Walsh, *The revolt of Alqas Mirza*, in *WZKM*, lxviii [1976], 61-78). In the spring of 1548 the sultan, who had not been on campaign for five years, once again set off for Persia, and on his way through Anatolia met his sons the *shehzādes* in their respective spheres of provincial government. He got as far as Tabrīz without meeting any resistance, as the Shāh had, according to his usual preference, declined battle and, in the hope of eluding him, had withdrawn into the steppelands and deserts.

Süleymān then left in the direction of Van, which he besieged. Van had been conquered in 1534 but retaken by the Persians the following year. On 25 August, after a brief resistance, Van fell [see WĀN]. The sultan fortified the citadel and, leaving a strong garrison there, departed in the direction of Diyārbekir and Aleppo, where he spent the winter.

A campaign against the Georgians of Akhaltzikhé, who had conducted a raid in the frontier zones, led to a reinforcement of Ottoman control of the Tortum region. As for Elḳas Mīrzā, he did not succeed in launching the expected uprising in Persia, but fell into the hands of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, whose overthrow then ceased to be the priority of the day.

Süleymān set out again for Istanbul, which he reached on 21 December 1549 (for information of this campaign, see J. Chesneau, *Le voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887). In the following years, Shāh Ṭahmāsp emerged again. Ṣafawid horsemen set out to raid and plunder in 1551, and the troops of the *beglerbeg* of Erzurum, Iskender Pasha, suffered reverses. A new Persian campaign was then planned but the Grand Vizier, Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], who had received the title of *serdār*, was put in charge; Süleymān declined to take part. His refusal strengthened the opinion in the army that the age of the sultan meant that he was no longer able to play the role of military commander-in-chief which the soldiers under him expected of him.

A rumour then emerged that his son Muṣṭafā intended to take over from his father. Faced with this danger, Süleymān changed his plans and set out for Anatolia at the end of August 1553, entrusting to his son Bāyezīd the defence of the European frontiers, with the office of *muḥāfiẓ* of Edirne, which he himself had held in the past. On the way, he was joined by the princes Selīm and Muṣṭafā with their respective troops. On 6 October, near Ereğli in Ḳaramān, after the ceremony of kissing hands, Süleymān had his son Muṣṭafā executed as a presumed rebel (Y.T. Ünal, *Şehzade Mustafa'nın Ereğlide idam edilmesi*, in *Anıt* xxviii [1961], 9-22; Uluçay in *İA*, art. *Mustafa Sultan*) and dismissed the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha. Then he set off again to spend the winter in Aleppo. He did not start travelling again until April 1554, which was the real beginning of what was to become the campaign of Nakhčevān [*q.v.*]. He reached Ḳars by way of Diyārbekir and Erzurum, then went into Nakhčevān on 28 July. Being unable to make contact with the Shāh, the sultan ravaged the frontier zones of Persia and Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*]. Once he had reached this goal he withdrew, and then contacts with Shāh Ṭahmāsp ended in a truce concluded in September. The sultan arrived at Amasya on 30 October and spent the winter there, and there he received a delegation from the Shāh, with whom he concluded the so-called peace of Amasya in May 1555, which formalised the official status quo of the territories of the two empires: the Ottomans kept 'Irāḳ, a good part of Kurdistān and Eastern Armenia, but gave up Tabrīz, Erivan and Nakhčevān. This period of participation in person in military operations and a phase in his reign both came to an end in the 1550s.

Other military operations

After the victory at Preveza and the end of the war with Venice, in August-September 1543, Barbarossa, acting within the framework of the Franco-Ottoman alliance, laid siege to Nice, a possession of Savoy; he then went on to spend the following winter with his fleet as the guest of the King of France in the port of Toulon. Later, other corsairs were to play an active role in the naval operations commissioned by the sultan, as for example the capture of Tripoli in 1551 which was carried out by Murād Agha and Ṭorghud Re'īs [*q.v.*] (Dragut; see St. Yerasimos in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, 529-47). In 1560 the sultan had his last great naval success, when Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*], then *ḳapudan pasha*, put to flight the troops of Philip II, king of Spain, from the island of Djerba. By contrast, the massive siege of Malta in 1565 ended in failure. But in the following year, Piyāle Pasha again seized the island of Chios, which was the last Genoese possession in the archipelago (Ş. Turan, in *Kanunî armağanı*, 79-109). Other naval activities were mounted on the Eastern front in order to counter the attempts of the Portugese to capture the former maritime trade routes of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf for the benefit of their route through the Indian Ocean.

In 1538 the *beglerbeg* of Egypt, Khādim Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*], who had previously been commissioned to build a fleet at Suez, launched the so-called campaign against Diu in Gudjarāt with 72 ships. Firstly he seized Aden and then, in cooperation with the forces of Gudjarāt, was engaged in the Indian Ocean in 1535-6 in laying siege to the fortress built by the Portugese at Diu. He abandoned his efforts in the following November to return to Egypt; he reorganised on his way the province of Yemen around Aden and Zabid (H. Melzig, *Hadım Süleyman Paşanın Hind seferi*, Istanbul 1943; S. Özbaran, *Osmanlı imparatoluğu ve Hindistan yolu*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxxi [1978], 98-104). In 1552, a second offensive led by Pīrī Re'īs [*q.v.*] was carried out against the Portugese. He left Suez with 25 galleys and 4 galleons, with 850 soldiers on board, and pillaged Muscat on his way; he then laid siege to Ormuz, which had been occupied by the Portugese since 1515. Pīrī Re'īs did not succeed in capturing the island, and even failed to bring back his galleys, and this led to his execution (C. Orhonlu, *Hint kaptanlığı ve Piri Re'is*, in *Belletin*, xxxiv, 134 [1970], 235-54).

In 1554 Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs left Baṣra and was involved in the only serious confrontation between the Portugese and the Ottomans. He lost several ships there before suffering a terrible storm on the coast of Makrān. He finally gained refuge in Sūrat [*q.v.*], when the remainder of his fleet dispersed (Seydī 'Alī Re'īs, *Mir'āt ul-memālik*, Istanbul 1313/1895). It is clear that, in sum, Süleymān succeeded in preventing the complete annihilation of trade in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf but failed to dislodge the Portugese from the Sea of Oman and the north-western shores of India.

The man and the ruler

This more or less favourable view which has been taken of the war leader should not obscure the aspect of the man and the statesman which has been of more interest to recent historiographers. By general opinion, Süleymān demonstrated the physical majesty commensurate with his rank. Commentators are equally agreed on his private virtues: frugality, temperance, modesty, loyalty, generosity, faithfulness to his word, piety and even a tendency to mysticism which had been encouraged from the time of his youth at Manisa by the influence of the Khalwetī (Sünbülī) *sheykh* Merkez Efendi, whom he invited to take part in the Corfu campaign (N. Clayer, *Mystiques, État et société. Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XV^e siècle à nos jours*, Leiden 1994, 119-20). Then, subsequently deriving confidence from his first victories, he experienced a firmly-rooted faith in his privileged support by God (*te'yīd-i ilāhī*). It has even been shown that, in the first years of his reign, he was the focus of current thought concerning the generalised Messianic hopes of that time, appearing to some people as the *ṣāḥib-ḳirān* [*q.v.*]. This Messianic excitement of the first years of his reign co-existed with an extraordinary taste for splendour, and this certainly went hand-in-hand with an acute sensitivity to propaganda. Conversely, he also established an eclectic aestheticism, which probably developed from the booty acquired in the West as well as from the humanist, Renaissance tastes of his vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, tastes far removed from the strict principles of Islam.

However, things changed greatly, later on, once Ibrāhīm Pasha was removed from power and the mood of the sultan darkened with age. His religious feelings began to turn to a strict austerity which bordered on puritanism, which naturally ran counter to the passions of his youth. Even the most favourable opinions on the grandeur of the sovereign are not without reserve. Did not the unprecedented influence exerted on him by succeeding relatives show evidence of a certain lack of character? Nevertheless, an ability deliberately to delegate authority may also be observed, the very quality which his father had lacked. This goes equally well for the viziership of Ibrāhīm, and for the two long vizierships of Rüstem Pasha in 1544-53 and in 1556-61, who was accused of avarice and corruption (T. Gökbilgin, *Rüstem Paşa ve hakkındakı ithamlar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, viii, 11/12 [1956], 11-50), but who also stimulated remarkable progress in the domain of public finance and commerce.

Other aspects concerning his private life are more difficult to justify. He was deplorably given over to outside influences, particularly those of the harem. A first concubine of Süleymān, Gülbahār, is known. But it was another woman who held the centre position in the affections of the sultan; she was a slave of Ruthenian descent known in the West by the name of Roxelana and figuring in Ottoman sources under the appellation of Khürrem Sulṭān, Khürrem-Shāh Khātūn or Khāsseki Khürrem Sulṭān. She became the legal spouse of Süleymān in 1534 [see KHURREM].

There are records of eight sons born to Süleymān: three died at an early age; another, Djihāngīr, the son of Khürrem, was an invalid and though dearly loved, died in 1553. The other four sons held provincial governorships and were eligible to succeed their father: Muṣṭafā was the only one who was not a son of Khürrem. Meḥemmed was removed from the competition by his premature death in October 1543, and he was commemorated by the Shehzāde mosque in Istanbul; then there remained Selīm (II) and Bāyezīd.

The style of the sovereign was very different from that of his father Selīm "the Cruel", or of his great-grandfather Meḥemmed "the Conqueror". His own style was that of a universal monarch devoted to realising the ideal of the tradition of the "mirrors of princes". Order and justice were founded on the law which, in the Ottoman state, had two sources, the *sherīʿa*, the canonical law of Islam, and the *ḳānūn*, the secular law emitted by the sultan. Süleymān was therefore to remain in Ottoman Turkish tradition as the *Ḳānūnī*, the one who at one and the same time formulated laws and supervised their application. In fact, the creation of a code of general law for the empire was attributed to him. It is preserved in several manuscripts copied during his reign or afterwards. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that most of the provisions included in it in reality went back to the code of laws of Meḥemmed II (H. İnalcık, *Süleyman the lawgiver*, 117-36). The legislative works of the *Ḳānūnī* were therefore marked not so much by their originality but more by the effort exerted in compilation, systematisation, adaptation and diffusion. The kingpin in this enterprise was the *nishāndji* Djelālzāde Muṣṭafā, the so-called "great" *nishāndji*, the celebrated chancellor of Süleymān.

Inasmuch as the Ottoman *ḳānūn* was given a new slant under Süleymān, it moved towards the reinforcement of centralisation. This implied for the sultan an increased hold on the land and on the *reʿāyā* there which could not be used without his express mandate. The acquisition of land was made possible in a limited way by large-scale, meticulous campaigns for registration on the ground, from which resulted the registration collections (*taḥrīr defteri*) which made the reign of Süleymān the Golden Age for Ottoman land registration in pre-modern times. The general land registrations of the *sandjaḳ* of Anatolia and of Rūmeli in 1528, or of Eastern Anatolia in 1540, of Hungary in 1545-6, of Syria and Palestine in 1525-6 and 1538, were all launched in this way (for the list of the documents of land-registry, *tapu ve tahrir defteri*, kept in the archives of the presidency of the council in Istanbul, see *Başbakanlık Osmanlı arşivi rehberi*, Ankara 1992, 190-221). Such centralisation required the affirmation of the authority of the sultan over all his agents, as opposed to their being involved in the habitual process of forming private clienteles (M.T. Gökbilgin, *Kanûnî Sultan Süleymanın timar ve zeamet tevcihi ile ilgili fermanları*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, xvii [1967], 35-48, and Topkapı Saray Kütübhanesi, KK 888, fols. 338b, 357a, 366b, 393a). Conquests or new registrations gave him the opportunity to draw up codes of the provincial laws of Hungary, Syria and Egypt (the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, the *defterdār* Iskender Čelebi and Djelālzāde Muṣṭafā all participated in these), and also of Diyārbakır and of Erzurum. The effort of codification and diffusion of the *ḳānūn* was coupled with the unprecedented exaltation of the *sherīʿa*, and more generally, of the Sunnī Muslim characteristics of the state, while only according a limited and marginalised position to the title of caliph in Süleymān's rhetoric.

Süleymān clearly played his role of "servant of the two holy sanctuaries" (*khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*) to the full by his pious bequests to Mecca and Medina and the care which he took to protect the Pilgrimage. On a wider front, by his titles and by his monumental inscriptions he proclaimed his pre-eminence over all the sovereigns in the world, and at the same time his supremacy within the bosom of Islam associated with the evidence of divine predilection which

had singled him out. In fact, this primacy in the Muslim world also laid on him the obligation of coming to the aid of less important Muslim sovereigns.

Another reason which could equally explain the insistence of Süleymān on Muslim orthodoxy in his empire was the rivalry inherited from his father with the Ṣafawids of Persia and the threat of political and religious subversion inherent in their influence on the *ḳizilbash* Türkmens of Anatolia. This threat was evident in the great political and religious revolts of the first years of the reign of Süleymān: the revolt of Bābā Dhu 'l-Nūn in 1526, and the revolt of Shāh Ḳalender in 1527 (H. Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Isl.* xli [1965]; A. Allouche, *The origins and development of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict 906-962/1500-1555*, Berlin 1983).

The right-hand man of the sultan during this trend in increasing the Sunnī nature of the state was Ebū Su'ūd Efendi, the *muftī* of Istanbul from 1545 to 1574 (see ABU 'L-SU'ŪD, and R.C. Repp, *The müfti of Istanbul*, Oxford 1986, 272-96). The application of the *sherī'a* in its Ḥanafī form (notably according to the treatise of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, the *Multaḳā*, Istanbul 1309; cf. Ş.S. Has, *The use of the Multaqa 'l-Abhur in the Ottoman madrasas and in legal scholarship*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vii-viii [1988], 393-418) was stipulated for the *ḳāḍī* and, as it were, regulated by the writings of the *muftī* himself, his *fetwās* and his *ma'rūḍāt* (M.E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi fetvaları*, Istanbul 1972; P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1935), but the cleavage between the *ḳanūn* and the *sherī'a*, on that point perceptible in several areas such as landed property, fiscal and penal matters, was reduced or blurred by the task of justifying and reformulating the *ḳānūn* according to the *sherī'a*. The sultan supervised the formation and the orthodoxy of the *'ulamā* by the institution of numerous *medreses*.

Besides this, in a decisive way he reinforced the tendency which had already arisen during the preceding reigns to make the *'ilmiyye* into a structural hierarchical body dependent on the state (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1994; R.C. Repp, *op. cit.*, 27-72; H. İnalcık, *The Ruznamce registers of the Kadiasker of Rumeli as preserved in the Istanbul Müftülük*, in *Turcica* xx [1988] 251-75). But Ebū Su'ūd (and through him the office of the *muftī* of Istanbul, which in that period was more often referred to by the title of *muftī el-enām* than by that of *sheykh ul-islām*, which was imposed later) was put at the head of the order of clerics which was being formed (M. Zilfi, *Sultan Süleymân and the Ottoman religious establishment*, in *Suleyman the Second*, 112 ff.).

There are still more dimensions to the politics of the increasing of the Sunnī nature of the state. *A firmān* in 944/1537-8 arranged for the building of a mosque in every village (*Ma'rūżāt*, in *Milli Tettebü'ler Medjmū'asi*, ii, 338), while a policy of religious persecution was being conducted on a grand scale. But this in no way affected Christians or Jews who were conversely protected by their status as *dhimmīs*, which was completely respected; rather, it concerned all forms of heresy or dissidence within Islam. Persecution took very different forms; as, for example, a lawsuit where dissidents were examined by the highest *'ulamā*, if necessary in the presence of the sultan, like those who brought an action against Mollā Ḳābiḍ [*q.v.*] (1527), or various *sheykhs* of the Melāmī-Bayramī *ṭarīḳa* or of the *gülshenī* branch of the Khalwetīs (A.Y. Ocak, *Les réactions socio-religieuses contre l'idéologie ottomane et la question de zendeqa ve ilhâd (hérésie et athéisme) au XVI^e siècle*, in *Turcica*, xxi-xxiii [1991], 71-82; idem, *Idéologie officielle et réaction populaire: un aperçu général sur les mouvements et les courants socio-religieux á l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique*, in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, 185-92).

"The Magnificent"

Contemporary Christian observers who were more aware of the conquests of the Great Turk, of his personality and above all, of the matchless splendour of his court, accorded him the epithet "the Magnificent". Before the morose austerity of his old age, Süleymān was indeed an incredible patron, by encouraging expert craftsmanship through the group which he supported in his Topkapı palace, or by giving external commissions to craftsmen in the capital, the provincial centres (Bursa, Iznik) or abroad (Venice, Brussels). This expertise encompassed skills concerning books (calligraphy, book-binding, illuminations, miniatures) as well as metal-working, wood carving, textiles, ceramics, sculpture in stone, and skills in setting precious stones. As a collector, he assembled in his palace Chinese porcelain from the Yüan dynasty and the beginning of the Ming dynasty as well as works of art picked up as booty during his conquests. He himself was a poet in the manner of his father Selīm and his great-uncle prince Djem [*q.v.*], and composed a *dīwān* in Ottoman Turkish with some pieces in Persian under the pseudonym of Muḥibbī "he who loves with affection" (von Hammer, vi, 248). His work was dominated by the figure of his beloved, the *khāṣṣekī* Khürrem, and many of his verses became popular.

However, it was in the realm of architecture where the sultan exercised his greatest, most spectacular and most constant patronage, since, even after he had abandoned the other arts, he continued building, with the closest possible scrutiny of operations, in a way which characterised classical Ottoman architecture. He commissioned in his own name or for his family a great number of buildings for manifold purposes; religious, charitable, utilitarian and military buildings were constructed both in Istanbul and in the rest of his empire. However, it was the capital, the historic cities of Islam and the eastern provinces that were more favoured by his patronage than European places (see the attempt at an inventory, though far from being exhaustive, made of buildings commissioned by the sultan in his own name and in that of his family by A. Kuran in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, 217-25). Most of these constructions were the work of Mi'mār Sinān [*q.v.*] (*mi'mār bashî*) from 1539 to 1588). The most grandiose of the buildings of Süleymān, the complex of the Süleymāniyye mosque and its subsidiary buildings, were constructed between 1550 and 1558; they cost 897,350 gold florins, which amounted to one-tenth of the budget for the empire in 1527-8.

The campaign of Szigetvár

The old sultan sprang one last surprise on the world in the circumstances surrounding his disappearance. His health had begun seriously to deteriorate from the end of the 1540s onwards, and during this time, periodic announcements were given out that he had died. But he was in no way daunted, and after more than ten years of military activity, he embarked on a new campaign in Hungary, driven, it would seem, by his last Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who wanted to obliterate from memory the badly-failed siege of Malta in 1565; also, he wanted to react spectacularly to the encroachments attempted by the new emperor Maximilian II.

Süleymān was in pain, was irritable and in the worst of physical conditions, but nevertheless he per-

sonally led the campaign of Szigetvár. On the way, he received his now adult protégé John Sigismund Szapolyai "the son of King John" with great pomp and circumstance. But on the night of the 20-1 Ṣafer 974/6 September 1566, in his tent under the walls of the fortress of Szitgetvár, which was being defended by Miklos Zrinyie, he breathed his last. He had begun the siege of this fortress on 5 August, and on the day after his death it fell. It seems that the remains of the sultan were eviscerated and were provisionally buried in secret under his tent.

There then followed what could be called the posthumous life of the sultan, which was organised with remarkable composure and authority by the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu, who was assisted by some very reliable followers (Selānikī, ed. İpşirli, 35-53). After the disagreement which took place in Belgrade between Selīm and the Janissaries, Ṣoḳollu protected the body of Süleymān from any further anger of the mutineers by hastily despatching it to Istanbul, in the custody of the advance guard of the army accompanied by the vizier Aḥmed Pasha, by the governor of Egypt, ʿAlī Pasha, by the former *mīrākhur* Ferhād Agha, by Nūr ul-Dīn-zāde and his Ṣūfīs, and by a modest escort of 400 cavalrymen.

Süleymān was buried according to his wishes in the cemetery of the Sülemāniyye, in a mausoleum built by Sinān. Its position, beside that of Khürrem, had been decided in his lifetime, but, in accordance with custom, this was probably not carried out on the orders of his son and successor Selīm II until after the interment (for a discussion on the chronology of this edifice, see N. Vatin and G. Veinstein, *Les obsèques des sultans ottomans*, in *Les Ottomans et la mort: permanences et mutations*, Leiden 1996, 233-5). The ceremony involved a reading of seven stanzas of a *merthiye* by Bāḳī [*q.v.*], and this, according to Selānikī, "caused the entire nation to lament".

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Belgeler, xi/15 (1981-6), 23-76; Veinstein, *A propos des* ehl-i hiref *et du* devşirme, in *Studies in Ottoman history in honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, ed. C. Heywood and C. Imber, Istanbul 1994, 351-67; on the visits which the sultan is said to have made to the workshop of one of his *naḳḳāsh*, Shāh Ḳuli, cf. Muṣṭafā ʿAlī, *Menâkib-i Hünerverân*, Istanbul 1926, 65; see also the rich and important catalogues of three great exhibitions of objets d'art from the reign: E. Atıl, *The age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, New York 1987; J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, B.M. London, 1988; M. Bernus *et alii*, *Soliman le Magnifique*, Paris 1990; H. Sohrweide, *Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich*, in *Isl.*, xlvi (1970), 263-302; A. Karahan, *Sur l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique dans la poésie classique turque et sur quelques poètes peu étudiés*, in *Etudes Balkaniques*, vii (1967), 221-34; Topkapı archives, E. 738; Rogers, in *ibid.*, 267; on the mss. preserved in Istanbul of the *Dīwān-i Muḥibbī*, cf. *Istanbul Kitaplıkları türkçe yazma divan kataloğu*, Istanbul 1947, 147-52; esp. precious ms. of Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, no. 1886.168 (Haase 1987), from Rebīʿ II 961/April 1554, with illuminations done by the *naḳḳāsh* Ḳara Memī, and which, equally highly decorated, stems from Ramaḍān 973/May 1566, Topkapı Museum, Revan 738; C.P. Haase, *Der dritte Divan Süleymans des Prächtigen. Eine Handschrift aus dem Istanbuler Hofatelier*, in *JbMKG*, v (1987), 27-39; T.S. Halman (tr.), *Süleyman the Magnificent, poet. Selected poems*, Istanbul 1987; Ö.L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve Imareti inşaatı (1550-1557)*, 2 vols. Ankara 1972-9; K.E. Kürçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1962; G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The Süleymaniye complex in Istanbul: an interpretation*, in *Muqarnas*, iii (1985), 92-117; Ü.Ü. Bates, *The patronage of Sultan Süleyman. The Süleymaniye complex in Istanbul*, in *EFAD*, ix (1978), 64-74.—Süleymān seems also to have been the prime mover behind the last masterpiece of Sinān, named to become the Selīmiyye at Edirne: F. Th. Dijkema, *The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977, 58-9 and pl. no. VII; cf. also H. Stierlin, *Soliman et l'architecture ottomane*, Paris 1985, 200.

On Süleyman's death: Gökbilgin, art. *Mehmed Paşa Sokollu*, in *İA*; idem, *Kanunî Süleyman'ın 1566 Szigetvár seferi, sebebleri ve hazırlıkları*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxi (1968), 1-14; Ferīdūn Beg, *Nuzhat al-akhbār dar safar-i Sigetwar*, Topkapı Museum, Hazine, no. 1339.

(G. Veinstein)

SÜLEYMĀN II, the twentieth Ottoman sultan (1099-1102/1687-91).

Süleymān II's succession to the throne came about in his middle age as the result of the forced abdication of his half-brother Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] in 1099/1687. He inherited rule over an empire facing severe internal problems and external challenges. The financial position of the empire at this time (after four years of unremitting war with Austria) was dire and, according to the contemporary historian Mewḳūfātī, writing about the period just after Süleymān's demise (see *Bibl.*), even during periods of peace regular state expenditures exceeded revenues by about 72 million *aḳčes*. The treasury deficit was made worse (by a further 137 million *aḳčes*) due to pressures, irresistible in periods leading up to major military involvements, to expand Janissary enrollments. Given the magnitude of the problems which he faced and the brevity of his reign, Süleymān II's achievements were impressive. Progress during the first year and a half of his rule was effectively blocked by the turmoil in the capital led by Janissary "rebels" who agitated for enhancement of their (already extensive) privileges and for payment of the pay bonuses customarily awarded at the accession of a new sultan. Their activities were mirrored in the provinces by recalcitrant troop mobilisers, such as Yegen ʿOthmān Pasha, whose final suppression was achieved only at the close of winter in 1100/1689. But once these obstacles were removed, and especially during the grand vizierate of Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha beginning in Muḥarram 1101/October 1689, recovery was swift and in 1101-2/1690 the Ottomans launched a successful counter-offensive against the Habsburg armies in both Serbia and Transylvania.

Apart from these military successes (which made a significant difference to the dispirited Ottoman rank-and-file), Süleymān's reign is especially noteworthy for its initiatives for fiscal and bureaucratic reform. A significant narrowing of the budget gap was achieved (in part) by the introduction of new taxes on the sale and consumption of luxury items such as tobacco, but in addition a number of more radical measures (some more successful than others) were attempted. In general, it may be said that Süleymān's reign was a time of considerable experimentation with new monetary (e.g. the introduction of copper coinage) and general fiscal policies. But above all it is in the realm of administrative reform that Süleymān left his most enduring legacy. The sultan's preoccupation with record-keeping is clear from the massive scale of the work he commissioned Mewḳūfātī to write; Mewḳūfātī's account of his reign lasting less than four years takes up the better part of two volumes covering more than 1,100 pages of text.

Süleymān appears to have been committed to the goal of closer coordination of policy with provincial authorities, and he devised a means for monitoring the performance (and compliance) of his governors. Documentary evidence suggests that he was the first sultan to introduce the pioneering concept of separate and duplicate registration, according to region, of outgoing orders (*fermāns*) sent by the Imperial Council to the *dīwāns* of key provincial governors. The *wilāyet aḥkām defterleri* were later more fully systematised and regularised, but that the institution existed in Süleymān II's time is clear from a register for Aleppo preserved in the Damascus archives (see Bibl.).

Comparison of the lag in time between a *fermān*'s promulgation in the capital and its registration in the provinces (in this case, Aleppo) reveals the state's interest in maintaining a cumulative as well as current record of problem-solving at the provincial level. As a result of such changes in governing procedure, Süleymān was able to bequeath to his successors—at the time of his premature death from a condition associated with anasarca in Ramaḍān 1102/June 1691—a stabler, more solvent and better-administered empire.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Mewḳūfātī, *Wāḳiʿāt-i rūz-merre*, 3 vols., Topkapı, Revan Köşkü mss. 1223-5, cf. Karatay's cat., i, 271-2 (on the work, see R. Murphey, *Biographical notes on "Mevkufati", a lesser-known Ottoman historian of the late seventeenth century*, in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kutukoğlu'na armağan*, Istanbul 1991, 193-204); the parts relevant to Süleymān's reign are all of vol. i (331 fols.) and fols. 1-244 of vol. ii, whilst vol. iv, Süleymaniye, Esad Ef. 2347, fols. 257a-258b, contains a summary report (*telkhīṣ*) on the size of Ottoman treasury deficits in this period. The Damascus State Directorate of Archives, Aleppo, *Awāmir-i sulṭāniyya* series, i, 1-118 = copies

(*süret*) of imperial *fermāns* received and recorded at Aleppo in 1101-2/1689-91.

2. Studies. R. Murphey, *Continuity and discontinuity in Ottoman administrative theory and practice during the late seventeenth century*, in *Poetics today*, xiv (1993), 419-43, esp. 429-31. On the *wilāyet aḥkām defterleri* (in the 18th century), see A. Cetin, *Başbakanlık Arşivi kılavuzu*, Istanbul 1979, 62-5, and H.G. Mayer, *Das Osmanische Registerbuch der Beschwerden (Şikayet Defteri) von Jahre 1675*, Vienna 1984, 17.

(R. Murphey)

SULEYMĀN ČELEBI, Ottoman prince and eldest son of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], ruler in Rumelia and a considerable part of northern and northwestern Anatolia in the confused years after Bāyezīd's defeat and capture by Tīmūr at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402, b. ?779/1377, d. 813/1411.

He is heard of in 800/1398, when his father sent him against the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Ḳara Yülük at Sivas, and he fought at Bāyezīd's side, together with his brothers, at Ankara. He managed to escape to Europe with his retainers by being ferried across the Bosphorus by the Genoese. He had to make peace with the Venetians, the Genoese, the Knights of Rhodes and the Byzantines, ceding lands along the Black Sea and Thracian coasts plus Salonica to Manuel II Comnenus and renouncing the requirement of tribute. But he was still a powerful force in Rumelia, with the Serb Stefan Lazarević as his vassal, and when Tīmūr left Anatolia in 1403, Süleymān began to reconquer the former Ottoman lands in northwestern Anatolia as far as Ankara in the east and Aydîn in the south. He was now in strenuous rivalry with his younger brothers Meḥemmed in Anatolia and Mūsā in Rumelia, and was unable to maintain himself in Anatolia; by 1410 Meḥemmed was in control there and began his first reign as sultan Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*]. In Rumelia, Mūsā Čelebi had mixed success against Süleymān in 1410, and Süleymān endeavoured to secure Byzantine support by marrying a princess of the Palaeologi; but subsequently Mūsā managed to surprise Süleymān in his capital at Edirne and then capture him at the village of Do<u>gh</u>and<u>j</u>ilar as he fled towards Constantinople, executing him on 22 <u>Sh</u>awwāl 813/17 February 1411.

Mūsā was thus now dominant in Rumelia, but became engaged in warfare there, which involved Stefan Lazarević and Süleymān's son Or<u>kh</u>on, released by the Byzantine Emperor to harass Mūsā; he fended off attacks from Anatolia by Meḥemmed, but was finally captured and killed by the latter after a battle near Sofya in 816/1413 [see mūsā čelebi].

Bibliography: The early historical sources include the *Anonymous chronicle* in Ne<u>sh</u>rī, ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ıḳpa<u>sh</u>a-zāde and Lütfī Pa<u>sh</u>a; see also Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tād<u>j</u> al-tewārī<u>kh</u>*, i, 218-20, and *SʿO*, i, 42. Of studies, see von Hammer, *GOR*², i, 217-300; Iorga, *GOR*, i, 325 ff.; E.A. Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman chronicles*, in *Isl.*, lx (1983), 268-90; N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 53, 56-61; C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 41, 52, 54, 56-9, 63-9; *İA* art. *Süleyman Çelebi* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (C.E. Bosworth)

SÜLEYMĀN ČELEBİ, DEDE (?752-826/1351-1422), Ottoman poet, author of *Wesīlet el-ned<u>j</u>āt* (*Vesiletü'n-necat*) ("Means of salvation"), a *ma<u>th</u>nawī* [*q.v.*] in honour of Muḥammad completed in 812/1409, referred to in Turkey as the *Mewlid* ([*q.v.*], and see Neclâ Pekolcay, *Mevlid*, Ankara 1993, 1-3), *Mewlūd*, or *Mewlid-i <u>Sh</u>erīf* ("The [noble] birth").

Sources provide little biographical information, but show his forbears as religious scholars and bureaucrats closely connected with the Ottoman dynasty. The identity of his father Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a is obscure. His (maternal?) grandfather <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Maḥmūd lectured at an Iznik *madrasa*, and is credited with poetry and a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Süleymān was born in Bursa and is described as having been a disciple of Emīr Sulṭān [*q.v.*], the "patron saint" of Bursa (and son-in-law of Bāyezīd I) and as having served as *imām* to Bāyezīd. After the latter's death (1403), he became chief *imām* of the Great Mosque in Bursa, where he died and was buried. His precise birth date remains in debate. A reference to his completing the *Mewlid* when he was sixty led Ahmet Ateş to posit his being born in 752/1351 (*Vesiletü'n-necât*, Ankara 1954, 25 ff.). Pekolcay, who earlier questioned that date (*İA*, art. *Süleyman Çelebi*), now agrees (*Mevlid*, 36).

Tradition claims that the *Mewlid* was composed to counter statements of a popular preacher that Muḥammad was not superior to Jesus (Gibb, *HOP*, i, 232-5). Whatever his inspiration, Süleymān displayed a familiarity with the Muslim corpus of works concerning the Prophet, and the *Mewlid* shows influence from the *<u>Gh</u>arīb-nāme* of ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ıḳpa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*] and echoes some of the verses interposed by Muṣṭafā Ḍarīr (an Erzurum Turk writing in Mamlūk Egypt) in his life of the Prophet (*Siyerü'n-nebewī*) (see A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 211-12, 301-4). Many later Ottoman *mewlids* appeared, but Süleymān's remained the favourite, becoming part of the official celebration of Muḥammad's birth (12 Rabīʿ I) introduced under Murād III (d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, ii, 358-68), and continues to be recited by Turks celebrating the Prophet's birth, marking the fortieth day after bereavement, fulfilment of a vow, etc. A vivid description of its place in Ottoman life occurs in the novel *The clown and his daughter* by Halide Edib Adıvar [see <u>kh</u>ālide edīb].

Manuscripts (the earliest from the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries) and printed editions vary in length (from about 260 to some 1000 *bayts*) and topics covered. The work has been translated into a number of languages, including Albanian, Greek, Serbo-Croat and Kurdish, and Schimmel has noted an echo of it in a work by Abū ʿAlī Ḳalandar, an 8th/14th-century Indian poet (*Mystical dimensions in Islam*, Chapel Hill 1975, 216-7). F. Lyman McCallum's 263-*bayt* English translation (*The Mevlidi Sherif of Süleyman Chelebi*) appeared in London in 1943; and an annotated English translation of the text published by Ateş (*op. cit.*) formed the Senior Thesis of Stephanie R. Thomas at Barnard College in New York 1988. This text, a compilation from five manuscripts, omits the well-known *Merhaba* ("Welcome") section (McCallum, 23-4).

A devout work, the *Mewlid* has a short prose prologue in Arabic, then follows a typical *ma<u>th</u>nawī* format with praise of Allāh, apology, prayer for the author, etc. The main narrative is preceded by a discourse on the Light of Muḥammad [see nūr muḥammad], then includes not only Muḥammad's birth and the wonders preceding it, but his virtues, attributed miracles, the *Miʿrād<u>j</u>* [*q.v.*], his final illness and death. The metre is the hexametric *ramal*, and the language is a simple Ottoman that is both lyrical and moving.

Bibliography: For mss. and further studies, see Pekolcay's 1993 work quoted.

(Kathleen R.F. Burrill)

SÜLEYMĀN PA<u>SH</u>A (?-758/?-1357); son, probably the eldest, of the second Ottoman ruler, Or<u>kh</u>an [*q.v.*]. He was the first member of the dynasty to establish Ottoman rule on the European side of

the Straits of Gallipoli and, as such, occupies a revered position in Ottoman tradition and historiography. However, the earliest Ottoman accounts of his deeds appear in the chronicles composed in the second half of the 9th/15th century and, although these contain obvious allusions to real historical events, they belong to the genre of popular epic (*dāstān*), and cannot serve as historical sources. The only contemporary and seemingly reliable references to events in Süleymān Pas͟ha's life appear in the Byzantine chronicle of John Cantacuzenus (ed. L. Schopen, *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, xx, vols. i-iii, Bonn 1828-32). References to Süleymān Pas͟ha therefore inevitably occur in the context of Cantacuzenus' own relations with Süleymān Pas͟ha's father, Ork͟han.

In 747/1346, Cantacuzenus formed an alliance with Ork͟han and, with his help, seized the Byzantine throne in the following year. The first reference to Süleymān Pas͟ha dates from 749/1348, when Cantacuzenus sought help from Ork͟han against the Serbian Tsar, Stephen Dus͟han, who had occupied Thessaly. Ork͟han sent "over ten thousand" troops under the leadership of Süleymān and his other sons, but when this force reached Macedonia, and learned that it was Dus͟han from whom they were to recover the Thessalian cities, they deserted "and started plundering and killing" (iii, 32). The second reference to Süleymān recalls a similar event. In 751/1350, Cantacuzenus called on Ork͟han to give assistance in recovering Thessaloniki from the rebel Alexius Metochites. Again, Ork͟han sent Süleymān with a force of "twenty thousand horsemen", and again these deserted. The reason, Cantacuzenus claims, was that Ork͟han had recalled them to fight a war against a neighbouring prince in Anatolia (iii, 111). A similar incident occurred in 753/1352, when the co-Emperor, John V Palaeologus, attacked Cantacuzenus' son, Matthew, near Adrianople/Edirne [*q.v.*]. Cantacuzenus again called on Ork͟han, who once again sent Süleymān Pas͟ha with "at least ten thousand cavalry". On this occasion, Süleymān Pas͟ha was victorious, leading John V to try unsuccessfully to win him over to his cause (iii, 248).

These events have left no echoes in the Ottoman tradition, which remembers Süleymān as, above all, the conqueror of Gallipoli and parts of Thrace. It is again Cantacuzenus who provides what appears to be the most accurate account of these events.

In 753/1352, the Turks occupied the fortress of Tzympe (Bolayır?) in Thrace. It seems that Cantacuzenus himself had invited them there so that the soldiers would be more easily at his disposal, and that he had granted them, in return for military service, the right to tax the inhabitants (N. Oikonomides, *From soldiers of fortune to Gazi warriors: the Tzympe affair*, in C.J. Heywood and C. Imber (eds.), *Studies in Ottoman history in honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, Istanbul 1994, 239-48). The Turks in Tzympe were, it seems, under the command of Süleymān Pas͟ha. When Cantacuzenus asked Ork͟han to abandon the fortress, Ork͟han replied that it was his son, Süleymān, who had control of Tzympe and, if he were to abandon it, he would require compensation. Cantacuzenus provided a thousand gold pieces, and the Turks "sent men to hand over the stronghold to him" (iii, 277). This was in February 755/1354. On 2 March a violent earthquake destroyed Gallipoli and the surrounding towns. The Greek inhabitants fled, and Süleymān Pas͟ha, ignoring the agreement to abandon Tzympe, crossed the Dardanelles from his base at Pegai on the Asiatic shore, and settled Gallipoli and the abandoned towns and villages with Turks from Anatolia. He restored the fortifications of Gallipoli, making them stronger than before, and left a large garrison. Süleymān Pas͟ha never restored to the Emperor Gallipoli and the other places which he had occupied. Cantacuzenus sought them from Ork͟han, but Süleymān refused to abandon them, "replying that he had not conquered the cities by force, but merely occupied abandoned and ruined ones". Ork͟han, however, eventually persuaded his son to hand over the towns for 40,000 gold pieces, but the agreement foundered when Ork͟han failed to meet Cantacuzenus at Nicomedia/Izmid to finalise the arrangement (iii, 277-81).

In the summer of 755/1354, Süleymān Pas͟ha also led an army eastwards, capturing the towns of Crateia/Gerede and Ankara [*q.v.*], but from whom he took them is not clear (iii, 284). He died in 758/1357 (Ç.N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 25).

Bibliography: Given in the article. All modern accounts of the reign of Ork͟han (see *Bibl.* to that article) contain references to Süleymān Pas͟ha, but these tend to be essentially romantic re-workings of the apocryphal materials in the Ottoman chronicles.

(C. Imber)

SÜLEYMĀN PAS͟HA, MALAṬYALİ, Dāmād, Silāḥdār, Ḳod͟ja, (*ca.* 1016-98/1607-87), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*].

Born in Malaṭya [*q.v.*] of non-Muslim parents, possibly Armenians, he was educated in the *dews͟hirme* [*q.v.*] establishment of the Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha palace at Istanbul upon the instigation of his relative, the *Ḳapu Ag͟hasi̊* [*q.v.*] Ismāʿīl Ag͟ha, and made his career in the palace service (see enderūn). From being *Dülbend ag͟ha*, he became *Miftāḥ s͟hāgirdi* in the *Seferli odasi̊* and the *K͟hāṣṣ oda* [*q.v.*], and in 1050/1640 became *Silāḥdār* [*q.v.*] to the sultan. Six months later he was raised to the rank of *Ḳubbe wezīri* [*q.v.*]. On 12 D͟jumādā I 1054/17 July 1644 he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Sīwās [*q.v.*, i.e. *Rūm*], and two years later, of Erzurum [*q.v.*]. He was able to suppress the *D͟jelālī* [see d͟jalālī, in Suppl.] revolts in his governorships at this time. Recalled to the capital, he was appointed military governor of Ṣaḳi̊z [*q.v.*] or Chios and entrusted with the transport of troops from Čes͟hme to the theatre of war in Crete [see ḳandiya; iḳrītis͟h] in 1057/1647. After this, he was restored to his position of *Ḳubbe wezīri*. He was made Grand Vizier upon the suggestion of the influential ex-Ag͟ha of the Janissaries, Ḳara-Ḥasanzāde Ḥuseyin Ag͟ha on 16 S͟hawwāl 1065/19 August 1655 and married to the princess ʿĀʾis͟he Sulṭān, a daughter of Sultan Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], who had previously been the wife of Ips͟hir Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha [*q.v.*]. The new "supremo" turned out to be unable to get a grip on affairs. It was a particularly difficult juncture of events, with the "War of Candia" going from bad to worse, revolts raging in the Crimea as well as in Anatolia, and the imperial finances out of control. The Grand Vizier confessed later to having been unable to break up the corrupt networks of patronage and protection of the leading personalities of that period of the "sultanate of women" (*ḳadi̊nlar salṭanati̊* [see wālide sulṭan]). Nor was he able to reduce the size of the *Ḳapu Ḳulu* corps. His financial policy consisted of the farming out, two to three years in advance, of certain items of taxation, the sale in rapid succession (every six to seven months) of offices and a debasement of the coinage. The *Ḳapu Ḳulu* troops, however, refused to accept their pay in the new "*čingene*" or "*meyk͟hāne*" *aḳčesi*. The *Dār al-Saʿāde Ag͟hasi̊*, after a long hesitation of the leading circles, advised the Wālide Sulṭān, Turk͟hān K͟hadīd͟je Sulṭān, to dismiss Süleymān Pas͟ha (2 D͟jumādā I 1066/28 February

1656). The Pas̲h̲a's life was spared during the bloody revolt in Istanbul known as the *Waḳʿa-yi Waḳwāḳiyye* or *Čïnar Waḳʿasï* (8-12 D̲j̲umādā I 1066/4-8 March 1656). Süleymān Pas̲h̲a was appointed *Beglerbegi* of Bosnia for eight months in 1066/1656. Two years later, he was made *ḳāʾim-maḳām* [*q.v.*] at Istanbul (1069/1659). A year later, after a great fire had raged for 49 days in Istanbul, he was dismissed and transferred to the government of the province of Silistre at Oczakow [see ÖZÜ], where he had to tackle the maritime raids of the Cossacks of the Don. After a not-too-successful tenure of office in these border areas, he was recalled to the capital to become *ḳāʾim-maḳām* once more (1075/1665). Fires again devastated the capital in that year; the sultan came to see the damage, and dismissed the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* as being the responsible authority (29 Rabīʿ I 1076/12 October 1665). Süleymān Pas̲h̲a retained his rank, and in spring of the next year accompanied the Wālide Sulṭān to Edirne. He was made *beglerbegi* of Erzurum in 1076/1666. Dismissed a year later, he was given the status of *maʿzūl* and retained all his vizierial *k̲h̲āṣṣ* estates (1077/1667). For the remaining twenty years of his life, Süleymān Pas̲h̲a lived as a private person, dying aged around eighty on 15 Rabīʿ II 1098/28 February 1687. His career may be seen as characteristic of a decent, not very talented statesman, helped along by the *intisāb* network of patronage to which he belonged.

Bibliography: B. Kütükoğlu's art. in *IA*, xi, 197-200, forms the basis of the above and contains extensive references to unpublished sources. See also ʿAtā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1291, ii, 66-7; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 236 ff., ii, 165-7; Ḥasan Wed̲j̲īhī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ed. B. Atsāz, *Das osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1977, 50; Kātib Čelebi, *Fed̲h̲leke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 292, 313; Meḥmed K̲h̲alīfe, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i G̲h̲ilmānī*, in B. Atsāz, *op. cit.*, 127-8, and also K. Su, *Mehmet Halife, Tarih-i Gilmani* (popular ed.), Istanbul 1976, 49-50; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1280, vi, 106-8, 282-3, 135 ff.; ʿOt̲h̲mān-zāde Aḥmed Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ul-wüzerāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 101-2 (data unreliable); Rās̲h̲id, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1282, i, 97, 105, 129; Findïḳlïlï Meḥmed, *Silihdār taʾrīk̲h̲i*, ed. Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altïnay], Istanbul 1928, i, 16, 26, 63, 255-6, 389 ff., 410, 434, ii, 293-4, 264; Von Hammer, *HEO*, x, 352, 363, 375-6, 378-9; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, tables XXXVI and XXXVII, nos. 1170, 1191 (correction: these refer to the same ʿĀʾis̲h̲e!).

(A.H. DE GROOT)

ṢULḤ (A.), an abstract noun from the verb *ṣaluḥa* or *ṣalaḥa* "to be sound, righteous", denotes the idea of peace and reconciliation in Islamic law and practice.

The purpose of *ṣulḥ* is to end conflict and hostility among believers so that they may conduct their relationships in peace and amity. In the relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim communities, the purpose of *ṣulḥ* is to suspend fighting between them and establish peace, called *muwādaʿa* (peace or gentle relationship), for a specific period of time. In Islamic law *ṣulḥ* is a form of contract (*ʿaḳd*), legally binding on both the individual and community levels.

According to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, *ṣulḥ* between two believers is a contract of settlement, consisting of offer (*īd̲j̲āb*) and acceptance (*ḳabūl*). The objects of the *ṣulḥ* are essentially the same as those in contracts of sale, consisting of material and non-material objects, except those prohibited commodities such as wine and dead animals.

Three kinds of settlement are recognised under the *S̲h̲arīʿa*. First, the defendant can, by *iḳrār*, acknowledge the settlement. Secondly, he can, by *inkār*, dispute or reject it. Thirdly, he can, by *sukūt*, say nothing. The three kinds of settlement, however, are not recognised without differences among the schools of law. From the early classical period, the principal founders of the schools of law, especially Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/768) and al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820), have differed as to which of the three kinds of settlement is binding.

Abū Ḥanīfa maintained that competence to negotiate a *ṣulḥ* settlement by the parties, i.e. that they should have attained their majority, *bulūg̲h̲*, is not essential. But *ṣulḥ* by *iḳrār* is not binding; it must be by *iḳrār* and *sukūt*. Al-S̲h̲āfiʿī set no qualifications, and held that, by *iḳrār*, a *ṣulḥ* is binding. He also set no conditions about the claimed object, as he divided the settlement into *ṣulḥ al-ibrāʾ*, by virtue of which the object would be a *hiba* (donation), and *ṣulḥ al-muʿāwaḍa*, when the claimed object is replaced by another. The caliph ʿUmar is reported to have opined that all kinds of disputes should be considered as settled, irrespective of any qualifications, and his opinion seems to have been accepted by the Companions.

Like *ṣulḥ* between two believers, the *ṣulḥ* between the community of believers in the *dār al-Islām* (territory of Islam), and the community of unbelievers in the *dār al-ḥarb* (territory of war), is also considered a legal *ʿaḳd* (a treaty), called *muhādana* or *muwādaʿa*, consisting of all the terms and stipulations agreed upon between the two sides which will become the law governing the relationship between them. Such a treaty is not intended to supersede the normal "state of war" existing between the *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-Islām* as envisaged by the early Muslim scholars. The period of such a treaty is limited in duration not to exceed 10 years (a limit set on the basis of the Prophet Muḥammad's first treaty with the people of Mecca in 2/624), although it can be renewed for one or more terms.

The early Muslim scholars and founders of the schools of law, however, differed in their views as to the relationship between the two *dārs*. Abū Ḥanīfa, and even more Abū Yūsuf and al-S̲h̲aybānī, held that a "state of war" (war in the legal sense, not in the sense of fighting) had existed between the two *dārs*, but they made no explicit statements that the *d̲j̲ihād* [*q.v.*] was a war against such non-Muslims as Christians and Jews solely on account of their disbelief in Islam, because they believed in God and repudiated idolatry. For this reason, they were not denounced as the people of *kufr*, but they were often referred to as *d̲h̲immīs*, the protected people who lived under Islamic rule [see DHIMMAH]. This was also the position of al-Awzāʿī in Syria, and Mālik in the Ḥid̲j̲āz. It was al-S̲h̲āfiʿī who first formulated the doctrine that the *d̲j̲ihād* was intended to be a permanent war on the unbelievers, not one merely when they came into conflict with Islam, on the basis of Ḳurʾān, ix, 5, which commands believers "to fight unbelievers whenever you may find them" (*K. al-Umm*, iv, 84-5).

When conditions in the *dār al-Islām* began to change from the 4th/10th century, and the expansion of Islam had come to a standstill, Muslim scholars began to argue that the *S̲h̲arīʿa* did not require performance of the *d̲j̲ihād* duty unless the *dār al-Islām* were threatened by foreign forces. Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] held that Islam should not be imposed by force on unbelievers who made no attempt to encroach upon the *dār al-Islām*. He said, "If the unbeliever were to be killed unless he becomes a Muslim, such an action would constitute

the greatest compulsion in religion," and this would be contrary to the Ḳur'ān, in which it is stated that "no compulsion is prescribed by religion" (II, 257). But when unbelievers from the *dār al-ḥarb* (e.g. the Mongols and the Crusaders) menaced the *dār al-Islām*, such a situation required every Muslim to fulfill the *dj̲ihād* as an individual duty.

It follows that *ṣulḥ* as a concept of peace and harmony was not applied by the *dār al-Islām* to the *dār al-ḥarb* in regard to territorial rule, but in regard to a community or a group or even one person in their relationship with Islam. Three specific categories were acknowledged by the *S̲h̲arī'a*:

(1) When the *d̲h̲immīs*—Christian, Jews, Sabians and other who claimed to have a scripture—had passed under Islamic rule, under an agreement, a permanent peace was established between them under certain conditions; for these, see DHIMMA.

(2) Non-Muslims who believed in more than one God and worshipped idols were denounced as *kuffār* or unbelievers; for their position, see KĀFIR. Any convert who had renounced Islam after the death of the Prophet was denounced as a *murtadd* or apostate; for his position, see MURTADD.

(3) *Ṣulḥ* under an *amān*. Despite occasional conflicts between the Byzantine and the Islamic empires, under both the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, a number of treaties and agreements were reached between the two sides to maintain periods of peace and also to facilitate occasional commercial and cultural relationships. As the two *dārs* were in principle in a state of war, the entry by non-Muslims from the *dār al-ḥarb* into the *dār al-Islām* was made possible by the granting of *amān*, a pledge of security by virtue of which the person from the *dār al-ḥarb*, called a *ḥarbī*, was at peace with Islam during his visit to the *dār al-Islām*. No longer at war with Islam, the *ḥarbī* would become a *musta'min*, and he would be entitled to protection by the Muslim authorities (for details, see AMĀN).

The institution of *amān*, like a passport to facilitate peaceful relationship among nations today, may accordingly be considered as a factor promoting *ṣulḥ* in the relationships between the *dār al-Islām* and the *dār al-ḥarb*.

Bibliography: Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-K̲h̲arād̲j̲*, Cairo 1352/1933, 207-17, tr. A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, Leiden 1969, iii, *Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ch. 6; idem, *al-Radd 'alā siyar al-Awzā'ī*, Cairo 1357/1938; S̲h̲āfi'ī, *Umm*, Cairo 1325/1907, vii, 303-36 (his comments on Abū Yūsuf's text of Awzā'ī's *Siyar*); S̲h̲aybānī, *Abwāb al-siyar fī arḍ al-ḥarb* (on the relations of Islam with the *dār al-ḥarb*, unpubl. Feyzullah ms., Istanbul, tr. M. Khadduri, *The Islamic law of nations: S̲h̲aybānī's Siyar*, Baltimore 1966; Sarak̲h̲sī, *S̲h̲arḥ K. al-siyar al-kabīr*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Cairo 1971, 4 vols., vol. v ed. 'A.'A. Aḥmad, Cairo 1972; Ṭabarī, *K. al-D̲j̲ihād wa-K. al-D̲j̲izya wa-aḥkām al-muḥāribīn min K. Ik̲h̲tilāf al-fuḳahā'*, ed. J. Schacht, Leiden 1933, 14 ff. Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, chs. 4-5; Kāsānī, K. *Badā'i' al-ṣanā'i' fī tartīb al-s̲h̲arā'i'*, Cairo 1328/1910, ch. on *ṣulḥ*, 39-55; Muhammad Hamidullah, *The Muslim conduct of the state*, [3]Lahore 1953; J. Hatschek, *Der Musta'min*, Berlin 1920; H. Kruse, *Islamische Völkerrechtslehre*, Göttingen 1953; Muḥ. Ṭal'at al-G̲h̲unaymī, *Ḳānūn al-salām fī 'l-Islām*, Alexandria 1988; M. Khadduri, *War and peace in the law of Islam*, [2]Baltimore 1955. See also HUDNA. (M. KHADDURI)

ṢULḤ-I KULL, the central principle in the religious thought of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Akbar (d. 1014/1605) and his counsellor Abu 'l-Faḍl, apparently developed under the influence of Ibn 'Arabī's ideas.

As a *farmān* of Akbar from 999/1590 (publ. in Desai, 545) puts it, the highest station of spiritual attainment is *muḥabbat-i kull*, absolute love, where only unity remains. A lower station is *ṣulḥ-i kull* or absolute peace, which constitutes a recognition of diversity and calls upon one to be benevolent to all. By 989/1581, the doctrine of *ṣulḥ-i kull* was dominant at Akbar's court, as reported by a letter from his counsellor Abu 'l-Fatḥ to S̲h̲arīf Āmulī (*Ruḳa'āt*, 150), where it is taken to mean "accommodating oneself to people, good and bad, and regarding oneself, with all one's defects, as a necessary part of this world." In Akbar's mind, *ṣulḥ-i kull* most strongly implied the necessity of tolerance of all the different and contradictory religious beliefs. As he moved away from Muslim orthodoxy after the theologians' *maḥḍar* of 987/1579, which had admitted him to be an authoritative interpreter of the *S̲h̲arī'a*, he came to occupy, at almost the same moment, "the sovereign seat of *ṣulḥ-i kull*" and so assumed as an obligation, the tolerance of "all the idle-talkers" against his religious views, according to the official history of the Emperor, written by Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Akbar-nāma*, iii, 271). In 1000/1591, while holding the Muslim prayers and fasts to be mere ritualistic exercises, Akbar forbade his son Murād from prohibiting or interfering with them on the explicit ground that it was "incumbent on sovereigns and administrators to keep to *ṣulḥ-i kull* with all the world and its denizens" (*Akbar-nāma*, early version, fol. 389a). *Ṣulḥ-i kull* was stressed as a basic article in Akbar's preaching to his own spiritual followers (see D̲j̲ahāngīr's statement of these "articles" in his *Tūzuk*, 28). *Ṣulḥ-i kull* is not heard of after the early years of D̲j̲ahāngīr's reign (1014-37/1605-27). Perhaps it was too early for its time. Even some of the religions which Akbar protected under its umbrella, were not impressed. The Jesuit Monserrate wrote (1581) that Akbar "cared little that, in allowing every one to follow his own religion, he was in reality violating all religions" (*Commentary*, 142).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, fragments of early version in B.L. Add. 27, 247, standard version, ed. Aḥmad 'Alī, Calcutta 1873-87; Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī, *Ruḳa'āt*, ed. M. Bas̲h̲īr Ḥusayn, Lahore 1968; D̲j̲ahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, ed. Syed Ahmad, G̲h̲āzīpur and 'Alīgaṙh 1863-4; Fr. Monserrate, *Commentary*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, annotated S.N. Banerjee, London 1922; Mohanlal Desai, *Jain sahityano samkshipt itihas*, n.d., incs. text of Akbar's *farmān* of 999/1590.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

AL-ṢŪLĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl, man of letters, court companion of several caliphs, expert on poetry and chess, d. 335/947. As a prolific author, collector of poetry, and as an often-quoted authority for reports on caliphs and poets, he holds a place of eminence in classical Arabic literature. Since he himself mentions that he attended—and disliked—the lectures of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893-4 [*q.v.*]) at Baṣra in the year 277/890-1 (*Ak̲h̲bār al-s̲h̲u'arā' al-muḥdat̲h̲īn*, 210), the year of his birth may be placed about twenty years earlier, i.e. around the year 257/874 (for further evidence, see Nu'mān, *Sharḥ al-Ṣūlī*, i, 70, n. 1). He was born into an illustrious Bag̲h̲dādī family; his great ancestor, "Ṣūl the Turk", had held D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān at the time of its conquest (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1323-5). In the course of events leading to the 'Abbāsids' rise of power, his family became closely linked to the new dynasty. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl, who must have joined the *da'wa* at an early date, was

appointed governor of Mawṣil and Ādharbaydjān under the caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ. Another member of the family, Abū ʿAmr Masʿada b. Saʿīd b. Ṣūl, served in the chancellery of al-Manṣūr and the Barmakids (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 88), as did his son ʿAmr (d. 217/832) at the beginning of his career; ʿAmr was later given several high offices under al-Ma'mūn (D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 234-8; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī, al-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, Cairo 1966, 552-8). From the time of al-Ma'mūn until al-Mutawakkil there had flourished also his great-uncle, Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī, who was one of the famous secretary-poets and a master of ornate prose and poetry in *badīʿ* style (d. 243/857; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 578-80).

Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī himself never held any administrative post, but mainly served as *nadīm* [*q.v.*] and tutor, positions which did not provide him with a secure rank and income, a fact reflected in his frequent requests directed to the addressee of his panegyrical poetry (e.g. *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳī*, 14 ll. 6-12; 23 ll. 3-5; 153 ll. 5-7). Biographical dictionaries name the famous Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī, Thaʿlab and al-Mubarrad as his teachers, but the authorities most often quoted by him are ʿAwn b. Muḥammad al-Kindī, al-Ḥasan b. ʿUlayl al-ʿAnazī and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Ghalābī. At first admitted to the *madjlis* of the caliph al-Muktafī for his praised mastery of chess, as it seems (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 3471; quoted by Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iv, 359-60), his excellence in literary matters was soon recognised, and al-Muḳtadir entrusted to him the education of two of his sons. One of them, Muḥammad, the later caliph al-Rāḍī (in succession to al-Ḳāhir, from the year 322/934), was a gifted poet and particularly attached to al-Ṣūlī. This relationship, which lasted until the caliph died (329/940), gave him a privileged position at court. With the succession of al-Muttaḳī, who did not entertain literati and court-companions, al-Ṣūlī had to find a new sphere of activity and went to Wāsiṭ, where he was generously received by Badjkam [*q.v.*], the later *Amīr al-Umarā'*, as he himself reports (*Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳī*, 193-4). In the reign of al-Mustakfī, al-Ṣūlī tried to find admission to court again, but did not succeed, and, according to a short note of Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 167) and others, was subsequently accused of ʿAlid sympathies. He then retired to Baṣra, where Abū ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī [*q.v.*] attended his reading of his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* in the year 335/946-7 (*al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, *Ḳiṣaṣ* 111, 113, 140, 276, 326, 402). Here he died in the month of Ramaḍān of the same year, again according to the testimony of al-Tanūkhī (no. 328); biographical literature, beginning with al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), has also 336 as the year of his death (*Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā'*, ed. Krenkow, 465). It is not clear, in how far this accusation should be understood as a reflection of his Shīʿī leanings, but al-Ṣūlī has become part of the Shīʿī tradition (cf. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa. Nawābigh al-ruwāt fī rābiʿat al-mi'āt*, Tehran 1971, 214), and it is most likely that he was on good terms with ʿAlids and their traditions, as his *Waḳʿat al-Djamal* (cf. Sezgin, i, 331) may suggest.

Al-Ṣūlī had a multitude of written sources at his disposal, since he possessed an impressive library of many volumes, well arranged and with marvellous bindings. However, a strong bias against reliance on books as a sole source of transmission prevailed at his time, and even Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that his library was considered to be a stain on his scholarly reputation (168). Al-Ṣūlī claimed, as recorded by his pupil Abū Bakr Ibn Shādhān (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 431), that in the course of his studies he had attended "the reading" of all the books he possessed. In spite of this attempt at self-defence, verses defining his library as the only source of his knowledge spread widely. A few other critical voices attack his reliability as author, for example Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAshshār, who disqualifies the transmission of al-Ṣūlī's materials by Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī as lies, and disqualifies al-Ṣūlī's transmission from al-Ghalābī as well (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 428). Also, Ibn al-Nadīm accuses him of plagiarism (see below).

In any case, those of his writings mainly concerned with history and poetry won recognition among his colleages. Al-Masʿūdī refers to al-Ṣūlī's main work, the *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ*, as a collection of accounts (*akhbār*) about the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and their poetry, and about their secretaries, ministers and poets, and appreciates the originality of the information and literary quality of its contents (*op. cit.*, § 11). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī made extensive use of this source (cf. al-ʿUmarī); and traces of this and other works of al-Ṣūlī are scattered in *adab* literature, such as the works of al-Ḥuṣrī, al-Murtaḍā, and al-Tanūkhī. Al-Marzubānī, the excellent connoisseur of poetry and *adab* tradition, considered al-Ṣūlī as his master (*op. cit.*) and quoted him extensively in his *K. al-Muwashshaḥ*. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī refers more than four hundred times to al-Ṣūlī for materials on poets and poetry in his *Aghānī* (cf. Fleischhammer).

Only some of his works listed by Ibn al-Nadīm (*loc. cit.*) are preserved. Traces of them may be identified from exact quotations. As mentioned above, al-Tanūkhī studied the *K. al-Wuzarā'* with the author, and Abū Saʿīd al-Samʿānī copied from his own teacher al-Djawālīḳī two large volumes of al-Ṣūlī's *Amālī*, not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Ansāb*, ed. al-Barūdī, iii, 567); the *Kitāb al-Anwāʿ*, which seems to have dealt mainly with poetry and poets, is quoted by al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat al-adab*, Būlāḳ, iii, 53). Further quotations from al-Ṣūlī are gathered by I. Kratschkovsky in his *EI*[1] art. s.v.; Brockelmann S I, 218-19, and Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 330-1 (with further references). See also the footnotes to al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, years 331-50, pp. 131-2.

The extant works give a vivid impression of his literary production. His *K. al-Awrāḳ* included under its heading (cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 354) a number of his books as enumerated by Ibn al-Nadīm. These depict many sides of the culture of his time dealing with the—mostly literary—aspects of courtly life and poets, and also include a few autobiographical notes. The edition of the parts entitled *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳī, Ashʿār awlād al-khulafā'; Akhbār al-shuʿarā' al-muḥdathīn* (ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1934-6) did not cover all the parts preserved in manuscripts. A new and completed edition has now been announced at St. Petersburg (cf. Chalidov).

His handbook for secretaries, *Adab al-kuttāb* (ed. Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Atharī, Cairo 1341), which deals with the technical requirements of the secretarial profession, namely, appropriate writing tools, the right formulae of address, some administrative expertise and orthography, also contains anecdotes and shows a strong interest in the aspects of etiquette.

His writings assign much space to the poetry of "the modern" poets (*muḥdathūn*). The study of this poetry was obviously his main literary interest, which he pursued with the collection, arrangement and edi-

tion in the form of *dīwāns*. This scholarly work is an important contribution to Arabic literature, mainly because most of the *dīwāns* he collected, as they appear in the listing of Ibn al-Nadīm, belong to poets of the 3rd/9th century or contemporary poets, e.g. Abū Shurā'a al-Ḳaysī, 'Alī b. al-Djahm, Di'bil b. 'Alī, Khālid b. Yazīd al-Kātib and al-Ṣanawbarī. Al-Ṣūlī's redactions of these *dīwāns* seem not to have survived in separate manuscripts; some are referred to in works of Arabic literature, such as those of Abu 'l-Shīṣ (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii), Ibn Ṭabāṭabā and Ibn al-Rūmī (*ibid.*). Excerpts from his scholarly work are preserved in the *dīwāns* of Ibn al-Mu'tazz and, probably, of Muslim b. al-Walīd. Whereas his redaction of the poems of Abū Nuwās has survived in many manuscripts (cf. Wagner), the poetry of the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī is preserved only in his redaction (cf. al-Maymanī); the redaction of the *dīwān* of Abū Tammām is preserved along with his commentary (*Sharḥ Dīwān Abī Tammām*, ed. Nu'mān).

In addition to the mere transmission of poetry, al-Ṣūlī collected narratives of the events which supposedly had inspired or provoked the poets' verses, and occasionally explain and evaluate the poems themselves. In this vein, the *Akhbār Sudayf b. Maymūn* and *Akhbār al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī* are mentioned as parts of the *K. al-Awrāḳ* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *loc. cit.*); elsewhere we find mentioned the *Akhbār shu'arā' Miṣr* (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 454), the *Akhbār al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf*, used by Abu 'l-Faradj (cf. Sezgin), and more may be found scattered in Arabic literature, as Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar has demonstrated with the collection of the *Akhbār al-Buḥturī* (Damascus 1958). In the *Akhbār Abī Tammām* (ed. Muḥammed 'Abduh 'Azzām), al-Ṣūlī gives a detailed and elaborate defence of the latter's poetic style; moreover, he presents, in his *Risāla* to Muzāḥim b. Fātik—edited together with the *Akhbār*—a critical analysis of the position of those who rebuked the new style of Abū Tammām, along with a thoughtful comparison between the art of the Moderns and the Ancients.

The critical remarks of Ibn al-Nadīm, who accused him of plagiarism from a work of al-Marthadī (143, 168), and suspected him of having produced the poetry ascribed to Ibn Harma himself (181), cannot be corroborated. In any case, they may indicate al-Ṣūlī's strong inclination to defend the qualities of "modern" poetry.

For his contribution to the literature on chess and his role as a master player, see SHAṬRANDJ.

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(S. LEDER)

SULLAM (A.), *Scala*, denoting a bilingual Coptic-Arabic vocabulary, and by extension, a ms. of a Coptic-Arabic philological miscellany.

As Arabisation progressed in Egypt, and the usage of Coptic, the latest form of Ancient Egyptian, diminished [see ḲIBṬ], local scholars put together bilingual (and even trilingual, with Greek) vocabularies, composed to respond to the need of social adaptation or the preservation of the ancient patrimony. At the outset, the lexicographical work was a prolongation of the earlier, rich local tradition, which had already mingled the Pharaonic and Hellenistic heritages. But from the 13th century A.D. onwards, within the framework of the philological movement marking the intellectual and literary Coptic renaissance, one aspect of which was the birth of Coptic grammar of Arabic inspiration [see MUḲADDIMA], new directions appeared.

The oldest and most represented genre in this lexicography is that called "onomasiological" (sc. the classification of words by subjects or themes). Editions by Munier and Kircher, unfortunately defective and incomplete, based on single mss., have brought to light the most developed of these vocabularies: the anonymous and composite Greco-Copto-Arabic one called "Book of degrees" (βιβλίον τῶν βαθμῶν, *K. Daradj al-sullam*) and the "Scala magna" (*al-Sullam al-kabīr*), a Copto-Arabic work by the encyclopaedist Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 1324 [*q.v.*]). But many others exist (incl. Greco-Arabic lexica), still unpublished, which served either directly or indirectly as models for later compilations, whose archetypes may go back to the pre-Islamic period, in the form of monolingual "onomastica", Greek or Coptic, or also bilingual, Greco-Coptic.

Apart from a less numerous type of vocabulary, of the glossary type, analysing Biblical and Christian liturgical texts, and another dealing with homonyms (*kalām mushtabih*), not to speak of those of a hybrid character, there exist rhymed (*muḳaffā*) alphabetically-arranged lexica on the Arabic pattern. These are owed to two other polymaths of the 7th/13th century: Abū Shākir Ibn al-Rāhib and al-Mu'taman Ibn al-'Assāl [*q.vv.*]. The first has not survived, but its existence and its method of arrangement are known to us thanks to the prologue preserved with the grammar which served as an introduction (*muḳaddima*) to it, whilst the second was edited by Kircher, in the same poor conditions as those mentioned above.

Independent of their intrinsic value in regard to Coptic lexicography, these mediaeval vocabularies proved very useful to European scholars of the last century for discovering and getting to know the ancient language of the hieroglyphs; but they also contain precious information on the lexicon of the Greek *koiné* and the mediaeval Arabic used in the Nile Valley.

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(A. Sidarus)

SULṬĀN (a.), a word which is originally an abstract noun meaning "power, authority", but which by the 4th/10th century often passes to the meaning "holder of power, authority". It could then be used for provincial and even quite petty rulers who had assumed *de facto* power alongside the caliph, but in the 5th/11th century was especially used by the dominant power in the central lands of the former caliphate, the Great Saldjūḳs [see saldjūḳids. II, III.1], who initially overshadowed the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād. In the Perso-Turkish and Indo-Muslim worlds especially, the feminine form *sulṭāna* evolves to denote a woman holder of power. A denominative verb *tasalṭana* was formed, with the somewhat contemptuous diminutive *mutasalṭin* for a petty prince, whilst in Spanish Muslim sources, *sulaṭān* was used to designate Alfonso VII of Castile after he had come to the throne as a child only (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 674).

1. In early Islamic usage and in the central lands of Islam.

The native Arabic verb *salaṭa* "to be hard, strong" (cf. Akkad. *šalāṭu* "to have power") often occurs in ancient poetry, but not in the Ḳur'ān. *Sulṭān*, on the other hand, occurs frequently in the Ḳur'ān, with the denominative verb *sallaṭa fulān^an ʿalā fulān^in* "to empower s.o. over s.o." appearing in IV, 92/90, and LIX, 6. *Sulṭān* has there most often the meaning of a moral or magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import. The prophets received this *sulṭān* from God (cf. e.g. sūra XIV, 12, 13) and the idolators are often invited to produce a *sulṭān* in support of their beliefs. Thus the dictionaries (like *TʿA*[1], v, 159) explain the word as synonymous with *ḥudjdja* and *burhān*. There are also six passages in the Ḳur'ān where *sulṭān* has the meaning of "power", but it is always the spiritual power which Iblīs exercises over men (XIV, 26; XV, 42; XVI, 101, 102; XVII, 67; XXXIV, 20). Now it is this meaning of power, or rather of governmental power, which is attached to the word *sulṭān* in the early centuries of Islam. The word and its meaning were undoubtedly borrowed from the Syriac *shulṭānā*, which has the meaning of power, and, although rarely, also that of the wielder of power (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 4179; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 39; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 176-7). The Ḳur'ānic sense of the word may probably also be derived from the meaning of power (some lexicographers try to explain it as the plural of *salīṭ*, "olive oil"). Later, an attempt was made to connect the title *sulṭān* with the meaning of "argument", and it was paraphrased as *dhu 'l-ḥudjdja* (*TʿA*, *loc. cit.*).

In the literature of Ḥadīth, *sulṭān* has exclusively the sense of power, usually governmental power (the *sulṭān* is the *walī* for him who has no other *walī*, al-Tirmidhī, i, 204) but the word also means sometimes the power of God. The best-known tradition, however, is that which begins with the words *al-sulṭān ẓill Allāh fi 'l-arḍ* "governmental power is the shadow of God upon earth" (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 61, Eng. tr. ii, 67, and idem, *Du sens propre des expressions Ombre de Dieu, Khalife de Dieu, pour désigner les chefs dans l'Islam*, in *RHR*, xxxv [1897], 331-8). Al-ʿUtbī quotes this tradition at the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, and his commentator al-Manīnī says that it was transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and others as going back to Ibn ʿUmar (*al-Fatḥ al-wahbī*, *Sharḥ al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286, i, 21). This tradition later played a part in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. Apart from Ḥadīth, Arabic literature to the end of the 4th/10th century only knows the word *sulṭān* in the sense of governmental power (among the many examples, cf., e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 346, 349; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 183, where it is said that in ancient times the residence of the *sulṭān* of Ifrīḳiya was Carthage, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. de Goeje, 143, where al-Mawṣil is called the residence of the *sulṭān* and of the *dīwān* of al-Djazīra) or of the person who at a particular time is the personification of the impersonal governmental power, as opposed to *amīr*, which is rather in the nature of a title. This last meaning, which is sometimes more completely rendered by *Dhu 'l-Sulṭān* (e.g. in Ḥadīth), and is totally different from the first, is found as early as the Egyptian papyri of the first century (for the governor of Egypt, cf. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, 90, n. 6) and in the following centuries sometimes also for the caliphs (the caliph al-Manṣūr is called Sulṭān Allāh in a *khuṭba*, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 426; the caliph al-Muwaffaḳ is called *Sulṭān*, *ibid.*, iii, 1894; and again in 997 the caliph al-Ḳādir, al-ʿUtbī, *op. cit.*, 265). This practice of designating a person by the word which indicates his dignity has parallels in all languages (see e.g. for Turkish official language, H. Ritter, in *Islamica*, ii [1927], 475); it even appears that the Assyrian form *silṭān* was applied to foreign sovereigns (according to Ravaisse in *ZDMG*, lxiii [1909], 330). The meaning of "power, government", has been maintained in Arabic literature to the present day.

The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a development the stages of which are difficult to follow. Authorities writing later than this development make statements which can only be accepted with reserve. Thus Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 8, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 8-9) says that the Barmakī Djaʿfar was called *sulṭān* because he held the most powerful position in the state and that, later, the great usurpers of the power of the caliph obtained *laḳabs* like *amīr al-umarā'* and *sulṭān*. The same thing is recorded of the Būyids (A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 568) and of the Ghaznawids. Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 92) says that Maḥmūd of Ghazna obtained the title of *sulṭān* from the caliph al-Ḳādir. This statement is not confirmed by al-ʿUtbī, who, in giving the various *alḳāb* conferred on Maḥmūd by the caliph (*op. cit.*, i, 317), makes no mention of this title. It is, however, true that al-ʿUtbī himself always calls Maḥmūd *al-Sulṭān*, giving in explanation the fact that Maḥmūd had become an independent sovereign (*op. cit.*, 311); but to al-ʿUtbī *sulṭān* cannot yet have been an official title, since he gives the same epithet to the caliph (see above). The first Ghaznawid on whose coins the title appears is Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (451-92/1059-99),

apparently stimulated by the extensive use of the title by the Great Saldjūḳs to the Ghaznawids' west (see C.E. Bosworth, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv [1962], 222-4). We find the Fāṭimids using the epithet Sulṭān al-Islām (Ibn Yūnus, Leiden ms.) and in the same period we find the *laḳab* of Sulṭān al-Dawla among the Būyids of Fārs (Sulṭān al-Dawla, Abū Shudjāʿ, 403-15/1012-24 [*q.v.*]). The same *laḳab* was borne by the last Būyid al-Malik al-Raḥīm at Baghdād at the time when the usurping Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg received from the caliph in 443/1051 the *laḳab* of al-Sulṭān Rukn al-Dawla (al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbál, 105; cf. also Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Popper, 233).

Ṭoghrïl Beg was also the first Muslim ruler whose coins bear the epithet or rather title *Sulṭān*, and that in the combination *al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam* (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of oriental coins in the Brit. Mus.*, iii, 28-9). This fact makes it very probable that the Saldjūḳs were the first for whom *Sulṭān* had become a regular title for a ruler; the qualification by *al-Muʿaẓẓam* was necessary to lift the word definitely out of its use as a more or less impersonal common noun. This development would at the same time explain why the word *Sulṭān* immediately became the highest title that a Muslim prince could obtain, while in the centuries preceding, any representative of authority could be so designated. The adjective *al-Muʿaẓẓam*, essential for the title, was soon omitted in unofficial language. Thus with the Saldjūḳs, *Sulṭān* became a regular sovereign title. Neither the provincial lines of the Saldjūḳs (among whom, however, we find the proper name Sulṭān-shāh) nor the Atabegs after them bore the title *sulṭān*; they were content with titles like *malik* and *shāh*. It was only after the end of the Great Saldjūḳs in the middle of the 6th/12th century that the Khʷārazm-shāhs assumed it. The caliph al-Nāṣir was, however, able to take advantage of the weakness of Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmshāh by refusing to recognise his claim to this title (al-Nasawī, *Vie de Djelal-eddin Mankobirti*, ed. Houdas, 247). Soon the Saldjūḳs of Rūm also called themselves *Sulṭān* (on coins from Ḳïlïdj Arslan II, *r.* 551-88/1156-92, onwards). Almost at the same time the title is applied in literature to the early Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. Wright and de Goeje, 40), although *Sulṭān* never appears on the coins of the Ayyūbids, whose official titles were all combined with *al-Malik*. By the literature of the 7th/13th century, *Sulṭān* had become a title indicating the most absolute political independence. Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 169) speaks of Baghdād and its environs as the territory where the caliph reigned without a *sulṭān*. It is not certain if in the last period of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād, the caliph was already regarded as the only authority who could confer the title *sulṭān*. We see, however, that after the fall of the caliphate an increasing number of Muslim potentates arrogated the title to themselves. In official use, the title was very often followed by an adjective like *al-Aʿẓam*, *al-ʿĀdil* etc. (a complete list is given in O. Codrington, *A manual of Musalman numismatics*, London 1904, 81-2). During the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries, the Mamlūk *sulṭāns* of Egypt added the greatest lustre to the title of *Sulṭān*; after them came the Ottoman *sulṭāns*.

Sultans, having thus become potentates whose absolute independence was generally recognised, jurists and historians set themselves to construct theories to find a justification in law for the existence of such potentates, for whom there had been no place in the old conception of the Muslim caliphate [see KHALĪFA]. We find these theories as early as al-Māwardī (who wrote in the time of the later Būyids), for whom *sulṭān* had not yet any other meaning than governmental power, as is evident from the title of his book *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*. This same author says (ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, 30-1) that the caliph may remain in office even if he is dominated by one of his subordinates, provided that the latter's actions are in conformity with the principles of religion. Al-ʿUtbī, who quotes the tradition that the sultan is the shadow of Allāh on earth (see above), does so very probably to justify the independent position of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, to whom he always gives the epithet *al-Sulṭān*; but this allusion to the well-known tradition is perhaps rather a play upon words than the theory of a jurist. To al-Ghazālī, the "Sultans of his age", of whom he has a very low opinion (Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, 93), are in general the representatives of temporal power. It is only under the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt that a definite theory is laid down by Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, 89-90), who says that it is only the caliph who has the right to grant the title of *sulṭān* and that, in consequence, this title only belongs in reality to the sultan of Egypt. The Mamlūks called themselves in their inscriptions *Sulṭān al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimīn* (M. van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909). About the same time, Ibn ʿArabshāh in the biography of Sultan Djaḳmaḳ (*JRAS* [1907], 295 ff.) calls the sultan the *Khalīfa* of Allāh on earth in affairs of government, while the *ʿulamāʾ* are the heirs of the Prophet in matters of religion; this statement contains, like that of al-ʿUtbī, an apt allusion to the tradition (in another form). Lastly, al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 91 ff.) gives a definition of the titles of *sulṭān* (he in whose possessions there are *maliks*) of *al-Sulṭān al-Aʿẓam* and of *Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn*, which is the highest title. In the time of the Mamlūks there were actually quite a number of Muslim potentates who called themselves *Sulṭān*; some of these, in keeping with al-Ẓāhirī's theory, had even asked the permission of the fainéant ʿAbbāsid caliph in Cairo to bear the title.

From the beginning of the use of the title, we may say that all the great rulers who bore it were Sunnīs. It is therefore not a mere coincidence that this development went parallel with the religious revival in Islam in the period of the Crusades; the great sultans became at the same time the defenders of Sunnī Islam, and the originally pagan Mongol rulers, after having in general embraced this form of Islam, assumed this very title. This Sunnī significance of the title is specially noticeable in the Ottoman sultanate. It appears that some coins of Orkhān [*q.v.*] already bear the title *sulṭān* (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. or. coins*, viii, 41), although the first Ottoman princes were generally regarded as *amīrs* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 321). Bāyezīd I is said to have been the first to obtain from the caliph in Cairo the right to call himself *Sulṭān* (von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 235). After the taking of Constantinople, Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] assumed the title of *Sulṭān al-barrayn wa 'l-baḥrayn* (*GOR*, i, 88), but even in the Ottoman empire itself as the title of the sovereign it was never as popular as those of *Khunkār* and *Pādishāh*. In the official protocol, on the other hand, it occupies an important place, e.g. in the formula *al-Sulṭān ibn al-Sulṭān*, etc., before the names of the rulers. After the extinction of the Mamlūk sultanate by the conquest of Selīm I, Ottoman rulers had become indisputably the greatest sultans in Islam. The Ṣafawids of Persia were called *Shāh* and the opposition *Sulṭān-Shāh* henceforth corresponded to that between Sunnīs

and Shīʿīs. It is true that officially the Ṣafawids also called themselves *Sulṭān*, e.g. on their coins (R.S. Poole, *Catalogue of the coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887, index, 313, s.v. *Sulṭān*), but they were only known by the title of *Shāh*. In general under the Ṣafawids, *sulṭān* was a title of deputy governors in the provinces (see K.M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966).

In Ottoman Turkey, *Sulṭān* was always an elevated title. In addition to rulers, it was borne by princes, and one of the causes why the Grand Vizier and favourite of Süleymān I, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], was disgraced is said to have been that he had taken the title of *Serʿasker Sulṭān* (*GOR*, iii, 160). In the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, the petty chiefs who were appointed *sulṭān* in their own country (e.g. in Ḥaḍramawt) were not allowed to use the title when they visited Istanbul. In Turkish, the title *sulṭān* was always placed before the name of the sovereign or of the prince, showing its foreign origin. The really popular use of the word in Turkish is with the meaning of princess (see e.g. the story *Söleyme Sulṭān*, in G. Jacob, *Hilfsbuch*, ii, 59, and the use of the word in erotic poetry). It is by this usage that the practice of placing *sulṭān* after the word when it means princess is to be explained, as in Wālide Sulṭān, Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān (cf. also ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 16). For the same reason. Sulṭān is added after the name when it is applied to a mystic (see 4. below).

In Persia, on the other hand, as noted above, *sulṭān* was used as a title for officers and governors (ʿĀlī, *loc. cit.*, in *ZDMG*, lxxx [1926], 30). Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of the sulṭāns of Persia as minor governors (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 299-305). The only case in which the sovereign has been given the title *Sulṭān* is that of the last Ḳādjār Aḥmad Shāh, who received it on his accession in 1327/1909 after the Constitutional Revolution.

In Egypt, the title had disappeared with the last Mamlūks, but was revived for the short period (1914-1922) of the reign of *Sulṭān* Ḥusayn Kāmil and the beginning of the reign of Fuʾād [see KHIDĪW].

The number of dynasties whose rulers have borne or bear the title *Sulṭān* is very great. Only in North Africa did it appear relatively late; in Morocco the dynasty of the Filālī Shurafāʾ or Shorfāʾ [*q.v.*] (since the second half of the 12th/18th century) was the first to assume the title *Sulṭān*.

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(J.H. Kramers-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. In South-East Asia.

Muslim rulers in the South-East Asian archipelago did not automatically adopt the title of a sultan after their conversion to the Prophet's religion. They usually maintained the title of a *raja*, or *maharaja*, or similar titles rooted in their respective cultural and tribal tradition. In Malaysia, the traditional Malay title *Yang di-Pertuan* (he who is made Lord) is still used officially.

Together with the titles, pre-Islamic religious and mystical conceptions legitimated by mythology were continued. The true king can only fulfill his task, i.e. to safeguard prosperity and harmony in the cosmos he rules, after he has reached a kind of mystical union with the Divine power which works through him and expresses itself as his *śakti* (magical power, in Islamic times also called *keramat*). Thus the king appears as the *dewa raja*, the representative of the Divine. Dynasties which had adopted Hinduism, or even Buddhism, legitimated their rule by linking their genealogical lineages with the heroes of the Indian mythical past. Since the ruler is the manifest representative of Divinity, and thus also of Divine Law, he on his own authority may issue the laws of the country and adjust them to changing circumstances. On the part of his people, absolute obedience is demanded. He should not be adored like a god, but certain rituals to strengthen his *śakti*, and that of his *regalia* were usual and frequent.

The religious and dynastic traditions out of which the Malayan sultanates developed, were rooted in Srīvijaya, the Mahayana Buddhist maritime empire which declined in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. These traditions were supported by those Muslims who participated in the establishment of the first Islamic principalities. They originated from Persia or Northern India and the Dakan (Deccan), had a Ṣūfī background and were influenced by the dynastic ideologies which had developed in the eastern parts of the Islamic world since the 4th/10th century, and which reactualised old Iranian conceptions in a cultural setting in which the influence of Mahayana Buddhism still was present. The famous *ḥadīth* that the sultan is the *ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ʿālam* "God's shadow on earth," fitted well with this understanding, and again bestowed absolute power to the ruler, to which his people had to respond with absolute obedience and loyalty; this made them a *bangsa* (nation), indissolubly linked to their ruler.

With regard to the first Islamic dynasty in the archipelago, that of Samudra (later Pasai [see PASÈ]) in northern Sumatra, which had turned from Shīʿism to Sunnism in 683/1285, the official chronicle (*Ḥikāyat Raja-raja Pasai*) narrates that its first ruler, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (d. 696/1297), was converted to Islam in a dream in which the Prophet himself magically transferred the basic knowledge of Islam to him and presented him with the title of *sulṭān*. Shortly after that dream, a messenger "from the caliph of Mecca" arrived and installed him indeed as a sultan, while a mystical preacher from India, who came with the same vessel, is said to have taught Islam to the people.

This story gives importance to the fact that the title of *sulṭān* should be bestowed by "the caliph". There seems to have been, however, only scanty knowledge about that person. When an embassy of the rulers of Aceh [see ATJÈH], who at that time were still consolidating their position among the Malayan sultans, visited Istanbul *ca.* 1562, it asked for military equipment but not for the title of *sulṭān* for their king (Lombard, 1967, 37). Sultan Agung of Mataram in Java (see below), however, prided himself on the fact that he had obtained this title in 1641, again through a direct delegation from Mecca, despatched by the *ʿulamāʾ*, and from the "Meccan caliph" (Ricklefs, 1974, 17).

The founder of the once most influential sultanate of Malacca [*q.v.*], Paramēśvara, a refugee from the Śailendra court in Palembang [*q.v.*], had maintained the Buddhist court etiquette of Srīvijaya, even after his conversion to Islam (*ca.* 816/1413) on his marriage with a daughter of the sultan of Pasai. Thus during the years of his rule and that of his sons, the centre of the court was again shaped according to the Hindu and Buddhist symbol of the windrose, thus representing the order of the cosmos in which the sultan takes the centre, his main aids and highest dignitaries (after himself) being the *bendahara* or Chief Minister; the *penghulu bendahari*, responsible for maintaining the sacred traditions; the *temenggung*, responsible for security; and the *laksamana*, as the supervisor of the fleet. Below these "Big Four" was the next level of eight dignitaries, followed by others accordingly (Winstedt, 1961, 63 ff.; Hashim, 1990, 147 ff.). This structure was later taken over by most of the succeeding Malay sultanates, and in most of them it exists until the present, although more or less significant adjustments may have taken place in the course of time.

Since the emperor of the Ming dynasty of China had acknowledged his authority already in 1405, Paramēśvara and his sons continued to use the Śailendra title of *Śri Maharaja*. In the *Sejarah Melayu*, the court chronicle of the Malaccan sultans and their descendents in Johore, the necessary genealogical legitimation of this dynasty was established by linking them to Alexander the Great, or Iskandar D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳarnayn, who is said to have journeyed to Andelas (an old name of Sumatra, not al-Andalus!), established there the Śailendra dynasty and is thus the ancestor of the Malaccan dynasty. Logically, Paramēśvara had already used, after his conversion, the name of Iskandar S̲h̲āh. But only his third, or fourth successor, Raja Kasim (Ḳāsim) or Sultan Muẓaffar S̲h̲āh (850-63/1446-59), whose mother was the daughter of a Tamil merchant, established Islam firmly as the religion of his dynasty and upgraded the use of the title of *sulṭān*. A policy of intermarriage with the major principalities in the archipelago introduced this title more firmly as a notion of a Muslim ruler; usually it is combined with an Arabic name, preferably with a theophoric meaning, such as e.g. Sultan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

On the Malayan peninsula, nine Islamic kingdoms have survived until the present, two of them not using the title *sulṭān* for their rulers: Perlis (Raja) and Negeri Sembilan (Yang di-Pertuan Besar). In contrast to Indonesia with its centralised republic, the existence of these Islamic kingdoms demanded the formation of a federal Malayan state after independence from the British was achieved. Malay "nationalism", *kebangsaan*, still could not separate itself from the basic loyalty of each Malay *bangsa* towards its ruler (cf. Omar, 1993, *passim*). Thus the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia (1963) provided that, on one hand, the authority of the rulers in all matters related to religion (Islam) should remain untouched; they remain the Heads of the Islamic religion in their states (art. 3.2). Also in the Federation, Islam was proclaimed to be the official religion, although freedom of religion is guaranteed to all non-Muslims. For all Muslims in the Federation who do not live in a sultanate or Islamic kingdom, i.e. who live either in Penang, Malacca, Sabah, Sarawak or one of the Federal Territories, the Head of State (of the Federation), or Yang di-Pertuan Agong, elected by the nine rulers—who constitute the "Conference of Rulers"—from among themselves for a period of five years, acts as their religious-legal head and protector (art. 3.3). The position as head of the religion (Islam) gives much influence on the practice and interpretation of Islamic law to the rulers, sometimes resulting in conflict with other legal or constitutional institutions and their representatives. On the other hand, as natural members of the "Conference of Rulers", which is a particular chamber provided by the Constitution (art. 38) whose membership is limited to them, the rulers may exercise some influence also on federal politics. One of their major privileges, a natural legal immunity with regard to the federal law, has, however, been abolished recently (1993) on the initiative of the Prime Minister, Mahathir bin Mohamad. But perfect loyalty (*kesetiaan*) to the Ruler (*Raja*) and the state is still the second of the Five Basic Principles (*Rukunegara*) of the Federation.

While the sultanates in North Sumatra, Malaya, North Borneo and up to the Southern Philippines were dynastically and ideologically linked to Malacca and its tradition, those in South Sumatra, South and East Borneo, Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia and Java came under the influence of the Central Javanese Islamic kingdoms, starting with Demak (1474-1546) and climaxing with Mataram (since 1582).

The West Javanese *Ḥikāyat Ḥasanuddin* reports that the third ruler of Demak, Terengganu (*r.* [1505-18 ? and] 1521-46), had been offered the title of *sulṭān* by Sèh Nurullah (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Nūr Allāh, also known as Mawlānā Mak̲h̲dūm, Sunan Gunung Jati etc.) in 1524; the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, originating from Pasai, was said to have completed his *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* before he came to Java and thus seems to have been entitled to bestow such a title (cf. H.J. de Graaf and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, 1974, 50-1). The most eminent ruler of Mataram, Agung (*r.* 1613-1646), after having his dynasty legitimised according to the criteria of the last Hindu empire of Majapahit, and thus as its successor, obtained the title of *sulṭān* by a special delegation dispatched by the Meccan *ʿulamāʾ*, in 1641. But only after the division of Mataram in 1755 into the two main principalities Surakarta and Yogyakarta [*q.vv.*] did the ruler of the latter one resort to it again and, moreover, add the titles of *kalipatulah (k̲h̲alīfat Allāh), panatagama* (regulator of religion), and *sayidin*, thus even claiming descent from the Prophet. All of his successors until the present one, who is the tenth one (in office since 1986), have born the title Sultan Ngabdurrahman Hamengku Buwono ("holding the universe in his lap"). Again, the position of the sultan, being the representative of the Prophet who is the representative of God, is understood according to Ṣūfī traditions. The sultan has obtained the highest mystical insight into God and His Will, not only externally according to the written *s̲h̲arīʿa* but internally. To underline the religious and social importance of his person, he is usually the *ḳibla* of his courtiers, particularly in times of leisure or meditation.

While all other sultanates in Indonesia lost their political power either in the colonial period or in the years immediately after independence (1945), the sultanate of Yogyakarta still exists to some degree as an independent administrative entity or *daerah istimewa* ("special district") in the Republic of Indonesia, the sultan taking a similar position to that of a governor in other provinces. This exceptional position is due to the late Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX's active support given to the "Republican government" under Soekarno during the times of military confrontation with the Dutch colonial administration (1946-9). For many Javanese, the Sultan thus gave proof of being a kind of *ratu adil* (just king), with the *kesaktian* (cf.

śakti) of his rule still being active, and so he strengthened his personal and particularly his religious/spiritual authority.

The only sultanate in South-East Asia which still has maintained its independence is that of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

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(O. SCHUMANN)

3. In West Africa.

The least one can say is that, in West Africa, as in other parts of the Muslim world, the term is very rich and varied in meaning. In Moorish tribal society in general, the dominant personality is called, in Ḥassāniyya Arabic, *Sulṭān* or *Shaykh* in an interchangeable manner, with the term thus expressing the idea of power.

In one of his writings called *Nadjm al-ikhwān* ("The star of the brethren"), the great fighter for the faith Usuman Dan Fodio [see ʿUTHMĀN B. FŪDĪ], gave validity to the idea that the terms *khilāfa*, *imāma*, *imāra* and *salṭana*, and consequently the titles *khalīfa*, *imām*, *amīr* and *sulṭān*, are all authorised in the *Sharīʿa*. What the founder of the most powerful politico-economic system in the Central Sūdān during the 19th century wished thereby to say, was, according to his interpreters, that it was not so much that there were no nuances in the fields of the exercise of power by those who claimed one or other of these titles, but rather that, whatever might be the title adopted by a person who claimed to rule in the name of Islam, he had to disassociate himself from the anti-Islamic tradition of royal power (*mulk*), which had no foundation of religious legitimacy.

Nevertheless—and in this they resembled the greater part of their contemporaries—those who in practice directed the Sokoto [*q.v.*] caliphate until the colonial conquest, most often styled themselves *amīr al-muʾmimīn* "commander of the faithful", in Hausa, *Sarkin Musulmi*. When *sulṭān* was used to designate them, it was usually in combination with other honorific titles, notably that of *amīr al-muʾmimīn*.

After the colonial conquest, the British, who retained pre-colonial political structures as part of the policy of "Indirect Rule" and within the context of the political system of Sokoto, designated its head as Sultan, a title which continues to be used substantially today in order to refer to the person who is considered as the supreme Muslim religious authority in contemporary Nigeria.

A certain number of the heads of Islamicised political structures in West Africa also claimed this title of Sultan. Thus the Aïr had a Sultan based in Agadès, as also in Damagaram (or the sultanate of Zinder), based in Zinder. Al-Hajj Umar Said Tall (1774-1864), the founder of an ephemeral empire in the Western Sūdān on the eve of the colonial conquest, is styled *sulṭān* of the Tidjānī state by his biographer Muḥammad al-Tidjānī and his son and successor Ahmadu likewise claimed the title of *sulṭān*. But according to F. Dumont, the title of *sulṭān* attributed to al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ was more a feature of style, since there emerges clearly from al-Tidjānī's work that al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar was in no way swayed by the idea of temporal power but sought to combat it and render it subordinate to the faith. One should mention a polemical point raised by contemporary writers on the state created by Usman dan Fodio. The authors who consider him as endowed with Islamic legitimacy call this last a caliphate and consider those who directed it as above all *amīr al-muʾminīn*, reserving the term *sulṭān* for political systems which were fairly strong and based on absolute rule such as Kebbi, Gobir and Zamfara (Last, 1967), whilst others who classify it as a state just like all the others call it an empire and its heads *sulṭāns* (Johnson, 1967).

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(OUSMANE KANE)

4. In mysticism.

This use of the word is not earlier than the 7th/13th century, and it spread particularly in Asia Minor and the countries influenced by Ottoman civilisation. The beginning of the development of the use of the word may have been titles like *Sulṭān al-ʿāshikīn* given to the mystical poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] and *Sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ* borne by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad, father of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. But this mystical epithet was no doubt also influenced in its development by the conception frequently expressed in mystical poetry that the mystic obtains the rank and power of a sovereign in the spiritual world. It is through the same order of ideas that the title of Khunkār (cf. the name of the Ottoman province *Khudāwendigār*) may be explained. Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 367-8), in bracketing the names of Sultans Meḥemmed II and Bāyezīd II with the names of two mystics, says that all were great *sulṭāns*.

This was the origin of names like Dede Sulṭān and Baba Sulṭān. The Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā [*q.v.*], leader of the religious revolutionary movement in Asia Minor in the early 9th/15th century, was also called *Sulṭān* by his adepts; Babinger (in *Isl.*, xi, 74) sees in this an indication that he was considered a real sovereign. It appears that the surname of *Sulṭān* was especially borne by the Bektāshīs. It did not, however, indicate a particularly high rank in the order; thus Babinger (*loc. cit.*) was probably right, in any case for the latter period, in regarding it as simply a hypercoristic or term of affection.

Bibliography: See that for TAṢAWWUF.

(J.H. KRAMERS)

SULṬĀN AL-DAWLA b. Bahā' al-Dawla Fīrūz, Abū Shudjā', Būyid ruler in Fars, and at first in 'Irāḳ also, 403-15/1012-24, succeeding his father [see BAHĀ' AL-DAWLA, in Suppl.] at Shīrāz.

Much of his reign was spent in conflict with his brothers, including Abu 'l-Fawāris Ḳawām al-Dawla, who eventually became ruler in Kirmān as Sulṭān al-Dawla's subordinate, and Abū 'Alī Ḥasan, with whom he disputed control of 'Irāḳ. By 412/1021 the latter was able to secure recognition as ruler in 'Irāḳ with the honorific of Musharrif al-Dawla (he had already declared himself *Shāhānshāh* "king of kings"), and in 413/1022 there was a formal division of territories, with Musharrif al-Dawla reigning over 'Irāḳ and Khūzistān and Sulṭān al-Dawla over Fārs and Kirmān.

Sulṭān al-Dawla died at Shīrāz in Shawwāl 415/ December 1024 at the age of 32, six months before Musharrif al-Dawla's own death, and he was succeeded in Fārs by his son and heir Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn al-Athīr. These are utilised in Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad (334/946-447/1055)*, Calcutta 1964, 92-8; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 91-8, 171.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SULṬĀN ḤUSAYN, SHĀH, Ṣafawid ruler, reigned 1105-35/1694-1722, the eldest son and successor of Shāh Sulaymān [*q.v.*], born in 1080/1669-70 to a Circassian mother, and died in 1139/1726. He was crowned Shāh on 7 August 1694, nine days after his father's death after divisions of opinion at court over the succession.

Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn resembled his father in having grown up in the confines of the harem and in coming to power with limited life experience and virtually no training in the affairs of state. Exceedingly devout, he immediately fell under the spell of the religious forces, led by the zealous Shaykh al-Islām of Iṣfahān, Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī, seen in the proclamation, directly following the accession, of a series of decrees that proscribed the production and consumption of wine, and popular practices such as gambling and pigeon flying, but as was customary, these bans soon fell into desuetude, and before long the Shāh was given to drinking as much as his predecessors.

Sulṭān Ḥusayn came to power at a time when Persia's long-standing outward stability was breaking down, with rebellions in Georgia and Kurdistan, and Omani and Balūčī incursions.

The Shāh made some efforts to counter these problems: he strengthened the eastern border, sent an army to quell the revolt in Georgia and made an (abortive) attempt to respond to Omani aggression, but subsequent historians without exception have criticised him for being a *fainéant* and a weakling, while some have blamed him personally for the demise of the Ṣafawid state.

It is certainly true that he was even more removed from statecraft than his father had been. Withdrawn and disconnected, he spent most of his time amid his immense numbers of eunuchs and women, and in this climate factionalism and peculation were allowed to thrive as never before. Corruption became so widespread that local officials became accomplices in highway robberies. Taxes went up and became particularly onerous for the Armenians and Indians, two groups with a disproportionally large role in the economy. The Shāh, meanwhile, built pleasure gardens and palaces, the money for which was extorted from merchants and court officials, and expended riches on the restoration of the *'atabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the Shī'ī shrines in 'Irāḳ, as well as on costly pilgrimages to Ḳum and Mashhad.

After 1710 the signs of distress rapidly multiplied, with bread riots in urban areas. Revolts broke out in various border regions with alienated Sunnī populations. The greatest pressure came from the east, where the Afghān Ghilzay tribe, led by Mīr Ways, extended control over Ḳandahār, while their Abdālī rivals expanded into Khurāsān, taking Harāt in 1717. In 1721 Maḥmūd Ghilzay, Mīr Ways's son, invaded Persia, reached Iṣfahān virtually unopposed and defeated a hastily-assembled Ṣafawid army at the battle of Gulnābād, subsequently besieging the city. Sulṭān Ḥusayn's third son, Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā, managed to escape to the old Ṣafawid capital of Ḳazwīn, where he proclaimed himself Shāh. After a six month's siege, Sulṭān Ḥusayn left Iṣfahān on 23 October and went to the Afghān camp and surrendered to Maḥmūd. Instead of killing him, Maḥmūd imprisoned him in his harem, from which he was forced to proclaim the Afghān conquerer as legitimate ruler of Persia. Maḥmūd was assassinated in 1725 and succeeded by his cousin Ashraf. Faced with Ottoman support for Ṭahmāsb, he ordered the killing of Sulṭān Ḥusayn on 9 September 1726.

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2. Studies. 'Alī Dawānī, *'Allāma Madjlisī. Buzurgmard-i 'ilm wa dīn*, Tehran 1370/1991; W. Floor, *Bar uftādan-i ṣafawiyān, bar āmādan-i Maḥmūd Afghān*, Tehran 1365/1986; idem, *Commercial conflict between Persia and the Netherlands 1712-1718*, Durham N.C. 1988; Dja'fariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsat dar dawra-yi ṣafawiyya*, Tehran 1370/1991; L. Lockhart, *The fall*

of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia, Cambridge 1958; R. Matthee, *The East India Company trade in Kerman wool, 1658-1730*, in *Etudes safavides*, (ed.) J. Calmard, Paris-Tehran 1993, 343-83; Panāhī Simnānī, *Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn Ṣafawī. Trazhidi-yi natawāni-yi ḥukūmat*, Tehran 1373/1994.

(R. Matthee)

SULṬĀN ISḤĀḲ [see SULṬĀN SEHĀK].

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH [see MAḤALLĀTĪ].

SULṬĀN ÖÑÜ, the ancient name of a region in northwestern Anatolia with its centre at Eskishehir [*q.v.*]. As an Ottoman administrative unit, it meant the first Ottoman *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*], more or less identical with the Sakarya River bend and the present provinces (*il*) of Eskişehir and Bilecik. It was already under the Rūm Saldjūḳs a *sübashilik*. ʿOthmān Ghāzī was given the district by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubādh III (d. 1307). According to the chronicle of Idrīs-i Bidlisī, ʿOthmān granted the province of Ḳara Ḥiṣār, otherwise known as Sulṭān Öñü, to his eldest son Orkhan (H. İnalcık, *Osmān Ghāzī's siege of Nicaea*, in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman emirate (1300-1389)*, Rethymon 1993, 87).

During the Ottoman centuries the *liwā* or *sandjaḳ* of Sulṭān Öñü was part of the *beglerbeglik* (later *eyālet*) of Anadolu [*q.v.*]. The registers of the 16th century have indifferently Eskishehir (with Ḳaradja shehir), Seydī Ghāzī, Günyüz, İnönü and Biledjik as *nāḥiyes* of the province. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's *Djihān-nümā* has a long chapter on the province (631-3). The *sandjaḳ* existed until the *Tanẓīmāt* administrative reforms. Shemsü 'l-Dīn Sāmī underlines its role as "the cradle of the Ottoman dynasty", which preserved the name for a long period (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1888-98).

In no other region of the empire did there exist a special category of *müsellem* [*q.v.*], such as the *taydji djemāʿati*, which enjoyed exemption from taxes in exchange for the breeding of horses for the royal stables (*khāṣṣ akhiri*). A statute (*ḳānūn*) for them dating from 1034/1624 was published by I.H. Uzunçarşılı (*Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 500).

It has been suggested that the spelling Sulṭān Öñü, though exclusively used in post-15th-century sources, may have replaced an earlier form *Sulṭān öyüğü* "Sultan's tumulus". But the form Sulṭān Öñü appears as early as *ca.* 1180 in the travel book of al-Harawī [*q.v.*] (ed. and tr., J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1952-7) for hot springs in the region (*al-Thirmā/aw garm*). Al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929, 39) has a ductus without dotting, Sulṭān اوںی). The word formation Sulṭān + öñü corresponds to a number of place-names in Turkey (e.g. Eminönü, Hammamönü, Hanönü, İnönü). The foundation act of the *amīr* Djadja-oghlu Nūr al-Dīn of 1272 (ed. Ahmet Temir, Ankara 1959, 61 l. 538) has *maḥrūsa Sulṭānyügi* obviously for the town of Eskishehir. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] mentions the name Sulṭān Öñü only in the form of the *nisba* of two persons in Iznik (324) and Kastamonu (342).

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(K. Kreiser)

SULṬĀN SEHĀK, a historical figure of the highest importance to the sect known as Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], who lived in the 15th century (textual variants: Seḥāk, Sihāk, Sohāk, Ṣoḥāk) a name of Biblical origin (Isaac) but incorporated into the Islamic tradition and attested in the Ḳurʾān in the form Isḥāḳ.

The uncertainties which remain concerning the dates of Sulṭān Sehāk have recently been to a great extent clarified and resolved, following the discovery of original sources and the publication of studies assiduously conducted over the past forty years (see *Bibl.*) The mystical and biological genealogy of this individual is, however, better attested in regard to his close ancestors then in regard to his direct successors. The tradition of the sect presents him as the fourth great theophany (or rather avatar or, indeed, in the language of the sect, *maẓhar* "Manifestation of God on earth", as well as *djāma* (Persian) or *dūn* (Turkish) corporeal "habit" into which the Essence of Truth has entered, and *yort/yurt* (Turkish) "place" wherein God has dwelt). The first Theophany is said to be that of Yā, at the time when God, the Khāwandgār (God-Creator), inhabited the primordial gleaming white pearl (*al-durra al-bayḍāʾ*) in which He was enclosed, with his angels, this after concluding a pact of fidelity and submission to the conditions inherent in human life during his forthcoming appearances in the world; the second, that of ʿAlī, son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad; the third that of Shāh-Khōshīn, in an episode which is said to have taken place in Luristān on Mount Yāfta-kūh around the 4th/10th century, again according to the vague information concerning the sect.

In view of the approximate contemporaneity of the historical founders of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ with those of other circles and fraternities, the transformation from "mystical chain" to "sect" as correctly defined, for numerous connected social and circumstantial reasons, in spite of their secrecy which has surrounded them until recent times, can be fairly reckoned to have taken place around the end of the 17th and start of the 18th century, the oldest credible documents (manuscripts previously jealously preserved) dating back no earlier than these dates.

On the historical and social climate of the time, see AHL AL-ḤAḲḲ, ḤURŪFIYYA, NAḲSHBANDIYYA, NŪRBAKHSHIYYA and SHĀHRUKH. This article will be confined to essential information.

It was precisely from the time of Shāhrukh and of his fellows in other provinces of the kingdom that conflicts of ideas under the rubric of mysticism took on other dimensions and a more rapid pace than in earlier years.

The renowned Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, claiming to be the awaited Mahdī of a messianic movement, preoccupied for some time the mind of Shāhrukh, who was more moderate than his father and proclaimed himself the defender of an integral but not fundamentalist Islam. This mystical Master was still alive after the death of Shāhrukh and was the leader of a renowned mystical fraternity, the Nūrbakhshiyya, which was capable of surviving over the centuries, numerous scholars, poets and authors being counted among its supporters.

As a counterpart to the movement of the Nūrbakhshīs which appeared to the east of Persia, in Turkistān and Transoxania, and that of the Ḥurūfīs in the north-west of Persia, there appeared some years later another subversive and extremist movement, in Khūzistān and the Djazāyir (marshy regions between the town of Wāsiṭ and lower ʿIrāḳ, which was centred on Hawīza (Ḥawīza/Ḥuwīza) in Khūzistān. Its founder, Sayyid Muḥammad Mushaʿshaʿ, son of

Sayyid Falāḥ, born in Wāsiṭ, was able to gather around him a host of Bedouins, villagers, low-caste workers and, especially, members of the numerous Arab tribes nomadising in the plains and valleys situated near the ancient Karkha canal and between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ.

Finally, he chose for his capital the town of Hawīza: initially he claimed to be "the place" and "the veil" (*ḥidjāb/parda*) of the Hidden Imām, later, by gradual stages, the Mahdī and then, hesitantly, the Essence of God. He disseminated his doctrine as far as Luristān, and sometimes in the course of his travels took refuge in the mountains of this province, which bordered on Ḥawīza and Wāsiṭ. But his son, Mawlā ʿAlī, more ambitious than he, courageous, bellicose and bloodthirsty, and usually successful in battle, eclipsed his father and took power into his own hands. Not content with claiming to be the Mahdī, he openly declared himself, before his adherents, the Essence of God itself. In the meantime, Pīr-Budāgh, having eliminated Mawlā ʿAlī and having rebelled against the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh in Baghdād, was defeated by the latter and killed by his brother, Muḥammadī, who was in his turn killed by his rival Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] head of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu.

The Mushaʿshaʿīs, descendants and followers of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, controlled a part of Khūzistān and of ʿIrāḳ, and survived even after the execution of the two brothers by Shāh Ismāʿīl almost to the present day, as conventional governors on behalf of the Persian state [see further, MUSHAʿSHAʿ].

Sulṭān Sehāk, the founder or rather the reformer of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, was born in this historical and politico-religious climate.

Birth. Relative lack of interest in regard to dating as well as simple modesty and effacement are at the root of a reluctance even to engrave the dates of deaths on tombstones, in particular among the Khāmūshī, one of the eleven (or twelve) *khānadān* "families" of the sect; see on this subject M. Mokri, *Étude d'un titre de propriété du début du XVI^e siècle*, in *JA* (1963), 229-56 and other sources mentioned in the *Bibl.*

In Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ tradition, it is accepted as a constant fact that the manifestation of each theophany on the earth should appear in the form of a miraculous birth. The great avatars representing the Divine Essence are born, in fact, of virgin mothers and are foretold by mysterious signs. Certain categories of miraculous births date back to Altaic origins distinct from Indo-European beliefs, if account is not to be taken of the universality of this theme. The first miraculous birth related by the tradition of this sect is that of Shāh-Khōshīn, according to them the first great avatar after ʿAlī.

For the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk, the same procedure applies, with more details and precision. He was born of a virgin mother named Khātūn Dāyrāk. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ tradition applies to this event accounts conforming to their own meta-historical myths. According to them, at the time of his disappearance Shāh-Khōshīn had promised his faithful companions (incarnate angels) that he would re-appear many times in this world, in particular shortly before the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk. It was for this reason that Pīr-Binyāmin (a manifestation of the Angel Gabriel), net in hand, searched through time and space for the divine being, the Royal Eagle, occupying the form of an unwitting believer. In the pursuit of their quest, the four angels had a presentiment of the imminent arrival in the world of the Essence of God, in the shape of the Royal Eagle. Having uncovered his traces, they convened near a spring in Awrāmān, at the foot of the mountain of Shāhū in the Dālāhū [Zagros] range. Then the divine being, still in the form of an eagle, appeared to them and commanded them to marry the daughter of Ḥusayn Beg Djald of the Djāf tribe to Shaykh ʿĪsī who lived in Barzandja. He also ordered the planting of an orchard under the supervision of Iwat Hushyār ("Iwat the Perspicacious"), and the planting within the orchard of a clump of dried-up mulberry bushes. When this should once again be green, the Royal Eagle perching on it, they would know this was the moment of the Manifestation of the Divine Being. When all this had been done and the time of the confinement of Khātūn Dāyrāk arrived, the Royal Eagle re-appeared and rubbed against the legs of the young woman. He was then transformed into a bright and handsome boy later named Sulṭān Sehāk. This bizarre birth is by no means a unique case in the tradition of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ.

History. The date of the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk is an object of controversy and has yet to be fixed definitively. V. Minorsky located it broadly in the 14th century, solely on the basis of testimony of members of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. For his part, C.J. Edmonds (*Kurds, Turks and Arabs* 184), relying on notes written by a former Ottoman official which were drawn to his attention, written in Turkish and sometimes translated into Kurdish (which he entitles the *Tadhkira*), gives the year 671/1272-3 as the birth date of Sulṭān Sehāk. Numerous ethno-historical enquiries conducted on the ground by M. Mokri since 1942 and his decipherment and publication of numerous original manuscripts (see *Bibl.*) have contributed to the relative elucidation of ambiguities on these dates. The author of the *Shāhnāma-yi ḥaḳiḳat* offers no precision, but muddles and complicates the assumptions of this question. It proposes the year 612/1216 as the date of his arrival, as a means of crediting this individual with a suitably prestigious antiquity, but to palliate the startling fantasy of this arbitrary date he gives him three centuries of life with the object of adjusting to the facts. This date is still earlier than that in the *Tadhkira* placed at the disposal of Edmonds. It is true that this period is obscure on account of the lack of precise historical documents. Numerous former enquiries conducted in various places from 1942 to 1949 have even produced a date later than the 15th century, which marks a new stage of the sect. If there is such a lapse of time (from the 15th or from the 16th century to the present day) it may be wondered whence come all these ancient riches of legend, custom, stories and thought.

On the assumption that the union of ʿĪsī and Khātūn Dāyrāk was some years previous to the death of Shaykh Mūsī and the marriage of his widow to ʿĪsī in 828/1424-5, it may be inferred as a primary estimate that the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk took place shortly before 846/1442 (thus at the end of the first half of the 15th century, and not, at the 7th/13th dates mentioned above, nor yet at that vague and arbitrary date in the 14th century proposed by certain members of the sect).

The (manuscript) treatise *ʿĀlam-i ḥaḳīḳat* written by religious representatives of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ in the tribe of the Gūrānīs (the three great dervishes Kā-Turāb, Kā-Raḥīm and Kā-Bashar, two of whom were questioned extensively between 1942 and 1949), speaks of the date of the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk, apparently with some lack of precision, but with more eloquence and plausibility than are possessed by previously-mentioned sources, as follows: "As for the date of the arrival of Sulṭān Sehāk, it is not known to us. But it seems, in

relation to the year in which we are now living, 1322/1943, to be approximately five hundred years previous" (meaning 1443). In giving the reasons for the choice of this date, the treatise cites the evidence of the deed of ownership of Anzala (studied and published in *JA* [1963]), a village offered to Bābā Yādigār by a noble neophyte of Zehāb named Ḳamām al-Dīn, son of Faḳīh ʿUthmān Kurdī, following a dream in which his release from prison in Baghdād was foretold. This document bears the date 933/1526. On the assumption that this offer was made when Bābā Yādigār had attained a certain age, and that the Sarāna period (the time when Bābā Yādigār established himself in Sarāna in Zarda) was some years subsequent to the Pirdīwar period (the properly defined period of Sulṭān Sehāk and of the spread of his ideas), the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk could well have taken place, according to this treaty, in 1443-4. The *ʿĀlam-i ḥaḳīḳat* assumes an interval of 83 years between the birth of Sulṭān Sehāk and the date of the composition of the Anzala document, to arrive at its round figure of 500 years before the year 1943, this figure being only approximate. Thus an agreement is reached, more exact than that of the other sources, between the date suggested by the Gūrānīs and that of the genealogical treatise, undoubtedly written one or two centuries previously.

Other historical data tend to corroborate this last date. There is no doubt that the two brothers Shaykh ʿIsī and Shaykh Mūsī were the sons of Sayyid Bābā ʿAlī Hamadānī, the great mystic of Hamadān. It is he who was the master of Khʷādja Isḥāḳ Khuttalānī, in his turn the master of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. Sayyid Bābā ʿAlī, a mystic whose paternal genealogy extends as far as the Imām Mūsā Kāẓim, the seventh Shīʿī Imām, was the son of ʿAlī b. Shihāb Hamadānī and was also related to the Prophet through seventeen generations in the maternal line, according to the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, 301. Once the paternity of Sayyid Bābā ʿAlī Hamadānī over Shaykh ʿĪsā and Shaykh Mūsā is accepted, the ascendant genealogy of Sulṭān Sehāk poses no further problems, the lineage of dignitaries and mystics of Hamadān playing an important role in history. But the same does not apply to the descendants of Sulṭān Sehāk. From a historical point of view there is considerable confusion, with various traditional accounts vitiated by the lack of reliable documentation and by the intervention of numerous persons claiming to be the offspring of Sulṭān Sehāk, a common phenomenon in the case of eminent individuals in a period for which valid registers do not exist, such that the way is open for families to believe in their descent from a known patronym. Some of the numerous brothers of Sulṭān Sehāk have even been regarded as his own sons, while various other records, including the genealogical treatise of Ashrafiyya Baḥr-al Ansāb, declare that he died childless.

According to the *khānaḳāh* of Tūt Shāmī (the religious centre of the Gūrānīs) the last great manifestation of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is that of Ḥaydarī, under the leadership of Sayyid Brāka, the son of Sayyid Manṣūr, who lived in Dūl Dālān (Tūt Shāmī), was born in 1210/1795 and assassinated by one of his kinsmen in 1290/1873. The latter's era is considered the most brilliant period of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, known as the period of the *Yerī tanī* (Triad), since in the opinion of his disciples Sayyid Brāka was the incarnation simultaneously of Dāwūd, Yādigār and Sulṭān Sehāk; he was *shāh mehmān*, meaning that "he was host to the Divine Essence". The latter's son, Sayyid Rustam Ḥaydarī Gūrān, one of the major figures of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, was a man of great eminence in western Persia, giving his support to the Constitution of 1906.

There is no proof that the heads of the five "families" (*khānadān*), to which six more were to be added over the course of time, are genuinely the direct descendants of Sulṭān Sehāk. No reliable historical document supports this proposition, only later tradition, and even this is imprecise.

Bibliography: For the earliest studies, reference should be made to V. Minorsky's detailed bibl. to AHL-I ḤAḲḲ.

In addition to the sources cited in the text of this article, see idem, *Notes sur la secte des Ahlé Ḥaqq* in *RMM*, xl-xli (1920), 19-97, xliv-xlv (1921), 205-302; idem, *Jihan-shah Qara-qoyunlu*, in *BSOAS*, xvi/2 (1954); C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957; W. Ivanow, *The Truth-worshippers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Ḥaqq texts*, Leiden 1953; Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, lith. Kārkhāna-yi Ḥādjī Ibrāhīm Bāsmači Tabrīzī, n.d., 301.

Studies by M. Mokri. Numerous studies concerning the dialects, tribal organisation and hierarchy of the sect of the Gūrāns, extended to other regions where members of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ reside, as well as their guides and their religious procedures, were conducted by M. Mokri between 1942 and 1951, and verification of these notes and observation of new developments within the sect has continued to the present day. *Le Chasseur de Dieu et le mythe du Roi-Aigle* (*Dawra-y Dāmyārī*), ed., tr. and annotated, Wiesbaden 1967; *La grande assemblée des Fidèles de Vérité au tribunal sur le mont Zagros en Iran* (*Dawra-y Dīwānā-gawra*), Paris 1977; *Cinquante-deux versets de Cheikh Amīr*, in *JA* (1956); *L'idée de l'incarnation chez les Ahl-i Ḥaqq*, in *Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München 1957*, Wiesbaden 1959; *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurdes Fidèles de Vérité*, in *JA* (1960), 463-81; *La naissance du monde chez les Kurdes Ahl-i Ḥaqq*, in *Trudî XXV Mezdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedi*, Moscow 1963, ii, 159-63; *Étude d'un titre de propriété du début du XVIᵉ s. provenant du Kurdistan "Qabāla-y Anzala"*, in *JA* (1963), 229-56; *L'ésotérisme kurde. Aperçus sur le secret gnostique des Fidèles de Vérité*, Paris 1966; *Kalām sur l'Aigle divin et le verger de Pirdīwar*, in *JA* (1967), 361-74; *Le Kalam gourani sur "le Cavalier au coursier gris", le Dompteur du vent*, in *JA* (1974), 47-93; *Le Kalām gourani sur le pacte des compagnons Fidèles de Vérité au sein de la perle prémondiale*, in *JA* (1977), 237-71; *La musique des Kurdes "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran*, in *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, i, Paris 1968, 431-53; *Notes sur la généalogie des fondateurs de la secte des Fidèles de Vérité (Ahl-i Ḥaqq) d'après un manuscrit inédit de source sunnie*, in *JA* (1994), 37-110; *De la distinction des différents groupes d'hommes et de leur attitude* (*Dawra-y gurūh-grūh*), in *JA* (1995), 275-350.

See also Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Mushaʿshaʿiyān*, Tehran 1356/1977; Mokri, *Le Shāhnā-ye Ḥaqīqat de Neʿmat Modjrem*, 1st ed. Tehran-Paris, 1966, 1971; 2nd ed. *Ḥaqq al-Ḥaqāyeq ou Shāh-Nāma-ye Ḥaqīqat*, Tehran-Paris 1982; Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Inner truth and outer history: the two worlds of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq of Kurdistan*, in *MES*, xxvi (1994), 267-85; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iḳbal, Tehran 1364/1984, see 98-9, on Bābā Ṭāhir Hamadānī.

(M. MOKRI, shortened by the Editors)

SULṬĀN AL-ṬALABA (*vulgo* AL-ṬOLBA), a traditional Moroccan spring festival, a combination of a carnival and a picnic, celebrated annually in the second half of April, primarily at Fās. Although all the people joined in, the main participants and

beneficiaries were the foreign students in the *madrasas* of the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*].

A central feature of the feast was the election of a mock sultan for a week (whence the name), the office being auctioned; in 1923, the bidding reached 22,500 Fr. This was financed by an interested party, since the mock sultan enjoyed the privilege of asking the real sultan of Morocco for certain favours (e.g. release of prisoners, exemption from taxation). The *makhzan* or government provided aid in the form of tents, food and cash, and awarded the *sulṭān al-ṭolba* the royal insignia. After the week had passed in feasting, singing, dancing, etc., the two sultans might sometimes meet ceremonially on horseback, and a burlesque *khuṭba* was delivered by the mock *muḥtasib* who had been appointed by the mock sultan (for two specimens, see E. Doutté, *La khot'ba burlesque de la fête des Tolba au Maroc*, in *Recueil de mém. et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVe Congr. des Orientalistes*, Alger 1905, 197-219).

The origins of the festival are linked by local tradition with the founder of the ʿAlawī dynasty, Mawlāy Rashīd, and his overthrow of a tyrannical Jewish chief, Ibn Mashʿal. E. Laoust considered this to be pure fable, and saw in the festival an ancient rite involving the personification of a god of vegetation (see *Hespéris*, i [1921], 290). P. de Cenival, however, whilst discarding the patently legendary motifs, thought there was some truth in the story, since native Moroccan historians agree on it, as also three independent, near-contemporary European accounts (see his *La légende du Juif Ibn Mech'al et la fête du Sultan des Tolba à Fès*, in *Hespéris*, v [1925], 137-218, esp. 150-1, 216). But this still leaves unexplained the special relationship between this sultan and the Fās students, unless this is seen as part of his general favour towards learning. The appearance of similar festivals in other parts of Morocco, e.g. at Marrakesh in the late 18th century, for a while at Casablanca and amongst some tribes in the Gharb and Djibāla regions, is clearly derivative.

Bibliography: De Cenival's article (see above) is the most comprehensive study. Of subsequent studies, see P. Marty, *Le Maroc de demain*, Paris 1925, 43-9; N. Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa*, Philadelphia 1927, 394, 405, 407-13, 416-17; R. Ricard, *La fête du Sultan des Tolba et la "fiesta del obispillo" en Espagne*, in *Hespéris* (1937), 138-9 (Spanish parallel); R. le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 466-9; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Paris 1959, i, 570-1, H.Z. Hirschberg, *A history of the Jews in North Africa*, Leiden 1981, ii, 243-6, 251-2. See further, ṬALABA.

(P. SHINAR, shortened by the Editors)

SULṬĀN WALAD, BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD-i Walad (623-712/1226-1312), eldest son of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], poet and Ṣūfī, is one of the founders of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] order. He was born on 25 Rabīʿ II 623/24 April 1226 in Lāranda, present-day Karaman, south of Konya. He was given the name of his grandfather Sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad (Aflākī, *Manāḳib*, ii, 785, 994; on Bahāʾ see F. Meier, *Bahāʾ-i Walad*, Leiden 1989). Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī himself looked after Sulṭān Walad's education, sending him, together with his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was one year younger than him, to Aleppo and Damascus to study the religious sciences.

Sulṭān Walad was very close to his father and is said to have resembled him so greatly that they were thought to be brothers. From his boyhood he was on intimate terms with the circle around Mawlānā and had close ties with the latter's friends, in contradistinction to his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn who was, probably falsely, accused of having been involved in the death of Shams-i Tabrīzī [*q.v.*]. It was Sulṭān Walad who, after Shams's disappearance on 21 Shawwāl 643/1 March 1246, was sent by Mawlānā to bring him back from Damascus to Konya (*Mathnawī-yi Waladī*, 47 ff., Farīdūn Sipahsālār, *Risāla-yi Sipahsālār*, 133, Aflākī, *op. cit.*, ii, 695-6). The oldest known manuscript of the *Maḳālāt* of Shams-i Tabrīzī is in Sulṭān Walad's hand.

At the behest of Mawlānā, Sulṭān Walad married Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb's [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-RŪMĪ] daughter Fāṭima Khātūn. He had two daughters by her and one son, Djalāl al-Dīn ʿĀrif (Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebī, d. 719/1320), who was to become his successor. In 683/1284, after the death of Čelebī Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan (see *ibid.*), who had held the title *khalīfa* when Mawlānā was still alive, Sulṭān Walad, at the insistence of his entourage, took up the succession which, at his father's death, he had declined in favour of Ḥusām al-Dīn. The report that Karīm al-Dīn Bektemür was *khalīfa* of the Mawlawiyya from 683/1284 until his death in 690/1291 and that Sulṭān' Walad took up office only after his demise cannot be found in Aflākī nor in Sipahsālār, but only in the *Walad-nāma* and in later *silsila-nāmas* of the Mawlawiyya. The role played by Karīm al-Dīn Bektemür in the history of the order does not become transparent from the sources on the Mawlawiyya. On the basis of the testimonies, it has been suggested that he served as a kind of spiritual guide to Sulṭān Walad.

With Sulṭān Walad begins the history of the Mawlawiyya order in the true sense of the word; he gathered the *murīds* of his father around himself and organised the order. He had a mausoleum erected for Mawlānā which was to become the centre of the order. He sent out *nuwwāb* and *khulafāʾ* and established branches outside Konya. Contrary to earlier assumptions that it had been Sulṭān Walad who had established firm rules for the *samāʿ* [*q.v.*], it has now been shown that the *samāʿ* received its final form for the first time under Pīr ʿĀdil Čelebī (d. 864/1460) (A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, ²Istanbul 1983, 100). The solemn triple circumambulation at the beginning of the ceremony is called *dawr-i Waladī devr-i Veledî* (*Sultan Veled devri*) in memory of Sulṭān Walad. He died at the advanced age of nearly ninety years on 10 Radjab 712/12 November 1312 in Konya and was buried next to his father. For nearly fifty years he had lived in the shadow of his famous father, whose personality had determined the life and work of his son even beyond his death.

His works, of which there exist numerous manuscripts, have, with the exception of a *mathnawī*, all been printed (Ritter, *op. cit.*, 229 ff.). Four poetic and one prose work in Persian are known. The first three poetic works contain, apart from some early Turkish verse, also some Arabic and a few Greek lines.

1. *Dīwān-i Waladī* contains *ghazaliyyāt*, *ḳaṣāʾid*, *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, *tarkībāt*, and *rubāʿiyyāt*. It was published for the first time by F.N. Uzluk, *Dīvānı Sulṭān Veled*, Istanbul and Ankara 1358/1941 and later by Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Dīwān-i Sulṭān Walad*, Tehran 1338/1960.

2. Three *mathnawīs* which were composed after the *Dīwān*:

(a) *Ibtidāʾ-nāma*, also called *Walad-nāma* or *Mathnawī-yi Waladī*. Composed between Rabīʿ I and Djumādā II 690/1291, it is written, like Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, in the metre *khafīf*. It constitutes an important source for the biographies of Bahāʾ al-Dīn and

Mawlānā as well as for the early history of the order. Edition by Djalāl-i Humā'ī, *Walad-nāma, Mathnawī-yi Waladī bā taṣḥīḥ wa muḳaddama*, Tehran 1315-16/1936-37.

(b) *Rabāb-nāma*, composed, at the behest of a notable, within five months of the year 700/1301 in the metre *ramal* of his father's *Mathnawī*. It contains explanations to ideas in the *Mathnawī* and to general Ṣūfī notions. Edition by 'Alī Sulṭānī-i Gurdfarāmarzī, *Rabāb-nāma*, Tehran 1359/1980 (see F.T. Ocak, *Sultan Veled'in Rebâbnâme'si*, in Erdem, iv, [1988], 11).

(c) *Intihā'-nāma*. Like the *Rabāb-nāma* written in *ramal*, completed on the last day of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 708/1309. It was composed for parenetic purposes, and is a kind of summary of the first two *mathnawīs*.

3. *Ma'ārif-i Waladī*, also called *al-Asrār al-djalāliyya*. It is a prose work in a style approaching the spoken language and containing accounts of Sulṭān Walad's thoughts and words. The title is an evocation of his grandfather's work by the same title. An uncritical edition appeared as an appendix to an undated Tehran print of Mawlānā's *Fīhi mā fīh*; a scholarly edition was prepared by Nadjīb Māyil-i Hirawī, *Ma'ārif*, Tehran 1367/1988.

The Turkish verses in the *Dīwān* (129), the *Ibtidā'-nāma* (76), and the *Rabāb-nāma* (162 or 157) are among the oldest examples of Anatolian Turkish literature and are the most extensive testimony of this early stage of the language. Their language is simple and easily comprehensible. It has been suggested that they served the purpose of propaganda for the Mawlawiyya. From the beginning these verses have attracted the attention of European scholars. Hammer, Wickerhauser, Behrnauer, Radloff, Kúnos, Smirnov, and Salemann have dealt with them (see J.H. Kramers, art. *Sulṭān Walad*, in *EI*[1]). The verses have been collected by Veled Čelebī (İzbudak) and Kilisli Rif'at, *Dīvān-i turkī-i Sulṭān Veled*, Istanbul 1341/1925, cf. Fuat Köprülü, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar* (1934), 162-73, and *TM*, ii (1928), 475-81, and Mecdut Mansuroğlu, *Sultan Veled'in Türkçe manzumeleri*, Istanbul 1958.

Translations: *Ibtidânâme*, tr. Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı. Istanbul 1976; *La Parole secrète. L'enseignement du maître soufi Rûmî*, tr. Djamchid Mortazavi and Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch, n.p. 1988; *Maître et disciple. Kitâb al-Ma'ârif*, tr. eadem, Paris 1982; *Maârif*, tr. Meliha Tarıkâhya, Ankara 1949.

Bibliography: See also Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-'ārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, ²Ankara 1976-80; Farīdūn Sipahsālār, *Aḥwāl-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn-i Mawlawī*, Tehran 1325/1947; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Maḥmūd-i 'Ābidī, Tehran 1370/1992; J.H. Kramers, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; Badī' al-Zamān-i Furūzānfar, *Risāla dar taḥḳīḳ-i aḥwālu zindagānī-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad*, Tehran 1315/1937, ⁴1361/1982; H. Ritter, *Philologika XI. Maulānā Ǧalāladdīn Rūmī und sein Kreis*, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 116-58, 221-49; Tahsin Yazıcı, art. *Sultan Veled*, in *İA*; 'Abd al-Ḥusayn-i Zarrīnkūb, *Palla palla tā mulāḳāt-i khudā. Dar bāra-i zindagī, andīsha u sulūk-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn-i Rūmī*, Tehran 1371/1992. For the Turkish verses, see references in text, and also W. Björkmann, *Die Altosmanische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 403-426. For the Greek verses, see P. Burguière et R. Mantran, *Quelques vers grecs du XIII^e siècle en caractères arabes*, in *Byzantion*, xxii (1952), 63-80.

(Gudrun Schubert)

SULṬĀNĀBĀD, the name of various places in Persia.

1. The best-known one is the town presently known in Persia as Arāk lying in long. 49° 41' E. and lat. 34° 5' N. at an altitude of 1,753 m/5,751 feet, 284 km/176 miles to the southwest of Tehran. It lies in the southwestern corner of the plain of Farahān, adjoining the Zagros massif. The popular (and now official) name Arāk must come ultimately from 'Irāḳ, in the sense of 'Irāḳ-i 'Adjam or Persian 'Irāḳ, the mediaeval Djibāl [*q.v.*]. The modern region of Arāk lies within the bend of the Ḳara Ṣu. Its rural districts include that of Kazzāz, which seems to be identical with the mediaeval Karadj Abī Dulaf (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 197-8; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 575-8; AL-KARADJ), and Dargazīn on the left bank of the Ḳara Ṣu, with which two viziers of the Great Saldjūḳs in the early 6th/12th century were connected, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Nāṣir and Abu 'l-Barakāt Dargazīnī Ansābādhī.

Sulṭānābād was founded in 1223/1808 by Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Ḳādjār as part of a plan to overawe the local chiefs, and it was laid out on a rectangular plan, with defensive walls and towers, by the commander Yūsuf Khān Gurdjī. In the later 19th century, Sulṭānābād began to grow in importance as a centre for carpet-weaving, and it became, at least until the 1940s, Persia's most important centre for commercial carpet manufacture. It also acquired under Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [*q.v.*] various other industries. Its importance was further enhanced when it became a major station on the Trans-Persian railway, at the point where the line from Khūzistān emerges from the Zagros. Arāk is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or district of the same name in the Central Province, and in 1976 had a population of 114,500.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. and that to AL-KARADJ. Also Admiralty Handbooks. *Persia*, London 1945, 98, 553-8; Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ii, 6; H. Dermet-Grégoire and P. Fontaine, *La région d'Arak et de Hamadan: cartes et documents ethnographiques*, Cahiers de Studia Iranica 6, Paris 1988; and the detailed bibls. to *EIr* art. *Arāk* (C.E. Bosworth and X. de Planhol).

2. The Mongol Il Khān Öldjeytü [*q.v.*] founded in 711/1311-12 at Čamčamāl, at the foot of the Bīsutūn mountain in the region of eastern Kurdistān-western Djibāl, a town which was called Sulṭānābād (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, 107, tr. 106; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 545; H.L. Rabino, *Kermanchah*, in *RMM* [1920], 14), and this same ruler founded Öldjeytü-Sulṭānābād in the Mūḳān [*q.v.*] steppe in Arrān near the Kur river (B. Spuler, *Iran in Mongolenzeit*[1], Leipzig 1939, 450).

3. There are several other villages of this name in Ādharbādjān, Khurāsān, Kirmān, Khūzistān, etc.

(C.E. Bosworth)

SULṬĀNIYYA, a town in the mediaeval Islamic province of northern Djibāl some 50 km/32 miles to the southeast of Zandjān [*q.v.*] (lat. 36° 24' N., long. 48° 50' E.).

1. History.

Sulṭāniyya was founded towards the end of the 7th/13th century by the Mongol Il Khānids and served for a while in the following century as their capital. The older Persian name of the surrounding district was apparently Shāhrūyāz or Shārūyāz/Sharūbāz (which was to be the site, adjacent to Sulṭāniyya, of the tomb which the Il Khānid Abū Sa'īd [*q.v.*] built for himself, according to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū). It was originally a dependency of Ḳazwīn. The Mongols called this district Ḳongḳur Öleng ("the pasture ground of the Alezans"; there is still a village called Öleng to the southeast of Sulṭāniyya). Sulṭāniyya is about 5,000-5,500 feet above sea-level. The coolness of its climate

in summer and the richness of the high plateau in pasturage and game must have had a special attraction for the Mongols. Arg͟hun began the construction of a town, the wall of which (*bārū*) was 12,000 paces in circumference. His son and later successor Öld͟jeytü (704-16/1304-16 [*q.v.*]), to celebrate the birth of his son Abū Saʿīd, began in 705/1305 to enlarge the new town (up to 30,000 paces in circumference) and made it the capital (or, more accurately, the chief seasonal residence) of his kingdom. The sovereign and his ministers vied with one another in embellishing Sulṭāniyya. The vizier Ras͟hīd al-Dīn alone built a quarter of 1,000 houses, the *rabʿ-i Ras͟hīdī* (d'Ohsson, iv, 486; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ilchane*, ii, 184-6; Sheila S. Blair, *Ilkhanid architecture and society: an analysis of the endowment deed of the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxii [1983], 67-90). The building of the town was finished in 713/1313 and was solemnly celebrated. After his conversion to the S͟hīʿa, Öld͟jeytü thought of bringing to Sulṭāniyya the remains of the caliph ʿAlī and of the Imām Ḥusayn. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says that nowhere except Tabrīz could so many splendid buildings be seen as in Sulṭāniyya and he makes the five great roads (*s͟hāh-rāh*) radiate from Sulṭāniyya as the centre of Iran (*miyān-i Īrān-zamīn*). The exaggeration in the last statement is apparent; the site "so inconvenient" (P. della Valle) of the town was the main cause of its decline (cf. Minorsky, *Geographical factors in Persian art*, in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 47). Öld͟jeytü died in Sulṭāniyya and was buried in the famous mausoleum there. The *ḳurultay* [*q.v.*] of Abū Saʿīd was held in Sulṭāniyya, but the fact that ʿAlī S͟hāh, this ruler's minister, began to build a magnificent mosque in Tabrīz seems to indicate that pride of place was returning to the old capital. European envoys and merchants were nevertheless to be found there, and in 1318 the Pope created an archidiocese at Sulṭāniyya, still in existence at the beginning of the 15th century.

After the fall of the Il K͟hānids, Sulṭāniyya often changed hands and its possession was disputed between the Čūbānids [*q.v.*], the D͟jalāyir [*q.v.*] and the Muẓaffarids. A former captain of S͟hayk͟h Uways D͟jalāyir called Sarïḳ ʿĀdil fortified himself in Sulṭāniyya in 781/1379. He inflicted a defeat upon the Muẓaffarid S͟hāh S͟hud͟jāʿ, but finally submitted to him and kept his position. A little later, Sarïḳ ʿĀdil proclaimed Bāyazīd D͟jalāyir as sultan at Sulṭāniyya; his brother sultan Aḥmad complained of this to S͟hāh S͟hud͟jāʿ, who removed Sarïḳ ʿĀdil from Sulṭāniyya. Tīmūr's troops took Sulṭāniyya from the sons of Aḥmad in 786/1384. At the same time, Tīmūr reestablished Sarïḳ ʿĀdil as governor there and seems to have respected the tomb of Öld͟jeytü (cf. Olearius). Among the villages built by Tīmūr around Samarḳand with the names of celebrated towns, there was one called Sulṭāniyya (Barthold, *Ulug͟h-beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1958-62, ii, 41). In 795/1393 Sulṭāniyya formed part of "the fief of Hülegü" conferred by Tīmūr on his son Mīrān S͟hāh, see S͟haraf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 388, 399, 623. Clavijo, who visited Sulṭāniyya in 1404, says that Mīrān S͟hāh (from 798/1395 afflicted with madness, which showed itself in the destruction of monuments, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 221), had plundered the town and citadel (*alcazar*) and profaned the tomb of Öld͟jeytü ("é el Cabellero que yacia enterrado mandólo echar fuera"). In spite of this, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile adds that the town had many inhabitants and that its trade was greater than that of Tabrīz. Under the Ṣafawid S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp I, the mausoleum was restored and Pietro della Valle and Olearius found it in good preservation. Trade, however, gradually went back to Tabrīz, and the removal of the political centre to Iṣfahān completed the ruin of the old capital of Öld͟jeytü and caused it to become forgotten. It only experienced a brief revival of favour when, in the reign of the Ḳād͟jār Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh, when the court followed the old custom of moving to a summer residence, a hunting-palace was built near Sulṭāniyya with materials taken from the old city. This new Sulṭānābād was also abandoned after the Russo-Persian war of 1828. The splendid mausoleum then rose from the centre of a wretched little village. In 1880 Houtum-Schindler counted 400-500 houses there, but the place has in the present century increased somewhat in size and importance because of its position near the Ḳazwīn-Zand͟jān-Tabrīz highway.

The modern Sulṭāniyya is now in the province of Zand͟jān; in 1991 it had a population of 5,114 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

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(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. Monuments.

Like most Persian cities, Sulṭāniyya was composed of an inner citadel surrounded by a moat and an outer city surrounded by ramparts. The square citadel was built of dressed stone and articulated with sixteen towers, a machicolated parapet, and an iron gate, all visible in the earliest depiction of the city, a painting in an Ottoman manuscript recounting the stages

of the journeys of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent composed by Maṭrāḳī Naṣūḥ in 944/1537-8 (Istanbul University Library, Yıldız T 5964, fols. 31b-32a; facs. reproduction by H.G. Yurdaydın, *Naṣūḥü's-Silāḥī (Maṭrākçī), Beyān-i Menāzıl-i Sefer-ı ʿIrāḳeyn-ı Sulṭān Süleymān Hān*, Ankara 1976). Much of the citadel survived until the 1780s, and traces are still visible (Muḥammad Mihryār, Aḥmad Kabīrī and Fāʾiḳ Tawḥīdī, *Bar-rasī wa paygardī-yi muḳaddamatī: Burdj wa bārū-yi arg-i shahr-i ḳadīm-i sulṭāniyya (zimistān 1364)*, in *Āthār*, xii-xiv [1345/1988], 209-64).

The centrepiece of the citadel and the major building to survive is the tomb of Sultan Öldjeytü (Iranian National Monument 166). Oriented almost cardinally, it is an enormous octagon (diameter 38 m) with an adjoining hall (15 × 20 m) on the south. The central domed chamber (height 50 m; diameter 25 m) is supported by heavy, 7-m thick walls and ringed by eight towers. On the interior the walls are pierced by eight tall and deep bays, and on the exterior a gallery, reached by staircases in the north-east and north-west corners, encircles the building below the base of the dome. In addition to its size and sophisticated handling of spaces, the tomb is remarkable for its decoration. The exterior was decorated with inventive patterns of tile mosaic, and the interior was decorated twice; a lower layer of glazed brick and tile combined with carved stucco and terracotta was covered by a second layer, largely of painted plaster, with smaller areas of cuerda-seca tiles, appliqué plaster, and plaster-stiffened cloth ornaments. The building was apparently dedicated in its original state in 713/1313-14, but redecorated shortly before Öldjeytü's death three years later. Several explanations have been proposed for the quick redecoration, most of them dealing with Öldjeytü's religious conversions or political aspirations, but none of them is entirely convincing. Even more speculative are attempts (e.g. P. Sanpaolesi, *La Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore ed il Mausoleo de Soltanieh*, in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xvi/3 [1972], 221-60) to connect this remarkable domed structure with contemporary innovations in vaulting in Europe.

Like most other major Il Khānid funerary complexes, Öldjeytü's tomb was part of a pious foundation that included places for prayer, Ḳurʾān reading, meditation, and residence. The ensemble had four *īwāns* connected by arcades around a court and was set in an elaborate garden. It had one of the largest pious endowments of its time; according to Shams al-Dīn Āmulī, a *mudarris* there, it exceeded 100 *tūmāns*. The fittings and furnishings for the tomb complex were the finest that money could buy. The contemporary panegyrist Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī waxes eloquent about the lavish materials used, including marble, *muḳarnas*, gold, and silver. The windows and doors had elaborate grilles, and three ball joints (diameter 13 cm) made of bronze inlaid with gold, silver, and a bituminous material and inscribed with Öldjeytü's name may have come from his tomb or other buildings at Sulṭāniyya. The largest copy of the Ḳurʾān made in the period, a gigantic (72 × 50 cm) 30-part manuscript transcribed at Baghdād between 706 and 710 (1306-13), was also endowed to the tomb (D. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, London and New York 1988, no. 40).

Other Il Khānid buildings in the citadel have not survived but can be reconstructed from descriptions and depictions by historians and travellers. There was a large congregational mosque with a monumental portal leading to a large central court with four *īwāns* and a domed sanctuary. The sultan's enormous palace had a large marble court and suites of rooms. The inner city also boasted numerous bazaars, hostelries for merchants, and palaces and gardens for notables. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, for example, built an entire quarter that housed a large pious foundation with a *madrasa*, hospital, and *khānaḳāh* announced by a large entrance portal with minarets flanking an *īwān*. His rival Tādj al-Dīn vied by building a bazaar of stone and baked brick and a lavish palace costing 10,000 dīnārs.

One pair of Il Khānid buildings located several hundred metres southwest of Öldjeytü's tomb survives from the many public and private structures in the bustling outer city: an octagonal tomb tower (Iranian National Monument 167) and an adjacent *khānaḳāh*. Although commonly known as the tomb of Čelebi Oghlu, the tomb tower (diameter 12 m) actually marks the grave of Shaykh Burāḳ, a leading Ṣūfī who was killed during Öldjeytü's invasion of Gīlān in 706/1306. The tomb was built at royal command soon after the Shaykh's death, and the site served as an important Ṣūfī centre at least until the succeeding generation when Khʷādja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī (re)built the adjacent *khānaḳāh* and had an inscription dated 733/1332-3 carved in the plaster near the *miḥrāb* announcing his endowment of water to the Shamsiyya *khānaḳāh* that he had built at Ḳazwīn.

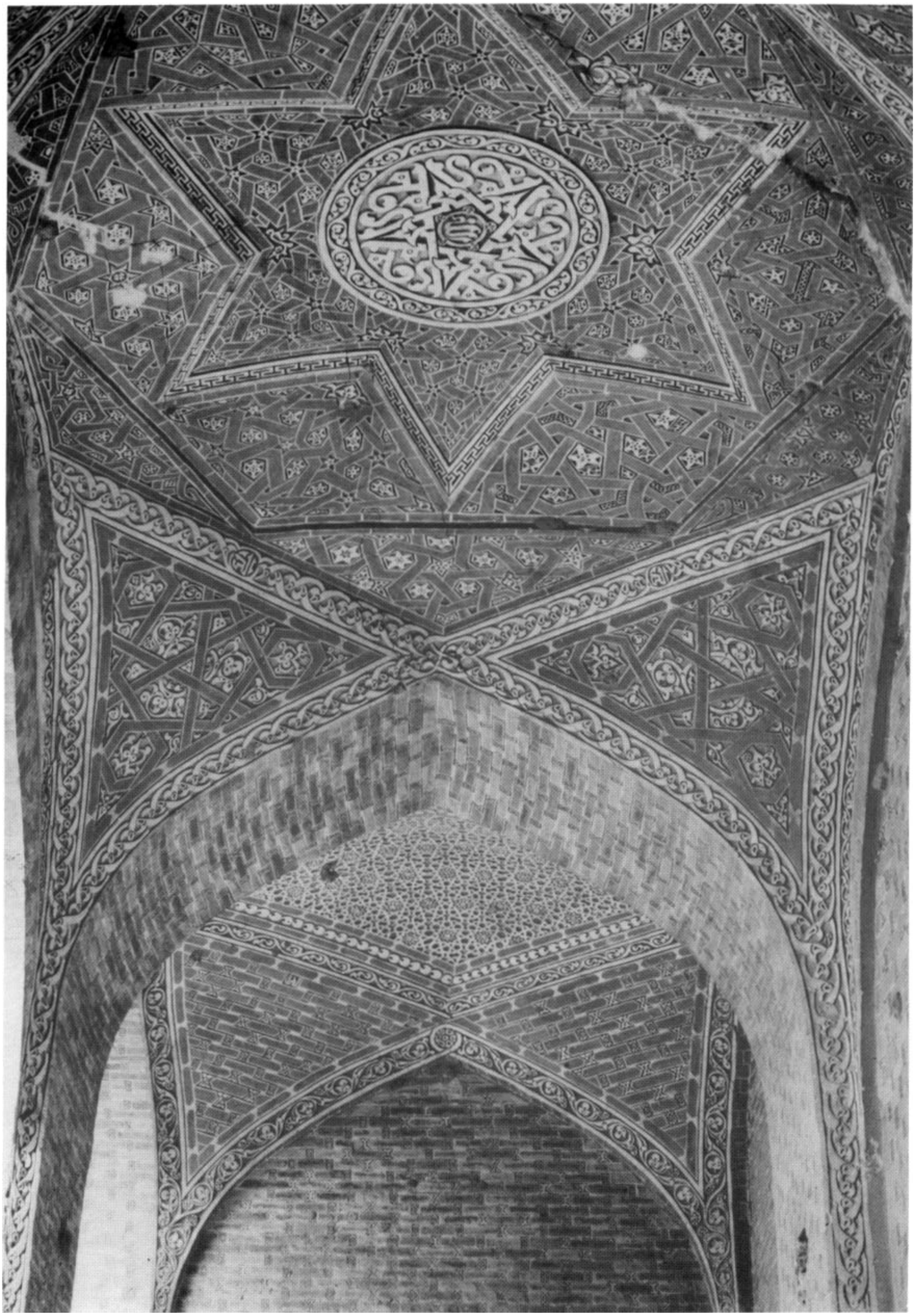
Near these buildings is the tomb of Mullā Ḥasan Kāshī Shīrāzī, a theologian, orator, and poet of the early Ṣafawid period. The tomb (Iranian National Monument 168) is an octagonal building with four *īwāns* leading to a square tomb chamber (6.22 m) surmounted by a tall dome. An inscription in *abdjad* at the base of the dome records that the tomb was built in 963/1565-6; another inscription on the drum give the names Muḥammad b. Fatḥī, the builder, and Ḥadjdjī Bannāʾ, probably the person responsible for the tile decoration. A third inscription at the base of the *muḳarnas* dome in the interior records that the building was restored under the Ḳādjār ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh.

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SULU [see PHILIPPINES].

SULŪK (A.), a technical term in Islamic political and mystical thought. *Sulūk* is a verbal noun derived from the root *s-l-k* "to travel or follow a road". Depending on the context, connotations of the term in Islamic literature include "progression", "method", "behaviour", "comportment", "demeanour", "wayfaring", "conduct", and "manners".

1. In political theory. Here the term usually carries the implication of "conduct" or "comport-



Sulṭāniyya, tomb of Öldjeytü, view of vaults in the second-story gallery (photo: Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 1977).

ment". A Persian treatise by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī [*q.v.*], composed in 920/1514, concerning the proper comportment which various types of leaders in the religious and political sphere should observe, is appropriately entitled *The conduct of kings* (*Sulūk al-mulūk*, ed. M.ʿA. Muwaḥḥid, Tehran 1362 *Sh.*/1983). In the same fashion, a Ṣūfī author like Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) devoted all eight divisions (*faṣl*) of the final chapter of his monumental conspectus of Ṣūfī doctrine, the *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* (ed. M.A. Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352 *Sh.*/1973, 409-548), to the "proper conduct (*sulūk*)" to be observed by kings, ministers, deputies, the learned classes, the rich, landowners, merchants, businessmen and artisans.

2. In mysticism. From the standpoint of comparative religion, *sulūk* is the Islamic version of the archetypal motif of the "journey" which mystics of different religious traditions have used to describe the various steps which must be taken to leave illusory selfhood behind and realise union with the divine. In the particular lexicon of Muslim mysticism, *sulūk* denotes methodical progress on the *via mystica* or *ṭarīḳa*, the process of ascension and advancement—psychical, ethical and spiritual—which the Ṣūfī "wayfarer" (*sālik*) experiences in his pursuit (*ṭalab*) of God. Constituting the main "course of practice" on the Ṣūfī Path, it involves an integral method of spiritual progress based on spiritual warfare (*mudjāhada*) and inner "unveiling" (*kashf*), combining what in Christian mystical theology are known as the *via purgativa* and the *via illuminativa* into a broad-based mystical highway. In this way, the term *sulūk* designates—as J.S. Trimingham (*The Sufi orders in Islam*, London 1973, 140) aptly put it—"the *scala perfectionis* of the orders".

Suʿād Ḥakīm (*al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 720) points out that the term *al-ṭarīḳ* (way) referred to throughout the Ḳurʾān (e.g. XLVI, 30—although the exact construction *sulūk* does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, there is one reference to *salaka*, XX, 53) is more or less equivalent to the later Ṣūfī conception of *sulūk*; Rāzī introduces the term in this sense in the exordium of the *Mirṣād* (ed. Riyāḥī, 11), where he states that his work is devoted to "expounding the modes of proper conduct on the Ṣūfī Path" (*bayān-i sulūk-i rāh-i ṭarīḳat*).

Sulūk is the not merely proper "wayfaring", but "spiritual correctness" (as is conveyed by the modern Persian expression *ḥusn-i sulūk*, "becoming conduct"), the "travelling-manners"—appropriate spiritual attitude and proper ethical comportment—which the roadwise Ṣūfī "wayfarer" (the term *sālik* is defined by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhim Djaʿfar, Cairo 1981, no. 259, as "one who is travelling towards God, being midway between the novice [*al-murīd*] and one who has attained the end of the Path [*al-muntahī*]") must possess to traverse the stations of the Way.

It would appear that, with the rise of institutional Ṣūfism in the early 5th/11th century, the traditional technical usage of the term denoting the progression of the mystic pilgrim on his path came to the fore. The conspicuous omission of *sulūk* from Massignon's *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris 1928) is symptomatic of the term's absence from nearly all the early—3rd-4th/9th-10th century—classical Ṣūfī texts written in Arabic. *Sulūk* is notably not featured in either Nicholson's index of technical terms to his critical edition of al-Sarrādj's *Lumaʿ*, nor in the *Taʿarruf* by al-Kalābādhī, nor in the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, nor in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya* of al-Sulāmī, nor in the *Ḥilyāt al-awliyāʾ* of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, nor in the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayrī, nor in (both the Persian and) the Arabic writings of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī—those key works which played a formative role in the literary blossoming of 6th/12th-century Ṣūfism. Neither does any mention of *sulūk* occur in the oldest Persian treatise on Ṣūfism, namely the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* of Hudjwīrī (d. 463/1071). Perhaps the earliest known usage of the term to describe the proceeding of the mystic on the Path under the supervision of a teacher is to be found in al-Ḳushayrī's *Tartīb al-sulūk* (see F. Meier, *Qušayrī's* Tartīb as-sulūk, in *Oriens*, xvi [1963], 1-39).

As an integral part of the Ṣūfī lexicon of technical terms, *sulūk* is later regularly featured throughout early 6th/12th-century mystical literature in Arabic and Persian. In his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn, K. Kasr al-shahwatayn*, Bk. 23, al-Ghazālī gives a detailed description of the practical requirements of *sulūk* in Ṣūfī discipline taught to neophytes, and this mystical usage is further underlined by ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadhānī (d. 525/1131, the famous pupil of Abū Ḥāmid's brother, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī) in his *Tamhīdāt* (ed. ʿA. Osseiran, Tehran 1962, 71, 4) who draws a distinction between "the people of religion on the religious way" (*ahl-i dīn dar rāh-i dīn*) and "the people of spiritual conduct who follow the mystical method" (*ahl-i sulūk dar rāh-i sulūk*). According to ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt, *sulūk* principally relates to the "conduct" of the elect who tread the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*, and is only secondarily treated as an affair of the *Sharīʿa* (which is shared in common among all Muslims). A few decades later, Ibn Munawwar in his *Asrār al-tawḥīd* (composed between 553-88/1158-92), ed. M. Shafīʿī-Kadkanī, Tehran 1987, 4, used the term in exactly the same sense to describe the saintly manner of "conduct on the course of the Ṣūfī Path" (*sulūk-i ṭarīḳ-i ṭarīḳat*) observed by the holy companions of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi ʾl-Khayr.

In the poetry of ʿAṭṭār (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]), an ethical dimension of *sulūk* figures prominently, referring, in a more general sense, to the mystic's "proper conduct" amongst all creatures, ranging from the lowliest ant unto the highest human being. The Ṣūfī should relate to all creation from what might be called *sulūk*'s "transcendent ecological perspective", he or she should comport him or herself with all creatures equally through viewing all beings *sub specie aeternatis*. ʿAṭṭār thus recounts how ʿAlī encountered an ant on the road which aroused in him a state of terror, and was later informed by the Prophet in a dream of the ant's exalted spiritual rank (*Ilāhī-nāma*, ed. H. Ritter, Tehran 1359 *Sh.*/1980, 54, vv. 2, 10).

Other technical taxonomies of the science of *sulūk* attempt to integrate the term into an entire programme of mystical behaviourism and spiritual pedagogy through underlining the importance of the varieties of psychological types of human beings. Despite rather strict requirements for *sulūk* in Ṣūfī spiritual discipline, scope for individual variation in "conduct"—due to contrasting types of character differentiation—is theoretically unlimited. Thus there cannot be said to exist any single, exclusively "correct" form of conduct on the Path, insofar as much divergence in "mystical procedure" is usually tolerated. Abu ʾl-Mafākhir Yaḥyā Bākharzī (d. 776/1261) thus devotes an entire chapter of his lengthy treatise on Ṣūfism, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* (ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1358 *Sh.*/1979, 55-6) to the subject of the *ikhtilāf al-masālik* the "divergent ways" among the Ṣūfīs, citing some nine different approved methods of *sulūk* or Ways of spiritual conduct.

First, states Bākharzī, comes the way of the devotee: "One group base their conduct on the path of

devotion (*sulūk-i ṭarīk-i ʿibādat*), focusing their practice on water [for ritual ablutions] and the prayer niche, occupying themselves intensively with *dhikr*, supererogatory works of obedience and litanies". His categorisation continues to that of: (2) "the ascetic" to (3) "the solitary", to (4) the "itinerant traveller and voluntary exile", to (5) the way of service and charitable preference of one's Ṣūfī brethren over oneself to (6) the way of spiritual struggle, to (7) the way of self-humiliation and self-abasement before people, to (8) the way of [conscious] helplessness and weakness, and lastly, to (9) the way of teaching [religious] knowledge and keeping the company of scholars, listening to the "traditions" [of the Prophet and his companions] and preservation of knowledge. Bākharzī is careful to emphasise that each of these *sulūk* types has its own proper conditions and etiquette (*ādāb*) to be observed "exactly as the masters have taught or else the wayfarer will be halted and never reach the goal".

Perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of the entire human/divine continuum and spectrum of meanings of *sulūk* can be found in the *Risāla dar bayān-i sulūk* written by Bākharzī's contemporary and fellow Kubrāwī *shaykh*, ʿAzīz Nasafī (d. between 1281-1300, see his *K. al-Insān al-kāmil*, ed. M. Molé, Tehran-Paris 1962, 80-99).

In many Ṣūfī works, *sulūk* is contrasted, on the one hand, to "attraction" (*djadhba*) and to "spiritual travel" (*sayr*) on the other. Sometimes paired as two different polar opposites to *sulūk*, and sometimes coupled to the term for the sake of rhetorical effect, the term takes on interesting nuances:

Djadhba/sulūk. "Attraction" (*djadhba*) by God *before* undergoing *sulūk*, states Tādj al-Dīn Khwārazmī (d. 840/1436-7), "is the quality of beginners", whereas "the experience of 'attraction *after sulūk*' belongs to the most advanced and perfect adepts" (*Sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam ... Ibn ʿArabī*, ed. N.M. Harawī, Tehran 1989, 235). Maḥmūd Kāshānī (d. 735/1335) in his *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya* also describes *sulūk* as an initial stage leading to *djadhba*. Only two sorts of mystics are worthy to become guides on the Ṣūfī Path, he affirms: 1. "The 'wayfarer who later becomes an ecstatic' (*sālik-i madjdhūb*), must first traverse all the deserts and perils of the qualities of the lower passions with the feet of *sulūk*, until by grace of divine attraction (*djadhabāt*) he surpasses all the degrees of the heart and hierarchical levels of the spirit, attaining to the realm of mystical unveiling and certitude (*kashf wa yaḳīn*)". 2. "The 'ecstatic who later becomes a wayfarer' (*madjdhūb-i sālik*), who by grace of divine attraction crosses the wide expanse of the stations (*maḳāmāt*), attains to the world of unveiling and direct vision (*ʿiyān*), only later re-experiencing the stages and levels of the Path (*ṭarīḳ*) through pedestrian *sulūk*, finding the reality of his spiritual disposition in the form of knowledge. In a similar vein, al-Tahānawī (*Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn/A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musalmans*, 686) contrasts *sulūk* with the personal "effort" (*kūshish*) of the *sālik* and *djadhba* with the fore-ordained "pull" (*kashish*) of God.

Sayr/Ṭayr/Sulūk. Contrasted with *sulūk* in Ṣūfī terminology are terms such as *sayr* ("visionary voyage") and *ṭayr* ("spiritual flight"), denoting higher degrees or levels of the same spiritual journey. The terms "*sayr* vs. *sulūk*", "flight of spiritual vision" vs. "methodical progression" on the Path belong to those popular linguistic pairs of opposites whose alliterative rhyming was manipulated to great rhetorical effect by the Ṣūfī writers. What is interesting here is not only the typological difference of *sayr* and *sulūk* but also their analogical relationship, aimed at creating an equilibrium between such apparently polar opposites. Thus Maḥmūd Kāshānī, *Miṣbāḥ*, 110, observes that "The visionary voyage (*sayr*) of lovers through the hierarchical levels of the spiritual stations (*maḳāmāt*) cannot be undertaken except by correct methodological order and graduation. As long as the lover has not fulfilled the requirements of a lower station he or she cannot attain to a higher one.... Hence no progress (*taraḳḳī*) will be made unless each station is traversed step by step in proper methodological order by following [the process of] the 'journey within' (*sayr*) and 'conduct without' (*sulūk*). Then and only then shall his conduct (*sulūk*) be transformed into divine attraction (*djadhba*) and his inner voyage (*sayr*) culminate in spiritual flight (*ṭayr*)...." The *sayr/sulūk* relationship is thus complementary rather than hierarchically distinct; instead of considering the former as a higher stage of the latter, each should be seen as depending on the other, *sayr* being the fruit of the tree of *sulūk*. Other Ṣūfīs, however, such as Nasafī, *op. cit.*, 12-13, did not discriminate between *sayr* and *sulūk* and considered them as synonyms.

Descriptions found in Ṣūfī writings of the terminus of the *maḳāmāt* of *sulūk* are unanimous on one point: the end of *sulūk* is the attainment of *fanāʾ fī ʾllāh*, annihilation of the temporal selfhood in God, and the realisation of the perfection of existential Oneness (*tawḥīd*) which pertains to the level of the "transconscious" (*khafī*). Nonetheless, the mystics varied considerably in their comportment whilst bidding "farewell to wayfaring". Some, like Tādj al-Dīn Ushnawī (d. *ca.* 610/1213) could pronounce philosophically: "This station [*fanāʾ fī ʾlāh*] is the farthest point of the *sulūk* of the wayfarers, and the ultimate desideratum of the seekers (*ṭālibān*), for beyond this station there is no wayfaring (*sulūk*), wayfaring being but a derivative part of existence (*wudjūd*), and when existence, which is the principle, is annihilated, how should the derivative ever remain?" (*Madjmūʿa-yi āthār-i fārsī ... Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn Ushnawī*, ed. N.M. Harawī, Tehran 1368 *Sh.*/1989, 93); others, such as ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt, in his *Tamhīdāt*, 317, voiced their realisation more stridently.

Bibliography (apart from the references already cited): ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *sulūk*. As an example of typical usage of the term in mediaeval Persian Ṣūfism, see Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farghānī, *Mashāriḳ al-darārī, Sharḥ-i Tāʾiyya Ibn Fāriḍ*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1979; *sulūk*: 61, 71, 73, 84, 166, 185, 187, 205, 209, 216, 217, 232, 234-6, 261, 274, 277, 285, 287, 306, 309, 312, 315, 340, 356, 369, 383, 395-7, 459, 476, 526, 572-3, 610, 612; *djadhba/sulūk*: 307-10; *sayr/sulūk*: 60, 72, 77, 108, 144, 147, 150, 175, 203, 261, 271, 292, 337, 380, 511, 544, 573, 590. For a somewhat idiosyncratic usage of the term in the Persian *ḥikmat* tradition, incorporating its technical Ṣūfī sense into traditional Shīʿī theosophical thought, see the Persian tract on *sulūk* ascribed to Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (d. 1212/1797), a famous Shīʿī scholar with strong Ṣūfī sympathies, *Risāla-yi sayr u sulūk-i mansūb bi-Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, ed. S.M.Ḥ. Ṭihrānī, Tehran 1360 *Sh.*/1981.

(L. Lewisohn)

ṢUʿLŪK (A.), pl. *ṣaʿālīk*, brigand, brigand-poet and mercenary in time of need. The *ṣaʿālīk* owe their place in history mainly to their poetic talents which were without equal at the time of the *Djāhiliyya* and until the end of the Umayyad régime.

It is not at all easy to unravel the problem posed by the existence of this group, on account of the

absence of contemporary documents. On the other hand, later authors, in copying ancient texts, have replaced the original terms with those in use in their own time: the *ṣaʿālīk* mentioned by al-Balād̲h̲urī (*Futūḥ*, 310-11) become *d̲h̲uʿʿār* ("thieves") in the same text as recorded by Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, s.v. *Sīsar*).

I. *Equivalents.*

It is impossible to speak of synonyms as such; the majority of relevant terms refer to categories or certain behavioural patterns of the *ṣaʿālīk.*

Al-ag̲h̲riba or *ag̲h̲ribat al-ʿArab* ("the crows of the Bedouin") is not the equivalent of *ṣuʿlūk*; it was used to designate poets of negroid maternal ancestry. On this basis, according to the texts, the *ag̲h̲riba*/*ṣaʿālīk* poets were represented by three individuals: K̲h̲ufāf b. Nudba, al-Sulayk b. al-Sulaka and al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. S̲h̲arīd (Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya fī ak̲h̲bār al-mulūk al-asadiyya*, ʿAmmān 1404/1984, 170). Also mentioned are *d̲h̲uʾbān* ("wolves"), *k̲h̲ulaʿāʾ* (sing. *k̲h̲alīʿ*; originally it signified one who has been disowned by his kinsmen for fear of accepting the consequences of his crimes; very soon, it acquired the meaning of *s̲h̲āṭir*, a rebel who makes a conscious decision to practise evil; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. *k̲h̲.l.ʿ*, tells of a *fak̲h̲id̲h̲* of the ʿĀmir d. Ṣaʿṣaʿa which was nicknamed al-K̲h̲ulaʿāʾ, since they refused to submit to anyone's authority, *wa-li-annahum kānū lā yuʿṭūna aḥad^an ṭāʿat^an*), *rad̲j̲liyyūn*, *futtāk* (sing. *fātik* "killer"; cf. the hybrid *futtāk al-ʿArab*, Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-S̲h̲iʿr wa 'l-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, 438; al-Āmidi seems not to know the term *ṣuʿlūk* and systematically uses *fātik* in *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif*, Beirut 1411/1991, 70, 81), *luṣūṣ* [see LIṢṢ] ("brigands"), *s̲h̲ud̲h̲d̲h̲ād̲h̲* ("miscreants"; the word is not attested in D̲j̲āhilī and Umayyad poetry) and *al-d̲h̲uʿʿār* ("thieves").

II. Ṣaʿālīk *in pre-Islamic times.*

(1) Meanings of the term.

A discrepancy exists between the poems attributed to the *D̲j̲āhiliyya* which evoke these individuals on the one hand, and the texts which claim to sketch their biographies on the other. Rather than evoking honourable brigands, a significant number of the quotations attributed to these poets use the term in the sense of "poor" (al-Kaḥlaba Hubayra b. ʿAbd Manāf: *ʿalā l-samāḥati ṣuʿlūk^an wa-d̲h̲ā māli* "my generosity whether I be *ṣuʿlūk* or the possessor of camels" [Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādir*, Beirut 1894, 154, l. 7]); Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾi and al-Aʿs̲h̲ā make comparisons in their verses between wealth (*g̲h̲inā*) and *taṣaʿluk*, in this case, poverty (*Dīwān s̲h̲iʿr Ḥātim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭāʾī*, Cairo 1411/1990, 203, v. 15; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Oxford 1918-21, 342, l. 6; al-Bakri, *Simṭ*, 928, l. 7; al-Aʿs̲h̲ā, *Dīwān*, London 1928, 61, v. 16). This meaning is also attested in Umayyad poetry: it is found in the work of Aʿs̲h̲ā Hamdān (*al-Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], vi, 44, l. 6; al-Ak̲h̲ṭal, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1891, 8, l. 4; 122, l. 4). This meaning is that used in the prose texts which record pre-Islamic events, but which were put into writing at a much later date (Wensinck, *Concordance*, iii, Leiden 1955, 313b; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳurays̲h̲*, Cairo 1953, 177-8).

What remains evokes an eventful existence: the *ṣuʿlūk* tells in verse of his temerity, his solitude and the dangers he has surmounted (Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 226-7, vv. 38-42; al-Sulayk b. al-Sulaka was nicknamed *al-riʾbāl* ["the lion"], T̲h̲uwaynī and ʿAwwād, *al-Sulayk b. Sulaka, ak̲h̲bāruhu wa-s̲h̲iʿruhu*, 18; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, v, Jerusalem 1938, 293, l. 19; ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1412/1992, 48, ll. 3-6), and expresses mordant criticism of the *ṣuʿlūk* who demeans himself by accepting the crumbs thrown by wealthy *sayyids* (al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, Beirut 1910, 127-8, § 634, al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 298).

(2) The socio-tribal background.

The process of exclusion (*k̲h̲alʿ*) constituted a sentence pronounced against a fellow-tribesman guilty of a crime leading to dishonour. Such opprobrium damaged the pact instituted by *ʿaṣabiyya* [*q.v.*] ("loyalty to the group"), since it almost invariably rebounded on the tribe. Since this culpable act constituted a threat to the economic existence of the whole, impairing any enterprise where solidarity was required, the *k̲h̲alīʿ* was banished and his blood could be shed with impunity. Thus rejected, his survival was precarious; if he was fortunate he might receive *d̲j̲iwār* [*q.v.*], the protection of another tribe, but even this was a highly problematical status, the *d̲j̲ār* ("protected one") being constantly threatened by the potential loss of goods and of honour. At other times, those excluded were banished to Ḥaḍawḍā. According to Yāḳūt, this mountain is located in western Arabia; the Bedouin of the *D̲j̲āhiliyya* banished their undesirables there (*kānat al-ʿArab fī 'l-D̲j̲āhiliyya tanfī ilayhi k̲h̲ulaʿāʾaha* [Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Ḥaḍawḍā*]). The strongest and most determined either constituted or joined a band of brigands and became *ṣaʿālīk.* Thus Ḳays b. al-Ḥudādiyya of the Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr (K̲h̲uzāʿa) was banished by his kinsmen for involvement in the murder of a fellow-tribesman. He gathered around himself other *k̲h̲ulaʿāʾ* and *s̲h̲ud̲h̲d̲h̲ād̲h̲*. Ḍirār b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, a poet of the Banū Fihr (Ḳurays̲h̲), assembled a group of clients and rebels (*murrāḳ*); he carried out raids (*yug̲h̲īr*), practised abductions (*yusbī*) and stole camels (al-D̲j̲umaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1394/1974, i, 250-1). The texts describe them by the name of *ṣaʿālikat al-ʿArab. Ag̲h̲riba* were integrated into these bands; most often, they gained admittance by shedding their own blood.

Finally, some have identified a third distinct category, that of impoverished individuals who opted for *ṣaʿlaka* in order to survive. Such was the case of Fahm, of Hud̲h̲ayl and of the brigands who gathered around ʿUrwa b. al-Ward.

(3) The activities of D̲j̲āhilī *ṣaʿālīk.*

These marginal characters conducted armed incursions and, if their poems are to be believed, they seem to have possessed to a high degree the qualities required for this type of activity (see below, 4. The poetry).

Little information survives regarding the places where the *ṣaʿālīk* operated. They were numerous, and active, in the western sector of the mountainous region of Sarāt, bordering on Tihāma, to the south of Mecca (al-Sid̲j̲istānī, *K. fuḥūlat al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1411/1991, 121; al-Bakrī, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, i, 88); the sources mention other regions ravaged by these troublesome elements; the Sarāt of the Banū Fahm raiding the region of al-Ṭāʾif, the *diyār* of Bad̲j̲īla, the D̲j̲awf Murād in the region of Sabaʾ (*al-Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], ii, 352; *al-Sulayk*, 15, 50), Turba and Bīs̲h̲a, two regions belonging to K̲h̲at̲h̲ʿam (*Ag̲h̲ānī*; xiii, 51-2), Yat̲h̲rib and the valleys surrounding it (ʿUrwa, *Dīwān*, 62-4) and the Nad̲j̲d (al-Aʿlam al-Hud̲h̲alī and his two brothers pillaged al-Siṭāʿ, a day and a half's journey to the south of Mecca [al-Sukkarī, *op. cit.*, i, 233, 243]).

As for the targets of their plunder, camels (*amwāl*) were their prime objective. *Ṣaʿālīk* of this category were known as *k̲h̲āribs* ("camel-thief;" *wa-huwa sāriḳ al-ibil k̲h̲āṣṣa*, he is above all a camel-thief [*al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, xiii, 3]).

In other instances, they invaded agricultural regions with the object of pillage: al-Sulayk, with a gang drawn from the Taym al-Ribāb, was active in the *aryāf* (cultivated and fertile regions) around Fak̲h̲k̲h̲a

(Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mughtālīn*, 226), as were Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī; according to ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, the booty coveted was dates (ʿUrwa, *Dīwān*, 89, v. 4). Whatever the case, whether it was camels or dates that were involved, the *ṣaʿālīk* seem to have acted with the complicity of the major tribes; ʿUrwa sold the goods obtained by theft to members of the Banu ʾl-Naḍīr; in times of drought, the latter approached him (al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, Cairo 1332, ii, 180).

There is very little surviving evidence regarding attacks on caravans, markets and sanctuaries. One isolated tradition relates that al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir was accustomed to sending a camel laden with musk and silk (*laṭīma*) to the market of ʿUkāẓ [*q.v.*], where the merchandise was to be sold: the *sayyid* of Muḍar guaranteed him protection against attacks from the *ṣaʿālīk* (*al-Aghānī*, xxii, 57). However, indirect details are of crucial importance, alluding to a certain level of activity on the part of these brigands against caravans and markets: a tradition owed to al-Djāḥiẓ (al-Sandūbī, *min K. faḍl Hāshim ʿalā ʿAbd Shams*, Cairo 1352/1933, 70-1) testifies clearly to the importance of this menace; it is said that Hāshim imposed taxes on the chiefs (*ruʾūs*) of the tribes in order to protect the inhabitants of Mecca against attack by the *dhuʾbān al-ʿArab wa-ṣaʿālīk al-aḥyāʾ* ("Bedouin wolves and the brigands of the tribes"). Furthermore, numerous important individuals and members of the leading mercantile families of Ḳuraysh gave shelter and assistance to *ṣaʿālīk*, probably with the aim of gaining their favour and thus protecting commercial routes and merchandise; the Ḳurashī patrons most often mentioned are ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim (al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1354, 375), Ḥarb b. Umayya (*al-Aghānī*, xxii, 56), the Banū Makhzūm (*ibid.*, xii, 49), al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 229) and al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās (Djawād ʿAlī, 622; Khulayf, 138-9).

Finally, certain *ṣaʿālīk* seem to have lent their services in the pursuit of vendettas and the struggles which ensued: Zayd al-Khayl appealed to the *shudhdhādh al-ḳabāʾil* to avenge him on his enemies the Banū ʿĀmir (*al-Aghānī*, xvii, 52); Zuhayr b. Djanāb al-Kalbī did the same at the time of his campaign against the Bakr and the Taghlib (*ibid.*, xxi, 96).

These activities have been diversely interpreted according to the mood of the times; the romanticism of the 19th century, although diluted, persists in current research. Some regard these brigands as socialists before their time, their acts of violence as expressions of class struggle and the financial support offered to some of the poor as socialist-inspired redistribution of wealth (Khulayf, 47, 143-4; Ḥifnī, 334-50; Djawād ʿAlī, iv, 563-5; ix, 66).

(4) The poetry.

Pre-Islam is the golden age of the poetry of the *ṣaʿālīk*, who seem to have preserved the best of the ancient poetic tradition. Besides the suspicions and doubts which are legitimately expressed concerning the authenticity of much of this material (Brahim Najar, *Madjmaʿ al-dhākira aw shuʿarāʾ ʿabbāsiyyūn mansiyyūn*, i, Tunis 1987, 47, 52-5, 66-8), serious problems of attribution are raised, but such is to be expected in dealing with archaic texts. Several parameters may be observed in the endeavour to decipher the diverse meanings of these poems.

The apologetic parameter: this poetry is often presented as an intimate journal. Here the poet tells of his life with particular emphasis on his poverty; but this is a case of poverty overcome by virtue of his endurance, his courage and his determination; this insistence on his personal qualities allows him to deploy justificatory themes and to underline his beneficent pretensions. This aspect is crucial in the poetry of al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*], of Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and of ʿUrwa b. al-Ward (*Dīwān*, 51-2, 67-70, 83). It is also a vigorous element in that of the Hudhalī *ṣaʿālīk* (al-Sukkarī, *op. cit.*, i, 315; *al-Aʿlam*, iii, 1198-1204, 1231-2, Abū Ṣakhr).

The lyrical parameter: the *ṣuʿlūk* poet, more than any other, has succeeded in endowing his discourse with sentimentality of the very highest order. The desert, its topography, its fauna and flora, have often been evoked by these poets. All of this is integrated into the theme of a journey, combining travel with a description of the desert and its toponymy and of the silence of the night; accompanied by members of his band, the poet attacks and loots. All of this is evoked with a passion seldom equalled in Arabic poetry. Having withdrawn to his *marḳaba* ("mountain refuge") for the night, close to the sky and the stars, he lords it over nature (al-Sukkarī, *op. cit.*, ii, 571, v. 24-6; ʿAmr Dhu ʾl-Kalb, iii, 1222-3; Abū Khirāsh; al-Shanfarā; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 119; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 393; ʿAmr b. Barrāḳa, i, 316; ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb, iii, 1012; Abū Khirāsh). In these poems, weapons are likewise idealised.

The therapeutic parameter: despite its pronounced lyrical aspect, an ambience of death usually dominates the verse of the *khulaʿāʾ*. Other taboo subjects are likewise addressed; these individuals break down all the barriers, setting ambushes, conducting raids, committing abductions. In most cases, they thoroughly enjoy this behaviour. Dangers confronted and temporary triumphs give to these characters, who are currently outside the law, a sense of power, clearly visible in the work of all the *ṣuʿlūk* poets without exception. This is in fact an artificial power. This liminal zone is by its very nature precarious. Here, the transition fails, and is absent. Implacable death lies in wait. The transitory *ṣuʿlūk* is thus doomed to a period of expiration of greater or shorter length; he succumbs or delivers himself with pleasure to a violent death. The poetry here responds to a triple need: (i) the poet thumbs his nose at death, being thus better equipped to deal with it; (ii) the poem serves as a means of surmounting the difficulties which are bound to be faced in the course of this phase; and (iii) it also enables the poet to cleave to the group which has marginalised him.

III. *The* mukhaḍramūn *and Umayyad* ṣaʿālīk.

The emergence of the new religion presented to the *ṣaʿālīk* an unexpected opportunity to improve their situation. According to Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 278) the Prophet had promised to spare the lives of the brigands of Kināna and Muzayna in the region of Tihāma on condition that they converted; furthermore, they were permitted to keep all the spoils hitherto amassed. The Ḳurʾān definitely prescribes severe punishment for brigands: crucifixion, death, amputation or banishment (v, 33-4). Among the *ṣaʿālīk* who embraced Islam were Abū Khirāsh, al-Uḥaymir al-Saʿdī, Djurayba b. al-Ashyam al-Faḳʿasī, etc.

After the death of the Prophet, a situation favourable to the *ṣaʿālīk* came into being: with the *Ridda* and the major upheavals of the *fitna*, the *ṣaʿālīk*, in return for a share of the spoils, placed very valuable additional forces at the disposal of the belligerents (*Khizāna*, ii, 156-61). At the time of the Battle of the Camel, two partisans of the assassinated caliph ʿUthmān, Ḥasaka b. ʿAttāb al-Ḥabaṭī and ʿImrān b. Fuḍayl al-Burdjumī (Tamīm), had obtained the support of reinforcements

from *ṣaʿālīk al-ʿArab*; after their defeat they withdrew, still accompanied by these troops, to Sidjistān and subsequently to Zālik. Even during the period of the great conquests, bands of *ṣaʿālīk* were fighting the Byzantines under the command of their own chieftains (for example, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣabra al-Ḥurashī, *al-Ḥamāsa*, 239); among those who died for Islam at this time was Yazīd b. al-Sikkīl al-ʿUkaylī, otherwise renowned as a camel-thief (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 59). For the *ṣaʿālīk* of the *mukhadramūn*, camels were still the favourite form of booty.

(1) The Umayyad period, the great age of *ṣaʿlaka*.

Under the Umayyads, the need to consolidate a properly structured central power and to guarantee freedom of movement on roads frequented by pilgrims and caravans, induced the caliphs of Damascus to treat with the utmost severity the gangs causing instability on these routes. Henceforward they were classed as *liṣṣ*, i.e. common thieves. This term seems to have been seldom used in Djāhilī poetry to denote these outlaws; at this time, and for a certain category of brigands, it replaced *ṣuʿlūk* (Djarīr, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1354/1935, 90, v. 7, 126, v. 1; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 42, 769; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 454, l. 1; *al-Aghānī*, xi, 371, l. 5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 293, l. 6, 448, l. 9). For others, few in number, the old appellation survived.

(i) The activity of these *luṣūṣ* became intensified and diversified; furthermore, their number seems to have risen in comparison with the earlier period. Organised bands took the place of freelancers and controlled certain regions. Cases which could be cited include that of Abu ʾl-Nashnāsh al-Nahshalī and his band of outlaws (*shudhdhādh al-ʿArab*) who attacked caravans on the Damascus-Ḥidjāz route (*al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, 124; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 156-7), that of al-Samharī b. Bishr al-ʿUklī (al-Bakrī, *Dhayl ṣimṭ al-laʾāli*ʾ, 38) and those of Mālik b. al-Rayb al-Māzinī and of Djaḥdar b. Mālik al-Ḥanafī who caused panic among travellers in the Ḥidjāz (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 178; *al-Aghānī*, xix, 163); Ṭahmān b. ʿAmr al-Kilābī (*Dīwān*, 54) was active in Yamāma; Shaẓẓāẓ al-Ḍabbī pillaged sites in the neighbourhood of Baṣra, and Muḳātil b. Rabāḥ opposed the Taghlib in Djazīra (*al-Waḥshiyyāt*, 93).

The nature of spoils was significantly diversified; these consisted primarily of the luggage of pilgrims, but also targeted were camel markets and communal pasturages such as those at Nāhik in the outskirts of Baṣra. Al-Uḥaymir al-Saʿdī deserves special mention. Alongside verses in which he boasts of his acts of depredation against herds of livestock, he is the first of the outlaw poets to evoke his assaults on merchants (*al-tudjdjār*). Accompanied by his gang, he plundered stocks of silk (*bazz*) in ʿIrāḳ, and items of streaked silk originating from Yemen (*maṭārif* [*al-Waḥshiyyāt*, 34; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 48; al-Bakrī, *Ṣimṭ*, 1961]); luxury articles, perfumes (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, 181-2) and leatherwork are also mentioned.

(ii) The state authorities pursued policies of repression. Systematically hunted, these men disappeared, going into hiding in the remotest corners of the realm. Although their clans rejected them, the system of *khalʿ* no longer applied. The governors of the time refused to absolve the clan of its responsibilities even after repudiation; considerable pressure was applied on the collective group to hand over the outlaw, or induce him to surrender himself. Among the *khulaʿāʾ* handed over by their own kinsmen the following are mentioned: Ibrāhīm b. Hāniʾ b. Muslim b. Ḳays *alias* Yaʿlā al-Azdī, ʿUbayd b. Ayyūb al-ʿAnbarī, Masʿūd b. Kharasha al-Tamīmī and al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī.

(iii) Certain outlaws were known as *al-ṣaʿālīk al-futtāk*. In the texts of the time, the *fātik* was an indomitable man, refusing to submit to the wielders of power (*fātik lā yuʿṭī al-umarāʾ ṭāʿa* [al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 290]). Members of this group were opposed to the authorities and mounted armed resistance to them, not solely for the sake of financial profit. Undoubtedly, in the course of these struggles they were induced to commit acts of banditry, but neither the texts nor those in power seem to have regarded them accordingly. On the contrary, they were admired: the most illustrious name is that of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Djuʿfī, the most famous of all Arab heroes according to al-Djāḥiẓ. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥadjdjādj of the Ḳays ʿAylān was considered one of the finest warriors of Muḍar; he is said to have shown great courage, whether in his capacity as a member of the *ṣaʿālīk al-ʿArab* or when participating in rebellions (*kāna shudjāʿan ṣuʿlūkan min ṣaʿālīk al-ʿArab mutasarriʿan ilā al-fitani* [*Aghānī*, xiii, 158; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 231]). Finally, Abū Djilda al-Yashkurī, who had taken part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], earned the same title (al-Nahshalī, *op. cit.*, 126). What is striking about these three *ṣaʿālīk* is the respect which they seem to have enjoyed on the part of the wielders of power.

(2) The poetry of the Umayyad *ṣaʿālīk*.

This is as rich in diverse resonances and as personal as that of their pre-Islamic forebears. It appears in the form of short fragments and constitutes an emotional and artistic response to a situation confronting the brigand-poet. The poetry is less cultivated and its poetic language is clear and transparent. The *ṣuʿlūk* uses it in order to stay alive, or to avoid captivity and torture, and therefore his poetic discourse needs to be easily comprehensible. Furthermore, this body of work is firmly rooted in space by means of intensive use of names of places and of water-sources, and evocation of the precise details (fauna and flora) which characterise a given environment.

The apologetic parameter. In this context, the poets stress their poverty as a justification for banditry. It might be wondered whether this is not rather a case of creative poverty, since the literary treatment of the issue is identical to that previously expressed by their Djāhilī predecessors. The Umayyad *ṣaʿālīk*, in their celebration of their tenacity and determination, are simply continuing an established tradition, although two original themes emerge within this framework: their refusal to bow in the face of official repression (al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 118; *al-Ḥamāsa*, 30-3, 325-6, 326-7, Saʿd b. Nāshib declares his determination to continue in his way after the demolition of his home) and of the torture inflicted in prisons (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 771; al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī, 75-7). Henceforward, themes of captivity occupy a significant place in the discourse of the brigand-poets. The 22-verse poem of Djaḥdar b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿUklī on his imprisonment brings together in a single text the entire range of humiliating punishments reserved for captives; but nothing lessens his determination to pursue his career as an outlaw (al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 281-2).

The lyrical parameter. The desert takes on an ambivalent aspect. In the work of some poets, it is described as a dreadful place infested with injurious creatures (i.e. a treatment identical to that attested in the previous era); others insist on the irresistible appeal of its vast spaces. Thus al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī sings of the romantic space of the ʿAmāya, the protectress and mother of fugitives (*umm kull ṭarīd*); in this interminable expanse, mounted on his camel, he enjoys a liberty

which nothing and nobody can shackle (al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī, 45).

Whether fugitives or captives, these people have memories of a place and its inhabitants, and of a time, the past. This territorial nostalgia (*al-ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān*) represents the most important contribution of the *mukhaḍramūn* and Umayyad *ṣaʿālīk* to the poetry of the period (see A. Arazi, *al-Ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān entre la Djāhiliya et l'Islam*, in *ZDMG*, cxliii [1993], 300-3). This nostalgia is all-consuming and ever-present. Yaʿlā b. Muslim al-Azdī, Yazīd b. al-Ṭathriyya, Darrādj b. Zurʿa al-Kalbī, Djaḥdar b. Muʿāwiya al-ʿUklī, al-Khaṭīm al-ʿUklī and ʿUṭārid b. Ḳarrān pine for the urban landscapes and enchanted suburban sites of their youth. Furthermore, this parameter has given to Arab culture the martyr of *ḥanīn*, Mālik b. al-Rayb al-Māzinī, who died at Ṭabasān devastated by statelessness, the memory of the abandoned hearth, of lost loves and the beloved city of Baṣra.

The therapeutic parameter. This disappears almost completely from the verses of post-Muslim *ṣaʿālīk*. The phenomenon of rejection (*khalʿ*) having become inoperative as a result of official Umayyad policy, the liminal phase itself is rendered obsolete. All is reduced to lamentation and recrimination against the clan which has surrendered them to the agents of authority. The tribe has failed them (al-Ḳattāl al-Kilābī, 39, 55, 85; *al-Aghānī*, xxi, Leiden 1305/1888, 19-25, al-Samharī al-ʿUklī).

IV. Ṣaʿālīk *in the ʿAbbāsid era*.

(1) *Ṣaʿlaka* as a sociological phenomenon.

New activities gave different connotations to the term *ṣuʿlūk*. Researchers have established equivalences between *ṣaʿālīk*, *fityān*, *shuṭṭār*, *ʿayyārūn* [see ʿAYYĀR] and *mukaddūn* [see MUKADDĪ]; and hitherto unknown synonyms also came into existence, such as *zawāḳīl* [*q.v.*]. This sudden proliferation of terms denotes a complex reality which is not always easy to disentangle.

In 132/750, Ibn Hubayra, besieged for several months in Wāsiṭ, saw his supporters gradually dwindling in number; in the end, according to a tradition attributed to Abu 'l-Sarī and quoted by al-Ṭabarī, only the *ṣaʿālīk* and the *fityān* remained loyal (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 66). This association of the two terms, which is in any case unique, seems somewhat enigmatic; it could signify either equivalence or divergence. The text suggests that what is involved here is the rabble which remained following the disengagement of warriors from the Ḳaysiyya and the Yamaniyya. On the other hand, texts of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries avoid mention of the *ṣaʿālīk*, *ʿayyārūn* and *shuṭṭār* together. The latter two have nothing in common with the *ṣaʿālīk*, being urban or suburban troublemakers; there is no question of any kind of equivalence between them, in spite of certain resemblances in matters of detail, such as a shared appetite for plunder and armed robbery.

Important texts containing precise details on the diverse activities of the *ṣaʿālīk* feature in various chronicles.

At the time of the civil war between al-Amīn and Maʾmūn, reinforcements comprising Bedouin of the desert (*aʿrāb al-bawādī*), some *ṣaʿālīk al-Djibāl* and heterogeneous elements joined the army of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 798). The same *ṣaʿālīk al-Djabal* (var. of Djibāl) are encountered again in a *khabar* on the armies which assembled in 213/828-9 to put down the insurrection of Bābak (al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 386); a third instance of this expression will be analysed below. The mention of Djibāl is very instructive. In the early years of the ʿAbbāsid régime, this region was swarming with *ṣaʿālīk*, who succeeded eventually in controlling the entire region as well as Sīsar [*q.v.*], the provincial capital. According to al-Balādhurī, in the reign of al-Mahdī it became necessary to send a powerful army (*djaysh ʿaẓīm*) to the place under the command of two persons of the very highest importance since they were *mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn*; they were charged with the task of constructing a fortified town for the accommodation of livestock, herdsmen and soldiers. The enterprise seems to have lasted some time; after the destruction of Sīsar by the *ṣaʿālīk*, the caliph sent in a permanent garrison of 1,000 men commanded by Khāḳān *al-khādim* (*Futūḥ*, 310-1; al-Hamadhānī, *Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, 239-40).

Numerous concordant indications (al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, 361-2; idem, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 2683; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1677-8; al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 34, 345, 385; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-muḥdathīn*, Cairo 1956, 177) confirm the impression that this term denoted quasi-military units composed of Arabs who invested a province, established themselves there and practised brigandage on a major scale, and with such success that garrisons of regular troops were unable to dislodge them. At times of civil war or armed struggle, their services were sought; they took part in operations in a mercenary capacity. On conclusion of these operations, they were expected to return to their homes.

In his homily, the *mukaddī* Khālid b. Yazīd takes pride in the fact that at one time in his life, he had been a member of the *ṣaʿālīk al-Djibāl* and of the *zawāḳīl al-Shām*. The two terms seem to be equivalents; in fact, in both cases it is a reference to seasoned Arab forces playing a dual role as mercenaries and brigands (an equivalence accepted by D. Ayalon, *The military reforms of Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim; their background and consequences*, 13-20, especially n. 32, at p. 18, *in Islam and the Abode of War*, Variorum, London 1994).

(2) Literary activity.

This disappears almost completely. New activities, the cessation of persecution and imprisonment and the acceptance of these people into respectable society seem to have dried up the wells of their inspiration. Only one poet is cited for this period, Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ (d. 211/826-7); a single verse expresses some vague notions about the ideals of the outlaw (*al-Aghānī*, xix, 107), about the need to seize what one needs rather than be reduced to the status of a beggar.

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(A. Arazi)

al-ṢU'LŪKĪ, the name of a family of influential legists in 4th-5th/10th-11th-century Nīshāpūr.

1. Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Bishr al-Ḥanafī (*nasab*^an) al-'Idjlī, al-Imām al-Ustādh. A Shāfi'ī legist during Shāfi'ism's formative period, al-Ṣu'lūkī was born in Iṣfahān in 296/908 and studied there with his father. He first "audited" *ḥadīth* at the age of 9. After studying *ḥadīth* with his father, he travelled to Baṣra in 320/932. At this time, from an account in the *Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (i, 150), it seems he must have met and associated with the theologian Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī [*q.v.*]. Since Abū Isḥāḳ al-Marwazī praised his merits in his *madjlis*, and since Ibn Khallikān says that Abū Sahl was al-Marwazī's student, it appears that Abū Sahl must have gone also to Baghdād. Thereafter, he went to Iṣfahān, where he taught, and studied *fiḳh*. At some point, according to al-Sam'ānī (in al-Nawawī, 242), he also toured Khurasān, studying with various prominent figures there. He returned to Nīshāpūr at the death of his uncle Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad—himself a prominent legist—in 337/948-9. There he spent the rest of his life until his death on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 369/2 June 980.

Abū Sahl was acclaimed as the intellectual leader of Nīshāpūr throughout his life there. He taught *fiḳh* and *kalām* sequentially on days appointed for the topic. He refused, however, to teach *ḥadīth* until 365/975-6. He was also a poet of note (al-Tha'ālibī, iv, 483-4). He defended the doctrine of the "vision of God" (*ru'yat Allāh*) using "intellectualist" (*'aḳlī*) arguments, namely that one yearns to see God, and yearning implies the possibility of achievement (al-Subkī, iii, 172). His memory is praised by al-Marwazī, al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī, Abū Bakr al-Ṣayrafī, and other formative figures in speculative Shāfi'ism. He seems also to have been part of the nascent Ṣūfī movement. He was an associate of the Ṣūfīs al-Shiblī [*q.v.*] and Abū 'Alī al-Thaḳafī. He is mentioned by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*] as an associate of al-Sulamī [*q.v.*], who reports a story of Abū Sahl's having worn a woman's garment after he gave his only *djubba* to a poor man during the winter. When summoned to ride out in welcome to some dignitaries, the commander of the army was affronted by Abū Sahl's wearing of women's dress. The measure of his asceticism may be seen in his declaration to al-Sulamī (al-Subkī, iii, 170) "I have never made a contract, I never had a lock or key, I never pocketed gold or silver at all." He seems firmly to have believed in a hierarchy of master and teacher; al-Sulamī reports that when al-Sulamī one day asked Abū Sahl, "Why? (*li-mā*)" he retorted, "Haven't you learned that anyone who asks his professor 'why?' will never succeed?" (al-Subkī, iii, 171). He also said "the disobedience to parents is effaced in forgiveness; nothing effaces recalcitrance to professors." Most biographies seem to be dependent on that of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī [*q.v.*]. The most complete biography is in al-Subkī (iii, 167, no. 138).

2. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṣu'lūkī, Sahl b. Abī Sahl Muḥammad. He succeeded to leadership in Shāfi'ī circles in Nīshāpūr after his father's death. He seems to have been both less accomplished and more prominent than his father. It appears that his legal positions are never subsequently cited, but in his time he was not merely *muftī* of Nīshāpūr, but was addressed as "Imām", a title which he accepted. It was said also that he "gathered together leadership of this world and the next" (Ibn Khallikān, s.v.). His death date is disputed; Muḥarram 387/January-February 997 and early in 402/1011, Radjab 404/January 1014 are both cited.

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SŪMANĀT, the spelling in the Indo-Muslim sources for the ancient Indian town of Somnāth, properly Somanātha "lord of soma" (the hallucinogenic drink of the early Indo-Iranians), referring to Śiva (Shiva), and, by extension, "lord of the moon". It is now an ancient ruined town on the southwestern coast of the Kāṭhīāwāṛ peninsula of western India, in what was the older Indo-Muslim sultanate of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*].

Recent excavations have revealed settlement there dating back to 1500 B.C., and Somnāth plays a part

in the story of the death of Kṛṣna (Krishna) in the *Mahābhārata*. In the 8th century A.D. Somnāth was ruled by the Čāvada Rādjputs, vassals of the Čawlukyas. Its fame in Islamic history arises from the famous attack on its temple, mounted from Multān, by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*] in 416-17/1015-16. The sultan desecrated the shrine and destroyed its idol, pieces of which were reputedly sent to Mecca and Medina to be trodden underfoot by the true believers; the whole event vastly enhanced Maḥmūd's reputation in Islam as the hammer of infidels. This was nevertheless essentially a plunder raid, and Kāṭhiāwāṛ reverted to Hindu control in the persons of the Vadja Rādjputs. In 697/1298, in the reign of the Dihlī Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, the shrine was again sacked by the commander Ulugh Beg, but only came under prolonged Muslim control in 875/1470 when the sultan of Gudjarāt, Maḥmūd I, conquered Djunāgaṛh or Girnār from its Rādjā [see MAḤMŪD I, SAYF AL-DĪN, BEGAṚHĀ]. It was eventually conquered by the Nawwābs of Djunāgaṛh, and in British Indian times it fell within their princely state.

The modern port of Pātan-Somnāth or Somnāth-Pātan (lat. 20° 58' N., long. 70° 28' E.), on the old town site, is in Junagadh District of the Gujarat State in the Indian Union, and in 1971 had a population of 64,618, but it is now overshadowed by the adjacent port of Verāval.

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SUMANIYYA, the name given to the Buddhists by several Muslim authors. In this survey, first the Arabic word will be examined, then the doctrines of the *sumaniyya* according to Muslims will be discussed, and finally the Buddhist heritage in Persia and references to Buddhists in Muslim writings will be presented.

The Arabic word is here given in its usual vocalisation, though it sometimes appears as *samaniyya*, and this is based on the information spelt out literally by al-Djawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, Būlāḳ 1282/1865, ii, 283, and cited by Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, xiii, 220a). It is now generally acknowledged that the first origins of this term are to be found in Sanskrit *śramana*, which with some phonetic modification has come to mean a Buddhist monk in the languages of Central Asia (particularly in Sogdian); it is from there that it passed into Arabic.

To all appearances it is the same word which in its form Σαμαναῖοι is found previously in Hellenistic Greek (Alexander Polyhistor, Porphyry) and as *šaman* at the end of the 3rd century in the Middle Persian inscription of Kaʿba-yi Zardusht (Gignoux, 46, 69). However, "shamanism", despite the homonymy, is derived from the Tungus word *saman/šaman*, which certainly does not come from an Indian language and has nothing to do with the *sumaniyya*.

Several doctrines have been attributed to the *sumaniyya* by the *mutakallimūn*, some of which are very vague. It was said that they were idolaters and that they believed the world was eternal. Moreover, they were accused of professing transmigration (*tanāsukh*). In this connection, al-Maḳdisī has two passages of great interest but which in reality describe a belief that is common to all Indians and not one distinctive of the *sumaniyya*. These last al-Māturīdī credits with a very remarkable theory, inasmuch as they claimed to know that the whole earth "is hurtling indefinitely into the void" (Gimaret). Al-Naẓẓām is said to have objected to this theory when he observed that if a pebble is dropped it falls to the ground; but the earth is in contrast much heavier than a pebble and therefore it would fall faster than a pebble. The conclusion is that such a pebble would never be able to catch up with the earth if it really were falling.

However, Muslim theologians regularly associate the name *sumaniyya* with another thesis, which concerns a scepticism which "limits certain knowledge to perceptible knowledge". This is the general attitude but it is in fact presented in different ways. Sometimes it comes within the scope of a debate about our knowledge of God and sets out the controversy between Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*] and the *sumaniyya* according to two accounts with diverging purposes. On other occasions it takes on a universal value but comprising two variants, the second of which seems to be a dialectical refinement of the first. The first takes its support from given facts derived only from the five senses and is said to deny the probative power of information (*akhbār*), including the *khabar mutawātir*. The second variant, which became a recognised subject of refutation by the Ashʿarīs, essentially sees in the scepticism of the *sumaniyya* the systematic denial of the value of speculative reasoning (*naẓar*) and inference (*istidlāl*). Any conclusion from a careful study of these bookish discussions is invariably restrictive. Like the doctrines of the *barāhima* which were contrasted with them, the doctrines of the *sumaniyya* which the theologians note are most often fictitious. The presumptions made about their proponents serve to give more substance and more shame to the positions rebutted by the *mutakallimūn*, or at least by some of them.

Any traces of Buddhism within Muslim culture must be sought elsewhere. The expansion of Buddhism towards the north-west of India is an acknowledged fact but its extent has not always been recognised. Modern archaeological discoveries and recent studies of toponyms in Zābulistān, Transoxiana and Khurāsān now seem to show clearly that Buddhism "largely embraced the eastern half of the Iranian world, even if it is improbable that it was ever the exclusive religion there" (A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, iii [Paris 1976], 3). This Buddhist presence, which varied in intensity with place and time, lasted for about a thousand years, from the 2nd century B.C. to the 8th century. From the end of the 3rd century it dwindled in the face of the vigorous influence of Mazdaism, the state religion of the Sāsānids, at the very time when Indian Buddhism was progressively losing its impetus under the Gupta dynasty. This double evolution explains why the Muslim empire was able to eliminate the Buddhist religion rapidly from its territory, and why Muslims had hardly any contact with it in India. But the Eastern Iranian world had been experiencing a long permeation of Buddhism which could not disappear so easily. The accepted ideals and established literary and plastic aspects of Buddhist art were for centuries incorporated into the poetry and arts of Islamic Persia.

Even the name *bot* that was given to the "idol" of the poet, by which is meant the object of his affection, the "moon-face" (*māhrūy*) which describes him, his physical type in pictorial art, many other recurring details as well as the compassionate sentiment which penetrates the epic of Firdawsī, can have no other origin. The Persian word *nawbahār*, from Sanskrit *nava-vihāra*, "the new monastery", is still today the name of several villages in the region of Nishāpūr, but it has chiefly remained associated with the memory of

the great monastery of Balkh, destroyed by the Muslims in 42/663. Its superior had as his descendants the Barmecides [see AL-BARĀMIKA and NAW BAHĀR].

The last monastic sites at Bāmiyān [*q.v.*], right in the centre of present-day Afghānistān, were devasted as late as 257/871 and the two enormous faceless rock Buddhas, 53 m and 35 m high, continue to call on men silently to go beyond all external scrutiny.

The paucity of references and imprecision in Muslim writing on the subject of Buddhism can be explained from what has been mentioned previously. Yet they should not be the subjects of undue criticism. Leaving aside the theologians and their conceptual plots, genuine scholars were hindered by the proper name Būdhāsf (a corruption of the original Sanskrit *bodhisattva*). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, §§ 535, 1371) and Ibn al-Nadīm confused it with the Buddha, and several scholars annoyingly linked it with the so-called Sabaeans [see AL-ṢĀBIʾA]. But the majority (included in *Murūdj*, §§ 1371, 1375) described the geographical area of Buddhism very correctly, and the person of the Buddha (*al-Budd*) is clearly recognised by several as the founder of the Buddhists or the *sumaniyya* [see BUDD].

Nevertheless, only two authors made any connection with Buddhism which even begins to resemble actual and doctrinal reality. One of these was al-Shahrastānī. He very clearly distinguishes the previous Buddhas, the historical Buddha and the *boddhisattva*. Then he gives the list of ten sins enumerated by the Buddhist tradition, and then the list (a little Islamicised) of the ten types of virtuous behaviour which should be acquired.

For his part, Rashīd al-Din Faḍl Allāh, in his *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, has on the subject a whole section of about thirty pages preserved in Persian and also in Arabic, and for this he went to one of the best sources, that of a Buddhist scholar who, thanks to the unprecedented situation prevailing there at the end of the 7th/13th century, came to Iran. The paths of Buddhism and Islam crossed again for several decades during the Mongol domination of Persia [see ILKHĀNS and BAKHSHI]. For the extraordinary fortunes of a Buddhist theme, including its ups and downs in several Arabic versions and several different languages, see BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSAF (= Būdhāsaf).

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SUMATRA, after Borneo [*q.v.*] the second largest island of the Malay Archipelago and the westernmost island (area 473,606 km^2/ 182,859 sq. miles).

In pre-Islamic times, the kingdoms in Sumatra were strongly Hinduised in culture and religion (Buddhism and Śivaist Brahmanism). Islam had appeared in Sumatra by the end of the 14th century, since Marco Polo in 1292 mentions the northern Sumatran ports of Perlak (as Ferlec), Samudra (from which the name Sumatra probably derives; Marco calls the island "Java the Lesser") and Lambri, and he says that Muslim merchants had implanted the faith at Perlak (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, ii, 284 ff.). These merchants doubtless traded from Malacca [*q.v.*] in the Malay peninsula, the first great Muslim city-state of the region. Thereafter, Islam spread, especially under the impetus from the 16th century onwards from the kingdom of Aceh or Atjèh at the northwestern tip of Sumatra.

Hence see for the subsequent history of Sumatra, ATJÈH; INDONESIA. V; MINANGKABAU; and see also SUMATRA in *EI*[1]. (ED.)

AL-ṢUMAYL b. Ḥātim b. Shamir b. Dhi 'l-Djawshan al-Kilābī, lieutenant and confidential adviser to the last governor of al-Andalus before the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, Yūsuf al-Fihrī (129-38/746-56 [*q.v.*]). Al-Ṣumayl is presented by the sources as chief of the Muḍar Ḳays faction, openly opposed to the Yemenis, in a confrontation which seems to be an accurate reflection of events in the East (see Patricia Crone, *Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?* in *Isl.*, lxxi/1 [1994], 1-57). However, as will be shown, circumstances in al-Andalus were very different and it does not seem that tribal differences played such an important role; indeed, al-Ṣumayl is seen at one moment supporting the exercise of government by a Yemeni and at another moment one of his fellow-tribesmen.

Al-Ṣumayl was the direct descendant, probably the grandson, of Shamir b. Dhi 'l-Djawshan, one of the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] at Karbalāʾ in 61/680. His family was obliged to flee Kūfa, its town of origin, and to settle in Ḳinnasrīn. He joined the expeditionary force sent, under the command of Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] to suppress disorder instigated by Berbers in North Africa. The survivors of the defeat suffered at Oued Sebou (Wādī Sabū) in 123/741 succeeded, under the leadership of Kulthūm's nephew, Baldj b. Bishr, in reaching al-Andalus. Among these al-Ṣumayl established himself, with his *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn, in the region of Jaen (Djayyān), and more specifically in the locality of Jodar (Shawdhar).

Shortly after, during the governorship of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], al-Ṣumayl took over the leadership of those opposing the policies of the *wālī*, and the latter was defeated at the battle of Guadalete (Wādī Lakka) in 127/745, by an army composed of both Muḍar and Yemen. For reasons of his own, which remain unclear, al-Ṣumayl deemed it inappropriate to take power personally, leaving this to the Yemeni Thawāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmī. But Thawāba died soon afterwards, and al-Ṣumayl engineered the appointment of a Fihrī, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who definitively defeated Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār at the battle of Secunda (130/747 [see SHAḲUNDA]) and retained nominal power, with al-Ṣumayl as his lieutenant and counsellor. Two years later, Yūsuf sent al-Ṣumayl to Saragossa (Saraḳusṭa) to govern the *Thaghr* or Frontier. This decision was not welcomed with alacrity by al-

Ṣumayl, representing as it did a form of disguised exile, but he accepted it without demur.

During al-Ṣumayl's residence at Saragossa, two Muḍarīs (non-Ḳaysīs), ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr al-ʿAbdarī and al-Ḥubāb b. Rawāḥa al-Zuhrī, rebelled and laid siege to the city, placing him in an almost desperate situation. He appealed to Yūsuf for assistance, but the latter being unable, or unwilling, to provide it, he had recourse to the Arabs of his own *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and of the neighbouring one of Damascus. Although there was not total unanimity between them, they succeeded in mustering a contingent of some 400 horsemen, including around thirty Umayyad clients. More warriors joined them on the way and, on their approach, the rebels raised the siege of Saragossa, leaving al-Ṣumayl to join forces with those who had come to his rescue, with whom he returned towards Cordova. On the way, the Umayyad clients informed al-Ṣumayl of the intention of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] to travel through al-Andalus and appealed for his support, but he asked for time to consider.

The following spring (137/755), Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl organised a campaign against the rebels of Saragossa, who had taken control of the city on al-Ṣumayl's departure. At the approach of the army, the inhabitants handed over the two leading insurgents, who were later to be executed. But this campaign was also the occasion of a more significant development: the Umayyads once again raised with al-Ṣumayl the question of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya; having initially indicated his agreement, he reconsidered and informed them that at the most he would allow the Umayyad to establish himself in al-Andalus as a privileged exile, but without any access whatsoever to power. Soon afterwards, during the return of the victorious army, came news of the landing of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya. Although al-Ṣumayl was in favour of a rapid reaction, giving the Umayyad no time to consolidate his strength, the fatigue of the troops persuaded Yūsuf to withdraw to Cordova, whence he sent a delegation to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, with presents and an offer of matrimonial alliance.

But confrontation was inevitable. The Umayyad claimant and his supporters would settle for nothing less than absolute power. Taking advantage of the winter, which prevented Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl from attacking them, they built up their army and obtained pledges of allegiance from numerous local chieftains. In the spring the two armies met near Cordova and the battle ended with the triumph of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya (10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 138/14 May 756) and the flight of Yūsuf and of al-Ṣumayl. Some months later, in the village of Armilla near Granada, Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl surrendered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on condition that their lives and their property be guaranteed. They established themselves in Cordova, but intrigues on the part of Yūsuf's supporters induced him to make a further attempt to regain power, which led finally to his death. Although al-Ṣumayl was totally uninvolved in the rebellion, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān seized the opportunity to be rid of him and confined him to prison where he died soon after (142/759), officially as a result of excessive consumption of alcohol; there was widespread suspicion that he had been strangled on the orders of the sovereign.

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2. Studies. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, remains useful for its detailed account of events. Other general works: Levi-Provençal, *Hist. Espagne musulmane*; P. Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización*, Madrid 1994, 335-48. On the influence of the tribal element, there are divergent opinions on the part of P. Guichard, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris-The Hague 1977 (Sp. version *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*, Barcelona 1976), and M. Cruz Hernández, *La estructura social del periodo de ocupación islámica*, in *Awrāq*, ii (1979), 25-43. Analysis of the most important sources in E. Manzano, *La rebelión del año 754 en la Marca Superior*, in *Studia Historica—Historia Medieval*, iv (1986), 185-203.

(L. Molina)

SUMAYSĀṬ, a mediaeval Islamic town of upper al-Djazīra, classical Samosata, Ottoman Samsāṭ, modern Turkish Samsat in the *il* or province of Adıyaman (lat. 37° 30' N., long. 38° 32' E.).

Not to be confused with Shimshāṭ [*q.v.*] (Arsamosata) further up the river to the north-east, it lies on the right bank of the Euphrates' northwards bend at an important crossing of the north-south route to Edessa or Urfa, 50 km/30 miles to the south of Sumaysāṭ, and the east-west one from Mārdīn. It may have had a bridge over the river in Antiquity, and the present village preserves Roman vestiges at least in the city walls. It was taken by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm in 18-19/639-40 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 179-80; a variant account attributes this to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī), but was thereafter often endangered by Byzantine raids, e.g. in 242/856 and 245/859 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1434, 1447). At the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, it was at first defended for the Umayyads by Isḥāḳ b. Muslim al-ʿUḳaylī. Under the early ʿAbbāsids, its inhabitants were amongst those implanted at the newly-founded al-Ḥadath [*q.v.*] in 169/785-6 (see C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 272 ff.). Byzantine attacks intensified in later ʿAbbāsid and Ḥamdānid times until in 347/958 it was finally conquered by John Tzimisces (see Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 78, 81). It became an episcopal see and residence of the Greek *Protospatharios* of the Euphrates towns, and it was from there that Byzantine forces recaptured Edessa in 1031 (see J.B. Segal, *Edessa, the "Blessed City"* Oxford 1970, 217-18). Briefly in Saldjūḳ possession, it was then held by Armenians and was a fief of Joscelin de Courtenay's in the County of Edessa. Regained by the Artuḳids, it was seized once more from the Greeks in 546/1151 by the Rūm Saldjūḳs and then passed under Nūr al-Dīn Zangī's control followed by that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. It remained a bishop's seat at least until the end of the 12th century (see J.M. Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus*, Beirut 1993, 263), and Yāḳūt still mentions an Armenian quarter (see his *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 258). But without its border function, it sank into insignificance by Ottoman times and became little more than a village. At the end of the 19th century, Cuinet estimated its population as 800 (*La Turquie*

d'Asie, ii, 379). After 1920 the Armenian element disappeared and the population is now largely Kurdish.

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AL-**SUMAYSĀṬĪ** [see AL-SHIMSHĀṬĪ].

SUMERĀ or **SUMRĀ**, the name of a Rādjpūt tribe of Lower Sind in mediaeval Islamic times. Their origins are shrouded in mystery, but they are first mentioned in Muslim historians' account of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's return from his attack on Somnāth in 416/1026 [see SŪMANĀT]. For the next three centuries, they were the leading power in Lower Sind, but in the 8th/14th century their domination was challenged by the rival tribe of the Sammās [*q.v.*]. Despite attempts by the Tughlukid Sultan of Dihlī, Fīrūz Shāh (III), to aid the Sumerās, the Sammās finally emerged triumphant over their rivals in 752/1351. The early Sumerās may have been affected by the Ismā'īlism current in early Islamic Sind, but they do not seem to have been strong Muslims, if Muslims at all, and have left no monuments behind.

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SUMM, SAMM (A.), poison, venom, pl. *sumūm*, adj. *sāmm*, poisonous; Pers. *zahr*. *Al-sāmm* or *al-sāmma* was also a term for "death".

Sources of poison included bites or stings of venomous creatures, especially vipers and scorpions; and substances of plant, animal, or mineral origin, accidentally ingested or deliberately administered. Arabic writings on poisons concentrate largely on detecting and avoiding them, on their origins, identification, and most importantly, treatment and remedies.

Early Islam.

The poison from scorpions and snakes was recognised in pre-Islamic times, and treatment of a basic kind would be given. Other poisons must have been known and sometimes used. Several *ḥadīths* relate how after Khaybar [*q.v.*] in AH 7, the Prophet was given a poisoned sheep, of which he began to eat a piece, but spat it out because of its evil taste. Although he recovered, he said that the effects remained with him and eventually would lead to his death (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1936, iii, 532; Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, 516; al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 55). According to one version, he was treated by cupping, *ḥidjāma*, the aim being to expel the poison from the blood (*al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 192-3, tr. 94-5).

Another *ḥadīth* states that a fly has "poison in one of its wings, and healing, *shifā'*, in the other"; here "poison" would seem to indicate infection. Another claims that to eat seven dates from Medina, in the morning, protects against poison and magic (*samm wa-siḥr*) for that day (al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 52, *Aṭ'ima*, 39, 45, 47; *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 165/71). Some followers of the Prophet are said to have cured a Bedouin chief of a scorpion sting, when all the tribe's efforts had been in vain, by reciting the *Fātiḥa* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṭibb*, 33; *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 241/133).

Medical writings.

(i) Non-Arabic. The Arabs derived knowledge of toxicology from the Indians, especially the book of Shānāḳ on poisons, which was translated first into Persian and later into Arabic, under al-Ma'mūn (Ullmann, *Medizin*, 324; *Islamic medicine*, 20).

Greek sources translated into Arabic include Rufus of Ephesus, *K. al-Adwiya al-ḳātila* or *K. al-Sumūm* (Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 66-7; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 75). The Arabic version of Dioscorides contains a sixth chapter on poisons, a translation of additional material wrongly attributed to Dioscorides; this is referred to in several places by Ibn al-Bayṭār, under the name of *Mudāwāt adjnās al-sumūm*. Dubler and Terés omit this "suplemento apócrifo" from their edition (*La Materia Médica*, ii, p. vii). Galen's two works on Theriac and one on Antidotes were translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ: *K. al-Tiryāḳ ilā Bīsun* and *ilā Bamfūliyānus*, and *K. al-Adwiya al-muḳābila li 'l-adwā'* (Sezgin, iii, 121; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 49).

(ii) Arabic writings on poisons. A work attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*], probably written in the first half of the 4th/10th century and claiming to be a translation from one al-Nabaṭī ("The Nabataean"), quotes Indian writings, and discusses in considerable detail the nature and action of poisons and also remedies, with specific and general antidotes.

A work entirely on poisons, attributed to Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], dates from probably the late 3rd/9th or early 4th/10th century. Sources of poison are classified: (a) animals, including gall of viper or tiger, tortoise tongue, "sea hare", Spanish flies, frogs; bites or stings of scorpion, hornet, spider, and tarantula. (b) plants, include Aconitum, *bīsh*; ergot, *ḳurūn al-sunbul*; opium, *afyūn*, extracted from hyoscyamus or henbane, *bandj*; and numerous others including hellebore, *kharbaḳ*; the Euphorbiaceae, *yattū'āt; Anamirta cocculus* or *Menospirmum c.*, known in Persian as "fish poison", *māhī zahrah; Ecballium elaterium, ḳiththā' al-ḥimār*; oleander, *diflā*; and mandragora, *luffāḥ* or *yabrūḥ*. (c) minerals, including verdigris, *zindjār*; yellow lead, *martak*; and arsenic, *shakk*.

Using the translations available, and referring to their own experience, most Arabic physicians included at least a chapter on poisons in their general medical works. The emphasis would be on treatment. The primary concern, and the first to emerge, according to al-Madjūsī, was to counteract poisons from the bites and stings of vipers and other reptiles, insects, and rabid dogs, followed by treatment for the effects of other poisonous substances (*Kāmil*, ii, 256-31). 'Alī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī devoted a chapter of his *Firdaws al-ḥikma* to the indication of, and treatment for, various poisons, mentioning the use of a tourniquet, and cautery (445-8). This is followed by a chapter on *tiryāḳ* and compound remedies. According to Thābit b. Ḳurra, poison comes from bites or stings, or else is drunk. He refers to the Aconitum (*bīsh*, or the *Akūnītun* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) as an example of poisons which kill "by their essence" *bi-djumlat djawharihā*. Compound poisons of mineral origin are particularly deadly, "poison of one hour", *samm sā'a*. The worst kinds are those which oppose the very constitution, *mizādj*, of the human body (*al-Dhakhīra*, 143-8).

Other prominent physicians who described poisons include al-Rāzī in the 8th book of his *K. al-Manṣūrī* and at various places in *K. al-Ḥāwī* (cf. Ullman, *Medizin*, 331). Ibn Sīnā deals with poisons in the 6th *fann* of the 4th book of the *Ḳānūn*. Maimonides wrote for al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil the *Risāla al-fāḍiliyya fī 'ilādj al-sumūm wa-dhikr al-adwiya al-nāfi'a minhā wa-min al-nuhūsh*, also known as *K. al-Sumūm wa 'l-mutaḥarriz min al-adwiya al-ḳattāla* (tr. M. Rabbinowicz, *Traité des poisons*, Paris 1865; Brockelmann, I^2, 645).

Some general themes emerge from these works on poisons: (a) Classification by source. Animal or insect bite or sting; bite of mad dog, *kalb kalib*; tarantula, *rutaylāʾ*; hornet, *zunbūr*; vipers, *afāʿī*; serpents, *ḥayyāt*; substances of animal, plant or mineral origin.

(b) The action of poisons. By upsetting the humours, *akhlāṭ*, or the whole constitution (cf. Thābit); by cold or heat, etc. (ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī).

(c) Remedies. These may be physical: cautery, tourniquet, (*ibid.*, 445), cutting around a bite, causing emesis; or by administering medicines to counteract the poison.

Chief of these remedies was the *tiryāḳ*, which could be used as a prophylactic; one could take *tiryāḳ* regularly (Thābit, 146), or "accustom oneself to poison" and thus build up immunity (al-Ṭabarī, 448). These elaborate remedies were generally the property of kings or rulers, a famous early example being the antidote used by Mithridates VI of Pontus (120-63 B.C.), after whom the *mithrūdhīṭūs* theriac was named.

Despite all precautions on the part of individuals and the care taken by physicians, poisons were developed and used, and a number of persons are thought to have been despatched in this way. The death of the Eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] was suspected of having been caused by poison, administered in a pomegranate or in pomegranate juice. Naturally, such poisons are neither specified nor well-documented. But the attention paid to antidotes and the identification of poisons make it likely that poison played more part in the political life of the Islamic world than is generally realised.

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AL-ṢUMMĀN [see AL-ṢAMMĀN].

AL-SUMNĀNĪ [see AL-SIMNĀNĪ].

SUMNŪN (or Samnūn) b. Ḥamza (or ʿAbd Allāh), Abū Bakr (or Abu 'l-Ḥasan or Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, nicknamed *al-Muḥibb* "the Lover," well-known Ṣūfī of the Baghdādī school, died 298/910-11 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam* vi, 108); he was a disciple of Sarī al-Saḳaṭī [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḳaṣṣāb (d. 275/888-9), Abū Aḥmad al-Ḳalānisī (d. 270/884) and Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sūsī (second half of the 3rd/9th century).

Sumnūn became famous for his love of God. In that, it is said, he followed his own peculiar approach and even placed the love of God above the knowledge of God (*maʿrifa*) (thus al-Ḳushayrī, 161, 9, = *Sendschreiben* 48, 16, and ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, ii, 69, -3 f.). At any rate, he has added a new, emotionally active, dimension to Sarī's idea that God, in order to measure the truth of the lovers' pretentions with their steadfastness (*ṣabr*), puts them through well-nigh unbearable trials. In the ecstasy of love, he chafes his legs down to the bare bone; he aspires to fill the whole world with his cry of love; and, finally, he challenges God to a match between Divine tribulation and human *ṣabr*. Taken up by God on his challenge with a case of urine retention, he does not pass his test with flying colours and, from that day onward, chides himself as "liar" (*al-kadhdhāb*) instead of "lover". This has, however, not affected his postumous fame negatively (al-Ḳushayrī, 23, 19-25, = *Sendschreiben*, 1.31).

With his irrepressible temperament, Sumnūn developed the heritage of his master into extreme forms of thought and behaviour in other respects, as well. Thus he advocated a remembrance of God (*dhikr*) in which everything but God is forgotten, so that all experiential moments are filled by it and one, thus, turns entirely into remembrance of God (al-Sulamī, *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ, ad* sūra II, 152; cf. also al-Sarrādj, 58, 11-12). He was also convinced that already a small part of God's forbearance would suffice on the Day of Judgment to let all evildoers join the ranks of the just. He even persuaded his master al-Ḳalānisī to match a rich person's gift of 40,000 dirhams in alms with an equal number of *rakʿas*, which they proceeded to perform together without interruption.

In general, Sumnūn was a tactful man, witty as well as modest, but also a great wielder of words, in prose as well as in poetry. A striking example is his six-line *ḳiṭʿa* in which he describes his *cognitio Dei experimentalis* (al-Sarrādj, 250, 10 ff. = *Schlaglichter*, 92.9). With regard to the love of God, he thought that it was too subtle to be described, but he knew to speak about the states and experiences of the lovers of God in such a moving way that even the dumb and inanimate creation is said to have fallen into a trance (al-Kalābādhī, 125, -8 f.; al-Ḳushayrī, 160, -17, = *Sendschreiben* 48/12). It goes without saying that, for a notorious enemy of the Ṣūfīs' "love of God" like Ghulām Khalīl (d. 275/888-9), Sumnūn's activities were a thorn in his side; they may even have been the trigger for the case he brought against the school of Sarī (al-Sarrādj, ed. Baghdād, 498-9; Hudjwīrī, 173, 3 ff.; ʿAṭṭār, ii, 71, 6 ff.; also Gramlich, *Alte Vorbilder*, i, 383 ff.).

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(B. Reinert)

SUMRĀ [see SUMERĀ].

ṢUNʿ ALLĀH b. Djaʿfar al-ʿImādī, Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*], d. 1021/1612.

Born in 960/1553, the son of the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] Djaʿfar Efendi, a first cousin of Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.v.*], Ṣunʿ Allāh studied under Mollā Fuḍayl al-

Djamālī and afterwards under Abu 'l-Suʿūd, then *Shaykh al-Islām*, whom he served as *muʿīd* and through whom he became *mulāzim* [*q.v.*] in 977/1569-70. Because of his family connections, his first *madrasa* appointment (Ramaḍān 978/February 1571) was at the 40-*aḳčes* level. He passed through the ranks of the *madrasas* until, with his appointment to the post of *ḳāḍī* of Bursa in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 998/September 1590, he entered the highest stream of learned offices, the *mewlewiyyats* [*q.v.*], in due course becoming Rumeli *ḳāḍī ʿasker* in Shawwāl 1001/July 1593. Retiring with a pension in Djumādā I 1003/early 1595, he succeeded Khōdja Efendi [*q.v.*] as *Shaykh al-Islām* in Rabīʿ I 1008/October 1599, the first of an unprecedented four occasions on which he held that post.

Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*] notes admiringly that "though he was removed several times, he still spoke the truth and showed no compromise in the business of religion and the state" (A.K. Aksüt, *Koči Bey risalesi*, Istanbul 1939, 35); and Ṣunʿ Allāh's first two periods of office were indeed marked by contentious involvement in state matters. His first came to an end when he persuaded Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*] to order the unwilling Grand Vizier Yemishdji Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] to go out on campaign, for which the latter, in revenge, secured Ṣunʿ Allāh's dismissal in Ṣafar 1010/August 1601. Brought back as *Shaykh al-Islām* in Radjab 1011/January 1603 in an attempt to mollify the *sipāhīs*, then rebelling largely because of the deteriorating situation in Anatolia resulting from the revolts of the *Djalālīs* [*q.v.* in Supplement] but also because of Ḥasan Pasha's alleged military incompetence, Ṣunʿ Allāh—sympathetic to the *Djalālīs*, and in particular to Ḳara Yazidji [*q.v.*]—issued a *fatwā* for the execution of Ḥasan Pasha but was himself ousted and forced to go into hiding (Shaʿbān 1011/February 1603) (for these events, see Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 307 ff.).

Having held the office twice more, somewhat less eventfully (Muḥarram 1013/June 1604 to Rabīʿ I 1015/July 1606 and Radjab 1015/November 1606 to Ṣafar 1017/June 1608), Ṣunʿ Allāh retired fully from public life with a pension of 750 *aḳčes* daily and died in Istanbul on 8 Ṣafar 1021/10 April 1612.

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(R.C. Repp)

SUNAN (A.), pl. of *sunna* [*q.v.*], "norm", "custom", is used separately in the literature of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* [*q.vv.*] as referring to several important collections of traditions and legal pronouncements (= *aḳwāl*), thus resulting in this plural being used as a generic book title of such works, as was the case with the term *Ṣaḥīḥ* [*q.v.*]. The oldest collections called *Sunan* or *Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* have not come down to us, and are only known from references to them in a work like Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, cf. ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, index vol., 123, right col., such as the *Sunans* by Makḥūl (d. 112-16/730-4), Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767) and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Dhiʾb (d. 159/776). *Sunan* works are arranged according to the *muṣannaf* [*q.v.*] principle, i.e. separate chapters divided into paragraphs on *ʿibādāt* [*q.v.*] and *muʿāmalāt*, just as we find in *fiḳh* literature. The earliest such works available in printed editions are the pre-canonical collections by Saʿīd b. Manṣūr (d. 227/842) and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869). Of the six canonical Books, four are entitled *Sunan*, namely the collections of Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275/888); Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), whose collection acquired the title *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*; Aḥmad b. Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), whose *Kitāb al-Sunan al-kubrā* was later abbreviated by the author in his *K. al-Sunan*, also called *al-Mudjtabā*; and Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Ḳazwīnī Ibn Mādja (d. 273/886). Other prestigious collections known by this title and available in print are those of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraḳuṭnī (d. 385/995) and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1066).

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(G.H.A. Juynboll)

SUNBĀDH (also Sunfādh), Zoroastrian supporter of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] and leader of a rebellion seeking to avenge his death.

He originated from a village near Nīshāpūr, and is described as a man of wealth and a friend and associate of Abū Muslim. Two months after the murder of the latter by the caliph al-Manṣūr (Shaʿbān 137/February 755), he rose with the backing of Abū Muslim's followers and, according to the main historical tradition, seized Nīshāpūr. According to another, probably more reliable tradition (al-Madāʾinī), he had been stationed in Ḥulwān and from there set out for Khurāsān. Abū ʿAbda (ʿUbayda) al-Ḥanafī, the governor of Rayy, who was under orders not to allow Abū Muslim's followers to return to Khurāsān, detained him. He escaped, however, and rebelled. He defeated and killed the governor and seized control of Rayy. Returning to his Magian religion, he committed atrocities against the Muslims and adopted the title Fīrūz Ispahbadh. He seized Abū Muslim's arsenal and treasure in Rayy and sent part of it to the Dābūyid Khūrshīd, the Zoroastrian Ispahbad of Ṭabaristān, with whom he formed an alliance. His following is said quickly to have swelled to 100,000 men, coming mostly from Djibāl and Ṭabaristān. The king of the Daylamīs, to whom he wrote that the reign of the Arabs had come to an end, joined him with his men. He defeated the governors of Dastabā and Ḳūmis. Then he set out with a massive army, predicting that he would destroy the Kaʿba. But at Djardjānbān between Rayy and Hamadān, he was heavily defeated by Djahwar b. al-Marrār al-ʿIdjlī, who was sent by al-Manṣūr; 30,000 or 60,000 of his men are said to have been killed. Sunbādh fled, trying to join the Ispahbad Khūrshīd. He was killed, however, by Khūrshīd's cousin Ṭūs, allegedly because he did not show him due respect. Khūrshīd sent the heads of Sunbādh and his brother to Djahwar, but refused to surrender his treasury to al-Manṣūr. The revolt had lasted only seventy days.

According to Niẓām al-Mulk, Sunbādh told his followers that Abū Muslim had not been killed but had, by reciting the greatest name of God, turned into a white dove and flown away. He was now dwelling in a brazen castle together with the Mahdī and Mazdak. All three would soon reappear and Abū Muslim would rule with Mazdak as his vizier. When the Rāfiḍīs (Shīʿīs) and the Khurramiyya heard mention of the Mahdī and Mazdak, they joined Sunbādh in large numbers. He would tell the Khurramiyya that Mazdak had become a Shīʿī and was ordering them to make common cause with the Shīʿa. Niẓām al-Mulk's account is evident fiction designed to establish a pedigree of Mazdakite teaching and activity for the Ismāʿīliyya, whom he portrayed as a neo-Mazdakite subversive heresy. From the early reports, it is clear that Sunbādh was leader of an anti-Arab and anti-Islamic rebellion aiming at the restoration of Iranian kingship and religion, and not a sectarian chief teaching a syncretistic religious doctrine. The heresiographers, however, mention the Sunbādhiyya as the name of one of the

extremist factions which arose out of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement [see KHURRAMIYYA].

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SUNBŪḲ [see MILĀḤA; SAFĪNA].

AL-**SUNBULA** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

SUNBULIYYA, in Tkish. SÜNBÜLIYYE, a mystical brotherhood derived from the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*], which emerged and developed in the Ottoman empire from the final years of the 15th century onwards.

Its founding saint, Yūsuf Sinān b. ʿAlī b. Ḳayā Bey, nicknamed Sunbul Sinān or Sunbul (Sünbül) Efendi, was born in Merzifon (or in the region of Merzifon) *ca.* 1475-80. Having begun his studies in his region of origin, he made his way to Istanbul where he was the pupil of Efḍal-zade (d. 903/1497-8) and was associated with the *shaykh* Čelebi Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn, known as Čelebi Khalīfe, who was then directing the first Khalwatī *tekke*, recently founded in the Ottoman capital. On receiving the latter's *khilāfe*, he was sent to Cairo with the object of disseminating his master's teaching. Some years later, *ca.* 899/1493-4 or 903-4/1497-9, after Čelebi Khalīfe had informed him that he was performing the Pilgrimage to Mecca and hoped to meet him there, Sunbul Sinān arrived in the Holy Places, where he heard of the death of his *shaykh*, as well as his last wishes: that he should marry his daughter and succeed him as director of the *tekke* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha in Istanbul. Thereafter, and until his death in 936/1529, he supervised this establishment which became the centre of a specific Khalwatī network, the Sunbulī one, marked by his personal influence. He was also a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) in the prestigious mosques of Fātiḥ and Aya Sofya and enjoyed the honour of delivering the first sermon in the Selīmiyye mosque. According to Bursalı̊ Meḥmed Ṭāhir (*ʿOthmānlı̊ müʾellifleri*, i, 78), he is said to have left, besides a few *ilāhīs*, two works, the *Risālat al-Aṭwār*, concerning degrees of mystical initiation, as well as a treatise on the licit nature of *dewrān* and of *samāʿ* (*Risālat al-Taḥḳīḳiyya*, of which an abridged version exists under the title *Risālat-i Sunbul dar ḥaḳḳ-i dhikr u dewrān* (Ist. Univ. Ktp. TY 3868). This latter work must have been written when he was obliged to reply on this subject to the attacks of certain of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Istanbul.

The close links forged by Čelebi Khalīfe with the political authorities of the empire (sultan Bāyezīd had invited the *shaykh* to leave Amasya and move to the capital) and maintained by Sunbul Sinān and his successors gave added vigour to the Sunbuliyya, especially in the 16th century, with the exception of the brief and perhaps rather less favourable period of the reign of Selīm I (1512-20). In fact, leading dignitaries assisted the expansion of this Khalwatī network by founding *tekkes* for the *khalīfes* of Sunbul Efendi, following the example of the mother of the sultan Süleymān I who had built at Manisa (in western Anatolia) a complex, in which the *tekke* was directed for some time by the eminent *shaykh* Merkez Efendi (before the latter himself founded a *tekke* in the capital); the same example was set by the daughter of Selīm I, Shāh Sulṭān, who founded two Khalwatī establishments in Istanbul, or indeed by the *ketkhudā* Ferrukh Agha (Farrūkh Agha) who arranged for the construction of a *tekke* in the Balat quarter. During this "golden age" of the 16th century, the Sunbuliyya had a tendency to supplant its mother-*ṭarīḳa*, the Djamāliyya (one of the four principal branches of the Khalwatiyya) which had been founded by Čelebi Meḥmed Djamal al-Dīn, the *shaykh* of Sunbul Efendi. In Istanbul, besides the *tekke* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha (also known as Sünbül Efendi Tekkesi), the heart of the network, eleven other *tekkes* were founded during this period. While it is true that the brotherhood had a distinctly metropolitan character, its network also extended at the same time into Anatolia and Rumelia. Its diffusion in the Asiatic provinces has yet to be studied; it is, however, known that *shaykhs* of Istanbul were sent not only to Manisa, but also to Akshehir in the region of Konya, to Čavdarlu near Kütahya and even to Amasya. As for the European provinces, two future *shaykhs* of the *āsitāne* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha were principally responsible for the expansion of the brotherhood in certain regions: Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī (d. 979/1571-2) founded a *tekke* at Yanina in Epirus, and Ḥasan ʿAdlī (d. 1026/1617) another house at Serez (Serres) in Macedonia. Both appointed numerous *khalīfes* who guided the faithful in *zawāyā* founded in localities more or less close to these two new centres. The Sunbulī network in Rumelia also extended to cities such as Hayrabolu, Baba Eski, Edirne and Tekirdağ, and as far as the frontier regions of Hungary and Bosnia, on both sides of the Temeshwar/Sarajevo-Belgrade-axis, as well as to Kefe in the Crimea.

In the 18th century, the Sunbuliyya experienced a period of renewed expansion, especially in the Ottoman capital where more *tekkes* were founded and others affiliated to it. Until the mid-19th century, it was to remain the branch of the Khalwatiyya best represented in Istanbul, with 22 houses; only the Shaʿbāniyya [*q.v.*] was to overtake it in the last decades of the empire. Its network was one of the most durable, all the more so in that from the second half of the 17th century onwards, families of *shaykhs* were founded to head each one of these houses, forging bonds among themselves by means of marital ties. After the disintegration of the Ottoman empire and the proscription of the *ṭarīḳas* by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) in 1925, the Sunbuliyya witnessed the gradual disappearance of their last spiritual masters, and even though there still exist today a few individuals who adhere to Sunbulī teaching, it does not figure among the currently active brotherhoods.

In the context of doctrine and practice, the Sunbulīs insisted, as do most of the Khalwatīs, on the practice of spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]), as well as on the initiation by the seven names (*al-asmāʾ al-sabʿa*). Their *dhikr* was of the *dewrān* type, performed by turning in an upright position, and this attracted criticism to which they were obliged to respond, particularly at the beginning of the 16th century, as has been seen. For their part, certain Sunbuli *shaykhs*, including Yūsuf Sinān b. Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī (d. 987/1579) and Meḥmed ʿĀmiḳī (d. after 1023/1614-15), wrote letters denouncing the heterodoxy of the Malāmī-Ḥamzawīs (cf. Abdülbakî Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik ve Melamiler*, Istanbul 1931, 74-6). It may also be mentioned that there existed a particular prayer, called *Sünbüli ṣalāti*, in the

beste form (vocal composition in four verses each followed by the same melodic passage). Sunbulī circles in Istanbul, especially those of the *tekke* of Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, were in fact very supportive of the development of Ṣūfī music. In this respect, as in other aspects of Ṣūfism and popular Islam, this house remained for centuries one of the most prestigious *tekkes*, if not the most prestigious, of the Ottoman capital. Evidence of this is the affluence, far greater than that of the other *tekkes*, which it has always enjoyed and still enjoys on the occasion of the feast of the *Āshūre* (*ʿAshūrāʾ*), 10 Muḥarram, as well as the number of visits to the *türbes* of Sunbul Efendi and his successors. In terms of costume, it should be noted that the Sunbuli *tādj* varies slightly from the other Khalwatī *tādjs* with its decidedly pointed shape.

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(Nathalie Clayer)

SÜNBÜL-ZĀDE WEHBĪ (modern Tkish. Sünbülzade Vehbi), Meḥmed b. Rāshid b. Meḥmed Efendi, Ottoman poet, scholar and bureaucrat born in Marʿash [*q.v.*] probably in 1133/1718-19, died in Istanbul 14 Rabīʿ I 1224/29 April 1809, his life spanning the rule of eight Ottoman sultans, and is thought to have been buried outside Edirne Ḳapî (see Süreyya Ali Beyzâdeoğlu, *Sünbülzâde Vehbi*, Istanbul 1993, 7, 20-1).

1. Life.

The Sünbül-zāde family was a prominent one. His grandfather Meḥmed was *muftī* in Marʿash and author of several works on Islamic law. His father Rāshid (or Reshīd), also a poet and scholar, is said to have named his son after the poet and *ḳāḍī* Seyyid Wehbī (Wehb-i ewwel), as whose assistant he was working in Aleppo when Sünbül-zāde Wehbī was born.

Wehbī was educated in Marʿash, then went to Istanbul, where his writing of *ḳaṣīdas* and chronograms gained him influential patrons, securing him the rank of *müderris* [see madrasa, I, 7], then that of *ḳāḍī*, in which he was to serve for seventeen years or more in a number of locations in the Balkans, in Rhodes and al-Manisa, and with the Imperial Army in the Edirne, Sofya and Nish areas. He also served for seven years in the Ottoman scribal institution, rising to the rank of *khʷādje* [see khʷādjegān-î dīwān-î humāyūn].

In 1187/1775, early in the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (1774-89), Wehbī (having an excellent knowledge of Persian) was sent as envoy to Iṣfahān to investigate complaints that Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] had lodged against ʿÖmer Pasha governor of Baghdād, whom Wehbī found culpable. But the governor's influence threw Wehbī into disfavour, and he went into hiding in Scutari. His well-known *Ḳaṣīde-yi ṭannāna* ("Resonant Ode"), in which he extravagantly eulogises the sultan, describes his Persian journey and ranks things Turkish high above those Persian, helped him regain ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's favour (Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 249). Controversy, however, dogged him. While *ḳāḍī* on the island of Rhodes he supported the harsh decision to execute Shāhīn Girāy Khān [*q.v.*], and in his *Ḳaṣīde-yi ṭayyāre* ("Ode on the wing") he praised the sultan and abused the victim (*ibid.*, iv, 250). Sünbül-zāde himself claimed that his subsequent seizure and detention when serving in Stara Zagora (Eski Zaghra) was revenge on the part of Shāhīn Girāy's supporters. Others say that he and his assistant (*ketkhudā*), the poet Sürūrī [*q.v.*], had aroused the indignation of the local populace by dissolute conduct, and that they were both arrested on this account (Beyzâdeoğlu, 14-17).

Wehbī spent the last years of his life in Istanbul, reportedly writing and merrymaking but, at least in the last seven years, troubled with gout, failing sight and perhaps unsound mind.

2. Works.

Influenced especially by Nābī, Thābit (on whose poems he wrote a number of *naẓīras*) and Nedīm [*q.vv.*], Wehbī was honoured with the title *Sulṭān al-Shuʿarāʾ* "Sultan of Poets" and highly regarded as a poet by his contemporaries. Today he is not judged to have been endowed with great artistic imagination or poetic sensitivity. More than once his questionable reputation, which he did little to disavow, resulted in dismissal from appointments, and he also had financial worries (Ali Canib Yöntem, *Sünbülzade Vehbi*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, i/2 [1946-7], 88-9). This resulted in a number of poems lamenting his situation and requesting help, and in 1205/1790-1 he dedicated his Turkish *dīwān* (some mss. of which include a few poems in Arabic and his small Persian collection) to Selīm III (1789-1807), whose valuable patronage he enjoyed to the end of his life. The *Luṭfiyye* is an *akhlāḳ* work, a *mathnawī* giving advice to his son Luṭf Allāh (who died of the plague within five years of its being composed). It owes much to Nābī's *Khayriyye*, and its value lies more in its contribution to social history than in its literary value. (For an interesting study of Wehbī the man, and of this work in particular, see Danuta Chmielowska, *La femme turque dans l'œuvre de Nābī, Vehbī et Vāṣıf*, Warsaw 1986, 39-48.)

Two other *mathnawīs*, the *Tuḥfe-yi Wehbī* and *Nukhbe-yi Wehbī* were educational and used for many years in Ottoman schools. The former, a rhymed Persian-Turkish vocabulary written in 1197/1783 for his son in imitation of a similar work by the 10th/16th-century writer Shāhidī, contains an introductory *mathnawī*, a series of *ḳiṭʿas* presenting the vocabulary, a second *mathnawī* on a selection of expressions (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) and and epilogue (recent ed. Numan Külekçi and Turgut Karabey, *Sünbülzade—Tuhfe*, Erzurum 1990). The second is an Arabic-Turkish counterpart. The *Shewk-engīz*, a *mathnawī* of some 775 *beyts* in the *remel* metre, features a disputation in very free language between a libertine womaniser and a pederast comparing male and female beauties and the pleasure they afford. Unable to agree on which makes the stronger case, the contenders consult a man of religion (the Sheykh

of Love) who upbraids them for knowing only carnal desire and shows them the way to pure and absolute love (see Gibb, iv, 252-4, and J. Schmidt, *Sünbülzade Vehbī's Şevk-engiz, an Ottoman pornographic poem*, in *Turcica*, xxv [1993], 9-37).

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(W. Björkman-[Kathleen R.F. Burrill])

SUNDA ISLANDS, the geographical denotation of the Southeast Asian islands stretching from Sumatra to Timor and the Aru islands, first introduced by the Portuguese; divided in the Greater and Smaller Sunda Islands, the latter—and those dealt with here—beginning with Bali and stretching to the East. The name originates from Sunda or *Pasundan* (= West Java), and the Straits of Sunda between Java and Sumatra. In Indonesian, the Smaller Sunda Islands are called the *Nusa Tenggara* (Southeastern Islands).

While Bali maintained its predominantly Hindu character and only in its Western parts experienced some cultural, religious and ethnic influences from neighbouring Madura [*q.v.*] and East Java (both predominantly Islamic), in Lombok [*q.v.*] the Sasak people in the eastern part of the island were able to protect their Islamic identity. Among the islands further to the east, only Sumbawa experienced a significant impact of Islam on the history of its people. Already in pre-Islamic times, this island had been visited by trading vassals from Malacca [*q.v.*] and Java on their ways to the Moluccas. The Islamisation of its various kingdoms was, however, conducted by Makassar [*q.v.*]. This kingdom, after having been united and established as a sultanate in 1607, launched first a *djihād* against the neighbouring Buginese kingdoms and, after the surrender of the last one of them, Bone, in 1611, turned overseas to the south, where it subdued, in the course of three expeditions, the kingdoms of Sumbawa.

Except the kingdom of Sanggar, which accepted quite quickly the new religion and therefore was granted a vassal kingdom status, the other kingdoms, particularly Dompu, Bima and Sumbawa (originally only the name of the western part of the island) resisted fiercely. Sumbawa, which surrendered in 1626, was able to improve its position when, in 1650, its king married a half-sister of the *karaëng* (king) of Tallo' (Makassar). Bima gave up its resistance in 1621 when a new king ascended the throne. In 1632-3 a visiting Dutch expedition, however, found the capital city burned by the Makassarese, who thus reacted to the rebellious people who had abducted their king to an island as a protest against the newly-imposed religion. But in 1640 king ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir established himself as sultan, after having married a sister-in-law of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn of Gowa (Makassar).

Following the military conquest of Sumbawa, some religious teachers originating from the tradition of the Javanese *walīs*, were sent via Makassar to teach Islam among the people. After the Dutch conquered Makassar in 1669, their Bugis ally Arung Palakka, becoming king of Bone in 1672, waged a series of campaigns in South Sulawesi which caused many Buginese and Makassarese to flee to other islands, including Sumbawa, where they established their own communities, sometimes with a semi-autonomous rule. In Bima they represented a large number of the populace.

In 1662 the Sultan of Bima claimed suzerainty over Sumba and Komodo, and expanded his influence to Manggarai on Western Flores. He and his successors maintained the pre-Islamic tradition which linked this place to Bhima, the third brother of the Pandavas, the heros of the Hindu epic of the *Mahābhārata*. They claimed that the royal family were their descendants. The sultan himself was considered to be ritually pure and infallible, and represented the highest, untouchable authority. The administration rested on three pillars: the administration proper, supervised by the Prime Minister, the legal department supervising the application of the (Islamic) Law, and a third department concerned with the customary or *adat* law. The sultanate of Bima remained until in 1950, when it was abolished, together with the other remaining sultanates, by the new government of the Indonesian Republic. Since independence, many Muslims originating from elsewhere in Indonesia have settled down in the whole region of the *Nusa Tenggara* as civil servants, soldiers, traders etc.

Bibliography: M. Hitchcock, *The Bimanese Kris. Aesthetics and social value*, in *BKI*, cxliii (1987), 125-40; J. Noorduyn, *Makasar and the Islamization of Bima*, in *ibid.*, 322-42 (extensive bibl.).

(O. Schumann)

SUNDARBAN, a thick forest region on the coastal region of the Gangetic delta mainly in the southernmost part of the present division of Khulna in Bangladesh and in the district of 24 Parganas in the West Bengal state of India. Once extending much deeper into the mainland, Sundarban bears traces of early human settlement. Non-Aryan nomad aborigines roamed in this region, who were gradually influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism (through rulers such as Dummanpal around the 12th century), and finally, by Islam. The ancient Harikela kingdom (known to Muslim geographers as Harkand, from which comes Baḥr al-Harkand, the early Arabic name for Bay of Bengal) once extended up to Sundarban. To the east, a Hindu kingdom Čandradvīpa (Deva dynasty) emerged in the 13th century, which was gradually absorbed in the Mug̲h̲al empire in the early 17th century.

It was K̲h̲ān D̲j̲ahān ʿAlī (d. 863/1459, see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 65-7), a charismatic saintly figure and a great commander, who consolidated Islam in this region, mainly through his massive public welfare works such as roads, ponds, wells, hostels, etc. His most impressive architectural work is the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲-Gumbad Masd̲j̲id in Bagerhat, one of the biggest mosques in South Asia. Islam spread rapidly during this period as people started settling massively in the region through clearing the forest (as reflected in the names of the villages with the suffixes *kāṭī-i* and *-ābād* meaning clearing, e.g. *S̲h̲aroopkati*).

At present, it remains a vast natural sanctuary of birds, fishes and wild animals such as the famous royal Bengal tigers, deers, monkeys and crocodiles, and the largest forest region of Bengal.

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(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

SUNḲUR or Sonḳor, the name of a district and of a present-day small town in western Persia (town: lat. 34° 45' N., long 47° 39' E.). It lies in the Zagros Mountains between modern Kangāwar [see kinkiwar] and Sanandad̲j̲ [*q.v.*] or Sinna, within the modern province of Kirmāns̲h̲āh.

In mediaeval Islamic times, it lay on the road between Dīnawar [*q.v.*] and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and must correspond approximately to the first *marḥala* on the stretch from Dīnawar to Sīsar, the name of which is read al-D̲j̲ārbā (al-Muḳaddasī, 382), K̲h̲arbārd̲j̲ān (Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 119; Ḳudāma, 212), etc. which was 7 *farsak̲h̲s* from Dīnawar (the actual distance between the present ruins of Dīnawar and Sunḳur is, however,

not more than 24 km/15 miles). Sunḳur might therefore correspond to the district of Māybahradj (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 310), which was detached from Dīnawar under the caliph al-Mahdī and joined to Sīsar [*q.v.*]; cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, 477-9. If, however, we are to recognise in the name of the Kurd tribe Payrawand (Pahrawand) a reminiscence of the old name Pahradj ("custodia, vigilia"), this tribe must have been driven westwards for it now occupies the west face of Mount Parrau (= Bīsutūn), lying to the southwest of Dīnawar (cf. Rabino, *Kermanchah*, in *RMM*, xxxviii [1920], 36).

The easy pass of Mele-mās on the line of heights from Dālakhānī to Amrula separates Sunḳur from Dīnawar. On the northeast, Sunḳur is bordered by mount Pandja-ʿAlī (Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 217: Pandj-Angusht), behind which runs the direct road from Hamadān to Sanandadj. Sunḳur is watered by the upper tributaries of the river of Dīnawar, which ultimately joins the Gamas-āb (Karkha). Sunḳur in the strict sense is adjoined by the more northern district of Kulyāʾī on the upper course of the Gāwa-rūd, the western dependencies of which are Bīlawar and Niyābat (on the Kirmānshāh-Sanandadj road; cf. Rabino, *op. cit.*, 12, 35). The importance of Sunḳur lay in the fact that it was on the road followed by Muslim pilgrims from Tabrīz to Kirmānshāh; to avoid the Kurdish territory of Sanandadj the road made a detour by Bīdjār (Garrūs) and Sunḳur, from which Kirmānshāh could be reached in a day's march.

The population of the district is made up of two distinct elements. The town (1991 population figure: 37,772) is peopled by Turks, who are said to have come there in the Mongol period. Their chief Sunḳur was a vassal of the Mongols of Shīrāz (?).

The district, on the other hand, is inhabited by Kurd agriculturists whose chiefs belong to the tribe of Kulyāʾī. The Khāns in control there until the early 20th century were said to be the descendants in the eighth generation from Ṣafī Khān who lived in the time of the latter Ṣafawids. In 1213/1798, ʿAlī Himmat Khān and his brother Bābā Khān (of the Nānakalī tribe) supported the pretender Sulaymān Khān and were executed by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *History of the Kajars*, London 1833, 58-9, 67). The Kulyāʾī speak a Kurd dialect resembling Kirmānshāhī and are suspected of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] religious tendencies.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Razmārā (ed.). *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zāmīn*.

(V. Minorsky*)

SUNNA (a. pl. *sunan*; see above, s.v. sunan, for a different connotation), an ancient Arabian concept that was to play an increasingly important role during the formative centuries of Islam, acquiring a range of interrelated nuances. Eventually, some time after the preaching of Islam had begun, the term *sunna* came to stand for the generally approved standard or practice introduced by the Prophet as well as the pious Muslims of olden days, and at the instigation of al-Shāfiʿī, the *sunna* of the Prophet was awarded the position of the second root (*aṣl*) of Islamic law, the *sharīʿa*, after the Ḳurʾān. Not long after that, *sunna* came to stand for the all-encompassing concept orthodoxy, which is still in use today. Out of this there grew the dichotomy between Sunnī (orthodox) and Shīʿī (heterodox) Islam. During the first three centuries of Islam, the term *sunna*, standing alone or in various genitive constructions with other words, displays an evolution in meaning which will be sketched in more detail in the following. For the technical *sharīʿa* term, see 2. below.

1. In classical Islam.

In the *Djāhiliyya*, the concept *sunna* originally stood for a way or manner of acting, whether good or bad, hence (dis)approved custom or norm of previous generations, *al-awwalūn*, cf. esp. Bravmann, in *Bibl.* The verbs used for laying down a *sunna* are *sanna* and *istanna*. During the 1st/7th century when, after the death of Muḥammad, the Muslim community was ruled first by the *khulafāʾ rāshidūn* and then the Umayyads, the term *sunna* was used in debates on legal and ritual issues to indicate any good precedent set by people of the past, including the Prophet. Moreover, various pre-Islamic *sunnas* were accepted into Islam with or without modification. In certain ancient texts, the term was occasionally also used for any bad or indifferent precedent. It turned up in political debates too, for which see further down.

During Muḥammad's lifetime and immediately after that, when faced with problems to solve, people reminded each other in their discourse (*ḥadīth*) of how the Prophet and his first faithful followers had acted under particular circumstances. This resulted in an as yet unstructured, oral transmission of more or less correctly remembered practices and customs, *sunnas*. Towards the end of the 1st/7th century, when the need thereto arose, these memories began to be transmitted in a more standardised manner after the introduction of a newly-developed authentication device, the *isnād* [*q.v.*]. The first reports (*ḥadīths*) of *sunnas* that eventually found their way to one or more of the *ḥadīth* collections compiled in the course of the 2nd/8th century and later, originated in the final quarter of the 1st/7th century.

Recent *isnād* analytical research has established that, initially, these first *sunnas* were on the whole few and disparate. Next to *ḥadīths* of *sunnas* supported by *isnāds* that allegedly went back all the way to the Prophet, which in other words were *marfūʿ* [see rafʿ. 2], there circulated hordes of other ones whose *isnāds* ended in a Companion, the *mawḳūf* strands, or even a Successor [see mursal]. These three types of *sunna* reports existed side-by-side and were supposed to register more or less faithfully what the pious forebears, *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, during and since the lifetime of the Prophet had said or done. But the Companion reports, as well as the Successor reports, did not necessarily contain opinions exclusively modelled on what the Prophet was supposed to have decided in a given situation, but often represented what these authorities thought about a particular issue themselves. They were the *fuḳahāʾ*. Rather than basing themselves all the time upon a pious practice attributed to someone from the past, they sometimes preferred to exercise their own judgment, their *raʾy*, and their personal opinions, *ārāʾ*, were occasionally also granted the status of *sunna*. Personal *ad hoc* problem-solving, without recourse to precedent, developed alongside searching for precedents, for which the general term *ʿilm*, lit. knowledge, was used. Thus *ʿilm* consisted of *sunnas* which had originated at the hands of pious forebears and which were eventually moulded into *ḥadīths*. *ʿIlm* seekers, *ʿulamāʾ* (pl. of *ʿālim*), were often antagonistic towards those who resorted to their *raʾy*, the *ahl al-raʾy*, and this gave way to an ongoing dialogue, or bitter dispute, between, on the one hand, a basically religious, precedent-centred point of view and, on the other hand, a somewhat secular stance with, according to some *ʿulamāʾ*, far too little religion mixed in with it.

It is clear that, at least during the first three centuries of Islam, *ḥadīth* and *sunna* cannot be equated

but are just related concepts. The former is the initially orally transmitted and later written registration of, among other things, the revered practice of the pious forebears, with at their head the Prophet and the earliest Muslims, while the latter is an abstraction which encompasses the revered practice of anyone of the past, although despised or indifferent practices are also occasionally referred to with the term. At the turn of the 1st/7th century, the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/719-20 [*q.v.*]) was allegedly the first to single out the *sunna* of the Prophet among the *sunnas* of others. Thus it happened that, after *ḥadīth* had begun to comprise a sizeable number of *sunnas* supposedly introduced increasingly often by the Prophet rather than by the *khulafāʾ rāshidūn* or other well-known Companions, the concept *sunna* began to shed its broad meaning of "any precedent" and the connotation "any laudable precedent" started to prevail.

But *sunna* as a more vague concept did not die out. Moreover, next to the term emerging in debates on legal and ritual issues, it played a significant part in the political discussions of the 1st/7th century. When the confrontation between ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.vv.*] at Ṣiffīn (37/657 [*q.v.*]) was concluded with an arbitration agreement, the *kitāb Allāh* and *al-sunna al-ʿādila al-djāmiʿa ghayr al-mufarrika*, i.e. the Book of God and the just *sunna* that unites rather than disperses, had to be consulted in order to find a solution for the dilemma that had arisen. *Sunna* in this document refers to the still broad term: the approved practice in political and administrative matters instituted by the leaders of the past (synonymous in fact with *sīra* [*q.v.*], cf. Bravmann in *Bibl.*), and the substitution of the term *sunna* in one version of this agreement by the genitive construction "the *sunna* of the Prophet" is a spurious, later interpolation, cf. the penetrating analysis of Martin Hinds in his *The Ṣiffīn arbitration agreement*, in *JSS*, xvii (1972), 93-129. It has to be stated that, in the earliest extant Islamic documents in which the term *sunna* crops up frequently, one must always reckon with the possibility that the equation of *sunna* with *sunna* of the Prophet was achieved at the hands of anonymous transmitters or copyists through—in many cases—no longer traceable interpolations of the genitive "of the Prophet". That this is the case can often be shown by carefully collating the various versions in which these documents have come down to us.

Towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, the jurist al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) began to throw new light on the position of the *sunna* of the Prophet, in preference to that of any ancient authorities. He came to consider it the second most important root of Islamic jurisprudence after the Ḳurʾān, hence his predilection for *sunnas* recorded in *ḥadīths* that were *marfūʿ*, i.e. whose *isnāds* went all the way back to Muḥammad. Thus *al-sunna* began to be felt as tantamount to *sunnat al-nabī* "the good example of the Prophet"; that is what most texts that were written during and after al-Shāfiʿī's lifetime convey. For a survey of the reception in later years of al-Shāfiʿī's ideas on *sunna*, see Wael B. Hallaq, *Was al-Shāfiʿī the master architect of Islamic jurisprudence?*, in *IJMES*, xxv (1993), 587-605.

Although the term *sunna* occurs a number of times in the Ḳurʾān, it refers nowhere to the exemplary example of the Prophet or his contemporaries, but mostly to the manner in which God chose to deal with the peoples of old who rejected the conversion endeavours of prophets sent to them. In early *tafsīr* literature there are no attempts to equate certain terms from scripture with *sunna* or *sunnat al-nabī* either. It was al-Shāfiʿī who was the first to try and link up an important Ḳurʾānic term with *sunna*, in an attempt to provide scriptural evidence for his insistence that *sunna* should be equated automatically with *sunnat al-nabī*. The word chosen by him was *ḥikma* "wisdom", but even after his lifetime this identification does not seem to have caught on with other jurists. And, finally, the verse that comes to mind most readily as offering a good opportunity for tracing the concept *sunna* of the Prophet and/or that of his faithful followers in the Ḳurʾān, namely XXXIII, 21, "You had in the Messenger of God a perfect example, etc.", was not even hinted at by al-Shāfiʿī in his *Risāla*. It is Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) who mentions the verse (cf. his *Musnad*, ii, 15 = ed. A.M. Shākir, no. 4641) in connection with *sunna*. Identification of the traditionist responsible for the gloss in which the verse is cited as pertaining to the *sunna* of the Prophet has as yet proved fruitless. The only person for whom a case could conceivably by made is Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/813), cf. al-Mizzī [*q.v.*], *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, vi, no. 7352.

The relationship of Ḳurʾān and *sunna* has long been a matter of debate, formulated in the question of whether a *sunna* could abrogate a Ḳurʾānic verse. It has always been realised in Islam that the Ḳurʾān was more in need of elucidation, e.g. through *sunnas*, than that *sunnas* required explanation from scripture. Even so, the debate was couched in cautious terms, lest a *sunna*, which is after all a custom instituted by man, was too readily taken to be capable of abrogating scripture—which is after all of divine origin—or modified the Ḳurʾān's *prima facie* interpretation. In the first chapter of the *Sunan* of al-Dārimī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) a number of traditions and opinions on *sunna* vis-à-vis the Ḳurʾān are listed. The statement: *al-sunna ḳāḍiyat*[un] *ʿalā ʾl-Ḳurʾān wa-laysa al-Ḳurʾān bi-ḳāḍ*[in] *ʿalā ʾl-sunna* (i.e. *sunna* may determine the Ḳurʾān but not vice-versa) is ascribed to an early authority but is probably al-Dārimī's own handiwork, cf. i, 153, no. 587.

The term *sunna* emerges also in the dogmatic-political discussions among the doctors of theology, the *mutakallimūn*; see ʿILM AL-KALĀM. During the time that these disputes of, for example, adherents of the Ḳadariyya, Murdjiʾa, Rāfiḍa or Muʿtazila [*q.vv.*] with their opponents occupied increasingly large numbers of theologians from the middle of the 1st/7th century until after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], the so-called "inquisition" instituted by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn, which ended in 234/848, the *ḥadīth* people or *ahl al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], busily searching for *sunnas*, were out of their depth and constituted no match for them. Among these theologians they even acquired the derogatory nickname *ḥashwiyya* [*q.v.*] lit. "those that stuff", predominantly because of their credulity in respect of certain traditions, which they collected alongside *sunnas*, containing anthropomorphic descriptions of God [see also NĀBITA]. On the other hand, the ranks of *sunna* seekers were swollen by large numbers of traditionists suspected and/or accused of harbouring one or more of these innovative dogmatic ideas (*bidʿas* [*q.v.*]), but as long as they did not propagate them in their traditions by slipping such ideas into the reports they were instrumental in transmitting, they were on the whole tolerated. In retrospect, it can be surmised that, if the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, while transmitting *sunnas*, had shunned the participation in this activity of all those known to harbour a predilection for one or more of those *bidʿas*, they would have been so few

in number that the total bulk of what became known as Islam's canonical *ḥadīth* would have attained a mere fraction of its present size.

So traditions containing descriptions of *sunnas* gradually multiplied. This growth may in part be due to a *ḥadīth* ascribed to the Prophet, but for the wording of which the Baṣran *muḥaddith* Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]), who is the undeniable common link of its *isnād* bundle, may be held responsible: "He who introduces in Islam a good *sunna* will be given the ensuing merit and the merit accruing to all those who practise/adopt it after him, but he who introduces in Islam a pernicious *sunna* will have to carry its burden and that of those who practice/adopt it after him", cf. al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, ii, no. 3232. Shuʿba need not necessarily be assumed to be the first person to have thought of this saying, for it may be considered to have been foreshadowed in a differently worded tradition, without the crucial term *sunna*. On the basis of its *isnād* bundle, that tradition can safely be ascribed to al-Aʿmash (d. 147-8/764-5 [q.v.]), incidentally an alleged sympathiser of the Shīʿa(!) from Kūfa, who transmitted it to, among others, his junior *ḥadīth* colleague Shuʿba: "He who draws attention to a good (practice), he will enjoy the same reward as those who adopt that (practice)," cf. al-Mizzī, *ibid.*, vii, no. 9986. Traditions in this vein became numerous (cf. al-Tirmidhī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. A.M. Shākir *et alii*, v, 41-5) but, judging by their *isnāds*, all these originated much later than al-Aʿmash and Shuʿba.

Be that as it may, the adherents to the *sunna*, or *ahl al-sunna* as they were increasingly often called, were thought of during the heyday of theological disputes as living in concealment, as strangers in their own home, that is in any case how al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941 [*q.v.*]), the author of an early Islamic creed, expressed it, cf. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 29, ll. 2-6. The appellative *ahl al-sunna* is found already in a well-known early statement on the origin of the *isnād* requirement attributed to the Baṣran *muḥaddith* Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]). This man yielded to Islam's indomitable tendency to divide society up into categories, e.g. *ahl al-* ..., *aṣḥāb al-* ..., or formed by attaching a feminine *nisba* ending to the name of a person associated with a controversial doctrine, long before this alleged group formation constitutes a historically plausible description of the actual situation, if ever. Thus Ibn Sīrīn divided the people of his days into two categories, the *ahl al-bidʿa* or *ahl al-bidaʿ* and the *ahl al-sunna*. The latter appellative became later, to be more precise at the earliest as from the beginning of the second half of the 2nd/8th century and more especially after the suspension of the *miḥna*, that of the orthodox in Islam. Various contemporary sources convey the impression that they began to constitute the majority in Islam only *after* the theological squabbles culminating in the *miḥna* had been decided in favour of Ibn Ḥanbal, its most notorious victim. His influence spread rapidly thereafter and he became in the eyes of the public the centre of the henceforth steadily multiplying *ahl al-sunna*.

One individual from among the *ahl al-sunna* was called a *ṣāḥib sunna*. Probably the earliest definition of a *ṣāḥib sunna* is attributed to Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [*q.v.*]), a *muḥaddith* well-known for his travelling *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, i.e. in search of traditions containing *sunnas*, all over the eastern Islamic world and for his conviction that "... the *isnād* is part of the religion for otherwise everybody would be free to say whatever he wanted," a conviction that can be viewed as typical of a man who is among the first theoreticians of the *ahl al-sunna*. His definition of *ṣāḥib sunna* is found embedded in al-Barbahārī's creed which is quoted in Ibn Abī Yaʿlā's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 40, ll. 11-20. This definition may at the same time be considered as a concise creed of Islam as a whole and constitutes in fact a polemic against the *ahl al-bidaʿ*, based upon a famous *vaticinatio post eventum* couched in the *sa-taftariḳu* tradition. It foretells that the Islamic community will be torn asunder into 73 factions, only one of which, the *ahl al-djamāʿa*, will eventually attain salvation, the 72 other factions ending up in Hell. The appellative *ahl al-djamāʿa*, lit. "the people of the community," is a well-known alternative of the appellative *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa*, an early, mainly political, designation of one of the warring parties at Ṣiffīn mentioned above. This designation survived in a number of biographical notices devoted to 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century traditionists who were labelled as *ṣāḥib sunna* or *ṣāḥib sunna wa-djamāʿa*. The prophetic tradition which contains the said *vaticinatio* had recently been brought into circulation. The numbers 1:72 may very well be considered as reflecting a symbolic, albeit somewhat hyperbolic, approximation by the *ahl al-sunna* of their own limited numbers, vastly outnumbered as they initially were by the *ahl al-bidʿa*. Only in the course of the second half of the 2nd/8th century does the number of people, who are provided in the biographical lexicons with the label *ṣāḥib sunna*, show a marked increase.

Beside the collective *ahl al-sunna*, *ṣāḥib sunna* has two plurals, *aṣḥāb sunna* and *aṣḥāb al-sunan*, lit. "people of *sunnas*." On the basis of the latter plural, one may be forgiven for being struck by the coincidence that the majority of *ḥadīth* transmitters found in the biographical lexicons as being described by the term *ṣāḥib sunna* emerge at the same time as prolific common links, each responsible for (the wording of) a number of traditions listed in the canonical collections. Viewed from that angle, the plural *aṣḥāb al-sunan* permits of the connotation "originators of *sunnas*." Some time later, in the course of the 3rd/9th century, one finds increasingly frequently the word *sunnī*, plural *sunniyyūn*, being used for members of the *ahl al-sunna*. As an investigation of the biographical data on a number of transmitters labelled *ṣāḥib sunna* makes clear, the appellatives *ṣāḥib sunna* and *ṣāḥib ḥadīth* are by no means mutually interchangeable. Many belonging to the first category had their handling of traditions frowned upon, some were even accused of *kadhib*, i.e. mendacity in *ḥadīth*, while many belonging to the second were known for their support of one or more *bidʿas* (cf. Juynboll, in *JSAI*, x, in *Bibl.*). But with the multiplying of Muslims defined as orthodox, *sunna* and Islam came eventually to be felt, by some at least, as virtually synonymous, as is witnessed in the remark of the pious Bishr b. al-Ḥārith (d. 227/842, cf. *TT*, vii, 67-80): *al-sunna hiya 'l-islām wa 'l-islām huwa 'l-sunna*, i.e. *sunna* and Islam are in essence identical, cf. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, i, 41, ult. In the writings of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/936 [*q.v.*]) the orthodox of Islam finally found their niche. In his *Maḳālāt*, appellatives like *ahl al-sunna* alternate with *ahl al-djamāʿa* as well as several other genitive constructions. Curiously, probably as a consequence of the ever expanding influence of a growing *sunnī* faction, the appellative *aṣḥāb al-islām* in this source seems to have a wider range of meaning, comprising next to the *sunniyyūn* an assorted number of people from heterodox denominations, which may differ in each occurrence of the term and are more often than not left unspecified. It

is as if in this—as it were—tolerant stance the definitive defeat of the *ahl al-bidʿa* is reflected now that the *ahl al-sunna* had started to constitute everywhere the majority. For a survey of the Sunnī creed which is still in force today, see ʿAKĪDA. From the 4th/10th century onwards, the term *sunna* did not acquire new connotations or nuances.

2. As a technical term in the *sharīʿa*. Various customs, legal injunctions and a host of (mostly supererogatory) ritual prescriptions etc. received in the course of time the predicate *sunna*. This labelling is not supposed to indicate that the issue was due to the Prophet or the people of old, but is rather meant to express the desirability to adopt or practise it. On the scale of qualifications developed in Islamic jurisprudence, ranging from absolutely compulsory via indifferent to strictly forbidden, the so-called *aḥkām khamsa*, *sunna* came to be used in the second grade of desirability following compulsory and more or less synonymous with *mandūb* [*q.v.*] and *mustaḥabb* [*q.v.*], all three indicating "recommended". Anyone observing a rule labelled *sunna* will be awarded, but neglecting it will not automatically entail punishment.

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(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

3. In the modern Islamic world. *Sunna* has become the central point of debate in modern Muslim discussions of religious authority. Controversy centres on three issues:

(i) *The authenticity of* ḥadīth. In the 19th century, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.vv.*] began to express doubts about the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* literature (Aḥmad Khān, *Maḳālāt*, i, 25-9, 48-9, ii, 187, 190, 363-8, 419; ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, 223). In the early 20th century, the doubts of these modernists gave way to dogmatic rejection of *ḥadīth* among the Ahl-i Ḳurʾān of Lahore and Amritsar. Anti-*ḥadīth* views were elaborated by Aslam Djayrādjpūrī, Ghulām Aḥmad Parwīz and Ghulām Djīlānī Barḳ, and independently by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya in Egypt. These authors, labelled *munkirīn-i-ḥadīth* by their opponents, argued that traditions were not collected in writing until the 9th century; oral transmission of *ḥadīth* is untrustworthy; forgery of *ḥadīth* rendered the collections irredeemably corrupt; and *ḥadīth* criticism was inadequate to sift authentic traditions from forged. Conservative scholars have responded with a vigorous campaign in defence of *ḥadīth* (e.g. al-Sibāʿī, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā*, Cairo 1961).

(ii) *Prophetic authority*. Čirāgh ʿAlī and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ limit prophetic authority to spiritual matters, implicitly rejecting much of *sunna*. The Ahl-i Ḳurʾān held that Muḥammad's activity as prophet was limited to the Ḳurʾān; his other actions are not binding on later generations. An Egyptian, Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Ṣidḳī, voiced similar arguments, but Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] pressured him to recant (*Manār*, ix [1906], 515-24, x, 140). Riḍā himself argued for the subordination of *sunna* to the Ḳurʾān, and he has been followed by some revivalists (*Manār*, xii, 693-9; Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *al-Sunna al-nabawiyya bayna ahl al-fiḳh wa-ahl al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1989). Other revivalists limit the scope of prophetic authority by distinguishing human activities of Muḥammad from divinely-inspired prophetic *sunna* (Mawdūdī, *Tafhīmāt*, [16]Lahore 1989, 98-113).

(iii) *The relationship of* sunna *to* ḥadīth. Seeking to salvage *sunna* from the ravages of *ḥadīth* criticism, S.M. Yusuf and Fazlur Rahman defined *sunna* as the *idjmāʿ* of the early Muslims, reflected in *ḥadīth*, not derived from it (Rahman, *Islamic methodology in history*, Karachi 1961, 6, 18; S.M. Yusuf, in *IQ*, xxxvii [1964], 271-82, xxxviii [1964], 15-25). *Ḥadīth*, while not strictly historical, represents "the interpreted spirit of the Prophetic teaching" (Rahman, *op. cit.*, Karachi 1961, 71). Later generations of Muslims must duplicate this interpretive process, not by a literal application of *ḥadīth*, but by discovering the spirit of the prophetic example for themselves.

While such revisionist views have not gained a wide following, they have nevertheless exerted enormous influence on modern Muslim discussions of religious authority, giving rise to a plurality of definitions of *sunna* reminiscent of the formative period of Islamic thought.

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SUNNI ʿALĪ [see SONGHAY].

SŪR (A.), pls. *aswār*, *sīrān*, the wall of a town or other enclosed urban or built-up space. The present article treats of town walls and fortifications in the central Islamic lands.

The development of urban fortification may be divided into two main traditions: (1) the Mediterranean region, descended from Hellenistic and Roman fortifications, characterised by stone and fired brick fortifications with regular projecting towers, a type first seen in the 4th century B.C., and itself probably derived from Mesopotamian city fortifications, such as are represented in Assyrian reliefs, and (2) the Middle East, which inherited Mesopotamian and Iranian traditions, typified by massive pisé (beaten earth) ramparts up

to 20 m thick. One can also define a general chronological distinction between the earlier Islamic period, where fortifications were more or less direct descendants of ancient traditions, and the high mediaeval period, when urban fortifications are influenced by the castle-building of the Crusading period. Finally, it should also be noted that frequently a city's fortifications evolved slowly over the centuries, from before Islam up to the modern day; in many cases, such as Istanbul and Damascus, fortifications constructed before Islam continued to be used with little modification. In addition the design of new gates and towers was constrained by the necessity to adapt to what already existed, and by long-standing local traditions in construction and materials, which dictated basic forms.

At the beginning of Islam, not all cities were fortified. While the digging of a *khandaḳ* (fosse) to defend Medina in the time of the Prophet was considered to be an innovation, the early *amṣār* at Kūfa, Baṣra and Fusṭāṭ [*q.vv.* and see MIṢR. B] were initially unfortified. Echos of the *amṣār* can also be seen in the absence of fortifications from Baghdād [*q.v.*] in the 2nd/8th century, except for the Round City, and Sāmarrā' [*q.v.*] in the 3rd/9th century. However, on the frontiers, the caliph Muʿāwiya fortified the cities of the Mediterranean coast (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 128, 143), and the cities of the *thughūr*, the Anatolian frontier [see THUGHŪR. 1], were refortified from the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik onwards (*ibid.*, 165 ff.). At Anazarbos in Cilicia (Ar. ʿAyn Zarba), two successive defensive circuits with regular projecting square stone towers dating from the reigns of al-Mutawakkil (3rd/9th century) and the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (4th/10th century), have been identified. They replaced late Roman walls on a smaller circuit.

In early new urban foundations, fortification played a mainly symbolic role. The Umayyad sites at ʿAndjar (Lebanon), ʿAḳaba and ʿAmmān Citadel (modern Jordan) were fortified with regular half-round or square towers, similar to the light fortifications of the Umayyad *ḳuṣūr* or "desert castles". According to the texts, the Round City of Baghdād was fortified with a double ring of walls of mud-brick, on the model of Constantinople, but in the year-long siege of Baghdād in 196-8/812-13, the Round City itself only resisted for 24 hours, owing to a defective water-supply. The surviving imitations of the Round City at Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] (built by al-Manṣūr in 155/772) and the Octagon of Ḳādisiyya at Sāmarrā' (built by Hārūn al-Rashīd before 180/796) have respectively double and single mud-brick curtain walls with regular U-shaped towers. In all these cases, larger, usually circular, towers were built at changes in the line of the walls, while the wall towers are often reduced almost to the status of buttresses. The gates have single passages, flanked by a tower on each side, or, during the 2nd/8th century, the passage way was built into a single tower. Only in the Round City of Baghdād does the device of a bent entrance with a right-angled turn incorporated, seem to have been used (Creswell *EMA*, ii, 1-38).

Most late Roman cities in the Near East did not have citadels in their fortification circuits (although their Hellenistic predecessors had); consequently, their early Islamic successors did not either. However, citadels or forts in Sāsānid cities were quite common, for example, Sīrāf (D.B. Whitehouse, in *Iran JBIPS*, ix [1971], 1-17) in southern Persia, and Karkh Fayrūz at Sāmarrā' in ʿIrāḳ (see Northedge, in *Mesopotamia*, xxii [1987]). In the latter case, the fortifications are composed of a square fort, and a curtain wall of pisé about 5 m wide, strengthened by regular half-round solid towers. However, apart from the examples cited, no well-preserved examples of early Islamic fortifications in the East are known, although unexcavated pisé circuits are known at Nīshāpūr and Sirdjān (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries) in Persia. A further specific characteristic of eastern construction was the use of fortifications to encircle a whole oasis, such as at Bukhāra, a fortification type intended to hinder nomad incursions, in the same way as linear defences such as Alexander's Wall in the Gurgān plain, and more distantly, Roman *limes* fortifications such as Hadrian's Wall in Northern England.

In the Maghrib and al-Andalus, a tradition of square towers predominated. The fashion for U-shaped towers characteristic of late Roman western Europe and the Middle East from the 3rd-4th centuries onwards, was limited to the East under Islam, and square towers are already known in the fortifications of the Byzantine reoccupation of Tunisia (6th century). Traces of early circuits have survived at Sousse in Tunisia, where projecting square towers alternate with smaller buttresses (245/859), at the citadel of Mérida (220/835) and at Madīnat al-Zahrā' outside Cordova in Spain (founded 324/936).

In the 5th/11th century, the tradition of regular projecting towers was continued in the first phase of the citadel of Damascus, and in the extension of the walls of Cairo begun by Badr al-Djamālī in 480/1087 (Creswell, *MAE*, 166-206). The three fine surviving gates of Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, are each flanked by a pair of square or U-shaped towers, 20.89 and 22 m high with three storeys, and much larger than the wall towers.

The period of the Crusades led to considerable change. Large citadels were built or rebuilt in the major cities of the Near East, in Cairo, Boṣrā, Damascus and Aleppo. The citadel of Aleppo is best known for its magnificent entrance, a single massive square tower with an interior passage with five right-angled turns, built by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī in 606/1209-10, and approached by a bridge across the moat from a forecastle built by Ḳansūḥ al-Ghawrī in 913/1507. The slope of the mound was partly revetted by a glacis of stone, and the summit ringed by a wall with regular projecting towers. The city walls themselves date to the Ayyūbid period and later, with an extension to the east built in the second half of the 9th/15th century. In Cairo, the citadel built in 572-9/1176-83 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is composed of two enclosures fortified by massive round towers added by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 604/1207-8. There was a substantial increase in the size of towers, whether square or circular, built mainly of fine ashlar masonry, often incorporating re-used column drums, and they were now placed irregularly, to conform to the terrain and tactical requirements. At Diyarbekir in Turkey, massive 6th/12th-century towers are U-shaped and placed at changes in the line of the walls. At Baghdād, the gate-towers of the later circuit, of fired brick with stone fittings, are built on the far side of bridges across the moat. Although only the Bāb al-Wasṭānī is preserved, the now-disappeared Bāb al-Tilsimān (618/1221) was decorated with relief-carved serpents. Relief-carved decoration was also characteristic of the walls of Konya. A late version of this type is to be seen in the restoration and reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem by the Ottoman sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī in 943-7/1537-40. In this case, there are few towers, probably because the objective was the pious act of protecting a holy city, and no great military activity was envisaged.

In southeastern Persia, well-preserved defences dating from the Ṣafawid period have survived at Bam, with a citadel with massive U-shaped brick towers and a brick curtain wall. At Bukhārā, the system of defences in its present form dates from the 18th century, partly based on massive earlier pisé ramparts, but with at least one gate flanked by half-round towers, while the new Ark was built on the site of the old citadel. New defences of the traditional type continued to be built even in the 19th century. In the 1830s, as a result of a pious donation to develop the Shīʿī sanctuary, Sāmarrāʾ was fortified with a brick wall having occasional projecting solid towers. The developments in artillery fortifications typical of Europe from the 17th century onwards, star-shaped fortifications with low gun bastions projecting from the main curtain, do not find a direct reflection in the Islamic world, although in Mughal military architecture, such as the Red Fort at Agra (*ca.* 1635), cannon loopholes are incorporated.

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See also the *Bibls.* to BURDJ, ḤIṢĀR, ḤIṢN and ḲAṢABA.

(A. NORTHEDGE)

ṢŪR, the Arabic name for Tyre, coastal city of southern Lebanon, regional capital of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name. Built on an off-shore island, it was in the Phoenician period one of the most powerful commercial centres of the Levant. The Bible mentions a king Hiram who, a contemporary and ally of Solomon, supplied him with cedar-wood for the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem, as well as with highly skilled and esteemed masons, carpenters, goldsmiths and stone-cutters (I Kings v. 15-32). Tyre established flourishing colonies in the western Mediterranean, and its mariners were among the most adventurous of the time; it was they who, at the behest of the Pharaoh Necho, achieved the first circumnavigation of the African continent.

The conquest of the city by Alexander was marked by the construction of a causeway linking the island to the mainland, which became over time a veritable isthmus on which the city developed.

Covering an area of 15 ha, Tyre presents today the largest archaeological site of the Eastern Mediterranean coastland. Among the features excavated, one of the most significant is the main street, 175 m in length and fringed by a portico, which led to the harbour. A hippodrome and a necropolis are located on the mainland. Since 1984, the city has been designated a world heritage site by UNESCO.

The Arab conquest did not trigger off a decline of the city, since Muʿāwiya, governor of Damascus and founder of the Umayyad dynasty, is said to have installed there Persian colonists from Baʿalbakk, Ḥimṣ or Anṭākiya, the bulk of the population being constituted by Hellenised elements and Arab soldiers. According to al-Balādhurī, the caliph Hishām had the arsenals of ʿAkka transferred there and built warehouses and docks; the city subsequently became, under the Marwānids, the operational base of the Muslim fleet in place of ʿAkka. It was very well fortified, and accessible from the mainland only by a bridge. The ancient aqueduct, fed by the well of Raʾs al-ʿAyn or al-Rashīdiyya, still supplied water to the city, according to al-Muḳaddasī. Nāṣir i-Khusraw, who visited the city in 1047, mentions its houses, five or six storeys high, and a richly ornamented *mashhad*. The inhabitants were mostly Shīʿī, but the *ḳāḍī* was a Sunnī.

The merchants of the town resented their status as vassals of great empires controlled from distant capitals, and in 388/988 the people of Tyre, led by a peasant named Alaka, rose in rebellion against the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim. When the governor of Syria sent land and naval troops against the city, Alaka appealed for help to the emperor of Byzantium, but the latter's ships were sunk, and the city was taken and sacked.

In 1089, the vizier Badr al-Djamālī seized the town from the Saldjūḳ sultan of Damascus Tutush, and his successor al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh punished a new uprising in 490/1097 with a fearful massacre; this was the same year that the Crusaders set out from Constantinople. The city allied itself with ʿAkkā and Ṭarābulus against the invaders. In 1107 King Baldwin camped under the walls of the city for a month, only withdrawing in return for a ransom of 7,000 dīnārs. The Egyptian fleet, arriving too late to save Tripoli or Ṭarābulus, made its base at Tyre.

In 1111, Baldwin resumed his siege of the town, which was relieved by Tughtakīn, sent with an army from Damascus. The Crusaders made a fresh attempt in April 1124. Venetian ships blockaded the port to keep the Egyptian fleet at bay, and after a stubborn resistance, starvation forced the people of Tyre to submit. They were offered the choice of leaving the city with their property or staying on payment of a ransom; in July, they abandoned the city, settling either in Damascus or in Ghazza. The city remained in the hands of the Franks until 1191.

At this time, al-Idrīsī speaks of the flourishing industries of glassware, ceramics and high quality textiles which produced the wealth of the city.

On the sea side, the port was accessible by way of a narrow inlet flanked by two tall towers; it was the finest port of the entire Levantine coast. On three sides, the port was enclosed within the ramparts of the town, and on the fourth there was a wall and a kind of archway under which ships were docked. This

port within a city could be sealed by a huge chain deployed between the two towers.

After the capture of Jerusalem and the majority of coastal sites, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn arrived to lay siege to Tyre in November 1187, but without success. Tyre remained, with the castle of Beaufort, the last place still held by the Franks: the knights released by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after each of his victories gathered there, and prepared to lay siege to ʿAkka. On 19 April 1192, Conrad, the deposed king of Jerusalem who resided in Tyre, was assassinated by Ismāʿīlīs. His successor Henry of Champagne, concluded the treaty of Ramla with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (September 1192); under the terms of this treaty the coast between Jaffa and Tyre remained in the hands of the Franks.

The city was devastated by two earthquakes, in 1201 and 1203. Although the treaty signed in 1229 between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt maintained Frankish domination of Tyre and numerous coastal towns, the Crusaders were weakened by internal strife and rivalry between Venice and Genoa.

The Mamlūk sultan Baybars launched two expeditions against the city, in 1266 and 1269, but in 1270 he agreed to a treaty with the prince of the city under which the neighbouring territories were divided between them, part being placed under joint administration. Marguerite of Tyre bought from the sultan Ḳalāwūn a peace lasting ten years in return for sacrificing half of her revenues and a guarantee not to restore the city's fortifications. But after the capitulation of ʿAkkā in 1291, the other coastal cities were incapable of resisting much longer; the city was taken by Khalīl b. Ḳalāwūn, who destroyed it. Some of the inhabitants were sold into slavery, others were put to the sword.

The city remained unoccupied for several centuries, and neither the Druze *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿnī in the 17th century, nor the governor of Acre Djazzār Pasha in the 18th, succeeded in restoring its dynamism. From 3,000 inhabitants in 1840, the population had grown to 6,000 by 1900; half of these were Muslims, the remainder Maronites, Greek Catholics and Jews.

In 1920 the Treaty of Sèvres, which dismantled the Ottoman Empire, incorporated Tyre and the Djabal ʿĀmil into Greater Lebanon, placed under French mandate by the League of Nations. The population of the south, Shīʿī for the most part, felt excluded from this Lebanese state, where it was represented by only a few families of dignitaries, wealthy quasi-feudal landowners who rallied to the new system. But in fact, the region constituted the northern sector of Upper Galilee, the southern being in Palestine under British mandate, with the major port of Jaffa for an outlet.

The destiny of Tyre, already constrained by this mandatory frontier, was overturned by the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, with Zionist leaders claiming territory extending as far as the Litani river, the waters of which they wanted to control, and 14 Lebanese border villages were to be occupied until 1949.

From 1967 onwards, despite the non-participation of Lebanon in the Six-Day War, southern Lebanon became engulfed in a spiral of violence from which it has yet (1996) to be extricated, and which has seriously handicapped the role which Tyre could have played in regional affairs.

Another important phenomenon has been the progressive consolidation of the Shīʿī community, led by the Imām Mūsā Ṣadr, who took up residence in Lebanon in 1960. Seeking to inspire the Shīʿī community, marginalised in spite of efforts made during the presidency of Shihāb (1958-64) to develop the infrastructures of the south, he founded in 1973 the Movement of the Dispossessed, then in 1975, in Tyre, the Amal political party. In January 1969, in response to the destruction by Israel of Lebanese civilian aircraft, a general strike paralysed Tyre and Sidon (Ṣaydā), with the demand that the Lebanese state introduce conscription to combat the Israeli threat. Amal was originally allied with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which controlled the camps surrounding the city: Rashīdiyya (some 14,000 inhabitants in 1975), Burdj al-Shimālī (some 10,000 inhabitants in 1975) and Bass (about 5,000).

In fact, the sovereignty of the Lebanese state was challenged by Palestinian guerrilla groups, taking up residence in southern Lebanon after their expulsion from Jordan in 1971. The region of Tyre was one of their bastions, and the Lebanese army tried in vain to take control of the camps. The process which was to lead to the nationwide conflagration of 1975-6 was well advanced.

In September 1972 Israel launched its first intervention in South Lebanon, and after the first phase of the civil war, in 1976, it inaugurated its policy of the "good border"; by way of numerous frontier posts, the villagers were induced to work in Israel, while the region was inundated with Israeli produce; the destruction of orchards, infrastructures and hostile villages facilitated the economic integration of the region into Israel, to the detriment of Tyre, isolated and cut off from the rest of the country.

In March 1978, to halt Palestinian incursions into its territory, Israel launched "Operation Litani"; when its army withdrew in June, it retained control of a border strip of Lebanese territory, 5 to 10 km in width, in defiance of Resolutions 425 and 426 of the Security Council of the UN demanding Israeli withdrawal and creating UNIFIL, initially a contingent of 6,000 men acting as a buffer between the Syrian army deployed to the north of the Litani and the frontier zone occupied by the pro-Israeli militia of the Maronite Major Saʿd Ḥaddād, who had defected with his troops from the Lebanese army; in April 1979, he prevented the latter from re-occupying Tyre. The city of Tyre was then effectively under the control of the PLO and the Amal movement.

To eradicate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon after the Camp David accords with Egypt, and to induce the Lebanese state to sign a separate peace in its turn, Israel once more invaded Lebanon on 6 June 1982; this was Operation "Peace for Galilee", in which Tyre was the target of 57 air-raids. The city was occupied, but resistance to the Israeli presence was stubborn: in September 1982 250,000 Shīʿīs demonstrated in Tyre to mark the fourth anniversary of the disappearance of the Imām Mūsā Ṣadr, and in November 1983, Amal shelled the Israeli headquarters in the city.

In June 1985 Israel withdraw, retaining control only of the "security zone", some 850 km^2, through the intermediary of the Southern Lebanese Army of General Antoine Lahad, and Amal took over the city. But competition between Amal and the PLO for supremacy in the South led to the eruption in 1985-86 of the "war of the camps", the Shīʿīs being supported by Iran, which sent weapons and instructors to Tyre. The war between Shīʿīs and Palestinians resumed on 22 October 1986, and it was not until 4 January 1988 that Amal raised the siege of the Rashīdiyya camp. Israel has continued to make incursions

into South Lebanon, as in May 1988, and periodically to shell Tyre and its Palestinian camps, disrupting commerce and preventing marine fishing.

The city of Tyre comprised some 54,000 inhabitants in 1980, about a quarter of the population of the *ḳaḍā'*, but demographic estimates are not easily confirmed on account of the high level of mobility of the population, the result of insecurity and of a traditionally substantial trend towards emigration. In 1975, the civil war raging in Beirut impelled the Shī'ī population to seek refuge in the South, while the Israeli invasions of 1978 and 1982 provoked an exodus in the opposite direction. The annual demographic increase is at all events very high, of the order of 44 per thousand, as against 25 for Lebanon as a whole, and 34 per thousand for Ṣaydā, regional capital of the *muḥāfaẓa* of South Lebanon.

Emigration, especially towards West Africa, has affected a substantial proportion of the Shī'ī population (a quarter ?), and communities settled in clusters from Senegal to Nigeria retain close links with their region of origin. During the civil war, although cut off from the rest of the country, Tyre experienced a reasonable degree of economic prosperity, owed to remittances from these expatriates and the continuing operation of the port. But the destruction of olive and orange groves by the Israeli army, as well as, from the 1980s onward, the return of emigrants from the Gulf and Black Africa fleeing violence there, has aggravated unemployment.

Before the war, in 1973, the region produced annually 280,000 tonnes of agricultural produce. The Ḳāsimiyya canal irrigated nearly 7,000 ha, and an additional 4,000 ha were watered by some hundred wells. During the 1990s, the return of a precarious peace, interrupted by Israeli bombardments and hampered by blockade of the port, has permitted a modest economic revival, based on a boom in construction and agricultural redevelopment.

The city, which had grown on the promontory joining the former island to the mainland, was the object in 1964 of a development scheme. This permitted the opening of roads in the zone bordered to the west by recent house construction and the east by the archeological excavations of al-Bass (al-Ramī quarter). The port of Tyre is protected by a quay to the north, and matches the contour of the coast to the south: on one side are five small docks for fishing vessels, on the other a dock for merchant shipping. One of the main concerns of the development scheme has been the clearing of all the spaces invaded and disfigured by illegal construction, in particular on the isthmus, and the conservation of the beaches to the north and especially to the south of the city which, along with Tyre's cultural attractions, have the potential to constitute a profitable resort area.

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(M. Lavergne)

SŪRA, the designation used for the 114 independent units of the Ḳur'ān, often translated as "chapter". The sūras are distinct units, unlike the frequently arbitrary divisions of the books of the Bible made by later editors. They are also unlike the topical, chronological and other types of major divisions of other books called "chapters". Thus it seems best to leave the term "sūra" untranslated, treating it as a technical term, similar to "mishnah", "seder", "sutra", "upanishad" and other terms for units of sacred writings that European languages have adopted from various religious traditions. As distinct literary units of scripture that are best not regarded as "chapters", the sūras of the Ḳur'ān have a parallel in the Psalms of the Bible.

1. Derivation and Ḳur'ānic usage. The fact that the early Muslim commentators and lexicographers offered a wide variety of opinions on the origin of the term *sūra*, normally seeking an Arabic root (see al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt*, 248; Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31 n. 1), shows that its derivation was not known. The older European majority view, accepted also by Nöldeke (*ibid.*, i, 30-1), derived the Arabic *sūra* from the Hebrew *shūrā*, used in the Mishnah for "row, series". For a discussion of a variety of imaginative theories that derive *sūra* mostly from various Hebrew terms, along with arguments against each of these, see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 180-2. Jeffery (182) and Bell-Watt (58) conclude that *sūra* entered the Ḳur'ān as a technical term, most likely derived from the Syriac word for "a writing" and "a portion of scripture", thus making it parallel to *ḳur'ān*, *kitāb*, and other Ḳur'ānic terms of Syriac origin that are associated with revelation or scripture. Opinions will no doubt continue to differ on the origin of this term. Regardless of its derivation, the view that its earliest usage occurs in the Ḳur'ān is the most plausible assumption.

The term *sūra* occurs in the Ḳur'ān nine times in the singular and once in the plural (*suwar*), all probably in Medinan contexts. It is useful to make a distinction between the usage of this term in the Ḳur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime and its later usage after the compilation of the completed Islamic scripture. Within the Ḳur'ān the term *sūra* is best interpreted simply as "a unit of revelation", making it synonymous with some Ḳur'ānic usages of *ḳur'ān*, *āya*, and *kitāb* [see ḳur'ān, 1.b, esp. at 402a]. In most contexts the term *sūra* seems to refer to a short unit, possibly just a few verses, such as IX, 64, in which the Hypocrites [see munāfiḳūn] are said to be afraid "lest a sūra be sent down against them, telling [Muḥammad] what is in their hearts". Cf. IX, 86, 124, 127 and XLVII, 20, which also to refer to specific commands or information being "sent down" to Muḥammad, suggesting short units of revelation, rather than the present sūras. Three other contexts refer to accusations from Muḥammad's opponents that he had been forging or inventing revelations. The Ḳur'ān responds with challenges that may provide insight into the history of the sūras and of the text of the Ḳur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime. The context that appears to be the earliest of these three is XI, 13: "Or do they say, 'He has invented it' (*iftarā-hu*)? Then bring ten *suwar* like it, invented, and call upon whomever you are able apart from God, if you speak the truth." This verse is later repeated verbatim in X, 38, with one significant change: "Then bring a *sūra* like it, ..."

This challenge to produce only one sūra equal to those recited by Muḥammad is then repeated verbatim in II, 23. It is quite possible that the challenge in XI, 13, to produce ten sūras equal to Muḥammad's revelations reflects the period when the Ḳur'ān consisted of a collection of mostly short recitations (see Bell-Watt, 137-41), whereas the other two verses reflect the later period in Medina when the Prophet was combining and expanding earlier revelations to form longer sūras as parts of a written scripture for his followers [see KUR'ĀN, 5.c, at 417b-418a]. Regardless of whether this hypothesis is accepted, it seems certain that most, if not all, occurrences of the term *sūra* in the Ḳur'ān refer to units of revelation that were shorter than the present, long sūras in which this term appears.

2. Composition and literary types. To say that the sūras are distinct units does not mean, however, that they are all alike in their literary form and contents. The Ḳur'ān contains a wide variety of literary or didactic types, but very few sūras consist of a single type or treat a single topic. Those that do are notable as exceptions to the nature of the vast majority of sūras. Three of the most striking of these exceptions, the first sūra (a short prayer addressed to God) and the last two (charms for driving away evil powers [see AL-MUʿAWWIḎHATĀN[1]]), were not considered to be parts of the revelation by at least one of Muḥammad's closest Companions (al-Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, i, 64; *Gesch. des. Qor.*, ii, 39-42; Jeffery, *Materials*, 21). For a discussion of these three distinctive sūras, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 108-14. Another exception is the unique Sūra of the All-Merciful (LV), which consists almost entirely of a litany, in which the refrain, "O which of your Lord's bounties will you two [human kind and the djinn] deny", occurs 31 times as a separate verse, usually every other verse. The Sūra of Joseph (XII), is another exception, unique in several ways, e.g. it is the only long sūra that consists almost exclusively of a single narrative, the longest narrative in the Ḳur'ān. Virtually all other sūras contain more than one major theme and literary type, the longer sūras containing several of each.

The issue of the composition of the sūras leads to questions regarding the classification of literary types, the unity of the sūras, and the chronology of the text of the Ḳur'ān, issues that are so closely related that it is difficult to treat them separately. For a variety of reasons, classical Muslim scholars made several attempts to determine the chronological order of all of the sūras, but in a number of cases could not agree even on whether a sūra was Meccan or Medinan (*Itḳān*, i, 10-11). The order that came to be most widely accepted is now indicated in the headings to the individual sūras in the Egyptian standard text of the Ḳur'ān. The classical scholars devoted some attention to the literary forms of the sūras in attempts to determine their chronological order, but the main criteria in this effort involved the contents of the sūras and the traditional accounts of their historical setting or "occasions of revelation" (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) [see KUR'ĀN, 5.b, at 415-16].

European scholars developed a keener interest is the Ḳur'ān's literary types. In his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (1844), Gustav Weil stressed literary form as a major criterion in his rearrangement of the traditional chronological order and his division of the sūras into "early Meccan", "middle Meccan", "late Meccan" and "Medinan" periods. For instance, he placed all short sūras considered to be of the *kāhin* style [see KUR'ĀN, 7.a, 421-2] in his "early Meccan" period. Th. Nöldeke refined Weil's system in the 1st ed. of his *Gesch. des Qor.* (1860), and R. Blachère arranged the sūras in Nöldeke's order, with a few exceptions, in his first translation of the Ḳur'ān into French (2 vols., Paris 1949-51). For a description of this four-period system, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, 2 i, 74-234; Blachère, *Le Coran*, Paris 1966, 11-23; KUR'ĀN, 5.c, 416-18, which includes a critique.

The first modern attempt to classify all of the major literary types in the Ḳur'ān was made by H. Hirschfeld, in his *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, London 1902. His categories include "confirmatory, declamatory, narrative, descriptive, and legislative", along with "parables, political speeches, and passages on Muḥammad's domestic affairs". Hirschfeld surely went too far in concluding that the Meccan revelations occurred in the order of his first five categories (36, 143-5). Also, other conclusions and assumptions, along with the general tenor of his writing, are now outdated. The lasting contribution of his *New researches* is his convincing demonstration that any classification of literary types and themes within the Ḳur'ān must, with some exceptions, involve parts of sūras rather than sūras as wholes.

In her *Studien* (see *Bibl.*), A. Neuwirth classifies parts of Meccan sūras according to ten thematic types: oaths, "when" passages, other sūra beginnings, eschatological passages, lessons from history, hymnic passages, exhortations to the Prophet or to particular believers, polemic passages, affirmations of the revealed nature of the Ḳur'ān, and closing summons or closing imperatives (187-201). She concludes that, except for a few isolated cases, the middle and late Meccan sūras are "three-part compositions" similar to the three sections of the classical Arabic *ḳaṣīda*, and that by far the most common sūra type is "the revelation-confirmation-framed sura with a narrative comprising the middle part" (7). She cites as primary examples of this type sūras VII, XI, XII, XV, XVIII, XX, XXVI, and XXVII (242). While these sūras do contain stories and have references to the revelation near the beginning and end, they are far more complex than Neuwirth's presentation suggests. (For a critical review of Neuwirth's book, see A.T. Welch, in *JAOS*, ciii/4 [1983], 764-7; for examples of other classifications of literary types in the Ḳur'ān, which are not intended to be exhaustive, see Bell-Watt, 75-82, and KUR'ĀN, 7., at 421-5.)

One should also note Bell's view that references to the revelation, frequently to "the Book", that occur at the beginning of many sūras are parts of introductions that were added to previous, frequently Meccan, revelations when Muḥammad was preparing a scripture for his followers in the early Medinan years (see, e.g., the introductions to sūras XI and XV and the captions at the beginnings of sūras X, XII, XIV, etc., in Bell's *Translation*). Bell completed only the preliminary research for a modern critical understanding of the composition of the sūras, showing that they are far more complex than is assumed by the traditional view, which regards the sūras as unities (each revealed all at one time or completed before the next one was begun) and holds that it is possible to determine the chronological order of the sūras as wholes. It is now clear that some sūras contain units of varying length that date from different times. Others show signs of having been revised and expanded, possibly when Muḥammad recited them on later occasions or dictated them to his secretaries (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 129; Bell-Watt, 37-8). W.M. Watt presents Bell's view of "The Shaping of the

Qur'ān", including evidences of revision and reshaping of the sūras, and provides a partial critique in Bell-Watt, ch. 6. For Bell's own descriptions of the composition of the sūras, see the introductions to the sūras in his *Translation* and his *Commentary on the Qur'ān* (see *Bibl.*), the latter being the long lost "Notes" to his translation. For explanations of Bell's view of the history and compilation of the sūras, see KUR'ĀN, 5.c, at 417-18, and Merrill (in *Bibl.*). Indirect support for Bell's conclusions regarding the internal divisions within the sūras can be seen in A.J. Arberry's *The Koran interpreted* 2 vols., London 1955, where the sūra divisions into sections or paragraphs are frequently identical with Bell's (see, e.g., XIX, XXIV, XXV, XXVII, XXX-XL and most of the shorter sūras, LX-CXIV). Blachère also acknowledges that many sūras contain sections that are earlier or later than their present contexts (see his *Le Coran*, 1969 ed.).

3. Arrangement. The classical writers devoted considerable attention to the arrangement or order (*naẓm*) of the Ḳur'ān's words, phrases and sūras, usually in the context of discussing its inimitability (*iʿdjāz*). Among those who stressed the arrangement of the Ḳur'ān as a proof of its *iʿdjāz*, three stand out: Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 338/998), al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013), and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). The best known of these three, al-Bāḳillānī, devotes the majority of his famous book *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān* to *naẓm*, which he identifies as one of the three major proofs of the Ḳur'ān's divinely-inspired inimitability. The wide variety of senses he gives to *naẓm* makes it difficult, however, to determine precisely what he means by the term (a problem discussed by Bint al-Shāṭi' in her *al-Iʿdjāz al-bayānī li 'l-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1971, esp. 100). Al-Khaṭṭābī discusses *naẓm* in his *K. Bayān iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān*, and al-Djurdjānī in his *Dalā'il al-iʿdjāz*, the latter published several times (see *Bibl.*). These three writers employ the concept of *naẓm* in relation to the Ḳur'ān's eloquence (*balāgha*) and its various literary devices involving grammar, special word usage, and, in particular, the interrelationship (*munāsaba*) of words and phrases in the Ḳur'ān, rather than treating specifically the coherence or unity of individual sūras.

Later classical writers such as al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), al-Nīsābūrī (d. 728/1327), and al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1391) continued to stress the importance of understanding the *naẓm* of the Ḳur'ān as an essential component of its *iʿdjāz*, while extending the concept to include the relationships among verses, groups of verses within the sūras, and groups of sūras within the Ḳur'ān. This expansion of the concept of the Ḳur'ān's *naẓm* can be seen in al-Zamakhsharī's well-known commentary *al-Kashshāf* (see *Bibl.*), in which he relates the concept to the ways rhetorical devices, sentence structure, and the relationships among phrases, verses, and sūras convey complex meanings (see Darwīsh al-Djundī, *Naẓm al-Ḳur'ān fī Kashshāf al-Zamakhsharī*, Cairo 1969). Al-Rāzī is possibly the first commentator to apply the concept of *naẓm* to the whole of the Ḳur'ān, arguing that it is through its exquisite arrangement of words, phrases, and verses that the text reveals the subtlety (*laṭīfa*) of its meanings. Al-Rāzī stresses the progressive development of ideas within the sūras, showing how each verse leads to the next, and sometimes he points out similar relationships among sūras. Al-Nīsābūrī, in his *Gharā'ib al-Ḳur'ān* (see *Bibl.*), builds on al-Rāzī's approach by dividing a sūra into a number of passages and linking these passages by connecting their dominant ideas. In his *al-Burhān* (see *Bibl.*), al-Zarkashī develops al-Rāzī's approach to the *naẓm* of the Ḳur'ān further through his discussions of the interrelationships (*munāsabāt*) among verses and sūras (see, e.g., his second chapter, *Maʿrifat al-munāsabāt bayn al-āyāt*, Riyāḍ 1980, 35-52). Al-Suyūṭī's *Itḳān* contains a chapter similar to al-Zarkashī's called *Fī munāsabat al-āyāt wa 'l-suwar*, and he wrote an entire book on the order of the sūras (*Tartīb suwar al-Ḳur'ān*, Beirut 1986). These classical writers, unlike some modern commentators, provide descriptive analyses of the internal arrangement of the sūras, without attempting to develop elaborate theories that argue for the organic unity or thematic coherence of individual sūras and groups of sūras.

A number of collective names for groups of sūras occur frequently in the classical writings. Examples include *al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl* ("the seven long ones", ranging from 300 to over 700 lines in a modern printed text): II-VII and IX; *al-mi'ūn* ("the hundreds", all sūras other than "the seven long ones" with over 100 verses): X-XII, XVI-XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIII, XXVI, and XXXVII; *al-musabbiḥāt* (those that begin with the formula "All that is in the heavens and the earth glorify God", beginning with *sabbaḥa li-llāh* or *yusabbiḥu li-llāh*): LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII, and LXIV; *al-ḥawāmīm* or *al-ḥawāmīmāt* (those that begin with the initials *ḥā-mīm*): XL-XLVI; *al-ṭawāsīn* (those that begin with the letters *ṭa-sīn*): XXVI-XXVIII; *al-ḳalāḳil* (those that begin with *ḳul*, "Say:"): LXXII, CIX, and CXII-CXIV; and *al-muʿawwidhatān* ("the two [sūras] for seeking refuge [with God from Satan]"): CXIII-CXIV (mentioned above). These are purely descriptive names, unlike the sūra pairs and sūra groups proposed by al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, discussed below.

The commonly held and frequently repeated view that the sūras are arranged in the order of their length, from the longest to the shortest, is misleading, since over half of the sūras are significantly out of the order in which they would occur if descending length were the sole criterion (see Bell-Watt, 206-12). Other conspicuous and equally important criteria involve groups of sūras—such as the *ḥawāmīmāt*, the *ṭawāsīn*, and the group of short, Medinan sūras, LVII-LXIV, that include the *musabbiḥāt* (see above)—that appear together despite their widely varying lengths. Regarding the order of the sūras within the Ḳur'ān, see KUR'ĀN, 4.a, at 410a.

4. Unity and coherence. The idea of viewing the sūras as organic unities is not entirely a modern innovation. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) wrote, "No matter how many subjects the sūra deals with, it is a single discourse; the end is linked to the beginning, and the beginning is linked to the end, and the whole is devoted to a single aim" (quoted in K. Zebiri, *Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Islamic modernism*, Oxford 1993, 143). Still, it has only been in modern times that scholars have devoted special attention to arguments supporting the structural unity and thematic "coherence" of individual sūras. The Indian Ḳur'ān commentator Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (d. 1943), whose *Tafsīr* was first published in 1908, was one of the first scholars of the modern age to emphasise the organic unity of the sūras. This same emphasis can be seen in M. ʿAbduh and M. Rashīd Riḍā's *Tafsīr al-manār* (see *Bibl.*), especially at the end of the commentary on each sūra where its subject matter is summarised. The concept of the unity of the sūra is prominent in Sayyid Ḳuṭb's commentary *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳur'ān* (Cairo and Beirut, several eds.), in which he frequently refers to the central theme or aim of a sūra, often called its *ẓill* (metaphorically signifying its purpose or overall character)

or *miḥwar* (core or axis), which unites its various sections into a harmonious whole. Maḥmūd Shaltūt also takes for granted throughout his *Tafsīr* (see *Bibl.*) that the sūras are coherent, well-ordered structures, each being a perfectly balanced whole (Zebiri, *op. cit.*, esp. 152-5, 171-5).

Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (d. 1930) and Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (b. 1906) made the unity and coherence of the sūras the primary principle of their interpretations of the Ḳur'ān. In his *Dalā'il al-niẓām*, Aʿẓamgaṛh 1968 al-Farāhī begins by re-defining the key term *naẓm* (or *niẓām*) to mean coherence, rather than simply order or arrangement. Every sūra is said to possess this coherence, which consists of three essential elements, order (*tartīb*), proportion (*tanāsub*), and unity (*waḥdāniyya*). Each sūra also has a central theme, called *ʿamūd*, around which the entire sūra revolves. Iṣlāḥī adopted al-Farāhī's ideas and developed them further in his eight-volume commentary, *Tadabbur-i Ḳur'ān*, Lahore 1967-80, in which he also asserts that most of the Ḳur'ān consists of "sūra pairs" (II & III, VI & VII, X & XI, XII & XIII, XVI & XVII, XVIII & XIX, XX & XXI, XXII & XXIII, etc.) that have closely related central themes. These pairs are then said to constitute seven "sūra groups". Iṣlāḥī found support for his innovative theory in the Ḳur'ān by interpreting the much-debated expression *sabʿan min al-mathānī* in XV, 87 (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 114-16; Bell-Watt, 134-5) to mean "seven (groups) of the (sūra) pairs", and in the *Ḥadīth* by interpreting the expression *sabʿat aḥruf* (which can be taken to refer to the seven readings of the Ḳur'ān, though most *ḳurrā'* deny this; see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 48-51; Bell-Watt, 48-9) as referring to his seven sūra groups. For further explanation and a critique of the theories of al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, see M. Mir, *Coherence in the Qur'ān*, and *The sūra as a unity*, in *Bibl.*). It is unlikely that these imaginative theories will be widely accepted.

The subjectivity of these and other modern attempts to demonstrate the unity of the sūras is seen in the fact that various writers, including al-Farāhī and Iṣlāḥī, identify different central themes for the same sūra. This is only to be expected, since the majority of the sūras treat several disparate topics. This new emphasis on the unity of the sūra was inspired partly by a reaction to the verse-by-verse approach of the classical commentators, which often stressed grammatical and linguistic details and yielded little insight into the larger themes of the sūras, and partly by a reaction to Western criticisms of the Ḳur'ān as being disjointed, repetitious and contradictory.

An equally elaborate and imaginative theory that purports to demonstrate the unity of the sūras has been developed by Neuwirth in her *Studien*. She quotes Bell-Watt, 73, "... many sūras of the Qur'ān fall into short sections or paragraphs. These are not of fixed length, however, nor do they seem to follow any pattern of length. Their length is determined not by any consideration of form but by the subject or incident treated in each" (175), and then states that it is the goal of her book to disprove this view of the structure of the suras. One major thesis of her book is that the Meccan sūras consist of groups of verses that are arranged in numerical patterns, often in balanced proportions, e.g., 5 + 9//6 + 6 + 6//9 + 5 in LXXIX, 6 + 5 + 5 + 6 in LXXXV, 4 + 6 + 6 + 4 in XC, and 24//20 + 20//24 in the medium-length XLIII. Most sūras are not said to consist of such perfectly balanced groups of verses, but she sees definite numerical patterns in all of them (175-321). One problem is that her balanced proportions are often based on changes which she makes in the traditional verse divisions in her ch. 1 (14-63). For this and several other reasons, her argument (314-15) that these numerical patterns show that the Meccan sūras are unities going back to the time they were first recited by Muḥammad is not convincing (see Welch review, *loc. cit.*, 766). The modern critical view of the structure of the sūras presented in Bell-Watt (73, 86-101) remains essentially intact. For a concise summary of the current critical view of the development and composition of the sūras during Muḥammad's lifetime, see ḲUR'ĀN, concluding paragraph of 5.c, at 418b-19. This view regards the sūras as composite in nature, with significant components from both the Meccan and Medinan periods. It thus rejects any attempt to date and arrange the sūras as wholes, including the traditional division into "Meccan" and "Medinan" sūras, as well as the modern western arrangement of the sūras into four periods, three Meccan and one Medinan.

Questions regarding the composition, unity, and coherence of the sūras are among the most disputed issues in modern Ḳur'ān studies. These differences of opinion, however, often stem from varying assumptions and approaches—theological, historical, literary, etc. Some approaches, literary as well as theological, are synchronic, assuming the unity of the present sūras and of the Ḳur'ān as a whole. Other approaches, linguistic as well as historical, are diachronic, seeking to trace the development of the language and teachings of the Ḳur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime. Studies based on this diachronic approach have led to the conclusion that the sūras were fluid during Muḥammad's lifetime, that he recited parts of some sūras differently on later occasions in response to the changing needs of his followers, and that the compilers of the Ḳur'ān after his death were loathe to omit any attested revelations and thus placed alternative passages together. This view is not inconsistent with some early Muslim traditions (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 129, 131) and with the Ḳur'ān itself (II, 106, XIII, 39, XVI, 101, etc.). Amīn al-Khūlī, in his *Manāhidj tadjdīd* (see *Bibl.*), and M. Arkoun, in his *Lectures du Coran*, ²Tunis 1991, have called for the application of modern historical and literary studies of the Ḳur'ān. Such studies would follow in the tradition of the classical commentators, who applied the literary and linguistic methods of their times. Studies that yield strong evidence that the sūras underwent revision and expansion need not be rejected as undermining belief in the divine origin of the sūras. Nor is this diachronic approach antithetical to synchronic studies. The two approaches to analysis of the sūras can, and some would say should, exist side-by-side within a single modern discipline of Ḳur'ān studies.

The art. ḲUR'ĀN treats other aspects of the sūras: their names (at 410), their rhymes and rhyme formulas (at 420), the formula called the *basmala* that precedes them (at 411-12), and the so-called "mysterious letters" that occur at the beginning of 29 of the 114 sūras (at 412-14).

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ṢŪRA (A.), image, form, shape, e.g. *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, "the image of the earth", *ṣūrat ḥimār*, "the form of an ass" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 115), or face, countenance (see below). *Taṣāwīr* are rather pictures; see for these, TAṢWĪR. *Ṣūra* and *taṣwīra* are therefore in the same relation to one another as the Hebrew *demūt* and *ṣelem*.

1. In theological and legal doctrine. The Biblical idea according to which man was created in God's *ṣelem* (Gen. i. 27) has most probably passed into Ḥadīth. It occurs in three passages in classical *Ḥadīth*; the exegesis is uncertain and in general unwilling to adopt interpretations such as Christian theology has always readily associated with this Biblical passage. In al-Bukhārī, *Istiʾdhān*, *bāb* I (cf. Muslim, *Djanna*, trad. 28) it is said "God created man after (*ʿalā*) his *ṣūra*: his length was 60 ells". On this, al-Ḳasṭallāni (ix, 144) says: "the suffix 'his' refers to Adam; the meaning therefore is that God created Adam according to his, i.e. Adam's form, that is, perfect and well-proportioned" (see also *LʿA*[1], vi, 143-4). But there are also other explanations. Another tradition says: "One should not say 'May God make thy face hateful and the faces of those who are like thee', for God created Adam after his *ṣūra*". In this tradition, the possessive pronoun obviously refers to the person addressed. Others say that the possessive pronoun refers to God, for in one version the tradition runs: "God created Ādam in the shape of al-Raḥmān", i.e. as regards his qualities, knowledge, life, hearing, sight, etc., although God's qualities are incomparable. The theologians are divided into two groups on the exposition of this tradition; the one refrains from any interpretation through dread of anthropomorphism, whilst the other explains the expression as an indication of Adam's beauty and perfection, an *iḍāfat takrīm wa-tashrīf* (like *nāḳat Allāh*, *Bayt Allāh* says al-Nawawī, see below).

The second passage in which the tradition occurs is Muslim, *Birr*, trad. 115: "If a man fights with his brother, he ought to spare his face, for God created man after his *ṣūra*". Al-Nawawī's commentary on this tradition coincides in part with the already-quoted section in al-Ḳasṭallānī. We need only quote the following here: al-Māzarī says, "Ibn Ḳutayba has interpreted this tradition wrongly by taking it literally". He says, "God has a *ṣūra*, but not like other *suwar*". This interpretation is obviously wrong, for the conception *ṣūra* involves putting together, and what is put together is created (*muḥdath*); but God is not created, therefore is not composed, therefore he is not *muṣawwar*. Ibn Ḳutayba's interpretation is like that of the anthropomorphists, who say, "God has a body, but not like other bodies". They quote in support the orthodox pronouncement "The Creator is a thing (*shayʾ*), but not like other things". "This is, however, reasoning by false analogy, for *shayʾ* does not involve the conception of coming into existence (*ḥudūth*) and what is associated with it. Body and *ṣūra*, on the other hand, involve joining together and composition and therefore also *ḥudūth*", etc.

We have further to deal with the concept *ṣūra* in connection with the prohibition of images, which, in so far as it is known in the West, is traced to the Ḳurʾān, like most Muslim institutions. Although this idea is one of the numerous popular errors about Islam, it cannot be denied that the prohibition of images is based on a view which finds expression in the Ḳurʾān. In Ḳurʾānic linguistic usage, *ṣawwara* "to fashion" or "form" is synonymous with *baraʾa* "to create". Hence sūra VII, 10, "and We have created you, then We have fashioned you, then We have said to the angels, etc.". III, 4: "It is he who forms you in the mother's womb as he will". XL, 66: "It is God who has made the earth for a home for you and the heavens for a vault above you, shaped you and formed you beautiful" (cf. LXIV, 3). In LIX, 24, God is called *al-khālik*, *al-bāriʾ* and *al-muṣawwir*, i.e., according to al-Bayḍāwī, "He who takes the resolution to create things according to His wisdom, who creates them without error, who calls their forms and qualities into existence, according to His will".

This linguistic usage shows complete synonymity between the concepts "to fashion, to shape", and "to make, to create". In the older Hebrew literature also, Yahweh as creator is called *Yoṣer*, i.e. the potter. The roots *ṣ-w-r* and *y-ṣ-r* are ultimately connected.

If, then, God according to the Ḳurʾān is the great fashioner, it follows in *Ḥadīth* that all human fashioners are imitators of God and as such deserving of punishment: "Whosoever makes an image, him will God give as a punishment the task of blowing the breath of life into it; but he will not able to do this" (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 104; Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 100). "Those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Judgment by being told, Make alive what you have created" (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, *bāb* 56). "These whom God will punish most severely on the Day of Judgment are those who imitate God's work of creation" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 36). Such are called the worst of creatures (al-Nasāʾī, *Masādjid*, *bāb* 13), cursed by Muḥammad (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 25), compared to polytheists (al-Tirmidhī, *Djahannam*, *bāb* 1). Houses which contain images, dogs and ritually impure people are avoided by the angels of mercy (al-Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-khalḳ*, *bāb* 17, etc.). The latter statement is illuminated by the story of how ʿĀʾisha once purchased a cushion (*numruḳa*) on which were pictures; when Muḥammad saw it from outside the house, he stood at the door without coming in. When ʿĀʾisha saw repugnance expressed on his countenance, she said, "O Messenger of God, I turn full of penitence to God and His Messenger, but what law have I bro-

ken?" He replied, "What is the meaning of this cushion?" She said, "I purchased it for thee to sit upon and use as a cushion". Then the Messenger of God answered, "The makers of these images will be punished, and they will be told, Make alive what you have created". And further, he said, "A house which contains images is not entered by the angels" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 96; cf. 85, 87, 91-9; al-Bukhārī *Libās*, *bāb* 92; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 172). Muḥammad is said to have removed the images and statues from the Kaʿba (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 48). There are also references to this in the *Sīra*. Here we need only quote one more remarkable tradition, which has some resemblance to the St. Christopher legend. ʿAlī relates, "I and the Prophet walked till we came to the Kaʿba. Then the Prophet of God said to me, 'Sit down'. Then he stood on my shoulders and I arose. But when he saw that I could not support him, he came down, sat down and said, 'Stand on my shoulders'. Then I climbed on his shoulders and he stood up, and it seemed to me as if I could have touched the sky, had I wished. Then I climbed on the roof of the Kaʿba, on which there was an image of copper and iron. Then I began to loosen it at its right and left side, in front and behind, until it was in my power. Then the Prophet of God called to me, 'Throw it down'! Then I threw it down so that it broke into pieces like a bottle. I then climbed down from the Kaʿba and hurried away with the Prophet, till we hid ourselves in the houses for fear some one might meet us" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 84; cf. 151).

According to the *Sharīʿa*, it is forbidden to copy living beings, those that have a *rūḥ*. Al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to *Libās*, trad. 81 (Cairo 1283, iv, 443) gives the following summary: The learned men of our school and other *ʿulamāʾ* say: The copying of living beings is strictly forbidden and is one of the great sins, because it is threatened with the severe punishment mentioned in the traditions. It does not matter whether the maker has made the copies from things used in little esteem or from other things, for the making of them is in itself *ḥarām*, because it is an imitation of God's creative activity. From this point of view, it makes no difference whether the image is put upon a piece of cloth, carpet, coin, vessel or wall, etc.

The copying of trees, camel-saddles, and other things apart from living creatures is not forbidden. Thus far the legal prescriptions affecting the copying itself.

As regards the use of articles which have on them images of living creatures, if these are hung on a wall or are on a garment which is worn, or on a turban or other article which is not treated lightly, they are *ḥarām*. If the reproductions, however, are on carpets which are walked upon, on cushions and pillows, etc., which are in use, they are not *ḥarām*. Whether the angels of mercy avoid houses which contain such articles will be discussed immediately, if God wills.

In all these cases, it makes no difference whether the reproductions have a shadow or not. Some of the older jurists say: Only what has a shadow is forbidden; there are no objections to other reproductions. But this is an erroneous view. For the reproduction on the curtain was condemned by the Prophet, and it certainly had no shadow. The other traditions should be remembered which forbid all images of whatever nature.

Al-Zuhrī says: Images are without exception forbidden, as well as the use of articles on which there are images or the entering of a house in which there are images, whether embroidered on a cloth or not embroidered, whether they are put on a wall, on a cloth or carpet, to be trodden upon or not, on the authority of the literal interpretation of the tradition about the *numruḳa* (pillow) which Muslim records (see above). This is a very strict point of view. Others say: What is embroidered on a piece of cloth, whether for lowly use or not, whether hung on a wall or not, is permitted. They regard as *makrūh* images which have shadows, or reproductions on walls, whether embroidered or not. They rely for this view on Muḥammad's words in several traditions in the *Bāb* concerned: "except what is embroidered on cloth". This is the attitude of Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad.

The consensus or *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*] forbids all representations which have shadows and declares their defacement *wādjib*. The Ḳāḍī (ʿIyāḍ) says: "Apart from little girls playing with dolls and the permission for this". Mālik, however, declares it *makrūh* for a man to buy his daughter a doll. And some say that the permission to play with dolls was abolished by the traditions (447-8). These traditions lay it down without any ambiguity that the representation of living creatures is strictly forbidden. As regards representations of trees and such-like without a *rūḥ*, neither their making nor purchase is thereby forbidden. Fruit trees in this respect are the same as other trees. This is the view of all the *ʿulamāʾ* except Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], who considers the representation of fruit-trees *makrūh*. The Ḳāḍī (ʿIyāḍ) says: Mudjāhid is alone in this view. He relies on the tradition, "Who is more unrighteous, than he who imitates my creation?" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 101; al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, *bāb* 56), while all the others quote the tradition, "Then it shall be said to them, put life (*aḥyū*) into that which ye have made," for *aḥyū* means, make living creatures (*ḥayawān*) with a *rūḥ*. Thus far al-Nawawī.

In spite of the opinions of theologians and jurists, breaches are not rare, as in the case of the prohibition of wine; as, e.g., the frescoes in the bath-house of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [see ARCHITECTURE], the miniatures in Persian and Turkish manuscripts [see TAṢWĪR. 1] and the postage stamps of the great majority of Islamic countries [see POSTA]. There have even been pictures of Muḥammad in recent times. But this does not affect the fact that, among Muslim peoples, there has been neither painting nor sculpture to any considerable extent. Arabesques and calligraphy [see ARABESQUE and KHAṬṬ] may be regarded as a substitute for it.

Objections were for long made to photography (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 432-3); now these seem, in certain circles at least, no longer to be so strong or even to have been quite overcome. In the Museum of al-Dawḥa in Ḳaṭar, one may see, in one of the rooms, rows of photographs of celebrated members of the ruling family, despite the fact that this is Wahhābī. In Cairo there appeared early an illustrated weekly *al-Muṣawwar*, produced entirely on western lines, and illustrated magazines and journals are now general in the Islamic world. This does not, however, mean that the old opinions have entirely disappeared. Chauvin gave examples of the horror of being photographed [see TAṢWĪR. 2.], examples which still have their counterparts in the modern western world. Here too we find people objecting to being photographed because they feel as if something were being stolen from their persons or spirits.

We also find the second commandment quoted literally in the West against pictures, although the usual interpretation regards it only as prohibiting the worship of idols. It may be asked whether the Muslim interdiction of images was influenced by the Jewish

interpretation of the second commandment. From the literature (Flavius Josephus) on the one hand, and the coins on the other, it is evident that the Jewish extension of the prohibition of images was exactly the same as the Muslim: no living creatures, only plants and other objects. On the one hand, we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the other hand recognise that the foundations for this transference can already be found in the Ḳur'an. The Biblical idea of the creation of man by the making of an image and breathing the breath of life into it as found in the story of the Creation is also found in the Ḳur'an (XV, 29; XXXVIII, 72), and it is this very idea which has had great influence on traditions and legal literature.

To the information from Tradition, some items of historical information may be added.

When the Meccans rebuilt the Kaʿba after it had been damaged by a fire, they painted on its pillars pictures (*ṣuwar*) of the prophets, trees and angels. Amongst these pictures, there were ones of Abraham, the Friend of God, in the shape of an elderly man drawing out the divinatory arrows [see ISTIḲSĀM], and ones of Jesus the son of Mary and his mother. On the day of the conquest of Mecca (the *Fatḥ*), the Prophet went into the Kaʿba, ordered a garment (*t̲h̲awb*) to be brought, dipped it in the waters of Zamzam and commanded that all the pictures should be rubbed out except for that of Jesus and his mother, which he covered with his two hands, saying at the same time, "Rub out all the pictures apart from the ones which I am covering with my hands!". Then, raising his eyes, he saw the picture of Abraham and said, "May God cause them to perish! They have represented him as drawing out the divinatory arrows. What has Abraham to do with arrows?" (al-Azraḳī, *Ak̲h̲bār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 111). ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ relates that he saw in the Kaʿba a picture of Mary painted (*muzawwaḳ*) on the pillar at the building's entrance (*ibid.*, 111-12).

There are two items of information concerning the Prophet's revulsion at the sight of any kind of picture or image. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 1788, related that the Messenger of God had a shield (*turs*) with the head of a ram carved on it. He disliked this intensely. Hence one day, God made it disappear. Ibn Saʿd records via ʿĀ'is̲h̲a a conversation which took place between the Prophet's wives, who had gathered round him when he was ill. They were speaking about a church in Abyssinia, dedicating to Mary, whilst admiring its beauty and its images (one should note that Umm Salama and Umm Ḥabība had been in Abyssinia with the first group of Muḥammad's followers who emigrated thither). The Prophet interrupted them and said, "Those people erect on the tomb of one of the just persons amongst them an oratory (*masd̲j̲id*), then they paint these kind of pictures. Such people are the worst of creation" (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/2, 34).

Paintings were to be found in houses. One text leads us to think that they had a propitiatory effect. ʿAbd Allāh (or ʿUbayd Allāh, both of these being sons of Ziyād b. Abīhi) had a dog, a lion and a ram painted in the entrance porch (*dihlīz*), and said, "A dog which barks, a ram which buts with its horns and a grim and menacing lion" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 147).

Another story, arising out of the legend of al-Zabbā' (Zenobia) makes one think of a usage current within social relations. This queen sent a skilful painter to make for her a portrait of her enemy ʿAmr b. ʿAdī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 762 ff.). A similar tale is told about Muḥammad, to whom Kisrā is said to have sent a painter in order to make a portrait for himself (al-Ibs̲h̲īhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 177; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, cited in Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 471-2).

Finally, I. Goldziher (*Zum islamischen Bilderverbot*, in *ZDMG*, lxxiv [1920], 288) drew attention to Ḳur'ān, V, 110, where it is said that God gave Jesus the power of forming (*k̲h̲alaḳa*) out of mud the figure of a bird, into which he was able to breathe (*nafak̲h̲a*) life. This verse must have been the departure point for theological discussions which took place over the question of images in Islam.

The question of the licitness or otherwise of the representation of living forms has recently been considered by historians of Islamic art, endeavouring to go beyond the blanket assertion in many textbooks that Islam was theologically and legally opposed to all such representation. A useful discussion is to be found in Oleg Grabar's ch. "Islamic attitudes towards the arts" in his *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven and London 1973, 75-103. He examines the exiguous Ḳur'ānic references as a document for the arts, finding nothing comparable to the categorical message of Exod. xx. 4 "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven images or any likenesses of anything that is in heaven or that is in earth beneath or is in the waters under the earth", but notes that the early Islamic attitudes, as developed in *Ḥadīt̲h̲*, clashed with authentic information about the presence of beautiful objects with figures—mainly textiles and metalwork—in the Prophet's immediate environment, so that some adjustment and amelioration of a blanket prohibition was evolved in Tradition. Grabar sees a possible explanation of the whole question in the initial confused attitude of awe and admiration on the one hand, and contempt and jealousy on the other, towards the art and architecture of the Byzantine and Eastern Christian worlds, which passed to downright hostility towards representation of living things, conceivably in part under the influence of Judaic thought and arguments, but primarily as a reaction to, and a need for differentiation from, the overwhelming impact of the sophisticated system of Christian art, so that Islam could preserve it own unique quality. Islamic iconophobia seems also to reflect a fear of the magical, potentially evil power of images as deception, an attitude deeply embedded in the folk culture of the Middle East.

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of *ḥadīth* and legal texts, see R. Paret, *Textbelege zum islamischen Bilderverbot*, in *Das Werk des Künstlers. Studien H. Schrade dargebracht*, Stuttgart 1960, 36-48; idem, *Das islamische Bilderverbot und die Schia*, in E. Gräf (ed.), *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, Leiden 1968, 224-32.

(A.J. Wensinck-[T. Fahd])

2. In philosophy. For *ṣūra* as εἶδος, form, see hayūlā.

SURĀḲA b. MIRDĀS al-AṢGHAR, Umayyad poet and contemporary of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*], a member of the Yemeni tribe of Bāriḳ, of the Azd [*q.v.*], and one of three poets to bear the name Surāḳa b. Mirdās (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 327).

Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī did not devote an entry to him in the *Aghānī*, although al-Ṭabarī mentions him often enough in his *Ta'rīkh*, because of the at times prominent role which Surāḳa played in the politics of his day; Surāḳa also, apparently at the instigation of Bishr b. Marwān [*q.v.*], participated in the public haranguing matches between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, lending his support to the latter. Various anecdotes connect him with the opposition to al-Mukhtār al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*], who had him imprisoned and then released upon Surāḳa's composition of a panegyrical *i'tidhār* (a *nūniyya*), with involvement with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in Basra, and with membership of the court circle of Bishr b. Marwān, to whom he dedicated a panegyric (a *bā'iyya*). Surāḳa's *dīwān* also contains a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] in honour of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf (a *rā'iyya*). His death is fixed to the year 80/699. Surāḳa's extant poetry belongs predominantly to the genres of *hidjā'* and *rithā'* with some *madīḥ* and distinctive *fakhr* espousing a pan-Yemeni fervour. It also contains a superlative horse description (a *bā'iyya*) and a fine poetic manifesto of sixteen lines, verses 57-72 of a bipartite *fakhr* (a *lāmiyya*), in which the poet awards poetical pre-eminence to himself over his non-Yemeni predecessors.

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(J.E. Montgomery)

SURAKARTA, a city in Central Java, Indonesia, pop. 511, 585 (1988), formerly also the name of a Javanese kingdom.

Originally, the whole area was part of the kingdom of Mataram, with its capitals Yogyakarta (since 1582) and Kartasura (since 1677/80), in which Islam was accepted as official religion, but with both Hindu-Javanese and Javanese-monistic traditions functioning as well as ideology legitimating the rule of the dynasty. After a rebellion against the strong economic and political influence of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), which originated in Batavia during a confrontation between the Dutch and Chinese traders who were subsequently massacred, and which soon spread to Central Java, the ruler of Mataram, Paku Buwono II, decided to abandon his *kraton* (palace) in Kartasura and established a new one in a village named Sala (Solo, in Javanese pronunciation), some 12 km/7 miles to the east and close to the river Bengawan Solo, renaming it Surakarta and taking his residence there in 1745. He was forced by the VOC to lease to them vast areas on the coasts and some in the interior of the island as well.

When Paku Buwono II died in 1749, the Dutch declared the crown prince as *susuhunan* (ruler), as Paku Buwono III. In Yogyakarta, however, a younger brother and long-time rival to Paku Buwono II and uncompromising opponent to the treaty with the Dutch, Mangku Bumi III, was declared king by his followers. In 1755 he adopted again the title of *sulṭān*, once held by Agung, the greatest ruler of Mataram (1613-46), by a special act of conferment from Mecca, and as Hamengkubuwono I he became the ancestor of the formally still ruling dynasty of (Nga) Yogyakarta Hadiningrat, with its present Sultan Hamengkubuwono X (since 1988). Thus in 1755 the unity of Mataram came to its end, and was replaced by two rival kingdoms: the *Kasunanan* Surakarta Hadiningrat, and the Kasultanan (Nga) Yogyakarta Hadiningrat. Both, however, experienced a further partition: to the still rebellious Raden Mas Said, younger brother of Paku Buwono II, some areas of the Surakarta kingdom had to be ceded where, since 1757, he and his descendants ruled as Mangku Negara, their palace being also in Surakarta, while the British, in 1812, handed over some districts of the Yogyakarta sultanate to the Paku Alam.

The influence of Islam was much less apparent in Surakarta court culture than, e.g., in Yogyakarta. The hereditary title of the ruler, Paku Buwono, means "nail of the universe" and points to his cosmic position. Priority was given to what was thought to be the authentic Javanese traditions in art, dance, gamelan music, court etiquette, batik weaving, etc., expressing the cosmic harmony. Literary life flourished with Pangeran (prince) Ranggawarsita (1802-73), who combined Javanese and Islamic mystical traditions in his philosophy.

After 1830, Dutch rule over the Javanese principalities, including Surakarta, was formally indirect, using the *susuhunan* as highest local authority, to whom also the appanage of the leased territories had regularly to be handed over. In 1905, Javanese Muslim Batik traders in Surakarta founded the *Serikat Dagang Islam* ("Islamic Trading Company") against the growing competition of Chinese Batik traders who were obviously supported by the court. After a reshuffle in 1911, it developed, as "*(Partai) Sarekat Islam (Indonesia)*", into the most influential nationalist organisation during the two decades to come [see sarekat islam]. Great poverty and social unrest made the area of the *kasunanan* and its eastern neighbourhood a focus for Communist agitation.

After World War II and the end of colonialism in Indonesia, the young Paku Buwono XII, who had been enthroned just a few weeks before the declaration of the independent Republic of Indonesia (on 17 August 1945), tried to maintain his sovereignty, albeit now under the umbrella of the Republic, by declaring his kingdom to be an "extraordinary region" (*daerah istimewa*) ruled by him, the *susuhunan*. Growing security problems caused by the Communists, the alleged lack of sufficient support to the republican defenders of independence against the returning Dutch (after 1946), and a general dislike of the feudal image of the *kraton*, resulted in the gradual reduction of the *susuhunan*'s authority to the area of his palace, while in 1950, the city and territory of the former kingdom, together with that of the Mangku Negara, were included in the province of Central Java, Surakarta maintaining only the status of a capital city of a residency (*kabupaten*). Nevertheless, it is still considered as a dominant centre of Javanese traditional culture, to which some institutions of higher education have been added.

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(C.C. Berg-[O. Schumann])

SŪRAT, a city and port of western India, on the south bank of the Tāptī and some 16 km/10 miles upstream from where the river debouches into the Gulf of Cambay (lat. 21° 10' N., long 72° 54' E.). The geographer Ptolemy (A.D. 150), speaks of the trade of Pulipula, perhaps Phulpāda, the sacred part of Sūrat city. Early references to Sūrat by Muslim historians must be scrutinised, owing to the confusion of the name with Sorath (Saurāshtra), but in 774/1373 Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk III built a fort to protect the place against the Bhīls. The foundation of the modern city is traditionally assigned to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when its prosperity was restored by Gopī, a rich Hindū merchant, and in 1514 it was already an important seaport. The Portuguese burnt the town in 1512, 1530, and 1531, and the present fort was founded in 947/1540 by Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish officer in the service of Maḥmūd III of Gudjarāt. In 980/1572 it fell into the hands of the Mīrzās, then in rebellion against the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who besieged and took the place in the following year. It was plundered in 1018/1609 by Malik ʿAmbar [*q.v.*], the Ḥabashī *wazīr* of the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [*q.vv.*], but on the whole, for 160 years Sūrat enjoyed peace and prosperity under Mughal rule, and at its peak in the mid-17th century, may have had a population of *ca.* 200,000; it was known as "the Gate of Mecca" and "the Blessed Port" from its being the point of departure for Pilgrims to Arabia. An English ship first arrived at "Swally Hole" (Suwālī) the anchorage near the mouth of the Tāptī, in 1608, but the English encountered great difficulty in founding a factory, owing to the hostility of the Portuguese. They succeeded, and their position was secured by the treaty brought back from Djahāngīr at Agra by Sir Thomas Roe in 1618. The Dutch East India Company likewise secured a factory at Sūrat at the same time, their principal one in India, and there was also a French factory opened in 1667. The principal articles of trade at this time were silks and cotton textiles exported to Europe.

There was growing insecurity in the later part of Awrangzīb's reign. The Marāthā [*q.v.*] leader Śivādjī plundered the city in 1664, but was not able to touch the English and Dutch factories. Sūrat suffered a certain decline from the English East India Company's decision in 1687 to transfer the seat of its trading operations on the west coast of India to Bombay, and the Dutch became leading traders there. Marāthā raids became almost an annual occurrence. In 1733 the nominal Mughal governor Tēg Bakht Khān declared his independence, and his family held the city till 1759 when a British expedition from Bombay, with Marāthā compliance, took over Sūrat, the local Nawwābs continuing as nominal rulers till 1800, when it was formally incorporated into the Bombay Presidency.

In 1844 Sūrat, at the time economically depressed through the rise of Bombay, was shaken by large-scale riots against the Bombay Government's imposition of a new tax on salt to compensate for its losses through abolition of transit dues on manufactured goods; the new tax fell heavily on poor fishermen who salted their catches. However, the rise in cotton prices during the American Civil War benefitted the city, and it began to recover from its depressed state with the coming of railways. It is now the administrative centre of a District of the same name in the Gujarat State of the Indian Union, with a population in 1971 of 470,000.

Monuments include the mosque built by Khudāwand Khān (947/1540) and that of Sayyid Djaʿfar ʿAydarūs (1049/1639 [see ʿAYDARUS. no. 8]. The present population is mainly Hindu, but there is a significant Parsee community, with fire temples, and the Muslims include a significant community of the Bohorā Ismāʿīlīs. The head of the Dāʾūdī branch of the Bohorās, called the *Dāʿī al-Muṭlaḳ* or *Mullādjī Ṣāḥib*, has his headquarters in Sūrat although he normally resides in Bombay [see BOHORĀS].

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(T.W. Haig-[C.E. Bosworth])

ṢŪRAT AL-ARḌ (A.), lit. "the form or shape of the earth", the term serving as the title for two early Islamic geographical works covering the world as it was then known, that of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. *ca.* 232/847 [*q.v.*]) and that of Ibn Ḥawḳal (d. after 362/973 [*q.v.*]). See further DJUGHRĀFIYĀ.

AL-SURAYDJIYYA, AL-MASʾALA, "the question of [Ibn] Suraydj", a term in the Islamic law on divorce. The jurists term this one of the formulae of the "conditional divorce" (*al-ṭalāḳ al-muʿallaḳ ʿalā sharṭ*), a type of divorce admitted by the majority of jurists and consisting of the husband addressing his wife with a formula of the kind "If you go into this house, you are divorced". In most of the *fiḳh* treatises, extended developments of a casuistic nature are devoted to the different forms of this type of divorce, forms distinguished from each other by the particular conditional particle used (*man, in, idhā, matā*, etc.) in the formula of divorce or by the terms of the condition evoked.

The *masʾala suraydjiyya* envisages the case of a divorce formula in the following terms: "When I divorce you, you will have already been divorced, before this divorce, three times" (*matā ṭallaḳtuki fa-anti ṭāliḳ^{un} ḳablahu thalāth^{an}*). Different jurists, including the Shāfiʿī Ibn Suraydj (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*])—after whom this question is named—considered that a formula like this remained invalid (i.e. realisation of the condition did not entail that of that which was made conditional), since, they said, "affirmation of a divorce leads to its negation". There is a "circular argument" (*dawr*) here, as al-Subkī notes, because in this case, when a husband divorces his spouse, one must consider whether this act is already a third one (hence irrevocable), and if one considers that the woman is already divorced in that fashion, the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced (or the realisation of the condition) lacks any object and cannot therefore have the effect of provoking a threefold divorce. Certain jurists held that a simple (not threefold) divorce resulted, whilst others, that a threefold divorce depended entirely on this form of conditional divorce.

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SÜRGÜN [see Suppl.].

ṢURRA (A.) lit. "purse", a sealed purse containing coins. In this meaning it is found in early Arabic papyri. It stands for the late Roman *sacculum signatum* or greek *follis* (see Hendy). The *ṣurra* was used for monetary transactions. Purses with a defined amount of money were sealed, because coins usually differ in weight (see Goitein).

In 9th/15th century Mamlūk Egypt, *ṣurra* is used for a purse of money distributed as a gift by the ruler. Ibn Iyās mentions foremost the purses annually given to the *'ulamā'* and *fuḳahā'* as well as the gifts given to the Sharīf of Mecca on the occasion of the *Ḥadjdj*. Before this period, the general terms *in'ām* [*q.v.*] or *ṣadaḳāt* were applied for those gifts.

After 922/1516 the Ottoman sultan became the protector of the Holy Cities. *Ṣurra* developed into a financial and administrative term (Tkish. *sürre*). It defined all expenses of the Pilgrimage caravan, payments to the Bedouin tribes for its safe-conduct, payments to the Sharīf in Mecca, as well as payments to the people connected with the services in religious institutions in Mecca and Medina, and later in Jerusalem too (see Shaw). From the 19th century, several descriptions of the connected office of the *amīn al-ṣurra* by *amīrs* of the Pilgrimage and European travellers are known (see Peters, Stratkötter, Landau).

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SŪRS or SŪRĪ dynasty, a line of Dihlī Sultans (947-62/1540-55) founded by the Afghān commander Shīr Shāh Sūr b. Miyān Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who had been in the service of the preceeding Lōdī sultans [*q.v.*]. This brief Indian dynasty's period of rule spanned the interval between the first reign of the Mughal Humāyūn [*q.v.*] (937-47/1530-40) and his second reign and the final consolidation of Mughal rule (962/1555).

From a base in Bihār, Shīr Shāh in the 1530s made himself master of northern India, including Bengal, and twice repelled invasions from Agra by Humāyūn, so that in 947/1540 he assumed the sultanate (for details of his career and reign, see SHĪR SHĀH SŪR). When he was killed in warfare at Kālindjār in 952/1545, he was succeeded by his younger son Islām Shāh (952-61/1545-54), who managed to hold the sultanate together in the face of ambitious Afghān nobles, whose landed power he endeavoured to reduce; but on his death in autumn 960/1553, the throne was seized by Mubāriz Khān, who murdered Islām Khān's son Fīrūz Shāh and assumed royal authority as Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh. The next year was filled with anarchy and strife as the central authority in Dihlī, and the sound administrative and financial system of Shīr Shāh and Islām Khān, collapsed. Various members of the Sūr family such as Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad and Muḥammad Khāns contested the throne from such bases as Lahore and Bengal, with the commander Tādj Khān Kararānī rebelling at Gwāliyār. Assuming the throne in Dihlī, Ibrāhīm Khān soon had to yield power to Sikandar Khān; an important additional figure in these power struggle was the Hindu general of the Sūrs, Hēmū, who was eventually killed combatting the Mughals at the second battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*].

This confusion within the Sūr family enabled Humāyūn to reappear in 962/1555, occupying Lahore, defeating the Afghāns at Sirhind [*q.v.*] and entering Dihlī in 4 Ramaḍān 962/23 July 1555.

Bibliography: For both primary and secondary sources, see the Bibl. of SHĪR SHĀH SŪR, to which should be added R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. VII. The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 68-103; I.H. Siddiqui, *Sher Shah Sur and his dynasty*, Jaipur 1995; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 160. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SURT, a mediaeval city of Libya, also known today as al-Mudayna or Madīna Sulṭān, lies 55 km/34 miles east of the modern city of Sirt.

It was originally a Punic emporium called Charax. Later, in Roman times, it was called Iscina and became the site of a Jewish colony. In many Berber revolts against Byzantine authority the city seems to have been destroyed. After the Umayyad conquest of North Africa, the town has no recorded history except for the fact that the Mindāsa, Maḥanḥa, and Fanṭās branches of the Butr confederation of Berbers began to settle there. To the east of them, the Mazāta and the Lawāta Berbers were settling, and to the west of them and beyond Tawarga up to Tripoli [see ṬARĀBULUS AL-GHARB] were the Hawwāra Berbers of the rival Barānis confederation. All these settlers from Adjdābiya [*q.v.*] to Tripoli seem to have been converted to Ibāḍī Khāridjism around the mid-2nd/8th century. Khāridjī affiliation made these townships independent of the newly-established 'Abbāsid caliphate. These settlements are mentioned by the Muslim geographers al-Ya'ḳūbī, Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Muḳaddasī, but the most detailed description is given by Ibn Ḥawḳal, who passed through Surt in 336/947 on his way to the Fāṭimid capital al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*]. He describes Surt as lying a bow-shot away from the sea, built on hard, sandy ground with strong walls of mud and brick. It was inhabited by Berber tribes who owned farms there. They had cisterns to store rainwater and they harvested sufficient dates, grapes and other fruit. They bred goats and camels and mined alum, which they exported. The city grew wealthier than the neighbouring Adjdābiya and paid tribute to the Fāṭimid caliph. Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the walls and cisterns, but not a mosque or forts. A Muslim community without a mosque is not imaginable, and one must have been built by the original Ibāḍī settlers. The forts were probably built later by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz (341-65/952-75 [*q.v.*]) in preparation for the final march of his general Djawhar [*q.v.*] for the conquest of Egypt. Al-Maḳrīzī gives the date 355/965.

In the period after the Fāṭimids' shift of their capital to the newly-built city of Cairo, the entire Syrtic region became a battleground between the Fāṭimids of Egypt and the new Berber rulers, the Zīrids [*q.v.*] of Ḳayrawān. For a time, the Zanātī Berber Banū Khazrūn of Tripoli, who declared themselves independent of the Zīrids, controlled the Syrtic region and brought it into a temporary alliance with the Fāṭimids. Also at this time (429/1037), we read about the settlement of the Arab Bedouin tribe of Zughba

and later of Riyāḥ and Ḳurra, all members of the Hilāl group, in this region, and this later exploded into the great Hilālian invasion of 443/1051, in the aftermath of which we have the report of al-Bakrī (d. 476/1083), "It is a large city by the sea and enclosed by a wall of bricks. It has a mosque, a bath and bazaars. It has three gates: Ḳiblī [i.e. southeast], Djawfī [i.e. landwards], and a small one facing the sea [i.e. north]. This city has no suburbs around it, but possesses date-palms, gardens, sweet-water springs and many cisterns. Its animals are goats and their meat is juicy and tender, the like of which is not found in Egypt." The new elements are a mosque, the bath, and bazaars. Al-Bakrī's report was the basis of the modern excavations in this area. He hints at the existence of Arab, Berber, Persian and Coptic merchants, whose commercial practices he criticises.

In the later Fāṭimid period, Surt began to be abandoned, being probably no longer a junction of east-west and north-south trade routes. The decline of Surt and Adjdābiya is attested by al-Idrīsī (d. 561/1166), who seems to have visited the Syrtic region. In the next century, ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) talks of Surt's forts having survived. In the 19th century, the Ottoman writer Aḥmad al-Nāʾib al-Anṣārī also mentions Surt, but mainly on the basis of al-Bakrī's report.

The city withered away between the 6th/12th and the early 19th centuries. It is at this time that western exploration and modern archaeology revived knowledge of it. The Beachey brothers visited it in 1821; Heinrich Barth in 1846 (whose ideas were restated by Karl Müller); G.A. Freund in 1881; Luigi Cerrata in 1931; and Richard Goodchild in 1950. Later explorations by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Abu 'l-Saʿūd in 1963-4, Muḥammed Muṣṭafā in 1965-6, H. Blake, A. Hutt, and D. Whitehouse in 1971, and by Géza Fehérvari, Abu 'l-Saʿūd and Geoffrey and Joan King, as well as Masʿūd Shaghlūf and E. Chin, in 1978, have covered four seasons of excavations revealing walls that encompassed the city during the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal within 184,003 m^2, the mosque, the forts, the cisterns, and the roads and gates. No trace of the harbour remains, but as evidence of trade, 20 Fāṭimid lustre fragments and a coin of the time of the caliph, al-Muʿizz have been discovered.

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(A. Hamdani)

SURŪR, Mīrzā Radjab ʿAlī Beg (*ca.* 1787-1867) early writer of Urdu fiction, born in Lucknow, for which city he retained great affection all his life. He was well educated, noted for his command of Arabic and Persian, as well as Urdu, and excelled in calligraphy. He was also an expert musician. He was trained in poetry by a pupil of Sūz [*q.v.*], Nawāzish. He was a friend of the poet Ghālib [*q.v.*], who regarded him as the leading, Urdu prose writer of his age. Apparently, Surūr fell foul of the Nawwāb of Lucknow Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar Shāh, and had to leave for Cawnpore and Benares, where he wrote his masterpiece, the romantic novel *Fasāna-yi ʿadjāʾib*. For further information about this work, see ḳiṣṣa, 5. In Urdu, at vol. V, 202. The title of the work is apt, meaning "Story of wonders", as it contains "plenty of necromancy and witchcraft, spiced with adventures in charmed forests and duels with demons and wizards" (Saksena). It is an archetypal *dāstān* or fairy-story in the tradition of the old *mathnawīs* [*q.v.*]. Two features must, however, be stressed. Firstly, the prose style tends to be ornate with much rhyme. But Muḥammad Sadiq does concede that "whenever the story interest predominates ... he comes quite close to the spoken language of the day, and is racy and idiomatic". Secondly, considerable light is shed on contemporary Lucknow life, seen in the long introduction. Surūr played an important role in the rise of the Urdu novel. He was imitated and, at times, satirised. Future developments were to come from European—chiefly English—influences. Although written in 1824, *Fasāna-yi ʿadjāʾib* was not published until nearly twenty years later. In the meantime, Surūr, had returned to Lucknow, and had been appointed a court poet to Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, Nawwāb of Awadh or Oudh who was, however, exiled by the British to Calcutta in 1856. Surūr was left destitute, but later enjoyed the patronage of the Māhāradjas successively of Benares, Alwar and Patiala. He died in Benares.

The position of Surūr in Urdu literary history is that his fame is in one form only, the novel; indeed, almost entirely in one work. Yet, he excelled in several fields, and this was recognised by his contemporaries. Unfortunately, little of his vast output is readily available in print. This is attested by Saksena, writing in 1927. Among works mentioned are a review of Ghālib in rhymed prose, and an adaptation of the *Arabian Nights*, *Shabistān-i Surūr*. There is also a congratulatory ode on the marriage of Prince Edward, later King Edward VII. Very little of his works, apart from his prose, has survived, and of that, his works on calligraphy and music have been forgotten. As for his poetry, although it must have been of a high order, no *dīwān* is to be found. Some poems are available in his prose works and in various anthologies. According to Saksena, though he was a member of the Lucknow school, he followed an independent path, scorning artificiality and bombast. On the whole, Saksena's account of Surūr is one of the best parts of his *History of Urdu literature*, though at times verbose and inconclusive. It does show him as a controversial figure who merits further study.

Bibliography: Surūr's letters describing his travels in northern India were published, and are praised by Saksena. For further information, reference should be made to ḳiṣṣa. 5, and also to Muḥammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu literature*, Oxford 1964, and Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927.

(J.A. Haywood)

SURŪR, NADJĪB [see nadjīb muḥammad surūr].

SURŪRĪ (SŪRŪRĪ), the pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) used by several Ottoman poets, of whom the following two are the most remarkable:

1. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā, a distinguished

philologist and commentator, born in Gallipoli in 897/1491 the son of the merchant Sha'bān. After studying with learned men of renown, he became a *mülāzim* of Fenārī-zāde Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Efendi [*q.v.*], who appointed him *bāb nā'ibi* in 927/1521 when he was *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. After an interval in his career during which he became a *derwīsh* of Naḳshbendī Maḥmūd Efendi, the *sheykh* of the Emīr Bukhārī *zāwiye*, Surūrī became *müderris* in 930/1523-4 of the Ṣarīdja Pasha *medrese* in Gallipoli, then of the Pīrī Pasha *zāwiye* in Istanbul in 933/1526-7, and in 944/1537-8 he became the first *müderris* to teach at the *medrese* which (Güzeldje) Ḳāsim Pasha [*q.v.*] had Sinān build in the quarter of Istanbul named after him. Although he resigned in 954/1547 to resume the life of a *derwīsh*, he later returned to the Ḳāsim Pasha *medrese* (lecturing also on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* in the Ḳāsim Pasha mosque in the afternoons). In 955/1548 he was appointed tutor to Muṣṭafā [see MUṢṬAFĀ. 3], the ill-fated son of Süleymān the Magnificent, for whom he wrote some of his best-known works. Upon the execution of this prince in 960/1553, he withdrew into private life, teaching in the *mesdjid* he had had built in the Ḳāsimpasha quarter of Istanbul. (The author of the *Künh el-akhbār*, 'Ālī [*q.v.*], also a native of Gallipoli, was a pupil of his here in 965/1557-8.) He died on 7 Djumādā I 969/13 January 1562 and was buried at his own *mesdjid* (but nothing remains of either his tomb or *mesdjid*).

The works of Surūrī, who was mainly a commentator and translator, treat a great variety of topics, such as exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, prophetic tradition, Islamic law, logic, astrology, medicine, grammar, and literature. Of over thirty commentaries of his (some in Arabic or Persian) his *Ḥāshiya* on al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl* and his *sharḥs* on al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, on the *Īsāghūdjī* [*q.v.*], and on al-Muṭarrizī's *al-Miṣbāḥ* are among the best-known. Especially remarkable among his translations is that of al-Ḳazwīnī's cosmography *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, a synopsis with the title *Kitāb el-'adjā'ib we 'l-gharā'ib*. As to literature, his commentaries on Sa'dī's *Būstān* and *Gulistān* and even more so those on Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīwān* and on the *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* are famous, that on the *Mathnawī* having even earned him the epithet of *Shāriḥ-i Methnewī*. Among his original works, *Baḥr el-ma'ārif*, a compendium of prosody, rhyme, rhetoric elements, and terms of *dīwān* poetry (with samples from Arabic and Persian poetry), which he wrote for prince Muṣṭafā in Turkish, was deservedly held in the highest esteem over the centuries. Surūrī is also the author of a Turkish *dīwān* (he remarks himself that he wrote the majority of his 500 *ghazels* in his youth), but the fragments of his poetry that have reached us are not remarkable.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of Sehī, Laṭīfī, 'Āshiḳ Čelebi, Ḳinalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Beyānī, Riyāḍī and Ḳāf-zāde; 'Ālī's *Künh el-akhbār*; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 426; 'Aṭā'ī, *Dheyl* to the *Shaḳā'iḳ al-nu'māniyya*, Istanbul 1268, 23-5; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 318; idem, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, 287-9; Ḥüseyin Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat el-djewāmi'*, Istanbul 1281, ii, 4-5; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii, 12; *'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri*, ii, 225-6; Brockelmann, II^2, 579, S II, 650; F. Babinger, art. in EI^1, s.v.; C. Baltacı, *XV-XVI. asırlarda osmanlı medreseleri*, Istanbul 1976, 214-6; Ö.F. Akün, art. in *İA*, s.v. *Sürûrî*; *Başlangıcından günümüze kadar büyük türk klâsikleri*, iv, Istanbul 1986, 165-7; Â. Çelebioğlu, *Kanûnî Sultân Süleyman devri türk edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1994, 114, 117.

2. SEYYID 'OTHMĀN, the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms (*tārīkhs*), which mastery earned him the epithet *Müwerrikh*, the chronogrammatist. He was born in Adana on 25 Rabī' I 1165/11 February 1752 as the son of Ḥāfiẓ Mūsā. He came to the capital in 1193/1779 encouraged by Yaḥyā Tewfīḳ Efendi, who later became *Sheykh el-Islām*, and who the same year changed the poet's pen-name from Ḥüznī (which he had already used six years) to Surūrī. Through his intercession, Surūrī became a *mülāzim* of *Sheykh el-Islām* Es'ad-zāde Meḥmed Sherīf Efendi; as such, he had to live in straitened means until his several appointments as *ḳāḍī* starting 1195/1781. During the years 1203-4/1788-90 he was the *ketkhüdā* of his close friend the poet Sünbül-zāde Wehbī Efendi [*q.v.*] in Eski Zaghra (Stara Zagora, in southern Bulgaria, where the latter was *ḳāḍī*). He died on 11 Ṣafar 1229/2 February 1814 and was buried beside Sünbül-zāde Wehbī Efendi outside Edirne ḳapīsī in Istanbul; neither grave exists today.

Surūrī's talent as poet was not all-encompassing (his *ḳaṣīdes* and *ghazels* are not remarkable) but restricted to the writing of chronograms, where however he showed such mastery that he earned for himself the position of unrivalled master of the Ottoman *tārīkh*. He stands apart from all other Ottoman poets who wrote chronograms before and after him, having written an incomparably greater number of *tārīkhs* (nearly 2,000) on an unlimited variety of topics, commemorating events ranging from the historic to the most trivial everyday occasion, often with a touch of humour. His admirable ease of composition is especially evident not only when he commemorates one and the same event with a great number of *tārīkhs* but also when he inbeds an amazing number of chronograms in one and the same hemistich or verse. Surūrī's *Dīwān*, which he called *Neshāṭ-engīz*, was printed at Būlāḳ in 1255/1839. He is also the author of *Hezeliyyāt* (humoristic and satirical poems) under the *makhlaṣ* Hawā'ī; these were printed twice in Istanbul (undated) and include about 100 *tārīkhs*. Especially often lampooned by Surūrī was Sünbül-zāde Wehbī Efendi [*q.v.*], who retaliated in like manner. Surūrī's predilection for the chronogram is also shown by his putting together a collection of *tārīkh miṣrā's* (chronogram hemistichs; this includes but a very few *tārīkh* verses) from his own work as well as from that of poets who were his predecessors or contemporaries. This collection, which had been enlarged through additions by the poet Kečedji-zāde [see 'IZZET MOLLA] and the official historiographer Es'ad Efendi [*q.v.*], was printed by Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1299/1881-2 at Istanbul with the title *Surūrī medjmū'asī*; about half of the *ca.* 2,300 *tārīkhs* in this collection are by Surūrī.

Bibliography: Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1271, 189-90; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv, 489-94; Djewdet Pasha, *Belāghat-i 'othmāniyye*, Istanbul 1299, 185-98; Ebüzziyā Tewfīḳ, *Surūrī-i müwerrikh*, Istanbul 1305; Mu'allim Nādjī, *Surūrī*, in *Medjmū'a-yi Mu'allim*, 1305, 111-6; *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii, 13; Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 265-78; *'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri*, ii, 238; Babinger, *GOW*, 379; idem, art. in EI^1, s.v.; Ö.F. Akün, art. in *İA* s.v.; İ. Yakıt, *Türk-islâm kültüründe ebced hesabı ve tarih düşürme*, Istanbul 1992, 198-210. (EDITH G. AMBROS)

SURŪRĪ KĀSHĀNĪ, the pen-name of Muḥammad Ḳāsim, Persian lexicographer of the 10th-11th/16th-17th century.

His father, Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, is said to have been a shoemaker. Surūrī, during his early youth, practised the same profession but, later turned to

scholarship. According to a tradition, he was endowed with a prolific memory and could recite thirty thousand verses by heart. He chose to reside in Iṣfahān, and there he is reported to have met the traveller Pietro de la Valle, who visited the city in 1032/1622-3. Surūrī made a journey to India and was in Lāhawr during the reign of Shāh Djahān in 1036/1626-7. From there he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but died on the way.

Surūrī was the author of the famous Persian-to-Persian dictionary, the *Madjma' al-Furs* "A collection of words from the Persian language", also known as *Farhang-i Surūrī*. In the preface of the book (see *Farhang-i madjma' al-Furs*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1338/1960, i, 1-6), the author states that he compiled his dictionary after consulting a number of works, gives the names of many of these works, and dedicates his production to Shāh 'Abbās I [*q.v.*]. Several years later, he prepared an enlarged edition of his book after he had come into possession of Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Indju's dictionary, the *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī*, a copy of which was brought to him from India, and from which he was to benefit in the revision of his own work. In the meantime, Surūrī had compiled a concise version of *Madjma' al-Furs*, named *Khulāṣat al-Madjma'*, the preface of which carries an endorsement to I'timād al-Dawla Ḥātim Beg, minister of 'Abbās I. It must have been composed not later than 1018/1609-10, since the Catalogue of the Sipah Sālār Library refers to a copy of the work in a private collection bearing that date (see *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi 'Ālī-yi Sipah Sālār*, Tehran 1316-18/1938-40, ii, 222).

Surūrī's *Madjma' al-Furs* is a useful piece of Persian lexicography; for the meaning of its terms, which are arranged according to their initial and final letters, it provides illustrative examples from the works of the poets.

Surūrī was also a poet, and some of the verses composed by him are cited by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī in his *Tadhkira*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgardī, Tehran 1361/1982, 291.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see also H. Blochmann, *Contributions to Persian lexicography*, in *JASB*, xxxvii/1 (1869); P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, repr. Osnabrück 1970; Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, Add. 7681; Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, i-ii, 995; Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Dā'ī al-Islam, *Farhang-i Niẓām*, Tehran 1364/1985, v; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *Surūrī*; Muḥammad Mu'īn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, v, Tehran 1371/1992; Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i naẓm u nathr dar Īrān wa dar zabān-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1363/1984; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/1, Tehran 1372/1994; Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrīzī, (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, ii, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949; Shahriyār Naḳwī, *Farhang-nawīsī-yi Fārsī dar Hind u Pākistān*, Tehran 1341/1962; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Ma'ānī, "*Madjma' al-Furs*", in *Madjalla-yi adabiyyāt u 'ulūm-i insānī, Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī*, x/1 (Mashhad 1353/1974).

(Munibur Rahman)

SURŪSH, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, prominent Persian poet of the Ḳādjār period. He was born around 1228/1813 in Sidih, a district of Iṣfahān. His ancestors were artisans and farmers, and his father was reportedly a butcher by trade (see *Dīwān*, i, introd., 2). About 1243/1827 Surūsh moved to Iṣfahān after his father's death. There he completed his education and also discovered his poetic vocation. In 1247/1831 he left Iṣfahān to find suitable patronage, and travelled to various cities. Finally, he settled down in Tabrīz, where he gained access to the heir-apparent, Nāṣir al-Dīn. When the latter came to the throne in 1264/1848, Surūsh accompanied him to Tehran, and after the death of Ḳā'ānī in 1270/1854, succeeded the latter as the foremost poet of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's court. The monarch awarded him the title of Shams al-Shu'arā' and later elevated him to the rank of Khān. He died at Tehran in 1285/1868-9 and was buried in Ḳum.

In his poetry, Surūsh was a follower of old masters like Anwarī, Mu'izzī and Farrukhī [*q.vv.*]. His main field of literary activity was the *ḳaṣīda*, in which he is reckoned among the leading exponents of his age. Besides *ḳaṣīdas*, he composed several *mathnawīs*, of which *Urdībihisht-nāma* "Book of Urdībihisht" and *Rawḍat al-asrār* "Garden of mysteries" are perhaps the most significant. The former, which comprises over 9,000 couplets, represents an account of the Prophet's life. The second *mathnawī*, *Rawḍat al-asrār*, comprises a little over 1,150 couplets. It was first published in 1286/1869-70, and deals with the tragic events that took place at Karbalā'. The poet is also credited with the composition of a *mathnawī*, modelled on Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* and describing the history of the Ḳādjār dynasty from its inception to the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. Another achievement for which Surūsh is remembered relates to his involvement in the translation of *Thousand and one nights* into Persian. This rendering, made by Mullā 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ṭasūdjī, owed its verse extracts to the efforts of Surūsh, who replaced the Arabic originals either by substituting them with verses drawn from the works of Persian masters or, where it was not possible, by translating them himself.

Bibliography: Surūsh, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Dja'far Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1339-40/1960-1, i-ii; Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjma' al-fuṣaḥā'*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, ii/1, Tehran 1339/1960; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwān Begī, *Ḥadīḳat al-shu'arā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, i, Tehran 1364/1985; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i mu'āṣirīn*, in *Yādgār*, v/1-2; Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949, ii; Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Surūsh Iṣfahānī*, in *Maḳālāt-i adabī*, Tehran 1369/1990, i; Riḍā-zāda Shafaḳ, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, Tehran 1321/1942; Ibrāhīm Ṣafā'ī, *Nahḍat-i adabī-yi Īrān dar 'aṣr-i Ḳādjār*, Tehran (?) n.d.; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Muḥammad Dja'far Maḥdjūb, *Dāstānhā-yi 'āmiyāna-yi Fārsī*, in *Sukhan*, xi/1; Yaḥyā Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1350/1971, i; Muḥammad Mu'īn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1371/1992, v; 'Abd al-Rafī' Ḥaḳīḳat (Rafī'), *Farhang-i shu'arā'*, Tehran 1368/1990.

(Munibur Rahman)

SŪRYA [see al-sha'm].

SŪS (a.) "licorice", i.e. the root, and more specifically the decoction from the root of *Glycyrrhiza glabra* L. var. (family *Fabaceae*), a perennial herb indigenous to southern Europe and western Asia. Arabic synonyms of *sūs* (a common Semitic word corresponding to Akkadian *shūshu* and Aramaic *shūshā*) include *'ūd al-sūs* and *shadjarat al-furs*, whereas the Persian *mahak/mathak* seems to reflect Sanskrit *madhuka*; the Greek name γλυκύρριζα, of which *licorice* is a corruption (< late Latin *liquiritia*), literally means "sweet-root".

From ancient times, the herb has been cultivated throughout the Mediterranean. It grows up to one metre, with four to eight egg-shaped leaves, and axillary bunches of blue flowers. The long, thin underground roots are flexible, fibrous, easily cut, coloured yellow inside, and have a distinctively sweet taste. The

powder obtained from the dried root is supposed to hold cathartic properties, and was added to beverages and cataplasms. The evaporated juice extracted by boiling the root (*succus liquiritiae*) is mainly used as an expectorant in the form of lozenges or syrups, but it is also considered useful against pain in the stomach, kidneys, and bladder; besides, it serves as a mask for bitter medicines, and the sweetmeat known as licorice candy or black sugar is made from it.

Bibliography: I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1924, ii, 435 ff.; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 253 no. 409; idem, *Ein Beitrag zur indo-arabischen Arzneimittelkunde und Geistesgeschichte*, in *ZMDG*, cxxv (1975), 77; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Baghdād n.d., iii, 42-3. (O. Kahl)

AL-SŪS, the early Islamic form for the ancient site of Susa in the south-west Persian province of Khūzistān, modern Persian Shūsh. It lies on the plain between the two main rivers of Khūzistān, the Kārūn and the Kerkhā [*q.vv.*], which were once connected by canals, and the Shāwūr river runs along the western side of the site.

From at least the second millennium B.C., it was the capital of the Elamite kingdom, destroyed by the Assyrian Ashurbanipal in the 7th century B.C., but rebuilt by the Achaemenids and a flourishing town under the Sāsānids; Syriac sources show that it was the seat of a Christian bishop in the years A.D. 410-695.

Sūs fell into the hands of the Arabs in 17/638 (or the next year), when Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] carried through the conquest of Khūzistān. The forces there, commanded by the Persian governor Hurmuzān, apparently offered little resistance to the Muslim troops (cf. the Syriac *Chronicle*, ed. Guidi, in *Actes du 8ᵉ Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, in *JA* [1891], 32, and history of the Armenian Sebēos of the 7th century; see Hübschmann, in *ZMDG*, xlvii [1893], 625). The older historians al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 374 ff., and al-Ṭabarī, i, 2561-7, know nothing of severe fighting with the natives and a destruction of the city by Arab troops, mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (and cf. Loftus, *op cit.*, 344). Under Islam, Sūs remained for several centuries more a populous flourishing city—we have coins struck in it (cf. W.K. Loftus, *Travels and researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 400)—but it was no longer the capital of the whole region of Khūzistān or Ahwāz; this role now fell to the city of Ahwāz (more precisely Sūḳ al-Ahwāz; see AL-AHWĀZ). Sūs was now merely the capital of one of the seven (and at times more) divisions of this district. To the district of Sūs belonged several smaller towns, notably Karkha (Syriac Karkhā dhᵉ Lēdhan), which is well known from Syriac literature. Sūs was surpassed in importance not only by the capital Sūḳ al-Ahwāz but soon also by other places in Khūzistān, e.g. Shushtar [*q.v.*] or Tustar and ʿAskar(a)-Mukram [*q.v.*]. All these three places lay on the river Kārūn, towards which during the caliphate the political and economic centre of gravity of the region moved.

The Arab geographers emphasise the busy industries of Sūs, notably weaving, which was highly developed. Its silk was famous (cf. the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, cxliv [1902], 63 v. 8, and R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles. Material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 40-1, 44-5). The lemons grown here were held in particular esteem; in the Middle Ages a good deal of sugar was grown around the town and still more was refined in the town. According to al-Muḳaddasī, in his time (end of the 4th/10th century), the town proper had already fallen into ruins; the population lived in a suburb. Al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, Paris 1836, i, 381, 384) makes Sūs still thickly populated at the middle of the 6th/12th century, and Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled through the Near East a few years later, says that there were no less than 7,000 Jews here with 14 synagogues. The two banks of the river "Ulai"—the Shāwūr (see above) must be meant—were united by a bridge; on the west bank was the quarter of the poor (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 305; Loftus, *op. cit.*, 320). The Persian geographer Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the 8th/14th century, describes Sūs as still a flourishing town. But we are justified in doubting whether this is really accurate at this late period and was not simply taken from earlier writers. It is certain that Sūs became more and more completely deserted from the 15th century, and this agrees with the results of the French excavations, according to which most of the remains of the Arab period discovered in Sūs belonged to the 14th and 15th centuries (see de Morgan, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Paris 1900 ff., viii, 32). Dizfūl [*q.v.*], to the north-east of Sūs, which only appears to have come into prominence since the Mongol period, and is now an important town in Khūzistān (ʿArabistān), may be in some way considered the successor of the mediaeval Sūs.

The very extensive ruins at Sūs have been under investigation since the time of the British scholar W.K. Loftus in 1851-2, in the 20th century above all by French archaeologists (for a good survey of the site, see Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, ²London 1976, 147-52). The site includes the tomb-mosque of the Prophet Daniel [see DĀNIYĀL], called by the local people Pīr or Payghambar Dāniyāl. According to Arabic sources, the sarcophagus and bones of Daniel were found after the capture of the town by the Arabs (al-Balādhurī, 378; al-Ṭabarī, i, 840, 2566), although another tradition held that Daniel's sarcophagus was found at Shushtar, so that the two towns disputed over possession of the saint's relics, which were highly venerated for their curative properties (see al-Muḳaddasī, 417, who accounts this rivalry amongst the *ʿaṣabiyyāt* of Khūzistān).

The country round Sūs suffers for nine months of the year from the glowing heat of the South Persian sky. In January, however, a luxurious, almost tropical, vegetation springs up after the winter rains. The rich pastures that then cover the soil attract the nomads thither. In the spring it is mainly Arabian Bedouins that camp here and, indeed, they are in the majority in Khūzistān generally, so that this district is actually often called ʿArabistān by the Persians. The region of Sūs is particularly visited by the tribes of ʿAlī Kathīr and Banī Lām [*q.v.*]. On the ʿAlī Kathīr, who migrated hither over three centuries ago from Nadjd in Central Arabia, cf. A.H. Layard, in *JRGS*, xvi (1846), 33, 56, 90; Loftus, *op. cit.*, 327, 331, 356, 358, 381-2, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 417. Of the great tribe of ʿAlī Kathīr, we are here mainly concerned with two of its subdivisions, the Kaʿb and Zabbā (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, 33). The Kaʿb [*q.v.*] were originally members of the powerful Kaʿb tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower Kārūn; see Layard, *op. cit.*, 37-9, 41-5, and Loftus, *op. cit.*, 285-6, 381, 390. Lur nomad tribes are often found in the plain of Sūs. At the beginning of May all is again as quiet as the grave. Even the guardian of the tomb of Daniel leaves the district, which is filled with miasma from the swamps and the heat now becomes unendurable.

The site of al-Sūs is now marked by the town of Shūsh, the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *shahrastān* of

Dizfūl. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of around 5,000, which had risen by 1991 to 48,134 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

Bibliography: For a detailed bibl. of early travellers and researchers, see *EI*[1] art. s.v., and in addition to references given in the article, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, 58; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 240-1; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 313, 358-64; Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 82, 86, 228-31, 298, 426-7; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 29-30, 135, 236-9 and index; F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 216-17. (M. STRECK-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**SŪS** AL-**AKṢĀ**, a district in the south of Morocco, forming a triangular plain about 120 miles long by 25 to 26 miles broad with an area of about 7,500 square miles. On the west it is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and on the north by the last slopes of the Great Atlas and on the south by the Anti-Atlas, gradually narrowing till it reaches the junction of these two ranges. It is watered by the Wādī Sūs and its tributaries. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages usually distinguish between *al-Sūs al-akṣā*, "Farther Sūs" and *al-Sūs al-adnā* "Hither Sūs". *Al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in those days to have meant the whole of northern Morocco with Tangier as its capital, and *al-Sūs al-akṣā*, the whole of the massif of the two Atlases. According to Yāḳūt, the distance which separated the two Sūs was two months' journey. The term *al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in any case to have been very early ousted by that of *G̲h̲arb*. The same geographers praise the excellence of the products of Farther Sūs and describe it as a thickly populated country. Al-Idrīsī speaks of the cereals which grew there—wheat, barley and rice, fruits of all kinds in abundance—nuts, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, lemons, peaches, apples and, particularly, an incomparable sugar-cane. When he wrote, a sugar was made in the Sūs that was celebrated throughout almost the whole world. Cloth which enjoyed a good reputation was also made there. The same author gives some notes on the people, who were a mixed race of Maṣmūda Berbers. He charges them with a lack of urbanity, coarseness and insolence. The dress of the men consisted of a *kisā'* of wool which enveloped them entirely, with a *mi'zār* of wool around the waist which they called *āsfāḳis*. They were armed with short spears with steel heads. They drank a liquor made from the must of sweet grapes which they called *anzīz* and considered it a permitted beverage as it did not bring about drunkenness.

1. History.

These notes show clearly that the term *al-Sūs al-adnā* was then applied to a much wider area than at the present day; it included not only the valley of the Wādī Sūs but also the mountainous country towards the Ḥawz of Marrakesh, the Dra (Darʿa) and the Tāfīlālt.

Farther Sūs, as a province of the Mag̲h̲rib, has always been closely connected with the history of the whole country and with the histories of the different dynasties which have successively established themselves there. In 117/735 it was conquered and converted to Islam by Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda, the grandson of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. Under the Idrīsids it passed on the death of Idrīs II in 213/828 to his son ʿAbd Allāh, at the same time as the massif of the Great Atlas with the towns Ag̲h̲māt and Nafīs. It was next one of the main objectives of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] when they thrust their way northwards. In 451/1059 the general Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar seized the towns of Māssāt and Tārūdānt but the authority of the Almoravids was never very secure in the Sūs, in spite of the submission of the province to Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn in 478/1085.

The Sūs played a prominent part in the early days of the Almohad movement in the Mag̲h̲rib. It was, along with the plain of Marrakesh, the centre of Almoravid resistance against the attempts at expansion by the companions of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart beyond the massif of the Grand Atlas where the movement began. A son of the Almoravid ruler ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, Baggū, organised the resistance there and it was only in 535/1140-1 that the caliph ʿAbd al-Mu'min definitely conquered the whole of the Sūs. During the whole period of the Almohad dynasty it was one of the most important provinces of the empire. On its decline in the reign of al-Murtaḍā (646-65/1248-66), it was the scene of a rebellion on a great scale fomented by the agitator ʿAlī b. Yaddar. This individual, a former dignitary of the Almohad court, wishing to found a little independent kingdom in the Sūs, appealed to the Arab tribes settled between Tlemcen and the Rīf, the Dawī Ḥassān and the S̲h̲abbānāt of the Maʿḳil group. He was able to hold out against the Almohad governor of Tārūdānt, but his success was not of long duration. In 1266 the Almohad prince Abū Dabbūs, with the help of Marīnid contingents, regained the province from him and seized Tīzak̲h̲t and Tīyūnīwīn. Nevertheless, the independent kingdom of the Sūs was able after the final fall of the Almohads to maintain some sort of independence in the period of the early Marīnid sultans until the reign of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, who broke it up for ever.

In 1504 the Portuguese gained a footing on the coast of Sūs in the bay of Āgādīr [*q.v.*] and founded the fortress of Santa Cruz; it was a strategic point of great importance, the gateway to a rich hinterland and at the same time an excellent harbour, one of the best on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The people of the country tried in vain to dislodge the garrison; in order to harass it unceasingly and to blockade it by land they established quite close to the Portuguese station, a *ribāṭ* or concentration point and residence of the "volunteers of the faith" who used to come there in relays to deliver open attacks on their Christian foes or prepare murderous ambushes for them. Between the sea and Tārūdānt, a *zāwiya* was soon formed to take charge of the local *d̲j̲ihād*, the *zāwiya* of Tedsī, the cradle of the Saʿdian [*q.v.*] dynasty. It was founded by some Ḥasanī *S̲h̲urafā'* [*q.v.*], whose ancestor Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, had come in the 12th century from the Ḥid̲j̲āz and settled in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa, at Tāgmādart. His descendants then migrated to the Sūs near Tedsī, settled there and took up a position in the country which daily increased in importance. At the beginning of the 16th century, the head of the *zāwiya*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, became the real leader in the holy war in the Sūs; assisted by his two sons, Aḥmad al-Aʿrad̲j̲ and Muḥammad al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, he displayed great activity and denounced the impotence of the ruling dynasty to the people. He was not long in achieving his object; the tribes of the Sūs proclaimed him their sultan in 1510. He died soon afterwards, leaving his son to continue his work. The eldest, al-Aʿrad̲j̲, who had assumed the title of king of the Sūs in the lifetime of his father, established himself as sovereign in Tārūdānt and in 1541 succeeded in driving the Portuguese finally out of Āgādīr.

We see from the above what a large part the Sūs played in the history of the first of the two Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco. The Saʿdians also always kept a watchful eye on this vital part of their empire. Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī was the first to extend the cultivation of sugar in the Sūs and thus created an important source of revenue for the treasury. It was in the reign of the great prince Aḥmad al-Manṣūr that this province saw its greatest revival of prosperity. A regular army, formed of citizens recruited in the Sūs, at this time formed the garrison of Marrakesh and relations between the capital and the province were never closer. But after the death of al-Manṣūr, when anarchy once more reigned throughout the empire, the Sūs did not escape the various rebellions which broke out on all sides. Prince Zaydān, a claimant to the throne, made his headquarters there. A few years later, the Sūs fell into the hands of a powerful rebel, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Samlālī, called Abū Ḥassūn, who made an alliance with the Filālī Sharīf of Sidjilmāsa. But this alliance was only ephemeral, and the early days of the second Sharīfian dynasty of Morocco were marked by the struggle between Abū Ḥassūn and the ʿAlawid pretenders of Tāfīlālt. He was succeeded on his death by his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, who was soon brought to terms by the ʿAlawid sultan al-Rashīd. In 1670 the latter led an expedition to the very heart of the Sūs and captured the stronghold of Īlīgh. Next year, the people of the Sūs sent a deputation to him at Marrakesh to offer their submission. The latter was not of long duration, for in 1677 Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had to send an expedition to the Sūs and another in 1682. The country was finally pacified, and at the end of his reign when Mawlāy Ḥasan divided his empire among several of his sons, the Sūs fell to Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, with Tārūdānt as his capital. But this prince only went to his domain to set up as a pretender to the throne, and from this time onwards, we find each successive ʿAlawid sultan forced to suppress one or more rebellions in the Sūs during his reign. We may just mention the expeditions to put down rebellions sent by Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh (1733), Mawlāy Sulaimān (1802) and particularly those of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan in 1882 and 1886. The Sūs was not definitively brought under the control of the Protectorate administration till the 1930s.

2. The present position.

Climatically, the Sūs is clearly an arid region, with an average annual rainfall of less than 250 mm. From April to October, in particular, precipitation is totally absent. The water courses are unable to supply this because the affluents of the Wādī Sūs only have water when they come down from the mountains, and even the main channel dries up through seepage into the ground. It is only through use of the underground water-table that surface cultivation for human needs there has been possible. Downstream from Tārūdānt, in the Huwwāra country, as likewise between the Wādī Sūs and Tiznit, amongst the Shtūka, wells are numerous, with their water in previous times raised by animal-power but now by diesel pumps, except where the waters held back by the dam completed in 1973 on the Wādī Māssa have not changed everything.

Nevertheless, only one-fifth of the surface area of the Sūs is used for agriculture, a proportion by no means the least of all the lowlands of Morocco. In addition to winter barley and a little maize in summer, the traditional peasant cultivates vegetables for his own use and also for market. He also has orchards of olive trees, almonds, figs and pomegranates. Within the modern sector of the economy, there are important citrus fruit plantations irrigated from pumps, all along the Wādī Sūs and near the coast, and early produce, above all tomatoes, which arrives on European markets out of the normal season. Otherwise, it is bare plain which, towards the north and east, blends with the wooded slopes of the same kind as in the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, the open forest land of the argan trees. The argan is exploited by man, who presses from its fruit an edible oil which is appreciated and who leads up goats to browse on the foliage.

3. The towns.

The main town of the Sūs is no longer Tārūdānt [*q.v.*], 75 km/45 miles within the interior, but Āgādīr [*q.v.*] on the Atlantic coast. Starting from almost nothing at the beginning of the 20th century, the latter has surpassed Tārūdānt since the 1940s on account of the colonial period investment there, in the first place, on basic installations for the harbour. In the 1982 census, Āgādīr had a population of 100,000, with 160,00 if the quasi-conurbation Āgādīr—Ben Sergaou—Inezgane—Aït Melloul is taken into account; Tārūdānt had at that time 36,000. It was with a population of this order that Āgādīr was on 29 February 1960 stricken by a terrible earthquake which destroyed 80% of the town and killed 15,000 people. King Muḥammad V decided on reconstructing the town, and this was carried through by the local dynamic brought into being by the calamity. It is through the port of Āgādīr that the products of the Sūs plain and the network connected with it are exported. The airport of Inezgane-Āgādīr add further services to it. Fish curing is important, and investments for tourism has made it a resort of the highest quality.

Tārūdānt seems to have been founded at a very early period, and we already find it playing a part in history in the Almoravid period. In mediaeval times, the Sūs had as its capital sometimes Tārūdānt and sometimes Īglī. After the death of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, at the end of the 19th century, Tārūdānt was the centre of the rebellion of Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who held out there till the town was taken in 1913 by the *Maḥallas* of the Makhzen. It is surrounded by a great wall of clay which dates from the end of the 17th century.

Like Tārūdānt, Tiznit is a traditional town. Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan is said to have founded it in 1882 at the time of the first of his expeditions into the Sūs. At all events, he threw a rampart round the nuclei of the four main contiguous quarters which is known today. Being 87 km/50 miles south of Āgādīr and 20 km/12 miles from the coast, at the foot of the Anti-Atlas, Tiznit had 23,000 inhabitants in 1982. This centre receives large sums of money sent as remittances by workers who have emigrated to Europe.

The aim of the sultan's expedition to Tiznit, one which was not achieved, was to recover control of the Sūs, at that time held by the chief of the house of Iligh, a much-frequented lodge of the very near *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad ū-Mūsā in the Tazerwalt. One recalls that, from this locality, some 25 km/15 miles south-east of Tiznit, came the troupes of dancers and acrobats who formerly travelled through the whole of North Africa and as far as Europe.

The people of the Sūs continue to speak a Berber dialect of the Tashelḥīt [*q.v.*] group, but Arabic-speakers are becoming more numerous through extensive emigration to the cities and towns of Morocco, Casablanca in the first place and then Europe, above all France, where they become mingled with other contingents of Maghribīs. The Sūsīs' dynamism does not merely

admit them to petty trading activities; since the 1980s, a minority of them, who have become entrepreneurs, have jostled with the Fāsī bourgeoisie for positions, above all in the agricultural, food-producing sector.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[CL. LEFÉBURE])

SŪSA, the Tunisian town of Sousse.

1. Site.

Sūsa is built on a 40 m high hill which dominates the Ḳaṣba. It is delimited by two wadis, to the north and the north-west by Wādī Blībān and its affluent Wādī 'l-Kharrūb, and to the south by Wādī 'l-Ḥallūf, near the Sabkhat Sūsa. The subsoil is essentially of sedimentary origin with ancient alluvial deposits, while to the north and the south, near to the sea, the alluvial deposits are recent. Like other neighbouring settlements, such as al-Ḳalʿa al-Kabīra, al-Ḳalʿa al-Ṣaghīra, Akūda and others, Sūsa has always had a defensive character. It lies on the Mediterranean coast in the eastern-central part of Tunisia at 35° 51' lat. N. and 10° 36' long. E. Winters are therefore mild; the average rainfall is limited to 69 days per year, while the region has a reduced cloud cover and a great deal of sunshine.

Sūsa lies in the centre of the Sāḥil, in an agricultural, industrial and heavily populated region. Due to its commercial port, the town is the outlet of a large area in central Tunisia, especially of the steppes around al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] and Ḳasrīn. It is also a junction of roads and railways, and as such, it connects the northern and southern parts of the country.

2. History.

Founded by the Phoenicians around the 9th century B.C. (see Tissot in *Bibl.*), it had developed into an important town at the height of Carthage. After 146 B.C., Sūsa, known to the Romans as Hadrumetum, became the county town of a Roman colony. In the 3rd century A.D., it was the capital of the province of Byzantium. After the Vandal period, Sūsa was reconquered by the Byzantines and renamed Justiniapolis. The Arabs, under command of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, conquered and destroyed the town in 27/647. The Christian basilica, built in the 4th century, was razed to the ground. Between 158-79/775-96, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, the ʿAbbāsid governor of al-Ḳayrawān, had the first small fort built on part of the foundations of the basilica. In 821 the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh destroyed the south-western tower of the fort and constructed a *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] instead. The Great Mosque was built in 237/851—in later times it was to be restored several times, most recently in 1964—and the ramparts of ancient Hadrumetum were restored in 245/859 and again in 602/1205.

From that time onwards, the *ribāṭ* lost its military function and remained just a dervish convent. Another much higher watch tower, the Burdj Khalaf, was constructed at the south-western corner of the town wall, on the highest spot of the site together with a new *ḳaṣba*. The Aghlabids also provided Sūsa with a powerful arsenal; it was from this port that Asad b. al-Furāt, *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳayrawān, undertook the conquest of Sicily [see ṢIḲILLIYA. 1].

According to the Arab geographers, the town counted many bazars with a multitude of merchandise, fruit, meat, and textiles.

After this period of prosperity, Sūsa knew a relative decline, due to plundering by Arab nomads who, between the 5th/11th and the 8th/14th centuries, arrived from Upper Egypt. Sūsa regained a certain importance under the Turkish domination. After al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] had been ruined in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, Sūsa remained the most important town of the Sāḥil, with a population of *ca.* 15,000 inhabitants.

European travellers such as Peyssonnel describe Sūsa as a town which lived largely on the products of the soil. Many inhabitants were landowners, and most of its industries depended upon rural products: oil-works, soap factories, pottery, fabrication of sandals (*balgha*), weaving of burnouses and blankets. But Sūsa was also a town of trade: local commerce

in the *sūḳ*s and at the weekly Sunday market (*sūḳ al-aḥad*), which took place near the *Bāb al-Gharbī*, as well as trade with Europe and the Orient. To a great extent, this trade depended upon al-Ḳayrawān, which served as an entrepôt of the steppes and of a part of the al-Kāf region in the north-west. Towards the end of the 13th/19th century, Sūsa, with some 7,000 inhabitants, was the most active town after the capital Tunis; but its role then became strictly regional.

3. The modern period.

At the beginning of the French Protectorate, towards the end of the 19th century, the urban structure of the Sāḥil had already become evident. For a very long time, Sūsa had been surrounded by urban settlements whose industries were exclusively agricultural. Two of these, Kala Kebira and Msaken, were more densely populated than Sūsa itself. The Protectorate immediately reinforced the tertiary character of Sousse by establishing Civil Control, enlarging the port and developing public transport, especially railways. Between 1896 and 1911, Sūsa was linked by railways with Tunis, Ḳayrawān, Moknin, Mahdiyya, Henshir Suwatir and Sfax. Food industries and public facilities were set up, serving both the town of Sūsa and the Sāḥil as a whole.

After Tunisia became independent in 1956, Sūsa was made the seat of a *wilāya* and developed into a regional metropolis. These transformations have had their influence on the demographic, spatial and functional growth of the town:

(a) The population increase was spectacular. It grew from 8,577 in 1885 to 134,835 in 1994. Sūsa now is the third largest city of Tunisia, after Greater Tunis and Greater Sfax.

(b) The spatial extension is no less important. Until the first years of the Protectorate, the entire population of Sūsa lived inside the *madīna*, whose walls were right on the seaside. Already before 1939, a modern city in the European style was constructed around the old centre, but between 1926 and 1946 the developed site remained thinly populated. Between December 1942 and May 1943, in the fighting between the armier of the Axis powers and the Allies, Sūsa suffered 39 bombardments which wrought great havoc, and in 1946 priority was given to reconstruction. After independence, Sūsa developed in all directions. The urban perimeter, only 29 ha (71.66 acres) in 1881, had grown to 3,100 ha (7,660 acres) in 1992.

(c) The functional growth of Sūsa is almost exclusively secondary and tertiary, primary activities being limited to fishing. More than 45% of the working population is active in secondary functions, such as textile and leather industries, in the fabrication of mechanical, electrical and electronic devices, in construction and chemicals. The real importance of Sūsa, however, is to be found in its tertiary function (administration, education up to higher academic level, health and other social activities, trade, communications, banking) which occupies more than half of the working population. As a port, Sūsa is surpassed by Sfax, but it is important for the tourist industry.

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(MOHAMED JEDIDI)

SŪSAN or more often SAWSAN, iris or lily; generally *Iris florentina* L., or *Lilium sp.* Of Middle Persian origin, from *sōsan*, it is related to Hebrew *shūshan*, and is possibly originally a loan-word from Egyptian (I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1924-34, ii, 1-4, 160-84). The *sūsan asmāndjūnī* (Pers. *āsmān-gūnī* "sky-coloured") was the blue iris; other colours were white and yellow.

In the Arabic Dioscorides, *īrisā*, a "type" of *sawsan*, is equated with the Greek *iris*; *zahr al-sawsan* with lily (*krinon*) (see M.M. Sadek, *The Arabic materia of Dioscorides*, Quebec City 1983). Ibn al-Bayṭār lists three varieties: white or *azād*; wild; and cultivated. (*Djāmi' al-mufradāt*, Cairo 1874, iii. 43-4). He quotes Dioscorides, Galen, and others: its "power" is mainly dessicative (*tadjfīf*) and dissoluent (*taḥlīl*). Its roots, seeds and leaves were used as an oil or a juice.

External use was for skin complaints such as scab (*djarab*), scalds, burns and ulcers; internally, it could be chewed for toothache, or drunk for vermin bite and cough (al-Ghāfiḳī) or to sharpen the intellect and remove "yellow water" (Ibn Sīnā). Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī says that the wild and the white varieties relieve pain in muscles or nerves (*'aṣab*).

Precise identification of species is not practicable (see W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 253-4). W. Ainslie refers to *Iris florentina*, or Orris root, as used by Arabs and Persians as suppurative and deobstruent; and in Europe formerly as a cathartic in dropsy (*Materia Indica*, London 1826, i, 182, 284). Iris is still sometimes used in herbal-based medicine.

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SUTRA (A.), covering, protection, shelter, especially at the *ṣalāt*, where *sutra* means the object which the worshipper places in front of himself or lays in the direction of the *ḳibla*, whereby he shuts himself off in an imaginary area within which he is not disturbed by human or demoniacal influences. "The fictitious fencing off of an open place of prayer, the *sutra*, seems to have had among other objectives that of warding off demons" (Wellhausen, *Reste*², 158). In one tradition, the man who deliberately penetrates into this imaginary area is actually called a *shayṭān* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 100; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 2; al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, no. 1342).

The word is not found in the Ḳur'ān. In *Ḥadīth*, the root often occurs in the expression *satara* (*tasattara*, *istatara*) *bi-thawb* in traditions which describe the ritual ablution, in which one conceals one's nakedness or causes it to be concealed by a cloak or curtain (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣayd, bāb* 14; *Ghusl, bāb* 21; Muslim, *Ḥayd*, trad. 70, 79; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra, bāb* 123; *Manāsik, bāb* 37). Similarly, *sitr* is the name given to the curtain by which Muḥammad concealed his women from the gaze of the world (al-Bukhārī,

Maghāzī, bāb 56; *Nikāḥ, bāb* 67). We are further told that one performs the *ṣalāt* in the direction of an object which isolates him from the multitude (*yasturuhu min al-nās*) so that he is not disturbed by them (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Hadjdj, bāb* 53; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 259; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik, bāb* 53).

Muḥammad is said to have been quite unrestricted in his choice of a *sutra*: baggage camels, horses, trees, saddles (al-Bukhārī, *Salāt, bāb* 98), a couch (*ibid., bāb* 99), lance (*ḥarba, bāb* 92), stick (*ʿanaza, bāb* 93) and the pillars of the mosque (*bāb* 95) are mentioned. *Ḥadīth* has preserved the memory of two opinions regarding the *sutra*; one gives minute rules and the other opposes this.

The first opinion endeavours to lay down accurately what distance should be preserved between the *sutra* and him who performs the *ṣalāt* (*mamarr al-shāt* "space to allow a sheep to pass"; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 91; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trads. 263, 264, etc.); it makes Muḥammad explain that no one is to be allowed to pass between anyone and his *sutra* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 100, 101; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trads. 258-62, etc.), that passers-by, especially dogs, asses and women, render void the *ṣalāt*: the Apostle of God said: "If one performs the *ṣalāt* without having in front of him something, such as the end or central part of a saddle, his *ṣalāt* is rendered void by a passing dog, ass or woman" (al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 136; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 86).

The other view holds that the *ṣalāt* is never rendered void by passers-by (this is also al-Shāfiʿī's view, according to al-Tirmidhī's note on *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 135). ʿĀʾisha exclaims indignantly, "you place us on the same level as asses and dogs; by Allāh, the Prophet used to perform the *ṣalāt* while I lay on the couch between him and the *ḳibla*" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 105). The same tendency is seen in an anecdote by Ibn ʿAbbās: "I was riding behind al-Faḍl on a she-ass; we came up to the Prophet just as he was performing the *ṣalāt* with his companions in Minā. We dismounted and took our places in the row, while the animal ran among the people without rendering void the *ṣalāt*" (al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 135; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 196).

The Shāfiʿīs call the *sutra* a *sunna*. The various views of the jurists are given in al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 76-7; cf. also al-Tirmidhī's remarks on *bāb*s 133-6 in his chapter *mawāḳīt al-ṣalāt*.

Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, ed. Juynboll, 29, writes as follows: "If anyone passes a man who is performing the *ṣalāt* and there is a *sutra* or stick between them of about an arm's length in size, it is not *makrūh*; nor is it *makrūh* if there is no stick but a line which the worshipper has drawn at a distance of 3 ells; if, on the contrary, there should be nothing of the kind at all then it (sc. passing by) would be *makrūh*. The *ṣalāt* would however remain valid".

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the *sutra* of the *imām* at the *ṣalāt* is valid for those with whom he performs the *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 90).

Bibliography: The material of the classical *ḥadīth* is given in A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, i, 180-1. See also ṢALĀT. (A.J. WENSINCK)

SUʿŪD, ĀL, a major Arabian dynasty belonging to the ʿAnaza tribe, first rising to power in Nadjd in the 12th/18th century in association with the religious reform movement of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]. The Āl Suʿūd provided the leadership for three successive states inspired by Wahhābī doctrines: the first Suʿūdī-Wahhābī state, 1159-1233/1746-1818, with its centre in Nadjd, but controlling much of central and northern Arabia at its greatest extent; the second such state re-established in Nadjd, 1240-1305/1824-87; the third state restored with its capital in al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*] from 1319/1902 and culminating in the modern kingdom of Suʿūdī Arabia [*q.v.*] from 1351/1932. The Islamic basis of the rule of the Āl Suʿūd is evidenced by their assumption of the title *imām*, denoting their spiritual headship of the community, in addition to the temporal rank of *amīr*, although the two titles were on occasion held by different members of the family.

The founder of the dynasty, Muḥammad b. Suʿūd (1159-79/1746-65 [*q.v.*]), is chiefly remembered for lending his support to the reform efforts of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb from his power base as *amīr* of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], seeking to enforce a Ḥanbalī interpretation of *Sharīʿa* and to root out perceived un-Islamic innovation, *bidʿa*, notably as represented in the cult of saints. In exchange, his rule acquired religious legitimacy, but for twenty years he was engaged in a struggle with forces opposed to the creation of the new theocratic state.

During his reign, military campaigning had been entrusted to his capable and dedicated son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who assumed office as the new *imām* on his death in 1179/1765, embarking on an energetic thirty-eight year period of rule, ending with his assassination by a Shīʿī, or possibly Ṣūfī, assailant in 1218/1803. During his time the power of the Āl Suʿūd was consolidated in Nadjd and extended to al-Ḥidjāz with the capture of the Holy Cities, while raids were made deep into al-ʿIrāḳ, Karbalāʾ being sacked in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1215/April 1801 as part of the Wahhābī attack on Shīʿism. Much of the coastal region of eastern Arabia was brought under Suʿūdī control, including for some time the island of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*]. Both ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his son Suʿūd (1218-29/1803-14) have been widely regarded as capable rulers and strategists, respected among their Wahhābī followers for their strict adherence to the principles of the faith and their readiness and ability to ensure justice and security among the Bedouin in areas that had suffered from blood feuds and lawlessness. Understandably, they were not so appreciated by the Ottomans, whose authority and status as Muslims they challenged, and by the settled Ḥidjāzīs and the eastern Arabian and ʿIrāḳī Shīʿa.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd (1229-33/1814-18) inherited a difficult situation, which he was less well-equipped to handle than his predecessors, lacking their strategic skills. The Ottomans were determined to end Suʿūdī and Wahhābī hegemony in Arabia and the threat posed by them to the region. In 1222/1807 Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] as viceroy of Egypt had received orders from the Ottoman sultan Muṣṭafā IV to launch an expedition against the Suʿūdī *imām*. However, it was not until 1226-7/the winter of 1811-12 that the Egyptian forces were able to wrest control of the Holy Cities from Suʿūd, and only in 1232/early 1817 that Muḥammad ʿAlī's son, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], led a fresh expedition into central Arabia. There has frequently been criticism of ʿAbd Allāh's tactics in choosing to hold out in al-Dirʿiyya rather than to attack Ibrāhīm's vulnerable lines of communication more effectively. Yet he was also faced with the problem of treachery by those tribes who succumbed to Egyptian financial inducements to turn against the Āl Suʿūd. Nevertheless, he was able to withstand a six-month siege before surrendering the town in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda

1233/September 1818. The first Suʿūdī state had come to an end and al-Dirʿiyya was razed to the ground. ʿAbd Allāh himself was sent for execution to Istanbul. Many of the Āl Suʿūd had been killed in the fighting and a number of others were deported to Egypt.

It was several years before the second Suʿūdī state could be recreated in Nadjd by Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh (1240-9/1824-34), a cousin of Suʿūd and grandson of Muḥammad b. Suʿūd. Abandoning hope of reviving al-Dirʿiyya, he made his new capital to the south of it in al-Riyāḍ, which he captured from the Egyptians, who subsequently withdrew to al-Ḥidjāz. Turkī was noted for his just government and efforts to maintain order, also for his guaranteeing safe passage to non-Wahhābī pilgrims passing through his territories. He effectively restored the Suʿūdī position in eastern Arabia, but became the victim of intrigues within the Āl Suʿūd, being assassinated by a nephew in 1249/1834. However, his son Fayṣal took prompt action against the assassins and succeeded in establishing his rule, until a second Egyptian expedition invaded Nadjd, forcing him to surrender and taking him as captive to Cairo.

A period of Suʿūdī weakness and instability followed, Khālid b. Suʿūd (1253-7/1837-41), brother of the late Imām ʿAbd Allāh, being returned from his exile in Egypt and imposed as ruler by Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces. He had little popular support and briefly gave way before a rebellious relative, ʿAbd Allāh b. Thunayyān (1257-9/1841-3), who also proved unpopular owing to harsh taxation and inability to preserve security and assert his authority.

Real independence was asserted by the Āl Suʿūd with the escape of Fayṣal b. Turkī from his captivity in Egypt and his successful return to his homeland. His second reign (1259-82/1843-65) marked a high point in Suʿūdī fortunes. The British Political Resident in the Gulf, Lt. Col. Lewis Pelly, visited him shortly before his death and noted him as "a just and stern ruler", who was interested in encouraging the Bedouin to adopt a more settled life and to pursue agriculture and trade. Unfortunately, his death ushered in a time of fratricidal struggle between his sons ʿAbd Allāh and Suʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh ruling twice, from 1282-88/1865-71 until his deposition by Suʿūd (1288-91/1871-4), then again from 1291-1305/1874-87 when he lost power to the Āl Rashīd [see RASHĪD, ĀL] of Djabal Shammar in northern Nadjd. Thus the second Suʿūdī state came to an end, its fall owed both to internal power struggles and to the temporarily greater dynamism and political skill of the Rashīdīs. Fayṣal's youngest son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, tried to hang on to a limited local authority, but, after a disastrous defeat at the battle of al-Mulayda in 1309/1891, was forced to leave al-Riyāḍ accompanied by his family, among them his young son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the future king of Suʿūdī Arabia.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*] began his long reign with his return from exile in al-Kuwayt and bold recapture of al-Riyāḍ in 1319/1902. There followed many years in which he sought to establish Suʿūdī control over Nadjd and extend his power eastwards to al-Aḥsāʾ by a combination of military and diplomatic tactics, confronting challenges from the combined forces of the Ottomans and Āl Rashīd as well as the dissension of relatives, rebellious tribes and the growing power of the *amīr* of Mecca, the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. He was also well aware of the advantages of gaining British support, while preserving the maximum degree of independence, and the treaty he signed with Britain in Ṣafar 1334/December 1915 assured him of a regular subsidy and assistance in the event of aggression against him. In 1339/1921 he crushed the Rashīdī power in northern Nadjd, taking their centre of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*] and assumed the title of *sulṭān* of Nadjd. After years of soured relations and occasional hostilities with the Sharīf Ḥusayn, now king of al-Ḥidjāz, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz invaded his territory in 1343/1924, being provoked by the Sharīf's claim to the caliphate and his refusal to allow Wahhābī pilgrims to perform the Ḥadjdj. In 1344/1926 he assumed the title of king of al-Ḥidjāz for himself, an un-Islamic title disliked by the Wahhābīs. His father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had held the spiritual position of *imām* until his death in 1346/1928, when it devolved on to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, although he had informally been so addressed earlier.

Those who met ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz seem invariably to have been impressed. Thus Gertrude Bell in a letter of 1916 wrote of him as "one of the most striking personalities I have encountered. He is splendid to look at, well over 6' 3", with an immense amount of dignity and self-possession". However, assessments vary as to the importance of his character and personality in building the power of the Āl Suʿūd in Arabia, from eulogy of him as the key figure in the enterprise to judgment of his role as overrated and his being no more than fortunate in his historical circumstances. As a Muslim leader, he was pious and conscientious in the performance of his religious duties, convinced that Islam must triumph and dedicated to its promotion. This may be witnessed in his policy of establishing the *hidjar* [*q.v.*], agricultural religious settlements for the Wahhābī Ikhwān [*q.v.*] and his systematic implementation of the *Sharīʿa* in al-Ḥidjāz after its conquest with the same strictness as in Nadjd. Yet there were those among the Ikhwān for whom his religious zeal was insufficient and who condemned him for his dealings with the unbelieving British, his use of infernal innovations such as cars and telephones, his allowing the tribes of Transjordan and al-ʿIrāḳ to graze their herds on the lands of true Wahhābī Muslims and his failure to impose Wahhābism among the Shīʿa of al-Aḥsāʾ. While noted for the traditional Arab virtues of generosity and magnanimity to defeated enemies, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz could also be implacable if angered and utterly ruthless, as is evidenced by his final suppression of the Ikhwān in Shaʿbān 1348/January 1930. To the end of his life, even after the commercial exploitation of his country's vast oil reserves, he retained his simple and austere lifestyle.

The same could hardly be said of his son and successor, Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1373-84/1953-64), who was widely criticised for his exceptional extravagance as well as for his political ineptitude and the corruption in his government. This was to bring his country to the edge of bankruptcy by 1377/1957 and lead to speculation that the days of the Āl Suʿūd were numbered. In 1384/1964 Suʿūd was formally deposed by a council made up of senior members of the royal family, *ʿulamāʾ* and government officials on the grounds that his rule was in violation of the *Sharīʿa*.

His brother Fayṣal, who succeeded him and ruled until his assassination by a nephew in 1395/1975, inherited his father's political acumen and is credited with establishing the modern institutions of Suʿūdī Arabia, moving away from the traditional patriarchal rule associated with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Suʿūd. He oversaw successful development programmes financed by more efficiently managed oil revenues, ensuring increased prosperity for all sectors of the population. As a deeply committed Muslim, Fayṣal was active in

promoting pan-Islamic policies even before his accession to the throne. In 1382/1962 he encouraged the founding of the Islamic World League (*Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī*) in Mecca dedicated to the worldwide promotion of the faith, sponsoring the work of *daʿwa* and aiding Muslim minorities. As king, Fayṣal urged Muslims to work for the liberation of Jerusalem and, following an Australian Christian's attempt to set fire to al-Aḳṣā Mosque in 1389/1969, called for a *d̲j̲ihād* against Israel and organised an Islamic summit in Rabat, Morocco. In Muḥarram 1390/March 1970 he held an Islamic conference of foreign ministers in D̲j̲idda, leading to the establishment of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (*Munaẓẓamat al-Muʾtamar al-Islāmī*).

Fayṣal's successor, K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1395-1402/1975-82), was already elderly at the time of his accession and plagued by poor health. During his reign, his Islamic credentials were challenged by a revolt organized by neo-Ik̲h̲wān with the takeover of the Great Mosque at Mecca on 1 Muḥarram 1400/21 November 1979 [see MAKKA. 3] and by unrest among the S̲h̲īʿa of al-Aḥsāʾ. In both cases, the incidents were brought under control, but the Āl Suʿūd became increasingly sensitive to the need to re-establish respect for their Islamic leadership at both the domestic and international levels.

Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (acceded 1402/1982) had considerable experience in government when he became king on K̲h̲ālid's death. He sought to strengthen the Islamic Wahhābī character of the state, and in Ṣafar 1407/October 1986 assumed the title of *k̲h̲ādim al-ḥaramayn*, thus seeking to enhance Suʿūdī religious legitimacy.

The Āl Suʿūd today are estimated as numbering between 4,000 and 7,000, of whom several hundred are direct descendants of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. They are intermarried with many traditionally important tribal families, notably the Ṣudayrīs of northern Nad̲j̲d, and with the Āl al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲, the descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Members of the Āl Suʿūd who have been prominent in government include full brothers of Fahd, especially Sulṭan, Minister of Defence from 1382/1962, Nāʾif, Minister of the Interior from 1395/1975 and Salmān, governor of al-Riyāḍ from 1382/1962.

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(ELIZABETH M. SIRRIYEH)

AL-SUʿŪDĪ, ABU 'L-FAḌL AL-MĀLIKĪ, theologian of the 10th/16th century. He wrote a controversial work finished in S̲h̲awwāl 942/April 1536 against the Christians (and the Jews), which has been edited from manuscripts of Leiden and Oxford by F.J. van den Ham (*Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos*, Leiden 1877-90) and is in substance an extract (*muntak̲h̲ab*) from a book by Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn al-D̲j̲aʿfarī (wrote in 618/1221) entitled *Tak̲h̲d̲j̲īl man ḥarraf al-Ind̲j̲īl*. He is probably to be identified with Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mālikī, the servant (*k̲h̲ādim*) of the Ṣūfī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Abu 'l-Suʿūd al-D̲j̲āriḥī (died some years after 930/1524), see al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaḳāt al-ak̲h̲yār*, Cairo 1317, iii, 113-14), who wrote, according to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (iv, 557, no. 9521) a commentary on the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*]. For al-Suʿūdī refers in his polemic (146, 14, 147, 4) to Abu 'l-Suʿūd as his master (*ustād̲h̲*), and al-S̲h̲aʿrānī (*op. cit.*, ii, 113, 5 ff.) mentions Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mālikī as a devoted adept of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, from whom he probably derives his *nisba* al-Suʿūdī. According to van den Ham (*Praefatio* of his edition, 6), his book contains many passages occurring word for word in a manuscript commentary on the *Hamziyya* preserved in Gotha (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschriften... zu Gotha*, iv, 294, no. 2295), in which the author's name is Faḍl Allāh al-Mālikī.

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SUʿŪDĪ (or ABU 'L-SUʿŪD) B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤYĪ 'L-DĪN AL-MUTANABBĪ AL-ʿABBĀSĪ AL-S̲H̲ĀFIʿĪ AL-DIMAS̲H̲ḲĪ, a man of letters, who died in Damascus in Ṣafar 1127/February 1715. He studied several branches of Islamic knowledge, and one of his preceptors was ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī al-Nābulusī [*q.v.*]. Al-Murādī mentions his *Dīwān* entitled *Madāʾiḥ al-ḥaḍarāt bi-lisān al-is̲h̲ārāt* and gives specimens of his poetry. According to the same author, al-Muḥibbī gives an article on him in his *Nafḥat al-rayḥāna wa-ras̲h̲ḥat ṭilāʾ al-ḥāna* (cf. Brockelmann², II, 379). A *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ* in praise of Damascus from his pen is extant in a manuscript of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 6090, We 1120, fol. 78a, cf. no. 8174, 2).

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(C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-SUʿŪDĪ, SAYF AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a theologian who died in 736/1335-6. Biographical data do not seem to be known hitherto. He contested the tenets of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*] in some *ḳaṣīdas* occurring in al-Sak̲h̲āwī's work *al-Ḳawl al-munabbiʾ ʿan Tard̲j̲amat Ibn ʿArabī* (ms. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 2849, cf. 7846, 4) and is mentioned (*op. cit.*, 8379, cf. 3658) as the author of a prayer (*duʿāʾ*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann², II, 10.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-SUʿŪDIYYA, AL-MAMLAKA AL-ʿARABIYYA, the modern Saudi Arabian kingdom, declared on 16 December 1932.

It emerged from the transformation of the Suʿūdī chiefdom, located in the central Arabian province of Nad̲j̲d, into a more organised, expanded and territorially-defined state. The chiefdom itself passed through three historical stages: there was the first Saudi chiefdom based on an alliance, struck in 1744, between the House of Suʿūd, and its Bedouin tribes, with the religious leader Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]. This alliance was expressed through territorial expan-

sion into neighbouring territories, accompanied by an attempt to rid Muslim society of unlawful innovations (*bidaʿ*). These attempts, however, resulted in the chiefdom's destruction in 1818-21 by Muḥammad ʿAlī's Egyptian forces on behalf of the Ottomans. A subsequent second Suʿūdī chiefdom was continuously immersed in internal struggles, leading to internal warfare and disintegration in 1891. A third Suʿūdī chiefdom emerged in 1902, when the new leader of the Suʿūdī family, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, returned from exile in Kuwayt to reoccupy the city of al-Riyāḍ and its vicinity, reinforcing Suʿūdī rule there in the ensuing years [for details, see SUʿŪD, ĀL].

The transformation of this Suʿūdī chiefdom had two stimulating factors. One was a drive, attributed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and other family members, to restore the ancestral first and second Suʿūdī states, thereby reactivating the Wahhābī movement aimed at giving the *Sharīʿa* a position of supremacy in society and at purifying Islam from *bidaʿ* [see WAHHĀBIYYA]. This motive, while it explains the desire to re-establish a third Suʿūdī chiefdom, with its *raison d'état*, does not shed light on the need to transform the chiefdom as it evolved after 1902, without defined borders, minimal government based on *ad hoc* arrangements among the ruling élite, main tribal groups and townspeople, and the persistence of tribal loyalties, into a more organised state, nor on the dynamics of this process.

The second motive, which accounts for these developments, concerns the principles of evolution of states in tribal societies. It was articulated in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's skill in responding to new challenges by increasing the Suʿūdī chiefdom's cohesion, governmental centralisation and territorial expansion. This motive became evident during and after the First World War when, by facing the challenges of British and Ottoman rivalry, the Arab Revolt led by the rival Hāshim clan, economic hardships and floating tribal groups, the Suʿūdī leader was nevertheless able to muddle through and develop state-like attributes for his dominions.

The process of state formation in tribal societies has several characteristics; first it evolves in stages. As the transformation comes about in response to challenges of a certain period, its effect is also relatively limited, until new challenges arise, requiring new responses. Since 1902, the Suʿūdī state has undergone three stages of state-building. Responding to the earlier-mentioned challenges of the First World War period, the Suʿūdī chiefdom turned into a conquest movement which, in the 1920s, expanded over large parts of the Arabian peninsula, and secured British protection, from which it obtained full independence in May 1927. Then, responding to the establishment of the Arab state system and British regional dominance, it strengthened its territorial definition and internal consolidation in the 1930s. New challenges, emanating from the use of oil wealth and coping with regional radical waves, prompted a third stage, marked by institutionalisation and welfare, in the 1960s.

The actual attributes of state building evolved through these stages. The territorial-framework and borders were already completed during the first and second stages, i.e. by the mid-1930s. The Suʿūdī occupation in 1913, of former Ottoman Turkish al-Aḥsāʾ on the Persian Gulf shores, rather than being an all-out campaign, had specific aims, i.e. to draw British attention and finally to reach an alliance with Britain as the new great power in the Gulf, a goal which was achieved in December 1915. The Suʿūdīs were then involved in mainly tribal skirmishes with the Hāshimī rulers of the Ḥidjāz and the Āl Ṣabāḥ rulers of Kuwayt. Only in 1920, faced by an alliance of regional rivals, did ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz embark on organised expansionist campaigns, leading to the capture of the Rashīdī chiefdom of Djabal Shammar in 1921, northern ʿAsīr in 1923, and the Ḥidjāz, with its holy shrines, in 1924-5. The southern parts of ʿAsīr (including Djizān and Nadjrān) were occupied during the Saudi-Yemeni war in 1934.

The new state's borders were mostly fixed by a series of international treaties: the protocol of ʿUḳayr in 1922 and the treaties of Baḥra and Ḥaddāʾ in 1925 basically determined the borders with Kuwayt, ʿIrāḳ and Transjordan, with some areas remaining undelineated. The border with Yemen was fixed in the 1934 Ṭāʾif treaty. Saudi Arabia's borders with the Gulf states and Yemen were established mainly according to the 1913 "blue line" agreement between Britain and the Ottoman Empire, which had marked Britain's sphere of influence over the coastal chiefdoms, and in 1935-6 was employed to demarcate the Gulf States' borders from Saudi Arabia.

A second process of state building concerned the evolution of central government. A most conspicuous aspect of centralization was subjugation of opposition. The *Ikhwān* tribal groups, notably the Muṭayr, parts of the ʿUtayba and the ʿUdjmān, who favoured the continuity of the chiefdom system (including the tribes' own choice of markets, raiding, and political conduct according to their own zealous interpretation of the Wahhābī code), were defeated and subjugated in a series of battles during 1929-30. The formation of political parties, and any kind of political opposition, were subsequently forbidden. Centralisation was accompanied by the establishment, between 1926 and 1929, of a new, minimal, physical infrastructure of communications, several main roads leading from Nadjd to the new occupied territories, a radio telegraph system at the leaders' disposal, and new markets in the Gulf coast cities of Hufūf and Djubayl. Centralisation was also evident in economic change: from 1924 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz began to use civilian taxation and pilgrimage income (*ca.* £100,000 annually in the late 1920s, declining by two-thirds during the 1930s economic recession) to establish a central treasury. The forbidding of raids into neighbouring states was also laid down during this period.

Two new governmental formations then emerged: the *Sharīʿa*, in its Wahhābī interpretation, was a substitute for a constitution and the primary source of daily law. In a series of conferences of *ʿulamāʾ* and *Ikhwān* with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and his aides during 1927-30, the ruler was able to establish the principle that, while the senior *ʿulamāʾ* remained the main interpreters of the Wahhābī principles of Islam, as in the 18th and 19th centuries, their religious rulings would defer to the policies of the ruler and the state. A form of state Islam thereby emerged: the senior *ʿulamāʾ*, incorporated within a Supreme Council, were responsible for judicial and religious rulings (*fatāwī*) but appointed by the ruler and representing state interests.

A further sphere of centralisation was seen in institution-building. In 1932, there was a *ca.* 43,000-strong army, and a police force of indeterminate size (probably several thousand), acting in the cities and provinces. Several government departments were inaugurated between 1925 and 1933, notably internal and foreign affairs, finance, pilgrimage and health, the whole functioning as a Council of Ministers from 1932. There were two main provincial judicial and administrative systems, one in Nadjd and the other in Ḥidjāz. In view of its religious importance and separate history,

a Basic Law detailing arrangements for the governance of Ḥidjāz was promulgated by 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1926. An Advisory Assembly, representing Ḥidjāz's élite families, had existed since 1926. The law of the state derived from the *Sharīʿa*, notably criminal and personal law, although customary law (*ʿurf*), was exercised when it was not contradictory to the *Sharīʿa*.

'Abd al-'Azīz was given formal allegiance (*bayʿa*) in 1926, by the inhabitants of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz and assumed the title of King (*malik*) in 1927; he ruled the central and provincial governments, sanctioned by the *ʿulamāʾ*, unrestricted by any elected or appointed bodies and limited only by the *Sharīʿa*.

In reality, until the 1960s, the centralisation policies encapsulated chiefdom practices and did not result in full institutionalisation and bureaucratisation. Tribal and townspeople's groups co-existed, through fighting and/or bargaining, with the new army and police forces. New offices were headed by the king's patrimonial appointees: 'Abd al-'Azīz's son Su'ūd was governor of Nadjd, and his other son Fayṣal was governor of Ḥidjāz and minister of foreign affairs. The King ruled as a modern head of state and, at the same time, as a tribal arbiter, consulting royal family members, *ʿulamāʾ* and tribal leaders; and he was also as an Imām, head of the Wahhābī community. Policies were not carried out in a bureaucratic, rational form: tribal rebellions were usually stemmed by the payment of arbitrary financial subventions to the head of the turbulent tribal group, and no separation between the royal and tribal purse was introduced. In addition, while the government was able to quell tribal political autonomy, tribal groups remained the source of group identity, the individual's livelihood and security. The royal family, in fact, consisted of a chain of political marriages between the members of the House of Su'ūd and other notable families, nomad or urban, thereby forming a biological élite of the state's major families.

However, the process of encapsulation reached a deadlock in the 1950s. 'Abd al-'Azīz's death in 1953, and the reign of his son King Su'ūd (1953-64), were marked by the government's need to utilise the growing oil income; to tackle a new type of worker's opposition (which erupted in strikes in 1953 and 1956); to confront radical, anti-royalist Pan-Arabism in the Middle East, led by the Egyptian President Djamāl 'Abd al-Nāsir; and cope with the implications of East West rivalry. All of these were treated with indecisiveness, when a more resolute and institutionalised ruling system was required. Only during the third stage of Saudi state formation, did the reforms of King Fayṣal (1964-75) and King Khālid (1975-82), have the effect, in Max Weber's terms, of transforming the Saudi state from a crude monarchical government, incorporating chiefdom practices, into a "routinised", bureaucratic system. To be sure, the King's absolute position was uncompromised by any constitutional arrangements as some liberal elements suggested. Furthermore, Fayṣal, utilising modern administrative planning (initially formulated by a Ford Foundation Committee in 1963) enlarged the council of ministers into twenty ministries, including petroleum, public works, education, planning, commerce and industry, which used new methods of planning and calculated decision-making. A ministry of justice was established in 1970 to control the judicial system. A civil service, which grew from 62,000 to 336,000 personnel between 1960 and 1980, extended the government's influence to all spheres of public life throughout the realm; the state organism gained full control.

From 1970, economic development evolved through "Five-year plans," focusing both on diversification and growth. Through administrative outreach and economic means, the state established centralising networks, including schools and seven universities (the number of graduates rose from 1,700 in 1975 to *ca.* 17,000 in 1985); 24,000 km of roads connected the main towns with each other; and *ca.* 226,000 houses, telecommunication and medical facilities were built.

Centralisation was also evident, through a policy of "divide and rule", in the evolution of two separate bodies of armed forces: the regular army, composed of volunteer recruits from the entire Saudi society, under the command of the minister of defence and aviation (currently Sulṭān Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, King Fahd's full brother) and the National Guard, which functions as a militia maintaining internal order, composed of conscripted recruits from the main Nadjd tribes (such as the Muṭayr and 'Utayba) with long-established contacts with the royal family, under the command of the crown prince (currently 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, King Fahd's half-brother). In itself, this division attests to a factional division within the royal family, which King Fayṣal was able to balance, so as to ensure the functioning of the Saudi royal family in its role as the Kingdom's central-governing élite. He established a policy of co-operation between Fahd and his six full brothers, sons of 'Abd al-'Azīz and Hasa bint Aḥmad al-Sudayrī (who therefore became known as the "Sudayrī seven") who are now principal ministers, with a group of other princes, descendents of 'Abd al-'Azīz and various mothers, led by Crown Prince 'Abd Allāh, with the effect that the factions' candidates alternate as Kings and as Crown Princes. Thus during the reigns of Fayṣal and Khālid, the centralisation of the Saudi state reached its peak.

Saudi Arabia underwent another process of state building, which concerns its socio-political cohesion. Unification under Saudi rule of the different territories and segments, which until 1932 were known as Nadjd, Ḥidjāz and their dependencies, did not mean full assimilation, but rather the introduction of a loose, unifying framework of tribal groups, which remained socio-economically autonomous. It showed society's compliance or acquiescence with Saudi rule, and war-weariness with the effects of territorial expansion and *Ikhwān* fighting. This loose unification was demonstrated by the King's functioning, in tribal tradition, as an arbiter between the two main provinces of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz, reflecting each region's interests vis-à-vis the other, and symbolising their readiness to co-operate. Su'ūd's and Fayṣal's appointments as governors of Nadjd and Ḥidjāz respectively, further signified the role of the Su'ūdī family as the principal unifier of the kingdom. The imposition of the *Sharīʿa*, in its Wahhābī interpretation, as the legal norm of the entire realm, was another step in this loose unification, although followers of other legal schools continued to practice their own doctrines (notably Shī'īs in al-Aḥsā' and Shāfi'īs in Ḥidjāz).

Finally, 'Abd al-'Azīz used unification as a means to foster feelings of regional loyalty to the central government, amidst economic recession and several tribal uprisings in Northern Ḥidjāz and 'Asīr during 1930-4. After enlisting the support of various tribal leaders and prominent businessmen, on 16 September 1932, 'Abd al-'Azīz declared formal unity among Saudi-ruled territories, under the newly-named Saudi Arabian Kingdom (*al-Mamlaka al-ʿArabiyya al-Suʿūdiyya*). However, the provinces were ruled separately, according to traditional principles of allegiance to tribal

chiefs, based on a complex system of subventions and taxation. Only during the reigns of Fayṣal and Khālid were all parts of society technologically made more accessible to each other and more dependent on the central government, adding a sense of a state-based, bureaucratic identity to their cohesion.

However, reforms also had disruptive socio-political effects, emanating from the impact of modernisation. Relying on financial and oil sales reserves, which in 1981-2 reached a peak of *ca.* $165 billion, Saudi Arabia became urbanised: its population, which in the 1930s was 70% nomadic, was in the 1980s about 90% urban. Djidda and Mecca in Ḥidjāz, and al-Riyāḍ in Nadjd, became megalopolises of over one million people each. Five new civil-military city-bases (notably Yanbuʿ, Djubayl, and Khamīs Mushayṭ) were built and other older centres were renovated and enlarged. Society became more stratified, divided into a wealthy businessman élite, a professional middle class and a lower class of manual workers, including several millions of imported Asians and Africans. An atmosphere of materialism and consumerism disoriented the formerly more austere and rather egalitarian Saudi society. However, Islamic and tribal principles remained effective as value systems, even after the tribal groups became sedentarised. Thus the norms of Wahhābī conduct remained dominant, both through the role which the *ʿulamāʾ* continued to play as teachers (notably in girls' schools), judges, prayer-leaders and religious instructors (*muftī*), and, most notably, as legal-political advisers to the government. Religious zealots continued to operate as a "moral police", for "the promotion of good and abrogation of evil" (known as *Hayʾat al-nahy min al-munkar waʾl-amr bi ʾl-maʿrūf*), whose duty is to supervise public conduct and punish offenders. Moreover, tribal, kin-based co-operation is upheld as the guiding principle of intermarriage, administrative appointments, business enterprises and for building political support. Finally, a welfare system of free health and education services, subsidised food, electricity and water, combined with free, weekly access of the lower classes to a provincial governor or cabinet minister for allaying grievances, maintained internal balance and a sense of cohesion and stability in a rapidly-changing Saudi society.

Events in the 1990s indicate that the political and socio-economic dynamic which has characterised Saudi Arabia's state-building since the days of King Fayṣal, resulting in centralisation and cohesion, may have exhausted itself. Lower oil prices and huge military expenses (both as assistance to ʿIrāḳ in its war against Iran in the 1980s and for the Desert Storm operation in 1990-1) caused a decline in state revenues. The fast-growing population (at a rate of 4% annually, reaching *ca.* 13 million Saudis and over three million foreign workers) has made it difficult for the government to provide for employment and welfare services. Islamic and tribal values stimulate opposition movements rather than generate support for the government. Even terrorist attempts have occasionally erupted. Consequently, there is a growing need for a new stage of state-building which will create a new order and stability.

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SUWĀʿ, the name of one of the five gods dating from the time of Noah mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (LXX, 23), together with Wadd, Yaghūth, Yaʿūk and Nasr [*q.vv.*].

Suwāʿ was worshipped by the Hudhayl [*q.v.*] at Ruhāt in the region of Yanbuʿ (Ibn al-Kalbī, 6) in one of the valleys running from the Red Sea towards Medina (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 1038). The tribe assiduously frequented his shrine, made pilgrimages to it and constantly offered sacrifices of their best smaller beasts to it (Ibn al-Kalbī, 6, 35, citing two verses attributed to a Yemeni, cf. also Yāḳūt, iii, 181-2, ii, 878). The idol was said to have been given by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the reformer of idol worship in Arabia, to al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Saʿd; its custodians [see SĀDIN] were the Banū Liḥyān. The name's etymology reflects the fact that the Hudhayl, a pastoral tribe, might have given the name to the protecting deity of stray herds, since *suwāʿ*, as a *maṣdar* of *sāʿa*, is applied to a troop of camels wandering without a herdsman (*TʿA*, v, 384-5).

Suwāʿ has been seen as a female deity and the consort of Wadd, the first representing the fertility principle (the Moon) and the second, the fertilising principle (the Sun) (cf. Osiander, in *ZDMG*, vii [1853], 496; Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, 66 ff.). Wellhausen (*Reste*², 19) was dismissive of this; to him, both the sex of this divinity and its connection with Wadd, its alleged consort, were highly doubtful. The five gods from Noah's time are represented as male ones, and Suwāʿ appears as a genealogical element in Hudhalī onomastic. Moreover, Suwāʿ's male sex emerges clearly from the verses of Ibn al-

Kalbī and Yāḳūt's notice, cited above. That Suwāʿ was worshipped with female features by the Hamdān, according to commentators cited by Krehl, *loc. cit.*, comes from a very late Arab tradition, one not confirmed in South Arabian inscriptions (those adduced by Derebourg and Glaser are not listed in Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*). We have probably a confusion between Suwāʿ and Sūʿ, the name of a Yemeni tribe which appears in a deformed guise in the *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (ed. Derenbourg, Paris 1906, 79; cited also in *TʿA*, v, 384, ll. 4-5). As for the association of Suwāʿ and Wadd, admitted by Robertson Smith (*Kinship and marriage*, 293) on Krehl's affirmation, it is merely in reality based on the side-by-side enumeration of the two names in the Ḳurʾānic list and in the onomastic of Hudhayl (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, Göttingen 1853, 5, where is found ʿAbd Wadd b. Suwāʿ).

The absence of the name Suwāʿ from Semitic inscriptions confirms its essentially Ḥidjāzī character. Like Hubal, it was a god peculiar to the Hudhalī pastoralists, represented by a stone (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1648-9) like all the primitive Arabian deities. Its sanctuary was destroyed by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ at the same time as that of al-ʿUzzā in the year 8. In the face of the god's powerlessness to protect itself, its *sādin* became a Muslim (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 105).

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(T. Fahd)

SUWĀR (p.), Pahlavi *aswār*, Old Persian *asabāra-*, in Muslim Indian usage *sawār*, "horseman", but assigned a special technical meaning in the bureaucratic organisation of the Mughal nobility instituted by Emperor Akbar (r. 963-1014/1556-1605). The hierarchical rank given to every noble was represented by two numbers, one designed *dhāt* "person" and the other *sawār*. The *sawār* rank determined the mounted retainers (*tābīnān*, so spelt) and horses the *manṣabdār* [see manṣab] was required to maintain. The amount sanctioned to cover the pay against the *sawār* rank was termed *ṭalab-i tābīnān*. In 981/1573-4 Akbar first introduced a numerical system of ranks, but with a single rank only, i.e. the rank determined only by the number of cavalry (*sawār*) the noble was expected to maintain. A payment at a rather low rate began to be made in advance for a contingent of a size, generally less than the titular rank. This came to be known as *bar-āwardī* ("by estimate"). Ultimately, the *bar-āwardī* defined the number of the second or *sawār* rank, and payments for this were made according to complex rules. The rate per unit of *bar-āwardī/sawār* under Akbar initially ranged from between 12,000 *dāms* (rupees 300 per unit) of *sawār* rank per annum and 9,600 *dāms* (rupees 240). Subsequently, payments were adjusted in accordance with the actual number of horsemen and horses presented at muster [see istiʿrāḍ], and this was called the *asp-i dāghī* payment, set at a uniform rate of 15,360 *dāms* (rupees 384) per annum for every unit of *sawār* rank. This system, modified by succeeding rulers, could work best so long as mounted archers formed the bulk of the Mughal army, but with the increasing use of musketry [see bārūd, vi], the military significance of cavalry became less and less, and in any case, administrative laxity after Awrangzīb's death contributed to a breakdown of the entire system of Mughal ranks.

In the Indian Army of British Indian times, *sowar* was the designation for troopers in cavalry regiments (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, ²London 1903, 857, and also the *Bibl.* to sipāhī. 3).

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(M. Athar Ali)

al-SUWAYDĪ (also Ibn al-Suwaydī), ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān, Arab physician (b. 600/1204 in Damascus, d. there 690/1292). He was a student of Ibn al-Bayṭār and a friend of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.vv.*]. The latter reports that al-Suwaydī was an excellent writer of poetry and prose (see *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 267, for some verse) and, in addition, an outstanding calligrapher who penned his own books in the "well-proportioned script" (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*) devised by Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] or in clear Kūfī script.

Three works of al-Suwaydī are extant in manuscript:

1. *K. al-Tadhkira* (*al-hādiya*). It consists of a collection of excerpts concerning remedies from about 400 Islamic, Greek, and other authors whose names are mentioned at the end of the book. Al-Suwaydī proposes to include only such remedies as have (allegedly) been confirmed by experience (*al-mudjarrabāt*). The book has, however, only a limited value as a source of information, since the remedies are only mentioned, but not described in detail.

2. *K. al-Simāt fī asmāʾ al-nabāt* ("The characteristics concerning the names of plants"), al-Suwaydī's main work. His autograph is preserved in the ms. Paris, BN, arab. 3004 (= Suppl. 877). The book is probably the most comprehensive of all the writings on synonyms and a lexical treasure trove for the plant names in use in the 7th/13th century. In addition to the Arabic names, the author gives the Greek, Syriac, Persian, Mozarabic (*laṭīnī*), and Berber equivalents. The sheer size leads one to expect a comprehensive pharmacognostic encyclopaedia. But a look at the text very soon shows that one-third, if not one-quarter of its size would have sufficed, if, under the appropriate synonyms, the author had simply referred to his discussions under the main entry, i.e. the most common name of the drug. Instead he offers the same or a similar text again under the synonyms which naturally swells up the text enormously. This uneconomical procedure is *mutatis mutandis* also true for the *Tadhkira*. Both works are products of unchecked literary transmission.

3. In addition to these two pharmacognostic works, al-Suwaydī also composed a small mineralogical work with the title *K. al-Bāhir fi 'l-djawāhir* (also known as *K. Khawāṣṣ al-aḥdjār min al-yawāḳīt wa 'l-djawāhir*). It treats of twenty-six minerals. Being a late compilation, without any originality, it is interesting only for the authors quoted.

4. A work cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn*, ii, 267), *al-Dhakhīra al-kāfiya fi 'l-ṭibb*, has not yet been found.

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(A. Dietrich)

AL-**SUWAYDIYYA** (modern Tkish. Samandağ), nowadays an important town and headquarters of the sub-province (*ilçe*) of Samandağ. It is situated 26 km/16 miles south-west of Antakya (Anṭākiyā [*q.v.*]), the capital of the Hatay province of Turkey, near to the Mediterranean Sea, 5 km/3 miles north of the Orontes River (Ar. al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*]).

In the mediaeval period, when al-Suwaydiyya is first mentioned, the name apparently refers to the port at the mouth of the river on the north bank, which the Crusaders knew as Soudin or Port Saint-Simeon, after St. Simeon Stylites the Younger, the remains of whose monastery are to be found on Mont Admirable (Samandağ), situated a little to the east. Port Saint-Simeon occupied the site of a Greek trading colony which was abandoned in later antiquity in favour of Seleucia Pieria to the north, but then reoccupied at the time of the Arab conquests, when the harbour at Seleucia Pieria silted up. References to al-Suwaydiyya are mostly in connection with the transit of people and goods through the port to and from the hinterland, and largely cease after the end of the 7th/13th century. The port, also known as al-Mīnāʾ, was probably abandoned again in the 8th/14th century, and few traces remain. After centuries of obscurity, present-day Samandağ profits from the light industrial and agricultural prosperity that has transformed Hatay, without, however, effacing Samandağ's Levantine flavour. This recalls the time, before the 1939 plebiscite, when it belonged to the partially Arabic-speaking autonomous Sandjak of Alexandretta (Iskandarūn [*q.v.*]) under French-mandated Syria [see AL-SHAʾM 2.(b)]. Samandağ continues to be associated with the predominantly Syrian Nuṣayrī sect [see NUṢAYRIYYA], who venerate an important popular shrine (*türbe*) identified with Khiḍr (al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*]) located at the nearest point to the town on the sea-shore.

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(E. Honigmann-[D.W. Morray])

AL-**SUWAYRA**, Mogador, a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast. The Bay of Mogador, protected against the north winds by the rocky promontory on which the town is built, against those from the west by an island about 1 km/1,000 yards in length, forms a natural harbour which, although not large and inaccessible for ships of large tonnage, has however the merit of being accessible at all seasons, an advantage which secures it a favourable place among the anchorages of the Atlantic coast of Morocco which is, generally speaking, inhospitable. This favoured situation was taken advantage of at a very early period. In spite of the lack of precision in the sources, it is probable that we should seek at Mogador the site of one of the five Phoenician colonies founded by Hanno (5th century B.C.). Pliny records that at the end of the 1st century B.C. the king Juba II founded purple dye-works on the *Purpurariae Insulae*, apparently islands and islets opposite al-Suwayra. Getulic purple, which was celebrated at Rome, was supplied by the molluscs abundant on this coast.

In the 5th/11th century, according to al-Bakrī, Amogdul, a very safe anchorage, was the port for all the province of Sūs. We see in the name that of a local saint, Sīdī Mogdūl, still venerated in this region, whose tomb is on the bank near the mouth of the Wādi 'l-Ḳsob. It is however possible that the saint gets his name from an old Berber place-name. Mogador is only a Spanish or Portuguese transcription of Mogdūl, through the forms Mogodul, Mogodor, which we sometimes find in the texts. The harbour and the island bear the name Mogodor or Mongodor on a series of portolans of the 14th and 15th centuries (publ. by Ch. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-âge*, Paris 1925) but there was not a town here, when in September 1506, the king of Portugal Dom Manuel I commanded a gentleman of his court, Diogo d'Azambuja, to build a fortress here which was called *Castello Real* of Mogador. Built with great difficulty, the Portuguese stronghold did not long resist attacks from the local tribes. It seems that at Mogador they came up against strong resistance, probably organised by the old Berber marabout body of the Ragrāga. The garrison had to remain blockaded in Castello Real, revictualled with difficulty from Portugal and Madeira, until in 1510, the tribes were strong enough to seize the fortress.

This old Portuguese castle situated on a rocky promontory supporting the western mole of the modern harbour, survived till 1764 or 1765 and was only destroyed when the town of al-Suwayra was built (see below).

In spite of the lack of success of the Portuguese attempt, this privileged situation continued to attract the envy of European nations. At the beginning of the 17th century, Spain thought of seizing it to protect the route to the Indies. At the same time, English agents were thinking of making Mogador a base against Spain. In France, Richelieu and Père Joseph were drawing up schemes for a colonial policy. The Chevalier de Razilly in 1626 suggested to them the occupation of Mogador and the organisation of a factory and fisheries there. He had it reconnoitred in 1629, but found it impossible to take it by surprise.

In spite of so many projects and attempts against it, the island and the shores remained practically deserted. Ships, however, frequented the roadstead. It was through Mogador that in the first quarter of the 17th century, the greater part of the trade between Marrākush and Holland took place. Later, in the time of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and repair their vessels.

Shortly after 1750, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, having become sultan and having made Marrākush his capital, decided to found a town at Mogador and to conduct all the commerce of the south of his kingdom through it. The harbour also served as a base for the corsairs who, through the menace they offered to the fleets of Europe, forced the Christian nations to conclude treaties with the sultan. In order to populate the town and start business in it, he demanded

that European consuls and merchants should settle there and have houses built at their own expense.

It is from the autumn of 1764 that the foundation of the town really dates; it was given the name al-Suwayra (Swīra), the little fortress; the name Mogador was only used by Europeans. We also find a Berberised form (*Tasuirt*). The English provided the sultan with an architect. They sent him a French "engineer", a native of Avignon, called Nicolas Cournut, who had made the plans for the fortifications of some places in Roussillon. He was an adventurer who, after working in France as a contractor, had entered the English service during the Seven Years' War. The sultan did not gain much by his services and sent him back to France at the beginning of 1767. None of the present buildings in Mogador can be attributed with certainty to Cournut, for after him a number of European architects and masons worked for the sultan, notably a Genoese architect who built the battery called the *sḳāla* situated on the western rampart facing the sea. Suwayra owed to its builders the narrow streets, massive gateways and bastions of European type, the like of which cannot be found in other Moroccan towns and which give it quite a specific character as an "orthagonal médina". Sīdī Muḥammad also built outside the town a country palace which still stands half buried in sand opposite the little village of Diyābāt.

The dreams of the sultan were only imperfectly realised. The prosperity of al-Suwayra remained insignificant under Sīdī Muḥammad and declined under his successors. The situation of the town, a long way from great cities and main roads, made it frequently used in the 19th century as a political prison and compulsory place of residence for high officials in disgrace. Mogador remained, however, the starting-place for the caravans to the Sūs, Mauritania and the Sūdān, and retained from this position a certain commercial importance, to which the opening of the port of Agadir to commerce was to cause considerable harm.

On 15 August 1844, a French squadron commanded by the Prince de Joinville, who had just bombarded Tangier, came and bombarded al-Suwayra likewise. It was intended to make an impression on Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān by striking at a town which belonged to him personally and from which he drew considerable revenues. A three hours' bombardment silenced the batteries; the French army then disembarked on the island, the garrison of which, entrenched in the mosque, made a vigorous defence until the next morning. On 16 August, a detachment of 600 men went to spike the guns, throw the gunpowder into the sea and destroy the last defences of the town.

Under the French Protectorate, the town now called Mogador became the seat of a *contrôle civil*. In the 1926 census, it had 18,401 inhabitants, including 7,730 Jews. This important community progressively decreased, and on the eve of independence was reduced to only 1,341. During the colonial period, Mogador became an important fishing port, furnished with canning factories, on the impulse of Breton entrepreneurs. A commercial port was set up, and dealt with the agricultural products of the town's hinterland: cereals, almonds, cummin, wax, woollens, hides and gums. In 1956, the town re-assumed the name of al-Suwayra.

The drying-up of the oceans' resources and the development of better-equipped ports both to the north (Safi) and to the south (Agadir and then Tan Tan) brought to a precipitate close the industrial activities of processing fish, throwing part of the working population into unemployment, a quarter of which had worked in the fishing industry and its ancillaries. It was Morocco's third fishing port in 1970, with over 40,000 tonnes of fish landed annually, but this fell to 20-25,000 tonnes after 1982 and down to 6,000 tonnes in 1991. Commercial activity in the port became negligible. Its administrative significance (al-Suwayra is the chef-lieu of a province), the presence of a large-scale and a petty commerce serving the Chiadma (S̲h̲iyādma) region, and the survival of workers in marquetry (of national importance, starting from working with the thuya or arbor vitae wood), have enabled it to survive with difficulty. The industry benefited from some incoming capital and employed 4,600 persons in 1993 (Ministry of Industry statistics). But al-Suwayra remains above all a town whose tertiary sector has withered away.

Despite an exceptionally mild summer and winter climate, an original countryside mingled with sand dunes, forests of argan trees and a splendid, diversified coastline, al-Suwayra has not been able to grow into a residential centre for international tourism. It is mainly frequented by Moroccan town-dwellers, especially those from Marrākus̲h̲ (Marrakech), in search of bathing and an unusual coolness. It has become a refuge for "hitch hikers" and, at times, for groups of hippies, so that its image as a tourist centre has been impaired. On the other hand, its unspoilt appearance has meant that it is frequently used as a stage for shooting films: "Saharan desert" scenes, utilising the surrounding massive sand dunes; urban and seaport settings for Orson Welles' *Othello*; and, more recently, for a film on Rimbaud (*L'homme aux semelles de vent*) by Marc Rivière.

In these conditions, population growth has remained relatively modest. From 30,000 inhabitants in 1971, there were 42,000 in 1982 and 56,000 in 1994. The rate of annual increase of the twelve years 1982-94 has been 2.4%, whilst the urban population of the economic region of Tensift, in which al-Suwayra is situated, has grown by 3.6% during the same period.

As a town isolated amid the dunes, poorly connected with its hinterland (which is in any case poor), away, as it always has been, from the great axial road connecting Safi with Agadir, al-Suwayra cannot compete with the two towns between which it is situated. It appears today as the archetype of a medium-sized Moroccan town in crisis, at the end of the world as it were, and a town turned inwards with the memories of its rich past.

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(P. DE CENIVAL-[J.-F. TROIN])

AL-**SUWAYS** or SUEZ, a seaport in Egypt, located at the northern end of the Red Sea (lat. 29° 59' N., long. 32° 33' E.).

The town centre is situated closely south to the ancient town of Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] which continued the Ptolemaic settlement of Κλυσμα or Κλεισμα at the western shore of the bay of Suways and of which only a few ruins remain, known as Kūm al-Ḳulzum. The foundations of al-Suways were laid after the formerly famous trading centre al-Ḳulzum (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 213) had been fallen into decay in the 5th/11th century because of severe problems in supplying the inhabitants with fresh water and the difficulties in using the place as a permanent harbour, which had been effected by increasing silting up of the coast. Al-Idrīsī still mentioned al-Ḳulzum on his map of the world (*Charta Rogeriana*) dated 1154. Yāḳūt says that "today", al-Ḳulzum is ruined and the newly-founded al-Suways, which al-Muḳaddasī had already mentioned nearly two centuries before "was also like ruins where only a few people lived" (*Buldān*, iv, 388). In earlier times, al-Suways had just been one of several wells which had been used to supply the inhabitants of al-Ḳulzum with fresh water. In the Middle Ages, al-Suways served as a modest harbour for pilgrims travelling to Mecca and Medina by sea, as a trading place for Bedouin tribes and as the point of departure for the Egyptian annual tribute for the Ḥidjāz (see *ibid.*, iii, 286). At al-Suways, the old pilgrim road from Cairo and the caravan track through the Wādī 'l-Tīh ended. The use of the seaport was limited, although at the end of the 9th/15th century, the Mamlūks tried to restore the importance of the place as a military harbour. In Ottoman times, however, al-Suways became a supply centre for ships of the Ottoman Red Sea naval forces which were lying in the roads. In addition, the Ottomans built a fortress which, however, fell into decay. Prior to the urban extension works of the 19th century, the old town, covering 0.15 km^2, enclosed 11 quarters (*ḥāra*) with a total of 112 residences, 2 mosques, a mill, several ovens, some 18 larger shops and *khāns*, six markets with 120 shops and workshops and a *zāwiya*. Two new quarters named Salīmiyya and al-Munsha'a were built in the 1810s as Muḥammad 'Alī promoted a small ship-building industry in order to facilitate the transportation of troops to the Ḥidjāz during the Egyptian-Wahhābī wars (1811-18). This already anticipated the urban development of the 19th century, when al-Suways experienced a remarkable refoundation, and, after Alexandria, became Egypt's second trading centre. In 1838 al-Suways was connected to the new post road to Cairo and Alexandria, and also became the starting point for the new steamship liners to Bombay, with steam now allowing the all-year-round use of al-Suways as harbour. Its importance grew when, during the Crimean War, the telegraph link between Egypt and Aden was laid.

In the early 1840s, Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-94) made further investigations into the possibility of digging a new canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. He elaborated earlier plans published by J.P. Le Père (1808) and Linant de Bellefonds (1821), and, after earlier measurings, according to which the level of the Red Sea was about 9 m/30 feet higher than that of the Mediterranean Sea (Lepère 1798), had been corrected, de Lesseps finally submitted a proposal to the then *wālī* of Egypt, Sa'īd Pasha [*q.v.*]. He supported the opinion of Bellefonds' Saint-Simonist study group and of an Egyptian-European commission which had been set up in 1846, according to which the building of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez was possible. On 5 January 1856, Sa'īd signed the concession, hoping that the canal would strengthen his ambitions of making Egypt more independent of the Ottoman Empire. After three years of fund-raising and political quarrels, which involved the question of Ottoman sovereignty, the Suez Canal Company was founded with the support of Napoleon III in Paris in 1858. In the course of time, French entrepreneurs bought more than 50% of the shares. Sa'īd Pasha himself, who had originally acquired 21% of the shares, had to sell some of them already in 1860. Finally, canal construction started on 22 April 1859. The Egyptian government recruited 25,000 peasants to work in the Canal region. Simultaneously, a sweet water canal was dug from Cairo to the region of Ismā'īliyya. This canal followed the old canal which had linked the Red Sea with the Nile in Late Pharaonic times and which had been restored several times till the 2nd/8th century [for details, see *EI*[1] art. *Suez*]; it took five years to dig this canal. After 1863 and the introduction of machines, the infrastructure and working conditions were considerably improved. When on 16 November 1869 the Canal was opened, construction costs had reached about 19 million pounds sterling, one-third of which had been paid by the Egyptian government. The Canal was now owned by the Companie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez, which controlled further property along the Canal. As a result of severe financial problems the Egyptian Khedive Ismā'īl Pasha [*q.v.*] was forced to sell his shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British government. Following the digging of the Canal (1859-69), two new permanent artificial harbours (formerly called Port Ibrāhīm and Port Tawfīḳ) were built 3 km/2 miles to the south of Suez at the entry into the Canal. The Convention of Constantinople (29 October 1888) guaranteed the freedom of shipping through the Canal even in time of war. This treaty was again recognised by the Egyptian government on 24 April 1952. When opened, the Canal had a length of 164 km and a breadth of 52 m; in 1982, the length was 195 km and its breadth 164 m, now allowing even larger tankers (up to 150,000 registered tons in 1980) to pass through.

In 1858, Suez was connected to the railway network, and the railway was used to import fresh water into Suez, which gradually turned into a town. Having become the southern port of entry into the Canal, its population has steadily increased (1860: 4,160; 1897: 17,500; 1992: 388,000), being nowadays the sixth largest town of Egypt. From 1882 to 1954, the Canal Zone remained a British military deployment area. Following the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 10 October 1954, the British were to demilitarise the zone within 20 months; on 26 July 1956, the Egyptian government nationalised the canal. Until 1960, Suez formed part of the Canal Governorate, but in that year it became the centre of a separate province (*muḥāfaẓa*). From 1956 to 1967, the sharp increase in oil shipment favoured an economic boom of the town, and the Canal was dredged out several times in order to bring the depth into line with the steadily increasing

tonnage of tankers. Suez severly suffered from the wars and military activities from 1948 to 1973. During the Suez Crisis in 1956, Suez was not occupied and only a few bombing attacks hit the town. The Egyptian-Israeli Wars of 1967 and, in particular, of that of 1973, however, devastated Suez, destroying up to 70-80% of it. The town only slowly recovered from the damage. From 1967 to 1975 whilst the Canal was blocked, Suez was almost a dead city. After 1975, there were ambitious plans to reconstruct Suez and it was projected as an urban agglomoration of nearly 1 million inhabitants by the year 2000, although only a few of these plans have since been realised. Refineries have been established, and a production pipeline now links the town with Cairo, and some chemical industries and an aluminium works constitute the present industrial importance of Suez.

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SŪYĀB, a settlement in the Semirečye region of Central Asia [see YETI SU] mentioned in the history of the Early Turks and their connections with the adjacent Islamic lands. It apparently lay slightly to the north of the Ču river valley, hence just north of the modern Kirghizia-Kazakstan border. Minorsky suggested that the name means "canal (*āb*) on the Ču".

At the time of the Arab incursions into Central Asia, the chief *ordu* or encampment of the Türgesh ruler Su-lu was located at Sūyāb; it was sacked by the incoming Chinese army in 748, and then in 766 the site was occupied by the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] when they migrated southwards and westwards after the fall of the Western Turkish empire. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 99, mentions 20,000 warriors as coming from it, but Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, 279, has the more modest figure of 500. The author of the *Ḥudūd* placed it, in his time (late 4th/10th century), in the country of the Tukhsī, who may have been remnants of the Türgesh. Thereafter, however, it fades from mention; it does not e.g. appear in Kāshgharī's *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*.

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SUYURGHATMISH [see ḲUTLUGH-KHĀNIDS].

SUYŪṬ [see ASYŪṬ].

AL-**SUYŪṬĪ**, ABU ʾL-FAḌL ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABĪ BAKR b. Muḥammad Djalāl al-Dīn al-Khuḍayrī, famous Egyptian scholar, at present recognised as the most prolific author in the whole of Islamic literature.

1. Life.

Through his father, al-Suyūṭī was of Persian origin. He himself states that his ancestors lived at al-Khuḍayriyya, one of the quarters of Baghdād (hence his second *nisba*). In the Mamlūk period his family settled in Asyūṭ [*q.v.*], where its members were engaged in important religious and administrative duties. Al-Suyūṭī was born on 1 Radjab 849/3 October 1445 in Cairo, where his father taught Shāfiʿī law and acted as substitute *ḳāḍī*. An anecdote prefigures Djalāl al-Dīn's fertile career: his mother, a Circassian slave, is said to have borne him while she found herself in the family library. To this, al-Suyūṭī owes the surname "son of books" (*ibn al-kutub*) (A. al-Aydarūsī, *Taʾrīkh al-nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-ḳarn al-ʿāshir*, Baghdād 1934, 51). His father died prematurely in 855/1451, and so the son had several teachers. At the age of fourteen, he deepened his education in the various religious sciences (*tafsīr, ḥadīth*, Shāfiʿī law, etc.) as well as in Arabic. Among his numerous teachers were ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Munāwī and Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kafyādjī. Al-Suyūṭī includes among them Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī [*q.v.*], but he attended only once his courses, and that at the age of three (*Taʾrīkh al-nūr al-sāfir*, 54). He studied *ḥadīth* under the aegis of a dozen women specialising in this discipline (M. al-Shakʿa, *Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, masīratuhu al-ʿilmiyya wa-mabāḥithuhu al-lughawiyya*, Cairo 1981, 35-40). In 867/1463, hardly eighteen years old, he inherited his father's position, taught Shāfiʿī law in the mosque of Shaykhū and gave juridical consultations in which he handled various sciences in a brilliant way (an example of a complex *fatwā* given at that early age is reported by S. Abū Djīb in *Ḥayāt Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī maʿ al-ʿilm min al-mahd ilā ʾl-laḥd*, Damascus 1993, 189-93). In 872/1467 al-Suyūṭī took up again the tradition of dictating (*imlā*) *ḥadīth* in the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, where his father had been a preacher. This method had been interrupted twenty years earlier at the death of Ibn Ḥadjar. As a result, al-Suyūṭi obtained in 877/1472 the post of teacher of *ḥadīth* at the Shaykhūniyya. Though nominated by his teacher al-Kafyādjī, it seems that he obtained this post because of the support of a Mamlūk *amīr*. From 891/1486 he was also in charge of the Baybarsiyya *khānḳāh* [*q.v.*]. These obligations left him time to write his works and to see to their spread outside Egypt. Before he had reached thirty years of age, his works were sought after in the entire Near East, and later circulated from India to Takrūr in Sahilian Africa, where he, from Cairo, played the role of counsellor in matters of Islamisation (see the *Asʾila wārida min al-Takrūr*, in the *Ḥāwī* presented below, i, 377-85).

In fact, his career developed much more smoothly abroad than in Egypt. Here he found himself in the middle of numerous polemics: the intransigence and arrogance he displayed certainly contained elements which irritated his colleagues and stirred up their jealousy. These controversies touched upon questions of theology and law as well as mysticism, and the *Ḥāwī li ʾl-fatāwā* (new ed. Beirut, n.d.), through the titles of the *fatwās* and chapters which the work brings together, attests that al-Suyūṭī must have refuted (*al-radd ʿalā ...*) many times the views of his adversaries. His main detractor was Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497 [*q.v.*]), a traditionist who took offence at the fame of his colleague (as is admitted by al-Shawkānī in *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-ḳarn al-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 328-35). Al-Sakhāwī's acrimony

appears in the pages which he reserves for al-Suyūṭī in *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-ḳarn al-tāsi'* (Beirut n.d., iv, 65-70). The tension came to a head when al-Suyūṭi, probably in 888/1483, pretended to have reached the degree of *mudjtahid muṭlaḳ muntasib*, that is to say that he exercised *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] by following the method of one of the four *imāms*, in this case that of *imām* al-Shāfi'ī. He thus does not present himself as an "independent" *mudjtahid* (*mustaḳill*). In *al-Radd 'alā man akhlada ilā 'l-arḍ* (Algiers 1907), he reminds the reader that *idjtihād* is a collective duty (*farḍ kifāya*), underlined not only by the masters of the Shāfi'ī school but also by Ibn Taymiyya. He also affirms that his *idjtihād* is not at all limited to the *Sharī'a* but also applies to the disciplines of the *ḥadīth* and of the Arabic language. Al-Suyūṭī's allegations aroused a real *fitna* (this term is used by Muhammad Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī; cf. al-Sha'rānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣughrā*, Cairo 1970, 78), and so it becomes understandable that al-Sha'rānī devoted the greater part of his entry on al-Suyūṭī, whom he venerated, to the justification of the latter's points of view with regard to *idjtihād* (*op. cit.*, 17-36). In consistency with his pretentions to *idjtihād*, al-Suyūṭī, two or three years before the year 900/1494, announces himself as the renewer of Islam (*mudjaddid*) [*q.v.*] for the 9th century of the *Hidjra* (see his epistle on this subject in the *Ḥāwī*, ii, 248 ff. and his autobiography with the title *al-Taḥadduth bi ni'mat Allāh*, ed. E.M. Sartain, Cambridge 1975, 215-27).

From 891/1486, at the age of about forty, al-Suyūṭī decided to retire from public life. Progressively he resigned his functions and stopped delivering *fatwās*. Apart from the resentment of his colleagues towards him, the reasons he put forward were corruption in the milieu of the *'ulamā'* and their ignorance. Indeed, the decline of the cultural level at the end of the Mamlūk period was manifest. At the same time, al-Suyūṭī's relations with sultan Ḳā'it Bāy [*q.v.*] became more acrimonious. He refused to pay a visit to the sultan at the beginning of each month: frequenting the wordly rulers, he profounded, was condemned by the first Muslims (cf. his epistle *Mā rawāhu al-aṣāṭīn fī 'adam al-madjī' ilā 'l-salāṭīn*, Ṭanṭa 1991). On several occasions, he clashed with Ḳā'it Bāy (see his *fatwā* in the *Ḥāwī*, ii, 154-79) and declined the offer made later by sultan al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] to assume direction of his *madrasa*. Al-Suyūṭī always rejected peremptorily the *de facto* power of the Mamlūks whom he, following the example of al-'Izz Ibn 'Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1261), considered as "slaves" (*mamlūk*). He never missed the opportunity to point this out in one or the other of his *fatwās* (*Ḥāwī*, i, 206-10). He reproached sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] for having weakened the Shāfi'ī rite—and, beyond that, Islam—by designating a grand *ḳāḍī* for each of the three other rites. Conversely, the 'Abbāsid caliphs were for him the incarnation of legitimacy, for they were the best guarantors of the revealed Law and of the prophetic *Sunna* (see J.Cl. Garcin, *Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste dans le Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara de Suyūṭī*, in *AI*, vii [1967], 33-88; see also *Le sultan et le Pharaon*, in *Hommage à François Daumas*, Montpellier 1986, 261-72). The indestructible support al-Suyūṭī gave to the caliphate is also explained by the bonds which his father wove with the caliphs residing in Cairo, and from which he himself profited: in 902/1496, he succeeded in having himself nominated "supreme *ḳāḍī*" by al-Mutawakkil, but the latter had to retract when faced with the hostility of the *'ulamā'*.

Al-Suyūṭī's complete retreat into his house on Rawḍa island took place in 906/1501, following the conflict which opposed him to the residents of the Baybarsiyya. For him, who venerated the masters of *taṣawwuf*, the residents of that *khānḳāh* were only pseudo-Ṣūfīs. Forced to reduce their salaries, he was obliged to hide in order to escape the persecution of sultan Ṭūman Bāy, who supported his adversaries. He was then dismissed from his functions, but, as E.M. Sartain has shown in her *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, biography and background*, Cambridge 1975, 101, this certainly did not happen because of mismanagement of the finances of the establishment. In his house on Rawḍa, he concentrated on the editing and revision of his works. He died there on 19 Djumādā I 911/18 October 1505. His reputation as a scholar and the aura of godliness which were already his during his lifetime, then reached their zenith; his clothes were bought as if they were relics (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr fī waḳā'i' 'al-duhūr*, Istanbul 1934, iv, 83).

2. Al-Suyūṭī as a scholar, and his works. The self-confidence of al-Suyūṭī was based on his being aware of his own gifts. He had a prodigious memory (he knew by heart all the *ḥadīth*s which had come to his knowledge, namely 200,000) and his remarkable synthetic mind enabled him to edit or to dictate several works at the same time. He certainly did not lack ambition (at the age of twenty, during the Pilgrimage, he asked God to grant him more knowledge in *fiḳh* and in *ḥadīth* than the two great scholars of his time had in these disciplines; cf. *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 55), and this prompted him to write on the most divers subjects. He did not want to remain ignorant in any field of knowledge (see Goldziher's judgement on this matter, in J.O. Hunwick, *Ignaz Goldziher on al-Suyūṭī*, in *MW*, lviii (1978), 94, 96). He asserted, however, that it was not a question of pride on his side, but of concern for bearing witness to the blessings with which God had favoured him (*al-taḥadduth bi-ni'mat Allāh*; cf. also *Ḥāwī*, ii, 562). Moreover, we know that he led a rather frugal life. He was convinced that he had been invested with a mission which prevailed over every other consideration, in particular, over the opinion others had of him. This mission consisted in assembling and transmitting to coming generations the Islamic cultural patrimony before it might disappear as a result of the carelessness of his contemporaries. In fact, he quotes in his works numerous ancient texts which are now lost, in particular in the field of the Arabic language. Al-Suyūṭī represents the apex of mediaeval science (among others, David King makes this point with respect to al-Suyūṭī's treatise on cosmology (*al-Hay'a al-saniyya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunniyya*) in his review of A. Heinen, *Islamic cosmology*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1982; cf. *JAOS*, cix/1 [1989], 125, and *Djam'al-djawāmi'*, Cairo 1984, 9 vols., al-Suyūṭī's great—unfinished—compilation of the prophetic tradition). At the same time, he prefigures the modern period by certain aspects, such as being partly an autodidact, presenting to a public, which he wanted to be widened, manuals which were centred around precise themes (this is, e.g., the case with his *Itḳān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān* (many editions), which remains a work of reference wherever Ḳur'ānic sciences are taken up. Moreover, his epistles and *fatwās* are often the fruits of a request from the public, Egyptian or foreign. In the same spirit of vulgarisation, he epitomised the works of others, as well as his own (e.g. *al-Djāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, a summary of the *Djam' al-djawāmi'* quoted above). For all that, al-Suyūṭī cannot be considered as a mere compiler. He indeed takes up themes which were usually neglected in Islamic literature. He is the first to have introduced Muslim mystics into

the field of the *fatwā* (in this, he was to be followed by other Shāfiʿī scholars of the 10th/16th century, such as Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghayṭī and, above all, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*]. As for the form, al-Suyūṭī's procedure is scientific in so far as he quotes his sources with precision and presents them in a critical way. In the introduction to a work, he often defines the method which he is going to follow. His works benefit from a clear structure, and he often broke new ground by expounding his material according to its alphabetical order.

Regarding the number of his works, Arab and Western authors have brought forward different figures, and these go up parallel to our knowledge. A study of 1983 mentions up to 981 works (A. al-Khāzindār and M.I. al-Shaybānī, *Dalīl makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amākin wudjūdiha*, Cairo), whereas al-Suyūṭī lived only for sixty solar years. In our days, his manuscripts are published with great success, and from this point of view, he has won the battle which laid him open to his detractors. Al-Suyūṭī's versatility is the illustration of the Islamic ideal, according to which there is no really profane science. He explored geography as well as lexicography, pharmacopeia, dietetics and erotica. Certain works of his are studded with the most anecdotal details, which in his eyes are all worthy of interest (cf. *al-Kanz al-madfūn wa 'l-fulk al-mashḥūn*, Cairo 1991—if this indeed is his—or "The hundred questions" to which he answers in his *Ḥāwī*, ii, 527-67). More profoundly, his approach of a subject is often multidisciplinary. The purpose of his small treatise *al-Aḥādīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān* is to prove to sultan Ḳā'it Bāy that wearing the *ṭaylasān* is a *sunna*, but he does not deprive himself of introducing philological expositions. Moreover, he asserts that, at the elaboration of his *al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-kubrā*, on the specific virtues of the Prophet (Beirut 1985, 2 vols.), he made use of the sciences of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, law and its foundations (*uṣūl*), of Ṣūfism, etc. (S. Abū Djīb, *op. cit.*, 52).

However, a well-defined main line of al-Suyūṭī's attachment to the Prophet and his *Sunna* stands out from this versatility. In his field of vision he includes the most scattered sciences as long as they do not contradict the Revelation which has come down upon Muḥammad. That is why he condemns in several texts Hellenistic logic (*al-manṭiḳ*) (cf. in particular *Ṣawn al-manṭiḳ wa 'l-kalām ʿan fann al-manṭiḳ wa 'l-kalām*, Cairo 1947). He is a man of Tradition, and for him every speculation is submitted to it. From this comes al-Suyūṭī's *salafī* aspect, which explains why he often walks in the footsteps of Ibn Taymiyya, although he dissociates himself from him in certain points (cf. E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie*, IFEAD, Damascus 1995, 448-9). Among the disciplines which he says he controls (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1968, i, 238-9; *al-Taḥadduth*, 204), that of the *ḥadīth* prevails, for its impregnates the greater part of his works. The various sciences which are related to the Arabic language perhaps represent his favourite subject (this is what he asserts in *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir fī 'l-lugha*, Ḥaydarābād 1940, i, 3-4), but the influence of *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* is quite distinctly to be noticed in his major work on the language, *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā* (see e.g. B. Weiss, *Language and tradition in medieval Islam: the question of al-Ṭarīq ilā Maʿrifat al-Lugha*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1984], 98-9), and al-Suyūṭī himself acknowledged this in the prologue of his *Muzhir* (Beirut 1986, i, 1). In the same way as he did for the *ḥadīth*, al-Suyūṭī reintroduced the "dictation of the language" (*imlā' al-lugha*) after this had been interrupted for almost five hundred years (Hunwick, *op. cit.*, 92). It is worthwhile to note that, in his other works on language, al-Suyūṭī follows the method of the religious sciences, that of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, in *al-Iḳtirāḥ fī ʿilm uṣūl al-lugha*, and that of *fiḳh* in *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir fī 'l-lugha*, which he puts side-to-side with *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir fī fiḳh al-imām al-Shāfiʿī* (Cairo 1959). Though claiming that he innovated the science of the "foundations of the Arabic language" (*uṣūl al-lugha*), he worked as a philologist rather than as a linguist. Another pole of al-Suyūṭī's work are the Ḳur'ānic sciences (about twenty works), and if the above-mentioned *Itḳān* gives a generous share to language and rhetoric, al-Suyūṭī's main commentary, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi 'l-maʾthūr* (Beirut 1990, 8 vols.) is exclusively supplied with *ḥadīth* and the sayings of the first Muslims. In this field should also be mentioned the very practical *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* (many editions), the commentary begun by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*]), one of al-Suyūṭī's teachers, and perfected by the latter. Brockelmann wrongly identified this work with the *Lubāb al-nuḳūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl*, which deals with the "circumstances of the revelation" (Cairo n.d.; see *EI*[1] art. *al-Suyūṭī*, at IV, 573b).

If in al-Suyūṭī's eyes the discipline of the *ḥadīth* represents "the noblest of sciences" (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 155), this is because it is related to the prophetic model, which for him is the only way leading to God. In this field, al-Suyūṭī completes Ibn Ḥadjar's contribution by establishing the chain of guarantors and the degree of reliability of certain traditions introduced by his precursor. Here al-Suyūṭī's key work is perhaps *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī* (Beirut 1979), which deals with the terminology of *ḥadīth* (see e.g. the extensive use made of it by Ṣ. Ṣāliḥ in his *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Beirut 1982), but many others could be quoted. The prophetic model evoked previously cannot be transmitted exclusively by bookish science; it must be vitalised from inside. Al-Suyūṭī, who claimed to have seen the Prophet more than seventy times while awake (al-Shaʿrānī, *op. cit.*, 29; al-Suyūṭī justifies this faculty in a long *fatwā* in *Ḥāwī*, ii, 473-92), assures people that, during a vision, one may be entertained directly by the Prophet about the validity of a *ḥadīth* (*Taḥdhīr al-khawwāṣ min akādhib al-ḳuṣṣāṣ*, Beirut n.d., 50). He attached importance to the complementarity between the esoteric and exoteric aspects of the Prophet in a work with the explicit title *al-Bāhir fī ḥukm al-nabī (Ṣ) bi 'l-bāṭin wa 'l-ẓāhir* (Cairo 1987). As a Ṣūfī, al-Suyūṭī found in the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] a just equilibrium between the Law and the Way (cf. his *Taʾyīd al-ḥaḳīḳa al-ʿaliyya wa-tashyīd al-ṭarīḳa al-shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1934). As master, he had a *shaykh* of this order, Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 910/1504), and his principal disciple, who served him for forty years, was called ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Shādhilī. In accordance with this personal engagement, al-Suyūṭī profited from his fame as *ʿālim* and jurisconsult to spearhead a clear-sighted apology for Ṣūfism and its masters. He saw the highest form of adoration in the *dhikr*, showed that one must interpret the sayings of the Ṣūfīs and not stop at their first appearance, maintained that the saints had the gift of ubiquity, put the initiatory hierarchy of the saints back into a Sunnī perspective, defended the orthodoxy of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn al-ʿArabī, etc. (the relationship between al-Suyūṭī and Ṣūfism is treated in detail in the above-mentioned *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie*). Among the supernatural favours attributed to al-Suyūṭī we may cite his predictions on the first Ottoman period (Ibn

Iyās, *op. cit.*, v, 218; al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, 30-2). Moreover, the eschatological dimension is very much present in his work (see the many *fatwās* in his *Ḥāwī*, e.g. ii, 213-56, 358-66, etc.; see also *Bushrā al-ka'īb bi-liḳā' al-ḥabīb*, Cairo 1969).

Finally, it should not be forgotten that al-Suyūṭī also was a historian and biographer. In this field, he took up theory (e.g. *al-Shamārīkh fī 'ilm al-ta'rīkh*, but above all he wrote on several concrete subjects, such as a history of the caliphs (*Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'*, Cairo 1964), a history of Egypt (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, quoted above), and a great number of biographical collections, chosen according to specialities (*ṭabaḳāt* of commentators, traditionists, grammarians, poets, etc.). He did not neglect literature, but this was hardly ever an end in itself. He took it up, in particular, under its historical angle (*al-Mustaẓraf min akhbār al-djawārī*, Beirut 1963) or under its erotic one (his *Rashf al-zulāl min al-siḥr al-ḥalāl* has been translated by René Khawam under the title *Nuits de noces*, Paris 1988), and his poetry is dedicated to the praise of the Prophet.

Bibliography: Add to the sources quoted in the article, al-Suyūṭī's biography, written by his disciple 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Shādhilī, *Bahdjat al-'ābidīn bi-tardjamat Djalāl al-Dīn* (mss. in London, Dublin, Kuwayt), as well as Shams al-Dīn al-Dāwūdī, *Tardjamat al-Suyūṭī* (ms. Tübingen); Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yān al-mi'a al-'āshira*, Beirut 1945, i, 226-31. E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, remains the most complete study in a Western language; see also eadem, *Jalāl al-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 193-8. In his bibliography, S. Abū Djīb mentions several studies in Arabic (*op. cit.*, 331-2). In his *Muhammad's birthday festival* (Leiden 1993, 45-70), N.J. Kaptein presents and translates al-Suyūṭī's *fatwā* which validates the practice of the *mawlid nabawī*. (E. Geoffroy)

SŪZ, Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr (1133-1213/1720-98), Urdu poet, was born in Dihli. His father was descended from a Gudjarātī saint, but the family originally hailed from Bukhārā. The poet had the broad education and training typical of the noble classes. He was an excellent archer and horseman, and generally skilled in the martial arts and noted for his physical strength. He was an expert calligrapher, and excelled in all the seven different types of ornamental writing. After a licentious youth, he became a dervish. As a writer, whilst a number of *tadhkira* authors refer to him and quote from his verse, there is a lack of firm detailed information. Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*] asserts in his *Tadhkira* that Sūz wrote prose as well as poetry: but none of this has survived; not even, regrettably, his book on archery.

His skill as a poet is recognised, but while the salient points of his poetry are well-known, we lack an authoritative *dīwān*. He was known for his emotional recitation, which contrasted with the more common *taḥt al-lafẓ* method, which perhaps placed phonology before feeling. His Urdu poetry is dominated by *ghazal*, but also includes *mathnawī*, *rubā'ī* and *mukhammas*. He at first used the *takhalluṣ* Mīr, but, to avoid confusion with Mīr Taḳī Mīr [*q.v.*], changed it to Sūz (= "passion, burning"). He was the first Urdu poet to achieve fame for *rēkhtī* verse, that is, using women's language, in which Rangīn later became better-known. Spontaneity, simplicity, avoidance of high-flowing similes and obscure allusions, all these, according to Saksena (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 60), are among his characteristics. He does not make excessive use of Persian expressions: and, unlike his contemporary, Sawdā [*q.v.*], he has no penchant for virtuosity in prosody, such as rich and difficult rhymes. It is all very tantalising, and from what we know of his life and works, one is tempted to ask, "Is this a genius *manqué*?" Though essentially a Dihlī poet, he was, like others, driven by Marāṭhā and Afghān incursions to leave the city, and after a stay in Murshidābād, seat of the Nawwābs of Bengal, he became mentor of the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla in Lucknow in 1797, but died the following year. A pleasant, witty and courteous gentleman, he did not take easily to patronage, but won a niche for himself as a "prince of amorous style" (Saksena, 60). It must be admitted, however, that it contains more pathos than passion.

Bibliography: Ḳudrat 'Alī Shawḳ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā'*, ed. Nithār Aḥmad Fārūḳī, Lahore 1968, 231-40, contains a short account and useful examples of Sūz's poetry. This should be taken together with Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnaw kā dabistān-i shā'irī*, Lahore 1955, 135-8. Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1926, 59-60, is helpful. In addition to Ḳudrat 'Alī Shawḳ's work mentioned above, the *tadhkira*s of the following authors merit reference: Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*]; Nassākh, *Sukhan-i shu'arā'*; and Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. (J.A. Haywood)

SŪZANĪ (better Sōzanī), Muḥammad b. 'Alī (or Mas'ūd?) al-Samarḳandī, Persian satirical poet of the 6th/12th century. A native of Nasaf (Nakhshab), he eulogised several of the Ḳarakhānid rulers of Samarḳand, from Arslān Shāh Muḥammad II (495-*ca.* 523/1102-*ca.* 1129) up to Ḳilič Ṭamghāč Khān Mas'ūd II (*ca.* 556-74/*ca.* 1161-78), but also several of the Burhānid *ṣadrs* of Bukhārā [see ṣadr. 1], the Saldjūḳid Sandjar [*q.v.*] and others. Dawlatshāh, who appears to have seen Sūzanī's grave in Samarḳand, says that he died in 569/1173-4, and adds that before his death he repented his many sins and turned his hand to devotional poetry.

However this may be, Sūzanī is now remembered mainly as the author of vehemently abusive invectives and of pornographic (mostly homoerotic) facetiae. For modern scholars (as already for the mediaeval Persian lexicographers) their interest resides largely in the fact that they contain many examples of the Samarḳand dialect and of unusual slang expressions. The poems were collected, together with a good number of scurrilous anecdotes, by the Ṣafawid antiquarian Taḳī Kāshī [*q.v.*] in his *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, from which virtually all of the manuscripts purporting to contain Sūzanī's *dīwān* are apparently derived, and a selection of these mediocre manuscripts forms the basis of the published edition by N. Shāh-Ḥusaynī, Tehran 1338 *Sh.*/1959. However a fair number of Sūzanī's poems are contained in a textually superior form also in anthologies of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

Bibliography: 'Awfī, *Lubāb* ii, 191-8; Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Nawā'ī, Tehran 1339 *Sh.*/1960, 733-4; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, 100-3; Taḳī Kāshī, *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, B.L. ms. Or. 3506, fols. 361a-396a; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 342-3; de Blois, *Persian literature*, v, 546-50 (with further references); R. Zipoli, *I Carmina Priapea di Sûzanî*, in *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, xxxiv/3 (Venice 1995), 205-56. (F.C. de Blois)

SŪZĪ ČELEBI, Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd b. 'Abd Allāh, Ottoman poet who lived in the second half of the 9th/15th century and the first decades of the following one, d. 931/1524.

Born at Prizren [*q.v.*] near Üsküb [*q.v.*] (Skoplje), he became secretary to Mīkhāl-Oghlu [*q.v.*] 'Alī Beg,

and after the latter's death in 913/1507, secretary to Mīkhāl-Oghlu Meḥmed Beg up to 918/1512. From a *wakfiyye* of his dated 919/1513, it appears that Sultan Selīm I granted him the farm of Grajdanik with a *temlīk-nāme*, and that he left the service of Meḥmed Beg. He settled down in Prizren and established a *mesdjid* and a school in the Khōdja Ilyās district, becoming an *imām* and *mü'edhdhin* and teaching there. He probably remained there till his death, and was buried in the graveyard of his own mosque near the grave of his elder brother Nehārī.

The *tedhkires* quote two elegies by him and a few couplets, but do not mention whether he composed a complete *Dīwān*. However, it seems that he composed a *Ghazawāt-nāme* of 15,000 couplets in *mathnawī* form, describing and lauding ʿAlī Beg's campaigns in Rumelia, but only 1,795 couplets survive today. In its first part are narrated the campaigns of the Mīkhāl-Oghlu, and in its second the love affair of ʿAlī Beg and Meryem, daughter of Erdel Beg, so that the work can be considered as a hybrid epic-romance. The extant four ms. have been critically edited by Agâh Sırrı Levend, together with a facsimile of the Millet ms. *manzum* 1339 (*Gàzavāt-nāmeler. Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavātnāmesi*, Ankara 1956) and with an extensive study on this type of literature in general and of ʿAlī Beg's Balkan campaigns. At the end, Levend includes some new information on Sūzī Čelebi from Olesnicki's biography in Serbo-Croat (Üsküp 1934).

Bibliography: See also Sehī, *Tedhkire*, ed. Günay Kut, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 272; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 194-6; ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi, *Meshāhir ül-shuʿarā'*, ed. Meredith-Owens, London 1971; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 114; *ʿOthmānlı̄ mü'ellifleri*, ii, 231; F. Babinger, *GOW*, 34-5. (Gönül A. Tekin)

SUZMĀNĪ [see lūlī].

SVIŠTOV [see zishtowa].

SWAHILI, a language extensively used on the coastland of East Africa (< Ar. *sawāḥil* "coastlands").

1. Language.

Swahili, also known as Kiswahili, belongs to the Bantu family of languages which are spoken in the southern third of Africa, from Cameroon and Kenya to South Africa. The languages share striking features of grammar—all nouns, for example, belong to one of a number of concord-classes, with characteristic prefixes and agreements—and a considerable common lexicon.

Swahili is spoken as a mother-tongue on the east coast of Africa, from the southern part of Somalia to the northern areas of Msumbiji (Mozambique), including the islands of the Lamu archipelago off the coast of Kenya, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, and Kilwa off the coast of Tanzania, and on the Comoro islands. The location of the region on the rim of the Indian Ocean basin has enabled it to engage in maritime trade with other countries across the seas. The anonymous Greek traveller of *ca.* A.D. 50 (thus dated by Casson) notes such trade with Arabia in his *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.* He also observed that the Arab captains and agents, as he called them, did not merely possess a superficial acquaintance of the coastal towns but were familiar with the people, intermarried with them, and that they knew the whole coast and understood the language. The coast also traded with Sīrāf and Shīrāz in Persia.

Trade was followed in time by the introduction of Islam to the coast by at least the 10th century. In the 12th century, al-Idrīsī gives a Swahili word *waganga* "practitioner of white magic", and four centuries later, Aḥmad b. Mādjid [see ibn mādjid] speaks of the *lughat al-Zandj*, presumably Swahili. With the appearance of Islam on the coast arose the necessity to learn the Arabic alphabet in order to read the Ḳur'ān, a practice which gave rise to a certain amount of literacy, especially among the urban population; this, in turn, prepared the ground for the development of poetry. Islam also widened the contact with the Middle East, initiating a continual flow of migration to the East African coast of scholars and learned persons with a good command of Arabic. Consequently, the influence of Arabic on Swahili has been semantically extensive in religious and commercial fields. Three ways have been suggested whereby Islamic concepts and Arabic religious terms entered the language: (i) the original Arabic term was Swahilised, e.g. *rūḥ* ("soul") became *roho*; (ii) the original Arabic term was Swahilised but a Bantu synonym was also used, e.g. *rasūl* "messenger" was realised both as *rasuli* and as *mtume* "the one sent"; (iii) the original Arabic term was not adopted as such but its concept was realised through the use of a pre-existing Swahili word, e.g. *Allāh* was rendered by the Swahili *Mngu.*

Words of Arabic origin in commercial discourse include the word for "trade", which is a combination of the Arabic words for "buying" and "selling", *bayʿ* and *shirā'*, Swahilised as *biashara*; others are *soko* ("market"), *faida* ("profit"), *bidhaa* ("goods"). The Swahili word for "contract", *mkataba* is formed out of the root *k-t-b*, which has also supplied *kitabu* ("book"), *katiba* ("constitution"), *katibu* ("secretary"), *maktaba* ("library").

The importance of Swahili as a language complementary to Arabic has long been recognised by some scholars. One such, Sheikh Abdulla Saleh al-Farsy (d. 1982), deliberately employed Swahili in his sermons, radio broadcasts and writing. The use of an African language was to him a legitimate medium for the expression of Swahili Islam, a necessity for a fuller assertion of one's identity. His translation of the Ḳur'ān, originally serialised in a Zanzibari weekly newspaper, *Mwongozi*, is a major contribution in this field. Al-Farsy's ideas are being continued today by his pupils, notable among whom is Sheikh Saidi Musa (b. 1944), who writes extensively from his headquarters at Ugweno, Moshi, on mainland Tanzania. The outcome is that Swahili has today made inroads in areas previously reserved for Arabic. The Friday sermon, for example, is now preached in Swahili, though Arabic is employed in the "formulaic" parts which require reading from a set text.

The way in which the two languages complement each other is best exemplified in the adoption of what is known as the "Swahili-Arabic script" as the orthography of the coast. The script was used extensively prior to the introduction of the Latin script by the Germans, and remains in limited use among Swahili Muslims of the coast. Thus the earliest phase of Swahili literature—16th to the 19th centuries—is given expression in this script. It is a phase dominated by poems written on religious themes. The poets drew their inspiration from the life of the Prophet: the earliest extant work is the *Hamziyah*, composed in 1652 by Idarus Othman, which is a translation in verse of the *Ḳaṣīda Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī (d. 1296 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). But while the earlier poets projected themselves to the Arabia of the 7th century for their inspiration and themes, later poets expressed their understanding of Islam through local idioms and imagery. An interesting example is the Swahili poem *al-Inkishafi* by Sayyid Abdallah Nasir (d. 1820), in which the poet uses the deserted city of Pate [*q.v.*] as an image of the transitoriness of life, a theme often invoked in Muslim literature.

Gradually, both language and literature spread beyond the coast, moving inland more rapidly and deeply in Tanganyika than in Kenya. Trading caravans from around 1800 onwards diffused Swahili up-country, creating settlements (e.g. at Tabora and Ujiji) where the language and its Muslim culture took root. Christian missionaries of various nationalities and orders also used Swahili in their evangelical work, in both oral and written media, including the translation of the Bible. The early missionaries contributed significantly to the study of the language through their scholarly works. Ludwig Krapf (of the Church Missionary Society) published the first grammar of Swahili in 1850, to be followed by his dictionary in 1882, Bishop Edward Steere of Zanzibar (of the Universities Mission to Central Africa) produced a *Handbook* of Swahili in 1870, and, a few years later, Fr. Charles Sacleux (of the Holy Ghost Mission in Zanzibar and Morogoro) started his studies of the dialects of Swahili which culminated in the publication of his Swahili-French dictionary in 1891, "a dictionary in which there is a wealth of dialectal and verse material not available elsewhere" (Whiteley, 1968, 13). Mention must also be made of the Rev. W.E. Taylor, who collaborated with a local Swahili scholar, Mwalimu Sikujua, in the 1880s in collecting and preserving the work of the Swahili poet Muyaka bin Mwinyi Haji (d. 1840).

Another factor which aided the spread of Swahili and its consolidation as a *lingua franca* in Tanganyika was its use by the colonial powers as the language of administration, police and education. The German administration of Tanganyika (1891 to 1918) laid the foundations upon which the British (1918-61) continued to build. A far-reaching decision was taken in 1930 to select the Swahili spoken on Zanzibar as the "standard" language to be used officially in education and for all publications to be written in a standard Latin orthography.

In Tanganyika, Swahili was adopted by early manifestations of organised labour which grew into the political parties that fought for independence; in Kenya, the future President, Jomo Kenyatta, chose to speak in Swahili to raise his originally local Gikuyu organisation into a national movement. In both countries, the language contributed to the creation of a sense of unity. In recognition of this fact, the independent government of Tanganyika (1961) declared it a national language; and, together with English, Swahili is an official language in Kenya. At least 40 million people speak it today. Its extensive use in Tanzania [*q.v.*] (the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) has given rise to a group of mother-tongue speakers of Swahili whose parents use the language as their common medium of communication. Not all of them are Muslims. Whereas a century or so ago, to be a Swahili was synonymous with being a Muslim on the coast, that equation is increasingly being challenged and debated. A crucial factor of change has been the use of Swahili as a home-tongue by families belonging to different nationalities, different ethnic communities and different faiths.

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2. Literature.

This is covered in detail in the following articles: ḤAMĀSA. vi, in Suppl.; ḲIṢṢA. vii; MADĪḤ, MADḤ. 5; MARTHIYA. 5; MATHAL. 5; MIʿRĀDJ. 3; SHAABAN ROBERT. See also TAʾRĪKH. East Africa:

SWĀT, a region of the North-West Frontier region of what is now Pākistān, lying roughly between lats. 34° 30' and 35° 50' N. and long. 72° and 73° E. It is bounded on the north-west by Čitrāl, on the west by Dīr, on the east by Bunēr and Hazāra and on the south by Mardān. It comprises essentially the basin of the Swāt River, from its headwaters down to the Malakand Pass, after which it runs into the Kābul River below Peshāwar and near Nawshēra. The northern part of the basin, Swāt Kōhistān, includes high mountains, but Kūz or lower Swāt is the alluvial basin of the river, fertile and intensively cultivated. In classical times, Lower Swāt may well have been traversed by Alexander the Great and his army.

Swāt must originally have been peopled by speakers of Indian or Dardic languages. By the 16th century, the majority of the Swātīs were incoming (displacing Dilazāks) Pashto-speaking Yūsufzay and other Pushtūns, although there remain Dardic-speaking Torwāls and Gārwīs in Swāt Kōhistān [see DARDIC and KAFIR LANGUAGES]. Also by this time, Swāt became Muslim, and its history since then, into the 20th century, has been inextricably linked with that of Dīr, Čitrāl and Badjawr [*q.vv.*]. Dīr and Swāt were centres of the Rawshaniyya movement [*q.v.*] of the late 16th century, and the whole region north of the Kābul River was never really controlled by the Mughals or by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.vv.*]. Arising out of the *mudjāhidīn* movement led by Sayyid Aḥmad of Bareilly (killed 1246/1831) in the early 19th century [see AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ and MUDJĀHID. 2], the Ākhund ʿAbd al-Ghafūr (d. 1877) in 1835 established himself as a religious leader at Saydū in lower Swāt, and the shrine at Saydū Sharīf later became one of the holiest Islamic sites in northern India.

Although British rule was imposed on the Peshāwar valley after 1849, British influence was only fitfully exercised in the lands further north. Swāt and the adjacent petty states were the targets of the British Indian Army's punitive campaign of Ambēlā in 1863, and Swāt (but not Dīr) was involved in the Malakand rising of 1897 led by Mullā Saʿd Allāh Sartōr ("The Madman"). It was shortly after this, in 1901, that a railway branch from Nawshahra (Nowshera) to Dargai at the foot of the Malakand Pass was completed.

Temporal rule in Swāt had been exercised until his death in 1857 by the *Pādishāh* Sayyid Akbar of Sitāna, patron of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī and leader of warfare against the Sikhs. After the death of the Ākhund ʿAbd al-Ghafūr and, shortly afterwards, those of his two sons, Sayyid Akbar's family again had tem-

poral power in Swāt, whilst the spiritual succession was disputed amongst the Ā͟khund's four grandsons, the Miyānguls. Swāt was recognised by the Government of India as a princely state in 1917. It was not until 1926 that one of these grandsons, Miyāngul Gul S͟hāhzāda ʿAbd al-Wadūd, succeeded in finally excluding Sayyid Akbar's descendants and in consolidating the Swāt valley under his leadership. He was recognised by the Government of India as Wālī or ruler of the Swāt princely state; by his death he had extended the State northwards and eastwards into Indus Kōhistān and had taken over Bunēr. His son Miyāngul D͟jahānzīb succeeded in 1949. After Partition, Swāt remained a princely state within Pākistān, with the Wālī independent in regard to internal affairs and ruling with a partially-elected Advisory Council, until 1969, when Swāt was peacefully integrated within the regular administration of Pākistān. A demographic trend there has been the steep rise in the population of the valley, now dense, with pressure on resources there.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

SYLHET [see silhet].

SZECHUAN (also spelled as Ssŭ-ch'uan in the Wade and Si-chuan in the Pin-yin systems) is a province in the south-west of the People's Republic of China. Geographically, the four grand rivers (Min, T'o, Chialing and Wu; three of them are tributaries of the Yangtze River) flowing north-southward give the modern name of Sze-chuan (meaning "four rivers") to the province. The whole province is a huge basin, some 75,000 square miles in extent. The mountains on all sides bar easy access to the outside world. The azure mountains of the Tibetan borderland rise in the west, crossed only by the road to Lhasa and penetrated by only a few trails. The T'apa and Tsinling ranges run across the north, traversed by a single road and one railway. These mountains continue south-eastward and close to the Yangtze Gorges. Terrain which is difficult to cross surrounds the basin in the south, next to Kweichou and Yunnan provinces. The Szechuan basin is also known as the "Red Basin" because of its underlying soft sandstone and shales, ranging from red to purple in colour. In ancient times, the region was called "Pa Shu," denoting the original non-Han cultures of this region. The geographical isolation of the region has made its culture unique, and distinct from that of inland China. Various aboriginal cultures still exist today.

Modern studies suggest that the ancient Chinese silk industry was invented by the Ti and Ch'iang peoples in Szechuan. According to the *Han Annals*, Ch'iang Ch'ien, the Han envoy sent by Emperor Wu to the Central Asian countries, found Szechuan silk, crafts and other industrial products in the country of T'a Hsia (modern Afghanistan) around 139-126 B.C. Apparently, a trade route between Szechuan and Central Asia existed in ancient times. The ancient south-western silk road was probably the earliest communication route between China and Hsi Yu ("the western countries": Central and Western Asia). This route is supposedly 700 years older than the northern one, which was discovered by Ch'ang Ch'ien on his mission to the Huns in Central Asia.

The south-western silk road started from Ch'engt'u city, which has been, throughout history, the cultural, economic and political centre of Szechuan; and then split into two routes: the eastern river way along the Min river entered Yunnan province to Kunming city; the western land route, running from the ancient steel-making centre of Ch'iunglai through various valleys, entered western Yunnan to T'ali city, then the two routes joined at T'ali and, following the traditional horse caravan route, entered Burma and ended in India. This road is the so-called ancient Shu Junt'u T'ao ("Szechuan—Indian Path"). From India, it then went in two directions: either southward via the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, then to Arabia; or northward by land to Central Asia. The south-western silk road was often used by Muslims of Yunnan and Szechuan as the caravan trade route to India or as the Pilgrimage route to Mecca before modern transport became available.

From the Han period (195 B.C.-A.D. 220), the Han culture gradually permeated Szechuan and was imbibed by the local people, with subsequent syncretisation. In spite of its existence in China during the T'ang and Sung periods, Islam never appeared in Szechuan until the Mongol conquest of the province. According to Chinese sources, the first appearance of Islam here took place probably in the year A.D. 1253, when a Muslim contingent of the Mongol Tamači army was sent by Ḳubilay K͟hān [*q.v.*] to conquer Szechuan and Yunnan. After the conquest, Muslim troops stayed there to cultivate the conquered lands. From then on throughout the Mongol-Yuan (1278-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Manchu-Ch'ing (1644-1911) dynasties, Muslims, mostly from the north-western provinces of Kansu, Shensi and Ninghsia, and some from inland provinces, continued to migrate into the region either for trade or for military campaigns. Islamic communities were thus formed and mosques built in the main cities all over the province. The Ku-ch'ie Lou mosque in Ch'engt'u city, which was built in the Ming period and reconstructed in the 17th century, is apparently the oldest of those still in existence. It is known for its traditional architectural design and use of local construction materials.

The Muslim population in Szechuan grew rapidly during the Ch'ing period, especially when the Muslim rebellions of Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*] in Shensi and Kansu and T'u Wen-hsiu [*q.v.*] in Yunnan failed and a great number of Muslims fled the Manchu massacres to Szechuan. The Naḳs͟hbandiyya-D͟jahriyya order thus spread into Szechuan. However, the Ḳādiriyya and Naḳs͟hbandiyya-K͟hafiyya orders had existed in the province from early in the 17th century, and the Ḳādiriyya are reported to have set up seven shrines in the province. The indigenous Chinese Ṣūfī order called Hsi-T'ao-Tang and founded by Ma Ch'i-hsi in Lin-t'an-Kansu at the beginning of the 20th century, also set up its branch *zawāyā*, which also served as their trading and preaching centres, in the north-west of the province. The order probably entered the region mainly through Muslim traders. At the present time, the Muslim population of Szechuan is about 109,000 (2.2% of the provincial minority population), according to the rather laconic report of the 1990s official census. During the last three decades, due to the Communist central government's assimilation policy

towards the national minorities, Szechuan Muslims have increasingly been integrated into Han-Chinese society. Nowadays, it is not easy to distinguish Muslims from ordinary Chinese, apart from pork avoidance.

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SZEGED (Ottoman, Segedīn), a town and centre of a *sandjak* in the Great Plain of Hungary, along the river Tisza. First mentioned in a 1183 charter, Szeged acquired town privileges in the 13th century and became a *civitas* ("free royal town") in 1498. After being ransacked by the Ottomans in 1526 and by the Serbian militia of "Tsar" Yovan in 1527, it enjoyed peaceful years until 1541. Since the town had some ruinous remnants of a mediaeval castle only, it was unable to show resistance, and was easily taken by the Ottoman Pasha of Buda early in 1543. A *sandjak* was created immediately around Szeged, which was to extend over a large territory later, and whose first *mīrliwā*, Derwīsh Beg, was an active participant in the 1543 campaign.

By 1547-8 the castle was rebuilt by the Ottomans. In 1552 Mihály Tóth and his haiducks, as well as the mercenary troops of Bernardo de Aldana, made an abortive attempt at regaining Szeged. After this event, Ottoman rule remained uninterrupted until September 1686. Following the 1596 establishment of the *wilāyet* of Eger, the *sandjak* of Szeged was transferred to its territory, though its governor occasionally resided in Bács (Serbian Bač).

The Hungarian population of the town reached approximately 10,000 souls both in the 1520s and the 1540s, thus being among the three largest places in Ottoman Hungary. After a sudden and significant drop by 1560, when 700 hearths were found instead of 1,350, due to the migration of the wealthiest elements to Kecskemét and to towns of Habsburg Hungary, a period of stagnation followed. The high annual number of Catholic baptisms registered in the second half of the 17th century—160 on the average with an increasing tendency—suggests that there was no population fall among the Christians in 100 years.

Economically, Szeged was a traditional centre of salt transportation. Cattle and sheep breeding stood in the foreground of agricultural activities, while locally-produced grain and wine could not cover the needs of consumption. Export-oriented trade concentrated on cattle. The role of handicrafts was modest.

Bibliography: T. Halasi-Kun, *Sixteenth century Turkish settlements in southern Hungary*, in *Belleten*, xxviii (1964), 1-72 (the article deals with—mostly converted—Muslims in Southern Slav villages); *Szeged története 1. A kezdetektöl 1686-ig.* ("The history of Szeged. From the beginnings to 1686."), ed. Gy. Kristó, Szeged 1983, 499-738, relevant part by F. Szakály; G. Bayerle, *Ḳānūn-Nāme of the Sanjak of Segedīn of 1570*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, xiii (1993-4), 55-84. (G. DÁVID)

SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR (Ottoman, Istōlnī/Ustōlnī Belghrād [from Serbian *stolni belgrad* "white capital castle"]; German, Stuhlweißenburg; Latin Alba Regia), a town and centre of a *sandjak* in Transdanubia, Hungary, and one of the main royal and ecclesiastical centres from the time of St. Stephen (1000-38), where several kings were crowned and buried.

Realising its strategic and spiritual importance in the Buda-Esztergom-Székesfehérvár triangle, the Ottomans took the town and its castle, which fell without considerable resistance, on 3 September, during the 1543 campaign, two years after they had captured the Hungarian capital and had created a new *beglerbegilik* there [see BUDIN]. Except for a short interval in 1601-2, Székesfehérvár remained under Turkish rule until May 1688, when it surrendered to the Austrians after a long blockade.

A *sandjak* of extensive territories was established around Székesfehérvár, including some western regions which were not actually in Ottoman possession; out of the 591 towns and villages registered in the *idjmāl defteri* of 1570, only some 250 paid the *djizye* in 1563-5. Among its *sandjak begis*, significant personalities can be found such as Ḥamza Beg, who spent most of his life in Hungary, as well as Ḳāsim Pasha, who served also as *beglerbegi* of Buda and Temesvár, and Ibrāhim Pečewī [*q.v.*], the famous chronicler, in the years 1632-5.

The castle underwent restoration in 1545-6, before 1550, in 1572 (this time, more than 1,000 workers and 650 carts were employed), and finally in the period 1640-60. Otherwise, only a few Ottoman buildings were erected: two *djāmi*'s or *mesdjids* and two baths.

Following the usual pattern in administrative centres, the original Hungarian population—estimated at 7-8,000—diminished to 1,200-1,500 by 1563-5 and to some 500 by the time of the rule of Murād III. The number of Ottoman garrison soldiers, which was nearly 3,000 in 1543, fell to 1,400 by 1568-9; besides, some 1,000 timariots lived here in the 16th century, including their *djebelüs* and families.

Apart from occasional fluctuations, Székesfehérvár preserved its economic importance, at least in the 16th century. This is proved by financial sums in customs lists and the high number of shops. The town was a significant place on the transit route of cattle exported to Austria, Germany, and Italy. However, due to lack of sources the 17th century history of the town is almost unknown.

Bibliography: *Székesfehérvár évszázadai 3, Török kor.* ("The centuries of Székesfehérvár. 3. The Ottoman Period.") Székesfehérvár 1977; *Die Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg aus den Jahren 1563 bis 1565.* Unter Mitwirkung von I. Hunyadi bearbeitet von J. Matuz (Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, hrsg. von K. Schwarz. Band 3.), Bamberg 1986; G. Dávid, *Timar-Defter oder Dschizye-Defter? Bemerkungen zu einer Quellenausgabe für den Sandschak Stuhlweißenburg (Rezensionsartikel)*, in *WZKM*, lxxxi (1991), 147-53; E. Vass, *Források a Székesfehérvári szandzsákság történetéhez 1543-1688* ("Sources for the History of the *sandjak* of Székesfehérvár"), in *Fejér Megyei Történeti Évkönyv*, xix, Székesfehérvár 1989, 69-200 (unreliable).

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